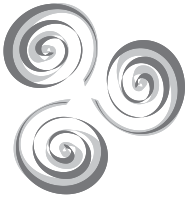

Experiencing Diversity and Mutuality

Book of Abstracts

10th Biennial EASA Conference

European Association of Social Anthropologists

Ljubljana, 26 to 29 August 2008

Experiencing Diversity and Mutuality: Book of Abstracts
10th Biennial EASA Conference
© University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts

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The local organisers are particularly grateful to the students of the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology and to the students from the Moving Anthropology Student Network (MASN). Without their invaluable contribution of time and effort it would not be possible to organise the conference.

Welcome address of the President of EASA

I would like to extend a very warm welcome to all participants of the EASA biennial conference in Ljubljana. I would like to thank all the members of the local organising committee, our hosts, for their efforts in raising additional funds for this event. They have put in a tremendous amount of work to ensure all arrangements for the largest ever number of workshops and participants at an EASA conference. This surge of interest reflects our organisation's increasing membership and growing strength in various parts of Europe. It is a welcome development indeed at a time when our discipline too is undergoing a transformation in the wake of major changes in the academic landscape in universities across Europe. The conference will give us an opportunity to discuss our ongoing research but equally to deliberate on the disciplinary and institutional challenges facing us in our diverse academic settings. We have, therefore, organised roundtables with representatives of major European research funding institutions (for instance the ERC, ESF and EU) on some of these issues as well. I hope our members will take full advantage of their presence.

After the unfortunate decision by the Chinese authorities to postpone the IUAES conference to be held in Kunming (China) this July, we decided to expand the EASA conference programme in order to add some workshops and to facilitate presentation of papers by colleagues who were affected by this sudden change of schedule. I am especially grateful to the local organising committee, to Rohan Jackson and his team at NomadIT for their willingness to shoulder this burden at short notice.

We would like to encourage you to attend the Members' Forum/Annual General Meeting (AGM) on the last day of the conference in order to learn more about the activities of EASA's various networks. The Executive Committee is equally eager to use this occasion for exchange of views (especially on the ERIH exercise), to receive your feedback on some recent changes (for example in the EASA fee structure, website or journal), and to obtain suggestions to enlarge the provision of services to members. In short, we would like to discuss with you several organisational issues of importance including some minor amendments to the EASA constitution. In order to leave more room for these discussions during the AGM meeting, its format has been slightly modified. Instead of the usual presentation of reports by office-bearers, we will send you in advance reports by the secretary, treasurer, book series editor and editors of our journal Social Anthropology by mid August. Copies will be made available at the venue of the AGM meeting as well. By providing you with an overview of the activities of the EASA ahead of the conference, we hope to budget more time at the Ljubljana meeting for discussions. Your active support is of vital importance in the development of EASA as a professional organisation.

As members of the Executive Committee we look forward to your queries and suggestions on all matters concerning the conference and the EASA. Please do not hesitate to contact us during this week.

We hope you enjoy the conference in Ljubljana!

Shalini Randeria

University of Zurich

Experiencing Diversity and Mutuality in Ljubljana: Welcome Address from the Local Organising Committee

In almost 20 years of its existence the European Association of Social Anthropologists has become the most important anthropological professional organisation in Europe. Its inclusive policy and broad understanding of the discipline has attracted many scholars from different parts of Europe (and beyond), therefore the anniversary of the 10th EASA conference with 114 workshops, more than 1000 accepted papers, several roundtables, discussions, presentations, workshops, meetings and other events, film festival, and additional programme, proves the organisation's maturity. Social/cultural anthropology, or ethnology, is a rapidly growing and dynamic discipline. Due to its inner diversification and sub-disciplinary branching, it is ready to challenge unforeseen local, regional and global developments in the 21st century. In the European year of "intercultural dialogue", anthropologists will critically assess different facets of diversity together with its complementary: mutualism.

The local organisers from the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, University of Ljubljana, together with social/cultural anthropologists and ethnologists from other Slovenian institutions, are pleased to welcome you to the 10th anniversary EASA conference in Ljubljana, Slovenia. With approximately 58,000 students and more than 5,500 teaching and research staff, the University of Ljubljana, established in 1919, is one of the largest universities in Europe. Its Faculty of Arts, the host venue of the conference, with approximately 8,000 students and 600 teaching, research and administrative staff, is the largest of its 22 faculties and academies. The Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, established in 1940, with 546 students and 23 teaching/research and administrative staff in 2008, is one of the larger of the 21 departments in the faculty. Organisation of such a conference in the capital of Slovenia, Ljubljana, will stimulate further development of the already well-established fields of Slovenian ethnology and cultural/social anthropology.

What is particularly important for the organisers is that many younger scholars will attend the conference for the first time, especially those from Central, South-eastern and Eastern Europe.

The variety of workshops and roundtables reflects heterogeneous history of the discipline. Together with dominant and well-established traditions new centres of the discipline are appearing and developing in different parts of Europe. It is no longer possible to ignore them. Furthermore, proposed topics of workshops prove that the discipline is diversifying within itself. Some sub-disciplines are obviously developing very fast and will give the conference specific character, e.g. medical anthropology, media anthropology, political anthropology and anthropology of religion.

The Ljubljana conference will attract many young scholars and students. Together with foreign students from the Moving Anthropology Student Network, around 300 students are expected to take part in the organisation of the conference. The organisers are heartily grateful to them and everybody who volunteered for the organisation of the conference in the past two years.

Ljubljana, a tiny metropolis where everything is reachable on foot, offers quite a lot. The local organisers are very pleased to host you at the conference, and look forward to meeting you again in the following years.

Rajko Muršič, On behalf of the Local Organising Committee

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Conference statement

Experiencing Diversity and Mutuality

The 10th Easa conference under the title "Experiencing Diversity and Mutuality" is aiming to exploit and accentuate the crucial importance of direct – ethnographic – experience of diversity and mutuality in ethnology and anthropology. It will initiate discussions of the concept of mutuality. To experience a particular way of life does not mean only to observe and participate, but to enter mundane world of sounds and noises, colours and sight, smells and tastes, touch and heat… Direct ethnographic experience makes social anthropology reliable scholarship. Anthropologists and ethnologists can provide many different relevant views on diversity and mutuality from their own perspective.

Over the last few decades, diversity has gained ascendancy among the central values of primarily western societies. Articulated in different discursive contexts and identified on different levels, both cultural and biological diversity have been extolled as an enriching legacy, a collective possession, a resource for the future or a precondition for unity: a unity which emerges from diversity. The notion of human and cultural diversity has been instrumental in imagining, carrying out and legitimizing processes of supranational and international integration or "unification" taking place on the level of global capitalism with its advanced diversification of products and consumers as well as its reliance on ethnically or "racially" diverse labour force as a competitive advantage. The growing consensus that cultural diversity is an important asset has found its way into several documents, in particular those formulated by UNESCO such as the declaration Our Creative Diversity (1995) and Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001). The centrality of culture and respect for cultural diversity for social cohesion, international peace and security and the development of a knowledge-based economy are similarly emphasized in a wide range of documents proposing the definition of the identity of Europe. An early document of this kind was The Declaration of European Identity from 1973 which proposed the notion of the European identity as the diversity of cultures.

Anthropologists have been facing diversity since the beginning of social/cultural anthropology as an academic discipline. The main aim of the conference is to deal with public discourse on diversity, cross-cultural communication and, at the same time, the absence of speaking about underestimated aspects of mutuality, including post-colonial, post-imperial, post-socialist, and post-racial. Experiencing processes of late (or post-) industrialism and modernity, anthropologists study the present-day situation "in the field" and equally accentuate consideration of constructed and "natural" environments. When speaking of diversity, the conference will not overlook the flip side of the "intercultural dialogue": new racism, ethnic nationalism, cultural fundamentalism and "soft" modes of exploitation.

The current appeal to diversity might be coupled with anxieties over divisiveness that diversity can represent or entail; it might be also thwarted by fears of heterogeneity, difference, alterity. It is not only on the supranational level that the notion of diversity has been instrumental, but also – although largely in an earlier period – on the national level where nations have been equally conceived and integrated with the help of the same rhetorical device of unity-in-diversity with regions representing the latter. Within the Europeanisation process, although this was equally the case of former continental empires, this rhetorical device also makes possible to join regional and supranational against the national. Yet nation-statist mind-set still assumes that unity and homogeneity

is preferable to diversity and difference, cultural monism to cultural plurality. While cultural diversity is often coupled with or opposed to unity and homogeneity, this conference will be aimed at articulating the notion of diversity with the notion of mutuality. Mutuality has been given scant attention by social anthropologists. One reason for its neglect may have been that the concept of mutuality was eclipsed by an overlapping concept of reciprocity which, on the contrary, was fortunate to become one of the key concepts of the discipline. There must be other, more critical reasons as well. In particular, certain strands of thinking about mutuality have been submerged both in the life sciences and social sciences due to radical social practices and social revolt associated with that kind of thinking. In biology, mutuality was proposed as one of fundamental interspecific relations by some anarchist thinkers, yet it was soon subdued by the Darwinian, and even more so by the Social Darwinist, notion of competition. The most threatening ideas of reductionism – be they in genetics, evolutionary psychology or new kinds of culturalism – are getting a response in public, while anthropological criticism of these reductionisms is still too weak.

The conference will endeavour to answer questions such as what can we do with mutuality today, what are the modalities of its experience, why is it relevant, how can we relate it to diversity, etc. As anthropologists have an experiential bias, they will presumably tend to provide their answers from the perspective of experienced situations, shared with their local interlocutors. Anthropology needs rethinking the variety of mutuality in its present contexts, yet prior to this there is further ethnographic work to be carried out with the aim of identifying the variability of mutual agency and cultural assumptions about mutuality (as well as diversity), describing contexts of mutual agency, examining different forms of mutuality, etc. The idea that mutually recognised cultural diversity is a prerequisite for peaceful cohabitation is being developed for instance with reference to the Europeanisation and the EuroMed process; here the sense of mutuality comes close to that of sharing (e.g. mutually shaped identities, mutual memories and experiences).

Mutuality, rather than unity, may be found beyond the diversity of cultures; it may result in a mutual search for compatibility among differences. Mutual borrowing is another instance where mutuality may result in new diversity, produced through processes of diffusion, syncretism, creolisation or acculturation; these "cultural flows" are in turn related to empire-building and colonialism. Yet mutuality is not always opposed to competition and not always linked with co-operation; mutual religious practices like shared sanctuaries or shared festivals are a case in point. The notion of mutuality is also often extended to include other biological species, e.g. in various notions of the partnership with nature or of mutual management of biodiversity mobilising a variety of its "co-natural" approaches and techniques applied in natural parks and protected areas but also in "traditional" and "sustainable" agriculture, and so forth.

Anthropological thinking on biodiversity management and mutualist approaches in ecology but also a variety of biodiversity ideologies, as well as other related priorities listed in European research strategies, will be especially appreciated. The conference will stimulate discussions of environment, copyright and cultural survival, natural reservations and protected areas, and it will emphasise some main topics of the 7th EU Framework Programme, e.g., biodiversity, climate changes, and volunteering, as well as complex organisations, visual and popular culture.

The special accent of the conference will follow – or push – the spreading and application of anthropological knowledge in non-academic spheres through the defining of new professional opportunities for anthropologists in policy-making, economics and marketing expertise, education, media counselling and mediating, and other kinds of career opportunities for younger scholars who are most heartily

invited to participate with poster presentations.
The conference will also attempt to reflect the discipline's own diversity – and the mutual dependence or recognition – of its various traditions and subdisciplines. It will open floor for discussions of boundaries between streams of folklore studies, (European) ethnology and social/cultural anthropology, as well as encourage the exchange of knowledge between social/cultural anthropology and biology, ecology, economy, law, history, linguistics, political sciences and other disciplines that contribute to the discussion of "experiencing diversity and mutuality" – and challenge them.

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Claude Lévi-Strauss Centennial Tribute

At the conference there will be a Wenner-Gren sponsored tribute in honour of Claude Lévi-Strauss, celebrating his centennial in the spirit of his important contributions to anthropology and to establishment of the EASA. Segments of his life work and some of his thoughts that profoundly inspired not only anthropology but also social sciences in general will be artistically represented on a large canvas, extending through the five floors of the Faculty of Arts. In the "Claude Lévi-Strauss Chill-Out Room" visitors will have the opportunity to sit down, leaf through his books or watch video/film presentations such as interviews with C. Lévi-Strauss, films on his research etc.

LABORATOIRE D'ANTHROPOLOGIE SOCIALE

21.06.89

28 JUIN 1989

Dear Professor Kuper,

Thank you for your letter of June 16th.

It is both an honour and a pleasure to become a member of the new Association.

With best wishes of success,

Yours sincerely,

Claude Lévi-Strauss

LABORATOIRE MIXTE DU COLLÈGE DE FRANCE, DU CENTRE NATIONAL DE LA RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUE ET DE L'ÉCOLE DES HAUTES ÉTUDES EN SCIENCES SOCIALES

11, PLACE MARCELIN-BERTHELOT, 75231 PARIS CEDEX 05

TÉL. 329.12.11 (POSTES 24-00 ET 24-24)

Keynote lecture

"Human Natures"

Dr Philippe Descola, Collège de France, Laboratoire d'anthropologie sociale

26 August, 16:30
Slovenian Philharmonic

What we are (as organisms, as humans, as parts of a collective, as gendered beings) depends upon intrinsic qualities (physical and cognitive dispositions) as much as upon contrastive qualities, i.e. differentiating features that we selectively detect or fail to detect among other human and non human components of the world. Human nature is thus moderately plural and largely relational, in that it draws its specificities from its capacity to respond to the affordances provided by our environment according to patterns that are not beyond the reach of scientific inquiry. The lecture will explore some of the consequences of this situation, often acknowledged but seldom confronted, for the practice and agenda of anthropology.

Berghahn Books

Newly released titles from the EASA series

Volume 9

KNOWING HOW TO KNOW
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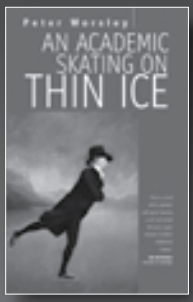

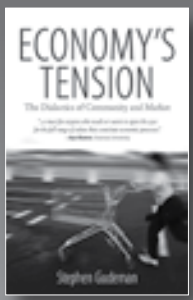

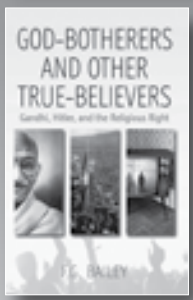

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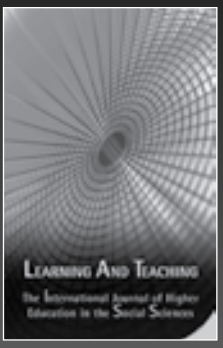

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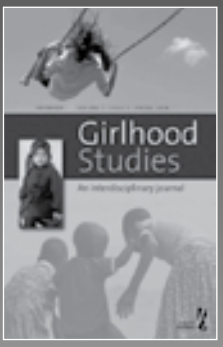

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Plenary Session 1

Mutualities in Practice: Beyond Worlds in Collision

Convenor: **Rajko Muršič, University of Ljubljana (rajko.mursic@ff.uni-lj.si)**

27 August 2008, 16:00

Slovenian Philharmonic

Anthropologists' experience of human diversity should not obscure the basic fact that human beings are connected to each other through a myriad of fine ties. If diversity is the ground on which anthropology stands, then it becomes even more important to accentuate those human "webs of significance" which exist despite this diversity. Otherwise anthropology itself might contribute to discord and conflict. If there is anything "natural" in our humanly constructed world, then it is "being together." So even though humans make different worlds, the boundaries between them are constructed from various mutual encounters and interrelations. Trust, morality, aesthetic tuning and other categories shape living worlds. There is a huge vocabulary of notions, which describe mutual construction of human worlds: participation, cooperation, solidarity, reciprocity, negotiation, mediation, etc. Yet mutuality is more than a dialogue; it is a dialectic process that involves human practices, acts and ideas, including things we use and ideas we dispute are based on some mutual determination. In a densely interconnected world we are used to seeing one-way trajectories from centres in processes of globalisation and virtuality. So we are inclined to overlook responses from the peripheries, the grass-roots. The panel will open discussion on mutuality - or mutualism - from historical, political, moral and social perspectives, and on mutualities as markers of ethnographic experience, and on synchronisation through manipulations and interdependencies.

Address in the Second Person: A Condition of Life and Anthropology

Michael Carrithers, Durham University (m.b.carrithers@durham.ac.uk)

In formal writing and talking we project the imaginations of the audience towards circumstances far distant from the place and moment of writing, reading, or speaking. This habit of thought in the third person creates a world of third person generic nouns ("women", "Navajos", "Germans", "street children", "anthropologists"), and so it goes. There is an especially poignant irony here for anthropologists, since we pride ourselves on a knowledge founded in second-person address to "you", singular or plural. Second person address is a necessary, if sometimes forgotten, condition of anthropology, and indeed of life.

What are the conditions of second person address? The first is *representing*. Julian Bell captures the deep, mysterious, and pervasive character of representing in the originary saying: "let *this* be *that*," which sweeps together the plastic arts, speech, and indeed the forming of concepts. The second is *cultivating*: People not only represent, they also cultivate, and play, with styles and means of representing, not only from moment to moment, but from century to century. The third is *addressing*, which means that cultivated representations are given a direction and a force: representing always has addressees. Addressing entails not only representing something, but also imagining and attending to those addressed. So powerful is this faculty of addressing that it can reach across different styles of cultivation and create new bonds of attention and address, as people coordinate with one another in new, hitherto uncultivated projects such as fieldwork.

World-Wide Conversations

Ulf Hannerz, Stockholm University (ulf.hannerz@socant.su.se)

One form of mutuality is sharing through conversation; one somewhat utopian view of anthropology is a world-wide conversation about humanity in all its diversity. In this paper I attempt to examine various possible arrangements between anthropologists and audiences, as well as comparable relationships involving other genres of reporting and interpretation. Here I draw also on my studies of the work of newsmedia foreign correspondents, and an interest in recent macro-scenarios of the type transforming into globally circulating collective representations: "the clash of civilizations", "the world is flat" etc. In various ways the paper also touches on notions of anthropology at home (and not at home), anthropology as cultural critique, and the role and contexts of public intellectuals.

Immanent Communism

David Graeber, Goldsmiths College, University of London (david.graeber@mac.com)

This essay sets out from the concept of "the gift." While Mauss' essay on the gift has proved absolutely indispensable to all future discussion of material exchange in human society, the way it has been taken up has to some degree diverted its full promise. First of all, "the gift" is taken as a unified category, and all sorts of generalisations made about it, despite the fact that it is a category that includes all forms of non-commercial exchange or material transaction. In fact, the category lumps together transactions that often operate by completely different logics. Second of all, people have come to speak of "gift economies" or "commercial economies" (etc.) as wholes according to a totalising logic that Mauss himself was clearly trying to move away from. By returning to Mauss' much less well-known idea of "individualistic communism", it should be possible to see that in many ways, Mauss' logic was not that different than Kropotkin's, and opens the way to a far more sophisticated approach to the same sort of questions. Communism, as a form of practice, can be seen as the immanent basis of all other forms of economy, with capitalism itself always being at least to some degree parasitic off it. This casts many familiar political questions in a far different light.

Plenary Session 2

The Uses of Diversity

Convenor: **Miguel Vale de Almeida, ISCTE, Lisbon (mvda@netcabo.pt)**

28 August 2008, 16:00

Slovenian Philharmonic

Diversity has gained ascendancy among the central values of western societies. Both cultural and biological diversity have been extolled as an enriching legacy, or a precondition for unity: a unity which emerges from diversity. The notion of human and cultural diversity has been instrumental in imagining processes of supranational and international integration or "unification" taking place on the level of global capitalism with its advanced diversification of products and consumers. The growing consensus that cultural diversity is an important asset has found its way into several documents, in particular those formulated by UNESCO such as the declaration Our Creative Diversity (1995) and Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001). An early document of

this kind was The Declaration of European Identity from 1973 which proposed the notion of the European identity as the diversity of cultures.
Anthropologists have been facing diversity since the beginning of social/cultural anthropology. It is not only on the supranational level that the notion of diversity has been instrumental, but also on the national level. Yet nation-statist mind-set still assumes that unity and homogeneity is preferable to diversity and difference, cultural monism to cultural plurality. The notion of diversity also draws some of its present meaning from visions of natural diversity, often overlapping ecological, regional and cultural diversities. At a higher level, diversity is also increasingly used as a rhetorical device in discourses on migration, ethnic pluralism, gender and sexuality, disability and so forth. Anthropologists should be able to analyse the tension between social and political calls for diversity and social and political calls for unity. Individual choices and rights often collide with calls for group recognition and definitions of what constitutes the units that, together, provide a "diverse" environment.

Feminism, secularism, and the politics of Empire

Saba Mahmood, University of California, Berkeley
(smahmood@berkeley.edu)

This paper analyzes the emergence of a new genre of Muslim women's autobiographical accounts of patriarchal abuse that has garnered considerable popular and academic attention since the events of September 11, 2001. These accounts are fairly singular in the picture they paint of the abuse Muslim women suffer at the hands of "Islamic patriarchy," and document the religious character of this gendered violence whether it occurs in Holland, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Australia or Canada. Many of these accounts have become best sellers within the Euro-Atlantic reading market, and are now widely taught in Women's Studies courses across universities. This paper examines the role these writings have played in the contemporary geopolitical context, one in which Islam's abuse of women has become a necessary element in clinching support for the US war against Islamic terrorism and for the US mandate to bring democracy to the Muslim world. Some of the questions this paper addresses are: How has the argument for gender inequality become sutured to the argument for purging the militant and terrorist elements from Islam? What are the presuppositions about religiosity and democracy that these accounts share with the current United States imperial agenda pursued with military force in the Muslim world? And finally, what is the particular conception of religiosity these autobiographical accounts denounce as injurious to women that has found fecund ground in the United States policy to reshape Islam on an international scale?

Making a Difference: Mestizos Are Not Born but Made

Verena Stolcke, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
(vstolcke@telefonica.net)

About a decade ago I coined the notion of cultural fundamentalism to characterise the exclusivist political rhetoric with which old world politicians justified the closure of borders to keep migrants out. Not only the notion of culture meaning cultural diversity has become ubiquitous, but also ideas such as multiculturalism, mestizaje, hibridity, creolisation have gained currency as the political correct response to cultural exclusivisms and discriminations. In my presentation I will present the coming into being of mestizos in the formation of Spanish-American colonial society as a revealing example of the treacherous character of notions of "mixture." For, as I will show, all

fashionable proposals to overcome social exclusion by means of cultural mestizaje, etc. in fact presuppose pure cultures.

The UNESCO Doctrine of Cultural and Genetic Diversity of Humankind, from the Aftermath of the Second World War until Today

Wiktor Stoczkowski, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (stoczkow@ehess.fr)

Nowadays, the issue of cultural diversity seems to be separate entirely from the problem of genetic diversity of humans. However, both questions were frequently tackled together during the XXth century. This was the case in the aftermath of the Second World War. Created by the victorious Allies, UNESCO attempted to propose a doctrine able to explain the genetic and cultural diversity of humankind. The purpose was twofold: to undermine the Nazi doctrine of racial inequality and to establish the basis of an international cooperation between societies divided by deep cultural differences.

This doctrine materialised in a series of official UNESCO statements. It understated the genetic diversity of humankind and focused on cultural diversity, a part of which had to be protected, whereas some others parts were destined to disappear thanks to UNESCO educational action launched in order to build a global civilisation of peace.

Half a century later, the context is radically different. On the one hand, the idea of genetic diversity of humans has been anew legitimised by recent researches in human genomics. On the other hand, cultural unification lost its positive connotation, commonly perceived as a threat to the right of the people to protect their "ancestral traditions", henceforth likened to a precious legacy.

I will reconstruct the post-war creation and subsequent transformations of the UNESCO doctrine of genetic and cultural diversity of humans. This reconstruction is aimed at a better understanding of interactions between the UNESCO doxa and our vernacular and/or scholarly representations of human diversity.

Cultural Diversity: Cosmopolitics and a Global Fraternal Discourse

Gustavo Lins Ribeiro, University of Brasilia (gustavor@unb.br)

I see "cultural diversity" as a global discourse of elites engaged in international cooperation and global governance. First, I discuss the relationships between diversity and globalisation. Then I explore the universal/particular tension to offer the notion of cosmopolitics as a distinct kind of global discourse. Cosmopolitics allows me to go beyond the particular/universal tension. Before considering the limits of the claims to universality of major contemporary global discourses I discuss "cultural diversity" in the framework of "global fraternal discourses". I conclude that the struggles to control the semantic field of discourses on universal/particular values are related to their illocutionary force.

Plenary Session 3

Immobilities: New Challenges for Anthropology in a Globalised World (Young Scholars Plenary)

Convenor: **Matilde Córdoba, Universidad Complutense de Madrid (m.cordoba@cps.ucm.es)**

29 August 2008, 17:30
Slovenian Philharmonic

Today's world is on the move. People, ideas, images, information, objects, symbols and capitals circulate in complex material and virtual flows around the planet. Whether for pleasure or work, desired or forced, physical or virtual, mobility seems to have become the new condition of a globalised world (Bauman, 1994; Shéller and Urry, 2006). In such a mobile world, the capacity to move and to circulate becomes essential. Being mobile or immobile changes our perception of what is proximal and distant, it redefines boundaries, identities and, with them, our sense of belonging. The dialectics between mobilities and immobilities thus becomes an exceptional standpoint to reveal the diversity, inequalities and differences in the way we live and experience a globalised world. But, how can we gain ethnographic knowledge about this dialectic? How could ethnographic knowledge contribute to the understanding of mobilities and immobilities? And contrariwise: how does this new mobile condition affect ethnographic principles and techniques? How to define anthropological locations in this mobile world?

Grounding Mobility: Rethinking the Boundaries of our World and Work

Noel B. Salazar, University of Leuven (nbsalazar@gmail.com)

It has become fashionable to imagine the world in which we live as in constant motion. In theorizing what is distinctive about the condition of contemporary globalisation, we tend to stress the breaching of boundaries by migration, mass communication, and trade, suggesting the emergence of novel forms of identity, economy, and community. This new reality is thought to be theoretically and methodologically challenging for a discipline that has accused itself in the recent past of representing people as territorially, socially, and culturally bounded.

Drawing on multi-sited and multi-temporal fieldwork in Indonesia and Tanzania, this paper critically questions the current "mobility turn". What are the contours of power, agency, and subjectivity in imaginaries of global mobility and the intersecting social categories those visions both reify and dissolve? How are widely spread practices of mobility (e.g. tourism and migration) erasing existing boundaries while at the same time erecting new ones? Is human mobility more than the newest form of accumulating symbolic capital? Who are the so-called "immobile" and how are they creating their own forms of "mobility"?

If mobility is the new mantra to be chanted by anthropologists, the chorus line might be older than most of us want to acknowledge. What makes my fieldwork on the circulation of mobility fantasies in two tourism destinations different from the research of Boas on the migration patterns of the Baffin Island Inuit or Malinowski on the trading cycle of the Trobriand Islanders? How can "old" anthropology help us formulate answers to exciting "new" questions?

Mediterranean Cosmopolitanisms and the Mobilities Paradigm

Javier Caletrío, Lancaster University (jcaletrio@gmail.com)
Ramon Ribera-Fumaz, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya (rriberaf@uoc.edu)

In the midst of current geopolitical contests, the Mediterranean re-emerges as a site of policy and scholarly attention. Initiatives in the policy realm such as the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership and its associated Anna Lindh Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures are being paralleled in academia with a renewed interest in the Mediterranean as a site of convergence and exchange. In returning their gaze to the Mediterranean, politicians have called for a revival of its vocation as a human unit while scholars have found an experimental field for shifting cultural and social formations. In the first part of this paper we critically review the academic and policy discourses about the Mediterranean and note that both tend to be premised upon a paradoxical combination of "nomadist" and "sedentarist" visions of social life that fail to sufficiently acknowledge how the social is constituted in a place of such massive flows of people, objects and symbols. Our argument is informed by a "mobilities perspective", an attempt to systematise and further develop a wide range of work on the mobile nature of social and economic life. When the current efforts to create a Mediterranean region are seen through a mobilities perspective it becomes evident that the material conditions for the creation of a common cultural and social space remain under-examined. This prevents acknowledging already existing potentialities to further develop Mediterranean cosmopolitanisms. In the second part of the paper we discuss the methodological challenges to study cosmopolitan dispositions from a mobilities perspective.

Producing Immobility, Preserving Mobility

Jaume Franquesa, University of Toronto (jaume.franquesa@gmail.com)

Tourism implies the production and reproduction of both mobile flows of people and of a seemingly "fixed" place, the tourist destination. This paper will explore the dialectics between mobility and immobility through the analysis of the century-long (re)production of Majorca as a tourist destination, paying special attention to the relationship that in the urban context preservationist policies and practices maintain with the tourist industry and with processes of commodification and decommodification of place (including the social practices that constitute it). This (re)production unfolds through a permanent process of place transformation (in order to allow mobility) and place preservation, understood as the fixing of a determinate correlation between a certain space and certain characteristics and practices. As I will show, this is a changing and often contradictory process, as preservation can be deployed as a means of enhancing tourist flows or of protecting society from its deleterious effects. The paper will conclude that a dialectical approach to mobility and immobility attends to the struggle to define what parts of social reality are transformable and what are natural or given. I argue that this struggle constitutes a politics that is best understood in terms of hegemony.

"It's like belonging to a place that has never been yours." Forced Return Migration and Perceptions of Involuntary Immobility

Heike Drotbohm, Albert-Ludwigs Universität, Freiburg (heike.drotbohm@ethno.uni-freiburg.de)

In migration cultures such as Cape Verde, border-crossing plays a crucial role in the

individual life-making process. Particularly for young people, it's comparable to a rite de passage, which they must undergo to become respected members of their community. While current changes in migration theories discuss the diversity of mobile life worlds, this paper deals with the often neglected reality of involuntary immobility. Drawing on anthropological fieldwork in Cape Verde, I focus on forced criminal return migration from the USA back to the country of origin, Cape Verde. Those who failed abroad, and were brought back "home" by force are confronted with a melange of hostility, rejection, idealisation, and envy. Thereby, their life-making comes to a dead-end. Though being Cape Verdean citizens per passport, their habits of consumption and ostentatious display of an American lifestyle demonstrate a sense of cultural and social belonging to the US. Thereby, they show a disdain towards local ways of living. The paper examines and theorises the ways in which the so-called "deportados" navigate their sense of belonging to a foreign place. It concentrates on the corporeal aspects of forced immobility at a place, where mobility is central to social recognition.

Plenary Roundtable 1

Anthropology in the Context of European Research

Convenor: **Elisabeth Vestergaard, The Danish Centre for Studies in Research and Research Policy, Aarhus University**

Opening address: **Helga Nowotny (European Research Council)**
Other participants: **Gíslí Pálsson (EASA Executive/Representative of anthropology, Standing Committee for the Humanities, the European Science Foundation), Pascal Dissard (European Commission)**

27 August, 18:30
Slovenian Philharmonic

Basic and applied research is enormously important and vital for the further development of European anthropology. The participants of the plenary round table will present and discuss will present and discuss the institutional and intellectual framework in the European research area in general, starting with the calls and activities of the European Science Foundation, the European Research Council, as well as the European Commission's activities and programmes, especially the variety of options offered within the 7th EU research framework programme, and, finally, a very important new infrastructural foundation for the development and public recognition of the humanities in Europe, ERIH (the European Reference Index for the Humanities).

Plenary Roundtable 2

Anthropology and Education: Researching and Teaching Diversity and Mutuality in Schools

Convenor: **Dr. Anna Streissler, Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Vienna**

Participants: **Gillian Evans (University of Manchester), Franz Radits (University of Vienna/University of Education, Baden), Christina Toren (University of St. Andrews), Sue Wright (Danish School of Education)**

28 August, 18:30
Slovenian Philharmonic

Despite anthropology's recently intensified focus on issues "at home" the majority of anthropologists seem to have problems communicating some of the major insights to the general public. One of the effects is that essentialist views of groups perceived to be different from the idealised national standard are still part of the explicit or implicit curricula in compulsory schools. Eurocentrism, racism, and exoticism foster images of the socio-cultural supremacy of "the West" versus "the Rest" and assume a dominant monoculture to which supposedly different groups, most importantly, immigrants, must assimilate. Teachers and school officials in many European countries are only now discovering the necessity of dealing with socio-cultural differences and inequalities head-on— yet anthropologists seem to have little say in these processes.

In this roundtable participants are invited to discuss both experiences and further possibilities of changing these images in different national education systems, starting out from the following questions:

1) What do we know about children's and young people's concepts of diversity and mutuality? In which ways are they similar, in which ways are they different from adult perspectives? Which factors apart from age shape these perceptions?

2) What do ethnographic studies on schools and compulsory education tell us about diversity and mutuality?

3) Should anthropologists opt for "pure" research in schools or for attempting to influence educational policies and practices with their work?

4) If they should attempt to influence policies, which contributions could the analysis and criticism of teaching material and teaching practices from anthropological perspectives make towards changing the curricula and the teaching practices?

5) If they should attempt to influence policies, how could anthropological knowledge be implemented systematically into school curricula and into teacher training curricula, addressing more openly the consequences of differentiating along the lines of race, gender, class, age, among others and at the same time preventing (other) essentialisations?

6) Should anthropological insights be taught as part of the curricula in compulsory schools and which consequences would this have for pupils and teachers as well as for communities and "society at large"? How could such an implementation process be set in motion?

7) How could interdisciplinary communication between anthropologists, teachers, education researchers and policy makers be improved so we could all learn from each other?

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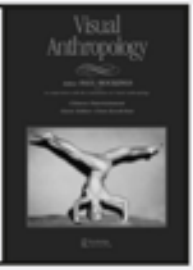

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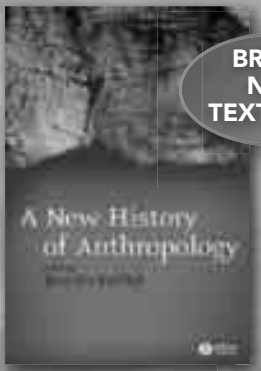

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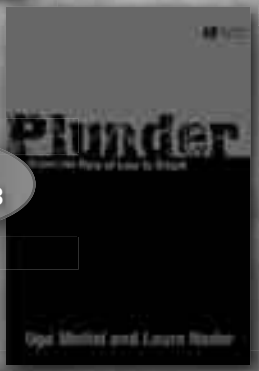

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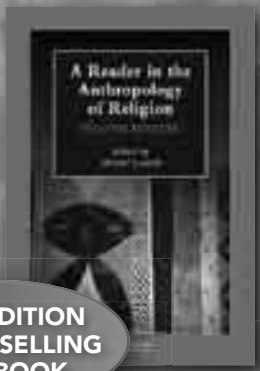

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IW01

Mobility: Frictions and Flows

Convenors: **Michaela Benson, Bristol University (M.Benson@bristol.ac.uk)**
Paolo Favero, University College, London (p.favero@ucl.ac.uk)

28 August 2008, 14:00
Room: 32

Mobility' is often used as a metaphor for life in the contemporary world. It is, so most official accounts state, a major and beneficial resource for the planet. The term therefore implies, among others things, the movement of people, artefacts, notions and images, which demonstrates the true complexity of contemporary mobility. While mobility has positive connotations highlighting the possibilities of the mixing of cultures, for others, it holds negative connotations because of the challenges it presents to the fixity of locality and local culture. The banal use of the positive connotations associated with mobility may also mask negative experiences. It is therefore time to examine further the hidden power relations that are intrinsic to the term in particular contexts.

Despite the ubiquity of mobility in the world today, the significance that it has on a theoretical level has yet to be fully interrogated. In this panel, we particularly invite papers that address the correspondence between how mobility is used as a word and the particular social world that it relates to. This raises questions of how and whether mobility can be a useful concept for us as anthropologists? How do popular notions of and approaches to what counts as mobility overlap with our understandings of the term as academics? Addressing mobility from a theoretical perspective, we recognise that words operate as emblems and can signal the existence of particular ideologies, and welcome ethnographic papers which engage with a more theoretical discussion about what mobility means in the contemporary world.

London: Nowhere, in Particular

Daniel Miller, University College, London (d.miller@ucl.ac.uk)

This paper adds a concept of `relational mobility", to that of mobility as movement in space or a movement of people. For many people, movement of persons in respect to places has become less significant than shifts in relationships both to others and themselves. The evidence is derived from four ethnographies, all carried out on specific streets within contemporary London. London was once was a clear destination: a place you came to, came from and a point of identification. But for many people today, London exhibits the contradictions of the phrase, "nowhere, in particular", a unique site in its capacity to be no particular place. For many new residents, being in London, does not tell them whether they are migrants, part of a Diaspora, or becoming Londoners. It is rather a site within which relationships may remain remarkably unchanged, or a site that facilitates radically new relationships. Spatial mobility becomes subservient to relational mobility.

This creates problems for both the politics of London and the academic apprehension, which tended to homogenise people into communities of common origin or common destination, or as neighbourhoods. Recent debates over cosmopolitanism focus on the loss of identification with place, opposing national to global identity. This paper concentrates instead on what has replaced spatial identification. Relational mobility refers not just to mobility in relationships, but is an acknowledgment that for many participants in such urban ethnography, what matters most has become the viability of core relationships to family and friends.

"Where did my island go?" Floating Islands, Mobile Space and Volatile Territoriality among the Uros of Lake Titicaca (Peru)

Michael Kent, Manchester University (milukent@yahoo.co.uk)

In recent times, a growing body of literature has focused on the mobility of people, cultural forms, images etc. Space and place, however, generally continue to be seen as immobile. This paper, in contrast, examines an ethnographic context in which it is space that is permanently on the move. The Uros of Lake Titicaca (Peru) are an indigenous group that lives on artificial, floating islands made out of reeds. These islands are easily moved, either by forces of nature or by choice of their inhabitants. Their mobile character results in highly flexible territorial practices among the Uros. Changing social relations among them are reflected in a continuous merging and scission of islands. For example, the Uros usually solve serious conflicts within an island by cutting it into pieces in order to separate the fighting factions. The objective of this paper is twofold. First, it analyses the implications of mobile space for both social organisation and processes of territorialisation among the Uros. Second, it explores how current patterns of territorialisation have resulted from the application of traditional responses by the Uros to the challenges posed by the contemporary processes of tourism development, environmental management and bureaucratisation. These responses have significantly increased the volatility of their social and territorial arrangements, in spite of many external efforts directed at the "fixing" of the Uros and their islands.

The Politics of Mobility: Ideology and Instrumentality

Fabian Frenzel, Leeds Metropolitan University (f.frenzel@leedsmet.ac.uk)

Metaphors of movement are ubiquitous in the language of politics and the relation of mobility and stasis is a central symbolic theme of political theory. In recent years critical political theory has extensively employed concepts of mobility and mobile subjects to theorise resistance against neoliberal globalisation. At the same time affirmative notions of mobility were equally central to neoliberal ideology that has elaborated the rejection of national borders to international trade in the name of globalisation. Mobility in neoliberal ideology is moreover a normative injunction for the individual, expected to possess international experience or flexibility to move.

While ideologies of mobility remain ambiguous to say the least, the ethnographic study of the use of mobility in political practices might offer a more grounded approach to discuss the politics of mobility. In the realm of collective action, from demonstrations to protest camps, from rallies to blockades, mobilities are techniques of protest, instrumental to campaigns and to symbolic and direct interventions.

Drawing from fieldwork in political encampments like the Camp for Climate Action and other Protest Camps this paper interrogates in particular the political mobilities of the camp.

Mobile Culture and Immobile Anthropology: Towards an Anthropology of the Roads and Flows

Dimitrios Dalakoglou, University College, London (purityanddanger@gmail.com)

Roads are one of the earliest types of material culture: they appear in any given historical period, but they have been relatively underestimated in anthropology. Roads provide a unique entry point into the study of spatial mobility, being on the

one hand the very means and mode of both objects and person flows and yet often in themselves materially static, some even following on Roman lines. In spite of their various interesting aspects they are remarkably neglected by anthropologists. My paper examines theoretically the epistemology behind this neglect. Beginning from the works of classical anthropologists, analyses the framework of the old anti-road and anti-mobile anthropology which is not sustainable today. It suggests the study of roads and motion in anthropology as an alternative paradigm to understand the dialectic and dynamic character of culture - including material culture in a time when human condition is increasingly diverse, mobile and transnationally formed.

Towards a Phenomenology of Flying

Holly Cole, University of Melbourne (h.cole@pgrad.unimelb.edu.au)

Illumination of the isomorphism of place, identity and culture in traditional anthropology has spawned a myriad of theoretical perspectives and methodological practices - from network theory to multi-sited ethnography - that represent a world in/of movement. These, in turn, threaten to recast the discipline as a nomadology. Ethnographically, this paper focuses on the experiences of international aircrew, a profession characterised by heightened ambivalence, spatially between extreme geographic mobility and physical incarceration, and inter-personally in intense fleeting attachments. Working from Foucauldian thought and Csordasian phenomenology, the paper calls for the study of the body and embodiment as a site and perspective respectively for understanding the ambivalence of this particular experience and anthropology's own ambivalent relationship with movement and fixity.

Travelling through Mobilities

Mišela Mavrič, Lancaster University (m.mavric@lancaster.ac.uk)

This paper aims to explore the new mobilities paradigm (Urry, 2007) in the context of tourism, in particular, new ways of understanding and researching tourism through mobilities lens. I argue that the mobilities paradigm enables us to understand tourism holistically and offers a new range of possibilities for field research. The paper first outlines the ways of understanding tourism as a mobile phenomenon existing through the imaginative, virtual, corporeal, communicative travel and travel of objects. Further it presents these features in three cases of tourists who differ in their travelling and dwelling. I suggest such differences derive from diverse connectivity and networks tourists have or create with the place of visit. Lastly, I discuss new methods for research, in particular written and video diary that enables us to follow the movement and experiences of mobile people. This paper presents work in progress as a part of a doctoral research project conducted with British tourists in Slovenia.

"Co-Opportunistic" Mobility: Experiencing Social Housing in London

Patrick Laviolette, Massey University (p.laviolette@massey.ac.nz)

This paper explores the dynamics of temporary urban residency. It looks at the relationships between domesticity, mobility and improvisational housing - all relevant to Britain's housing crisis. The paper empirically tackles the issue of transient co-operative residency from a perspective grounded in auto-biographical anthropology. Hence, I offer a reflexive ethnographic description of "short-life" co-op living based on a five year account of managing vacant properties that await refurbishment or re-development by two major Charitable Housing Trusts based in West London. In

questioning how tenants deal with the constant threat of having to move, I ask how members of a short-life housing co-op create their own sense of self and stability through a temporary form of accommodation. My goal is thus to investigate how these co-op tenants appropriate space, relocate themselves and cope with transient domestic alienability. In so doing, I examine how they perform their senses of belonging through moving and short-term habitation. Here, the members are domestic bricoleurs and most of them become masters of movement. The creative formulation of individual and community identities are central to the wider understanding and implications of residential instability, alternative lifestyles and the general underlying ethos of co-operative organisations.

The Tensions between Mobility and Stasis in Two Contexts of Super-Diversity

Karen O'Reilly, Loughborough University (k.oreilly@lboro.ac.uk)

This paper is particularly interested in the tensions between mobility, on the one hand, and social stability, on the other. It seems to me that, while discourses of mobility, transnationalism, postmodernism, global communities, non-fixity, and the lack of importance of locality proliferate in the academic literature, the rhetoric of modernity - of place, community, inequality, and social cohesion - persists in popular discourse, and the discourse of state policies and voluntary groups. Modernist models of the nation, locality, and community still also resonate with people's daily lives. There is thus an ambivalence in cultural messages about community and contradictions and tensions that are felt and have to be managed day by day. I have undertaken long-term ethnographic fieldwork with European migrants in Spain, and have recently started a new project: a community study of a small town in the East Midlands, which explores the concept of community in the context of super-diversity. In Spain, fixed notions of nation, ethnic group, immigrant, and tourist impact on policies designed to manage fluid mobile practices. In Shepshed, locals yearn for the return of old-style community, for supermarkets and shops, while policy-makers advise locals how they can embrace change, learn to be a successful dormitory town, and appeal to middle-class incomers whose hearts may be elsewhere. I would like to draw on the ethnographic data from these studies to theoretically examine the usefulness of the concept of mobility for those who live in its shadow.

Living on Constantly Transfer

Ida Wentzel Winther, Århus University (idwi@dpu.dk)

There are many homes and ways "to home" oneself. Many of us quite often dwell in other places than at home (as professional commuters between two places, as travellers staying in hotels, as children from divorced families living one week with mom and one week with dad). In these movements and settings we spend much time, perhaps we even (have to learn how to) "home oneself". We use different strategies in order to achieve the necessary atmosphere and create a "homely" feeling and a certain sense of belonging. Often we use sounds, smells, material objects, personal signs and other tactile elements to transform the place. In my research and fieldwork I follow different commuters from "home 1" to "home 2", and observe how they do this kind of mobility, the concrete transfer and movement, how they pack and unpack, how they connect themselves back home through Internet (mail and Facebook) and mobile phone and Skype. As a cultural phenomenologist I might claim that a transition from "home-out-home" to "home-home-home" takes place.

Rethinking Panopticism: Biometric Security, Surveillance and the State

Mark Maguire, Stanford University/National University of Ireland (Mark.H.Maguire@nuim.ie)

Foucault's treatment of Bentham's panopticon model conjures an image of the bowed inmate, both subject to and object of the ocular tyranny of a disciplinary society. How far can this visual model of social control go towards explaining new forms of security and control? This paper explores examples of biometric security deployments in the USA and Europe - "smart" borders, new technical assemblages, private security spaces, and new State-led configurations of citizenship and mobility - to argue that the visual is being significantly refocused.
I will briefly trace the rise of biometrics in the 19th century, outline the range of contemporary deployments and examine how new assemblages are being used to securitise mobility. Central to the argument in the paper is the notion of the so-called "data double", a figure that is tracked, secured and visualised through novel ways of seeing. Theoretically, I will also argue that rather than focus on the panoptic model one may reread Foucault for insights into how security and bio-power intersect around the challenge of "seeing" population mobility.

"Morocco is a prison!" Culture of Migration and Imaginary Mobility among Young Moroccans

Carlo Capello, University of Turin (carlo.capello@unito.it)

The purpose of this paper is to describe and analyse the imaginary mobility and the culture of migration widespread among the young inhabitants of the two Moroccan cities of Casablanca and Khouribga, strongly marked by transnational mobility.
This culture of migration emerged as a response to a local situation made up of strong class inequalities and a general lack of opportunities, especially felt by the young, which perceive such predicament as an existential imprisonment. Morocco is a prison for the young Moroccans of the subaltern class. Emigration is for them the only way towards social and economic opportunities. Transnational mobility is the only, hard and hazardous way towards upwards social mobility.
For this reason, emigration is highly valued, migration projects are widespread in the local population and nearly everyone has kinsfolk or friends abroad, in Italy or elsewhere in Europe. That's why we can talk of a culture of migration, whose most interesting side is the collective imaginary of migration. Foreign countries, Italy for example, become imaginary worlds, a Foucaultian heterotopia for the migrants-to-be, an imaginary screen on which to cast their frustrated desires and needs.
However, while the culture of migration is so widespread, only a minority of potential migrants is actually able to leave, because of the transnational migratory policies. For many people the desire for mobility is just that: a desire, a dream. From this point of view, too, Morocco is for many young people a prison from which it is difficult to escape.

Mobile Perspectives/Perspectives on Mobility: Anthropological Entanglements with Competing Contexts

Elitza Ranova, Rice University (eranova@rice.edu)

This paper examines the potential of "mobility" as a concept to provoke a reflexive examination of anthropologists' relation to native explanatory frameworks. I approach this question through the study of a segment of Bulgarian artists and culture producers,

who claim to cultivate "European" tastes and ways of life. They interpret their work as a vehicle for the travel of styles and ideas originating abroad. Because an imagined "Europe" is frequently understood to be a source of authority and innovation, this strategic use of "mobility" allows the culture producers to seek prestige and high social status. In response, members of the Bulgarian public may choose to support or dispute the assertion of "mobility" and the associated power claim. At the international level, we will find that "mobility" as an explanatory framework produces an effect of disempowerment. Since movement implies transversing distance and suggests a time-lag, it places the Bulgarian culture producers temporally behind "European" centres of cultural innovation. The term fails to account for the complexities of a local creative process, which produces original work through citation of foreign models in the context of specifically post-socialist sentiments. To sum up, "mobility" reveals the existence of competing perspectives on three levels: individual agents, nation and international setting. This paper theorises "mobility" as a concept that allows anthropologists to examine competing perspectives without adopting them and to ask, what is the significance of anthropological alignment with each? How does "mobility" implicate anthropologists in the critique or reproduction of power relations at multiple levels?

IW02

Rethinking the Body: Biotechnology and Sociality

Convenors: **Susan Whyte, University of Copenhagen (susan.reynolds.whyte@anthro.ku.dk)**
Sahra Gibbon, University College, London (s.gibbon@ucl.ac.uk)

28 August 2008, 09:00
Room: R1

The experience, perception and practice of the body can be deeply affected by biotechnology, as much recent research has shown. Sociality itself may take on new forms based on diagnostic, therapeutic, and rehabilitative technology. But does it? And for whom? In this panel we invite researchers working in a variety of settings in the Global North and South to explore the bodily and social consequences of biotechnology. The main focus is on diagnostic technology: genetic testing, antenatal screening, tests for the whole range of infectious and non-communicable diseases, as well as measurements of health status through weight, BMI, and standardised scales. To what extent is authoritative knowledge from such mechanisms incorporated and what are the dynamic processes through which it comes to make a difference... or not...for bodies, selves, subjectivities, identities, and sociality? We invite papers that highlight processes of transformation, resistance and also the gaps between technology, identity or sociality and the body. We also encourage a comparative perspective that considers inequalities in access and differences in life conditions.

"Checking the Askaries (Guards) of my Body": Testing for HIV and Living with CD4 Counts and Viral Loads in Uganda

Lotte Meinert, Århus University (lotte.meinert@hum.au.dk)

With HIV and its diagnostic technology came new forms of socialities in Uganda during the 80s and 90s. Positive people attempted in various ways to cope with the uncertainties of a certain death. Some joined self-help groups based on open and "positive living". Others chose careful ways of living and loving with shared

but unsaid knowledge of their HIV status. Around 2005 Antiretroviral treatment ART became widely available in Uganda and many people have since then returned to lives with hopes and plans for the future and social relationships. Their new life has, however, also brought a new range of uncertainties and vulnerabilities, stemming from the certainty with which the diagnostic technologies of monitoring antiretroviral treatment proclaim the status of a person's life. People now talk about their bodies, their general well-being and their futures in terms of viral loads and CD4 counts which they carefully monitor, rejoice over or worry about. They no longer think of themselves as heading towards a certain death, but as being on a path of uncertain survival. The paper is based on a study on Ugandans living on ART carried out by a team of researchers from Ugandan and Denmark from 2005-2007. In addition we draw upon our long-term experience with HIV/AIDS in Uganda.

"My Baby is Killed when I Breastfeed": Challenges of Selves and Sociality in a Context of Mother to Child Transmission of HIV in East Africa

Astrid Blystad, University of Bergen (astrid.blystad@isf.uib.no)
Karen Marie Moland, University of Bergen (karen.moland@cih.uib.no)

The paper focuses on the adverse effects on subjectivities and sociality instigated by "mother to child transmission of HIV" (PMTCT) programmes that are currently being launched globally to prevent infants from becoming HIV infected during pregnancy, birth and breastfeeding. With the "opt out" approach increasingly implemented in HIV testing, vast numbers of HIV positive mothers today live with a known HIV+ status without an experienced ability to prevent the virus from spreading to their babies. None of the infant feeding options promoted through the programs - exclusive breastfeeding and exclusive replacement feeding - emerge as realistic alternatives for the large majority of HIV positive women; only a small minority can afford infant formula products, and exclusive breastfeeding has in many PMTCT programs increasingly emerged as the feeding option of poor women who have to breastfeed and "let their babies die", as informants put it. Cherished moments of nurture and warmth are transformed to scenarios where mothers who hate their bodies, sometimes to the point of throwing up, breastfeed their infants with a sense of feeding them a poisonous liquid. The paper discusses the frightful alterations in perceptions of body and self produced through PMTCT programs, transformations that generate inconceivable suffering in a most vulnerable group, and simultaneously threaten vital gains in global breastfeeding promotion. The material was collected through interviews with HIV positive mothers and nurse counsellors in Ethiopia and Tanzania between 2004-2006. The methodological backdrop is five years of ethnographic fieldwork in East Africa.

Embodied Biographies of Heritable Breast Cancer Risk: (Re)Making the Female Body amidst Medical, Religious and Social Discourses

Eirini Kampriani, University College, London (e.kampriani@ucl.ac.uk)

This paper explores the implications of cultural articulations of heritable disease and predictive genetics, in the case of breast cancer, and the extent to which authoritative knowledge and institutional practices necessarily impose "novel" ways of thinking about the female body. Drawing on the particularities of the ethnographic context of Northern Greece, in a rural area and among a so-called socio-economically disadvantaged population, I intend to show how developments in the field of breast cancer prevention and prediction are interwoven with the challenges and possibilities of the modernisation and secularisation processes. Notions of "control" of

or "protection" from "inherited suffering" are put to work in the medical and religious domains, through a renewed repertoire on pre-existing meaning-systems that highlights often contrasting aspects of collectivity and individuality and renders the individual/family body a contested ground. For women with high-risk family history of breast cancer, the moral and social prerequisites of these modes of embodiment are not always readily accepted or easily fulfilled. An understanding of embodied breast cancer risk as a family heritage, where biology and a person's social biography meet, integrates the potential of both suffering and power for the female subject but also the possibility of subversion.

Living and Working in Spite of Antiretroviral Therapies: HIV between Control and Resistance

Matteo Carlo Alcano, Università degli Studi di Milano-Bicocca (matteo_alcano@hotmail.com)

Biomedical discourse has progressively come to redefine HIV as a chronic disease, and HIV-positive individuals as chronic patients. Antiretroviral therapies work as a clinical device to control and "chronicise" the pathology. Monthly blood tests, CD4+ T cell counts and oscillations in viral load indicate the stage of infection, determinate treatment, and reveal patients' adherence to therapies, ultimately redefining individuals as mere clinical data. Antiretroviral therapies, however, are extremely invasive: their posology shatters the individual's local world and forces a redefinition of the self, of one's possibilities and priorities, thus greatly influencing drug consumption and adherence to treatment. In this sense we may speak of local strategies of resistance or, as I will suggest, of local "rituals of resistance" which are performed by HIV-positive individuals in the attempt to negotiate their role of patients within the limits of the biomedical discourse.
Drawing upon fieldwork research conducted in Milan, Italy, in 2007 and 2008, I intend to explore the sociality of antiretroviral drugs, from their prescription to their consumption, in the attempt to show how HIV emerges as a culturally constructed experience through a specific use of biomedical technologies. I will focus on the case study of Italian construction workers as they are engaged in a constant and strategic process of negotiation of their adherence to therapy, which is influenced by the importance and need of "being able to go to work", as well as shaped by the need to "feel good and strong when going to work", as many patients have claimed. HIV will then be analysed as a social construction, as what originates from the interplay of biomedical categories and the more intimate meanings that patients attach to the ideas of "work", "strength", "energy" and "health".
Therapy adherence will ultimately shed light on local forms of social suffering.

Sonographic Images of Anomalous Fetal Bodies: Tracing Cultural Mediations

Tine Gammeltoft, University of Copenhagen (tine.gammeltoft@anthro.ku.dk)

On the basis of ethnographic fieldwork carried out in Vietnam's capital Hanoi from 2003 to 2006, I explore how pregnant women and their health care providers interpret 3D scanning images of children-to-be. I focus particularly on images of fetuses that are medically graded as "abnormal", tracing the meanings that people attach to visual representations of anomalous fetal bodies and examining the complex ways

in which perceptions of such sonographic images are mediated by other images: by mass mediated representations of bodies grossly disfigured by "Agent Orange", the highly toxic herbicide dioxin sprayed by U.S. military during the second Indochina war, and by glossy commercial advertisements for baby and child products aimed at an expanding group of middle class consumers. I show how health care providers and pregnant women act on the medical "facts" produced by sonographies through imaginative engagements with fantasy worlds conjured by such powerful mass mediated representations, and discuss the implications of such engagements between "fact" and "fantasy" for anthropological apprehension of the social impact of new biomedical technologies.

The "Bio-Social" Dynamics of Breast Cancer Genetics: Comparisons between the UK and Cuba

Sahra Gibbon, University College, London (s.gibbon@ucl.ac.uk)

It is becoming increasingly clear that there are important differences in the space and shape of the "biosocialities" in and between national and trans-national arenas. These differences relate, in part, to the scope (and limits) of technological intervention, the organisation of state health care or research resources, the presence (or absence) of a culture of health care activism and the specific history and character of citizenship. Drawing from past and current research in the UK and Cuba this paper presents a comparative perspective on the dynamics between biology and sociality in relation to the field of "breast cancer genetics". Focusing on the pursuit, use and application of genetic knowledge and technology linked to breast cancer, the paper critically examines the continuities and discontinuities between these two national contexts. It shows how understanding these differences have consequences for theorising and conceptualising the meeting point between genomics, identity and citizenship.

The Patrimonialisation of DNA: Becoming an Imagined Genetic Community in Southern Italy

Valeria Trupiano, University Istituto Orientale di Napoli (valeria.trupiano@gmail.com)

The "Genetic Park of Cilento and Vallo di Diano" is a genetic research study on "isolated human populations" in Southern Italy. The research project aims at finding relations between some diseases and genes by cross-referencing genealogical, medical and genetic data. To do so, scientists seek to actively involve local populations and institutions.

Scientists are carrying out medical and marketing activities on field and, by doing so, are producing a "imagined genetic community" which is interpreted and used by populations in a peculiar way. Medical examinations, genealogical researches, DNA analysis, scientific results, public meetings, local members, scientists on field and articles on newspapers are all now to be interpreted more and more as a local collective heritage. The scientific project itself is being addressed by locals as the central part of a new representation of communities where people speak about their selves from a "genetic perspective". Using my fieldwork data collected in 2006-2007 I will describe the building process of this new form of collective identity.

Transplant Anxieties: Discourses about Bone Marrow/Haematopoietic Stem Cell Transplantation

Emily Avera, University of Cape Town (emily_avera@yahoo.com)

This research examines discourses and practises in the Bone Marrow Transplant (BMT) network in South Africa, as observed in Cape Town: South African Bone Marrow Registry (SABMR), Sunflower Fund (SFF) and transplant centres, analysed in concert with accounts from patients, donors, and family members who interact with this network. A prominent discourse is a suite of assertions articulated in the BMT network:
1. Genetically inherited HLA (Human Leukocyte Antigen) types appear in certain ethnic populations more commonly than others.
2. Patients who cannot find an HLA match for BMT in their family are most likely to find a match in the same ethnic group.
3. Ethnic groups not well-represented on the SABMR database of HLA-typed volunteer donors lead to patients of those backgrounds having little chance of finding a match.
4. SABMR and SFF are working to increase the number so that all ethnic groups are represented on the SABMR given South Africa's unique and diverse gene pool.
This reflects a complex interweaving of biological materiality, ethnicity, culture, mortality, health resource rationing, South African nationhood, and the limits of bodily integrity and necessitates engagement with several issues: health inequalities, human rights, and the prioritisation of first and third world medicine, the meanings of race, culture, ethnicity, and nationhood in a diverse South Africa (especially given its history as a highly racialised society and its contemporary political agenda of transformation), conceptions of donor shortage, and the imperative of treatment vis-à-vis transplant technology and socio-genetic matching.

IW03

Liminal Europe

Convenors: **Ines Prica, Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research (ines@ief.hr)**
Tomislav Pletenac, University of Zagreb (tpletena@ffzg.hr)
Bojan Žikić, University of Belgrade (bzikic@f.bg.ac.yu)

28 August 2008, 14:00
Rooms: DID and 02A

The aim of the workshop is to examine the status of "liminal" Europe in recent anthropological theory. The notion, whether tacitly or overtly, acutely or chronically referring to the limits of European identity, has been working in accord with the general theoretical enhancement, but also in favour of the unified disciplinary discourse, restrictive towards the contributions of the different types of reflections and intellectual continuities. The new priorities of the post-1989 world have made the unilateral character of main-stream anthropology palpable, as it has been faced with the multiple ethnological practices on its post-socialist terrain, unfamiliar and outlandish whereas implanted in beaten and deserted intellectual and professional traditions. Together with the alarmed plea for the integrative, and admistratively tamable anthropology, it has created a professional atmosphere of post-colonial odour, with the liminal practices never enough attuned to the core, which is announcing the lack of anthropological imagination within itself. Here, we will consider the problem in a most open manner, display the misunderstandings and malpractices from "both

sides of liminality" and from without the gloomy perspectives of the new hierarchy of knowledge. How can we differentiate the experiental and purely practical aspects of the mutual (mis)apprehension, from its epistemological, intellectual and academic background? At what point are the differences harmlessly dismissive and under which conditions, however, the semi-autonomous, auto-reflexive and localised practices work more productively for the cognitive and ethical value of European anthropology?

Neglected Interdisciplinarities: The Balkans, Gender, and Historical Anthropology

Svetlana Slapšak, Ljubljana Graduate School of Humanities (svetlanaslapsak@yahoo.com)

"Hyper-colonial" is used to describe and define colonial stereotypes and narratives in academic discourse, used for cultures and regions which did not have a traditional colonial rule, but have been treated as colonial: different in status due to the European quest for Ancient Greece (and colonialism inflicted on Modern Greece), the Balkans were the object of a special academic interest, formulated as "balkanology": a discipline interdisciplinary by definition. Where does it stand today, what impact have Gender Studies had, how interdisciplinarity is performed, within which theoretical frameworks? Hyper-colonial, especially visible and present in the new interest for the region's anthropology of gender, is first historicised, then deconstructed in the paper. The neglected model of RIEB is revised and reflected in the light of new possibilities for interdisciplinarity.

Writing Europe: The Dialogue of "Liminal Europeans"

Máiréad Nic Craith, University of Ulster (m.niccraith@ulster.ac.uk)

In his Dialogic Imagination Mikhail Bakhtin focuses on the dialogic and the "monologic" process of literature. He suggests that a dialogic work is engaged in a continual dialogue with other pieces of writing. It is not simply that one literary work responds to previous publications, but it also engages with and is informed by previous endeavours. This presentation focuses on the writings of what are called "liminal Europeans" i.e. migrants who have transferred from one cultural context to another and who have experienced the challenge of living in a dominant culture and language which is not native to them. Migration has been a regular feature in Europe since before the Romans. However an acceleration of this process in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries has resulted in the breaking down of old affinities and alignments and the emergence of new formations that challenge traditional group definitions. Many Europeans experience strong senses of exclusion from the mainstream society to which they have migrated. Some have explored this challenge of liminality in writing. The presentation focuses on auto/ethnographies that have been penned in a liminal context with particular reference to the concept of Europe. How do migrants translate their own memories and stories from one region of Europe into a new cultural setting? What is the composite picture of Europe that is created in these migrant writings and how significant is the experience of liminality?

A Man Can Die but Thrice: Anthropology of Death through Lacan

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In accordance with the Lacanian triad, the paper will deconstruct death as a three-

fold philosophical model which in cultural reality takes shape of logical sequence of metaphysical, physical and ritual events. On the level of the Imaginary, we are dealing with phantasmatic, deceptive universe of images of wholeness which support our existence, (culturally specific) images of coherence, i.e. the concept, the idea of life. On the level of the Symbolic, we are faced with the differential structure which organises our experience of meaning and designates our social relations, i.e. the meaning of life, the subject's suture to the idea of life. The Real is to be understood as the traumatic reminder that resists symbolisation, i.e. life devoid of any idea, sense or meaning of life.
Within this framework, the paper will analyse the (cultural) necessity of death/dying being perceived as a sequence of Imaginary - Real - Symbolic (separation - transition - reincorporation), whereby the Imaginary can be defined retroactively, but always placed at the beginning, and the Symbolic should not precede the Real. If this course of logic is disrupted, inversed, lacking either the boundaries or even one of the features, the subject that caused it would necessitate attribution of special social status and be deemed "ritually unclean", in Freud's term Uncanny. By the same token, those who experience the Symbolic death prior to Real(ly) dying, such as Aghoris among Hindus or Janez Drnovšek, can come to embody the very concept of life itself, support the Imaginary level of living.

Remembering Socialism and Post-Socialising the West

Tomislav Pletenac, Faculty of Philosophy (tpletena@ffzg.hr)

The concept of transition through which societies that came into existence after the fall of the Berlin wall were attempted to be categorised, is not entirely new. It has been established as an additional product of "planetary consciousness" (Louise Pratt) and described in terms of the registry that Bhabha calls "almost-but-not-quite". Following Bhabha's arguments, transition remains the permanent condition of the colonial subject which has to represent a justification for its very existence. In case of postsocialism it firmly tries to deduct the core of the socialist, transforming it into a potentially threatening slippage. In these circumstances liminal anthropology (better known as ethnology) is doubly inscribed into the discourse of postsocialist anthropology: as a lagging discourse of cultural analytics, but also as a possible source of material on socialism. By this ethnology also acquires the identical threatening quality - in Žižek's terminology, it becomes a symptom. Changing the analytical situation, the symptom gains new meaning. Everything becomes a possible socialist residue that legitimises the new symbolic order, but also gives a new meaning to the object (socialism). In this gap it is difficult to decide whether the nativity of the socialist subject clad in ethnological discourse with a burden of postcolonial formation remains the symptom or the active substance of the new symbolic order's redefinition. Didn't the West inevitably change in the course of the rupture of the old East/West order, becoming the postsocialist First that will understand its novelty later - through the falsity of its own position?

Dis-Closing Encounters: European Public Space, Cultural Diversity, and the Slovenian EU Presidency

Ksenija Vidmar-Horvat, University of Ljubljana (ksenija.vidmar@ff.uni-lj.si)

This presentation will focus on the Slovenian EU presidency in the first half of 2008. The analysis will concentrate on three areas in which the presidency has left its most immediate imprint: domestic political arena, public sphere and the national news

media. In addition, the paper will also summarise the results of the field research on the implementation of the European year of intercultural dialogue in Slovenia. The main objective of the analysis is to critically reflect on the EU presidency and its potential to act, in the limited time frame, as a motor of enhancing European citizenship and the formation of the European public sphere within the local national environment of a member state. Although the research is bound by very specific circumstances of the EU presidency by one member state, the analysis aims to provide critical insights into broader processes of Europeanisation. The main argument therefore will be that although governed by political elites, the close encounters with "Europe" generated during the presidency nonetheless open up the space to examine potentials to create critical, post-national and cosmopolitan European public sphere that challenge the governing paradigms of identity and belonging.

South by Southeast: Inquiries into Identity Shift in Relation to Europe

Srdjan Radović, Ethnograpic Institute of the SASA (Etnografski insitut SANU) (srdjan@europe.com)

Newly recycled dichotomy between Western and Eastern Europe, recently reproduced through symbolic difference between "Old" and "New" Europe, is not significantly prominent in discourses in transitional Serbia. Research into cultural conceptualisation of relation of Serbia and Europe among Serbian university and high-school students indicates a more prominent differentiation through lines South-North rather than West-East: more precisely, perceived notions about the West are transferred to the symbolic geographical notion of the North which encompasses most of the European countries. Previously evaluated (in 1990s) cultural affiliation of the same social stratum towards the imagined East (with central symbolic features being Greek-Orthodoxy and belonging to Slavic-speaking "world") deteriorates, while symbolic aligning with countries of the European "South", in the first place surrounding countries of the South-East, gains ground. At the same time, informants exhibit opposition to the prevalent East-West differentiation, by both rejecting inclusion in the imagined Eastern Europe, and association with previously present notion of "spiritual" and "non-materialist" East, while expressing cultural closeness to once, more or less, hostilely perceived countries from the region - presumed cultural and symbolic intimacy with neighbouring nations frequently indicates interiorisation of once rejected balkanist/ orientalist perceptions of the region and/or Serbia, often through commercial narratives. Identity strategies, sometimes explicated as rejection of "others'" notion about one's identity, often display, through context, clear awareness of the "western" gaze, to which an alternative "Periphery-turned-Center" strategy is present in self-representation, through means and notions perceived as alternative, but essentially adopting " others'" expectations and colonial discursive strategies.

Local Community on the "Peripheries of Europe": Between Sociology and Anthropology

Agnieszka Chwieduk, Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology (agach@amu.edu.pl)

The workings of local (small) communities in the "unifing Europe" can be viewed from the angle of the "centre" and "peripheries". The latter should be understood in the context of the post-communist Europe showing, as discussed in professional literature, a multi-layer backwardness compared to Western Europe. On the other hand, the peripheries are affected by a specific type of "distance" between their communities

and various centres of decision, also including those expected to be carriers of social and cultural norms and union standards. Such a "Europe of cultural peripheries" brings on questions about the nature of reception, in those communities, of a changing reality within the European Union.
In order to answer this question, extensive field research is required, the starting point of which should be a new definition of the notion of "local community". Polish scientific literature in the field of social sciences offers various interpretations of the notion of local community. The reading reveals dissimilar conceptualisations of the notion in the area of sociology and ethnology/anthropology. The purpose of the paper would thus be a comparative analysis of the notions. What deserves particular notice here is the role of ethnology/anthropology (methodology and methods) in diagnosing the life of this type of community.

Heroic Past versus Un-Heroic Present: The Politics of Memory and its Discontent

Sanja Potkonjak, University of Zagreb (spotkonj@ffzg.hr)

This paper aims at exploring how past became a central issue in the construction of the present of the post-socialist Croatia. By analysing the case of the main square in the town of Sisak, Croatia, which has been undergoing substantial changes due to the changed political climate in 1990's, the paper surveys public narratives, administrative practices and decisions, as well as art projects as mediators of identity-building through the memorisation strategies. It follows a research conducted in the town of Sisak during the last two years and the narratives of the past/future employed after the collapse of socialism which were developed in the reconstruction of the urban landscapes of the town. The paper seeks to answer a research question: who are the "curators" of social and cultural memory? Which discourses of the past are in denial and which are emergent? Is the past the only thing that articulates the present, owns the present and provides an authoritative and prevailing voice in construction of the present?
By showing how undergoing art projects oppose collective and administrative endeavours of memorisation of place, the paper hopes to enlighten the ways in which "self-affirming" and oppositional tradition is constructed in a new political context via the discourse of diversity.

Diversity and Language Liminality

Anita Sujoldžić, Institute for Anthropological Research (anita@inantro.hr)

Much of the linguistic or sociolinguistic work on language still comes from within the discourse tied to the Herderian view that language, identity, community and/or nation are inextricably linked. Along with these "naturalised" assumptions which often frame language policy, language is culturally constructed as liminality, a bounded, countable entity, which does not confront complex histories and issues of mixture and hybridity. Backed up by widespread standardisation ideology the liminal concept of multilingualism has hegemonic effects on language users excluding numerous non-standardised varieties or variable and partial proficiencies in multiple languages. The opposing political implications are manifested by both horizontal (e.g. diasporisation, regionalisation, and nationalisation) and vertical polarisations (elites/non-elites) that reflect relationships of power and unequal position of various groups in Europe. The resulting tensions emerge at supranational level e.g. in desire to protect Europe's linguistic heritage (more than 40 native languages), in spite of the fact that most-

spoken first foreign language in Europe is English, and that various immigrant groups' languages are not protected by national policies. At the national level, along with the tension between monolingual state and multilingual European ideal, the homogenising standardisation ideology at the same time produces vertical, structural heterogeneity. The paper examines how at the regional level the articulations of these different discourses are reflected on scientific knowledge, language policy and commonsense knowledge of people living on the "border" of Europe in the liminal zone of Istria, through processes of both vertical and horizontal polarisation, mediated by cultural legacies, economic factors and language proficiencies.

"Europeanisation" in Istria: Differences between Official and Private Discourse

Olga Orlić, Institute for Anthropological Research (olja@inantro.hr)

Since 1970s the idea of the "European identity" has become one of the most important concerns for the politicians and bureaucrats of the European Community. But the European Union (EU) policy makers are not the only ones involved in the processes of the European identity construction. Since the membership in EU is achieved by a process of inclusion/integration, there are still enough "excluded" countries like Croatia, who are almost desperately trying to enter EU. Throughout the various discourses that emerged on the Croatian political scene and in the Croatian media (TV, radio, newspapers, and Internet sites) in the last two decades, the aspiration to enter into the EU has been presented as the Croatian national goal. One of the strategies Croatia is employing in this process is public discourse about "belonging to Europe" and "being Europe". In Istria County, the Croatian region bordering Slovenia and Italy, the official discourses of Europeism are parallel with the strong regionalism. In this Istrian "Europeanisation process" the discourses of multiculturalism (similar to the European motto: "Unity in diversity") and of co-existence have important roles. But, this co-existence is perceived mainly in relation to the Croats and Italians. There are numerous "other", rather "new" minorities (Bosnians, Albanians etc.) who are, although nominally included, often excluded from these discourses. In this paper, based on the field research carried out in Istria in May 2007 (as a part of LINEE project), I try to show the variety of attitudes toward contemporary processes of Europeanisation in Istria.

"In Spain I am Like Everyone Else - Simply a Bulgarian Immigrant": The Flexibilisation of Identification and the Double-Naming Strategy of Bulgarian Muslims in Spain

Neda Deneva, Central European University (deneva_neda@phd.ceu.hu)

The focus of my research is the complex relationship which Bulgarian Muslims engaged in transnational migration have developed with the two states in which they are simultaneously embedded - Bulgaria and Spain. More particularly, I focus on the interactions and crossing points between official state-proposed, imposed, institutionalised categorisations and the everyday enactments, appropriations, re-interpretations and evasions of such categorisations by Bulgarian Muslim migrants. In Bulgaria, they are positioned on the margins of the state socially, economically, and politically, being simultaneously excluded and included in the nation-state project, living in an economically underdeveloped region, and not having political representation. In Spain, they have to negotiate their position of labour migrants, Muslims and EU citizens simultaneously.

Based on my field research, I argue that migration is conceived by the Bulgarian

Muslims migrants as an empowering mechanism which allows them to circumvent the Bulgarian state categorisations and other ethnic and social groups marginalising definitions. In Spain they are able to reinvent themselves and choose other labels to which to subscribe. While keeping their Muslims names and Muslim identification for the internal village community which is reproduced in Spain, they present themselves to the outside world, both institutional and social, with their alternative Bulgarian names and their Bulgarian citizenship. Consequently, while sustaining and reproducing the village community migrants more and more differentiate themselves from the group of other Bulgarian Muslims through this duality. By downplaying their Muslimness they offer their Bulgarian nationality and European citizenship as a distinctive marker of their group identity.

IW04

Ethically Sensitive Researches in Anthropology

Convenor: **Mojca Ramšak, Center for Biographic Research (mojca.ramsak@guest.arnes.si)**
Chair: **Mojca Ramšak**

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 102

Welfare, respect for the dignity and rights of participants, avoiding harm, doing justice, confidentiality, informed consent, anonymisation, became standards for scientific quality in all aspects of the research process. Nevertheless we can find many dilemmas in weighing the risks and benefits. Specific research topic can require specific ethical sensitiveness and finding right solutions to ethical dilemmas. Ethical sensitiveness is essential to legitimate research, especially qualitative research. The workshop intend to present cases of good practice, tensions between the search for new or better knowledge, which is regarded as a social good or benefit, and different rights of individuals and groups.

Face to Face behind Bars: Ethical Fragilities in the Researcher - Prisoner Relationship in a Greek Prison for Women

Demeli Panayota - Toulina, University of the Aegean (p.demeli@sa.aegean.gr)

This presentation is based on my experiences with interviewing incarcerated mothers in a Greek prison. During the 18 months of the research, I encountered a series of fragile ethical issues concerning my identity as an anthropologist and researcher, the protection of their anonymity, inequalities in the researcher - prisoner relationship, the emergence of friendship. Allowing the women to believe that I was a prison psychologist or legal consultant, their initial explanation for my visits, might have conveniently conveyed the idea that their discussions with me were protected by a therapist-patient or lawyer-client code of confidentiality and would not be revealed to other prisoners. The ethical impropriety of this arrangement is obvious; however, in persisting to identify myself as "only" a researcher meant that new avenues to trust needed to be created and that when (and if) their life stories were revealed, it was not in exchange for therapy or advice. The resulting imbalance in our relationship was yet another ethical concern, but was alleviated by other reciprocities, for example, bonds of trust, mutual exchange of thoughts and moments of intersubjectivity.

These attributes of "enduring friendship" assist in writing about motherhood in prison; however, it is unclear what remains of the research-generated solidarity for the women who continue with their life of confinement.

Ethical Dilemmas in Ethnographying Medical Visit

Aline Sarradon-Eck, Université Paul Cézanne, Aix-Marseille (aline.sarradon@wanadoo.fr)

Based on fieldwork experiences (participant/direct-observation of medical visit), I will present several ethical issues concerning researcher's position when the fieldwork is based on observations of medical care places and practices. Particularly, I will discuss some dilemmas raised by the application of medical research's ethical principles (informed consent, protection from harm, confidentiality) to ethnography of medical care. Various dilemmas are linked to researcher's responsibility such as the following one: should s/he attempt to protect the subjects (here patients and physicians) from potential risks related to research, or scrupulously apply ethical principles for research involving human beings defined by the Declaration of Helsinki? Then, I will analyse social meanings and uses of ethical rules by authorities, which control the access to fieldwork (here the Conseil de l'Ordre des médecins). This analysis shows that their interpretations consider patients' words and clinical encounter as sacred; they protect the autonomy of medical profession; value quantitative or positivist approaches and depreciate the ethnographic method; overemphasise medical secrecy; essentialise medical ethics. The encounter with a strong biomedical professional ethic is a source of power stakes and of mutual misunderstandings. For ethnographic research, the risk is that biomedicine intrumentalise anthropology - under the cover of ethics - that therefore would limit the fields' open for ethnographic research.

Some Ethical Considerations Regarding Recruiting Subjects through Media Solicitation

Rok Podkrajšek, Psychiatric Hospital, Idrija (rok.podkrajsek@gmail.com)

The main question arose before I began the research on formerly alcohol dependent individuals, which I mostly recruited through media solicitation. As a psychologist I was obliged to use the ethical standards of the Psychological Association; working in the field of health care, I was bound to the principals of medical ethics; and conducting anthropological research on former patients and partly on non-patients, I used anthropological ethical regulations. The paper is aimed at answering three questions:

1. What would be a case of a good practice in applying different standards in research field that is seemingly regulated by different sets of ethical regulations?
2. What would be the best way to avoid risks with research participants and maximise the benefits from knowledge, produced through qualitative research?
3. What are subjective ethical considerations when volunteering in such research?

"You're the only one I will tell it to …" - Researcher in a Difficult Situation: Questions about Fieldwork Methodology

Agnieszka Poźniak, Jagiellonian University (apozniak@o2.pl)

I want to base my paper on my investigations to talk about problems which appear during fieldwork. My doctoral thesis will explore the ways in which Catholic sisters perceive their place and the role of their communities in the contemporary Poland.

Implementation of this project includes conducting the interviews, therefore my source are individual experiences and memories with all the consequences that follow. I don't want to find an objective truth. Rather, what interests me is an analysis of a subjective picture of religious communities and the role that is played by them in modern society.

The tools I use to assemble materials are narrative interviews, in other words - a kind of conversation. In my paper I wanted to share some reflections and observations about a specific character of my source, ethical and methodological problems, which a person wanting to investigate such a hermetic and difficult environment like monastic life, encounters. Interview is a special situation during which one meets humans' "thought, dreams, ideas, norms, fears and hopes" only because one permits people to talk. Therefore one should realise what kind of role the researcher plays in these circumstances, and also be aware of the factors which influence the investigation process, like: expectations of the interlocutor, personality, social positions and provenance of the dialogue partners, even the gender of the researcher. It will be the aim of my paper to share an experience and talk about mistakes, as well as what I'm concerned to be my investigative successes.

Life Stories as Research and Didactic Activity

Nejra Nuna Čengić, ISH (nejra@cps.edu.ba)

Presentation is based on personal experience of conducting biographical research within the scope of a course/training. It appears as one way of doing it (when something like that is appropriate) combining both research and educational/ didactic activity. It demands significant sensitivity and extra energy in developing positive group climate. Once when is created, participants can feel safe and warm to tell their stories. Warming up appears particularly important in doing this activity with potentially traumatised people, in this particular case peace activists from post-war setting. The important ethical concern related to unequal relation between researcher and biographer that may have significant impact on overall research is mitigate by another component of overall activity - didactic activity, transfer of knowledge, as the major benefit for participants. In this way, the process is in the same/similar scale stimulating for both sides, creating partnership relations. Certainly, the basic intentions and motivation for both sides should be clearly outlined. The relationship between researcher and participants is primarily professional that may grow into friendship, but not necessarily; it is not its primary aim.

Friendship as the Relationship between Researcher and Researchee: Ethical Doubts

Ewa Nowicka, Warsaw University (nowickar@is.uw.edu.pl)

Contemporary anthropology pays a lot of attention to the various dimensions of research process. One of the most important changes introduced by so-called reflexive turn in anthropology was underlining the complexity of mutual relations between researcher and researchee. It occurred to be no longer possible to perceive the research process as just matter of collecting necessary data. Instead, the social research - and amongst them especially the anthropological research with traditionally important role of fieldwork - became analysed from the point of interaction between two parts involved in the process, namely researcher and researchee. I am especially interested in the character of mutual relation between them; I would like to pay attention to one of the ways this relation can be shaped: the relation of friendship.

The first important question is the impact of such kind of relation on the research process. From one point of view, involving in close emotional relation can help the researcher to "get close" to the researched reality: information on researchee opinions and attitudes. From the other point, relation of friendship may cause many problems of various kinds- methodological, ethical and psychological. The ethical aspect of "using" friendship in anthropological research is my basic point of interest. I want to cope with the following questions:
- To which extent anthropologist is allowed to use data collected as friends of his/her researchee?
- How to distinguish between different roles in which the researcher is involved during a research with friendship relation - the role of a scientist and the role of a friend?

Being Sensitive and Discreet When Dealing with Honour and Good Name

Mojca Ramšak, Centre for Biographic Research (mojca.ramsak@guest.arnes.si)

The notion of honour and good name (reputation) capture those moral values, which essentially influence quality of life and human dignity. Honour is an element of human dignity. It defines prestige and reputation, therefore it's personal, but at the same time it's also social. Reputation is an indicator of honour. Representations of honour and reputation attach themselves to the functions of language and to the political, historical, economic or other meanings that connect practices and norms of social groups.
Analysis of civil and criminal lawsuits in a smaller, socially isolated village in Slovenia show the dynamics and mechanisms of protecting morality, performed through mutual social control. The main medias for harmonising were daily quarrels, gossip, libel and physical violence, which derived from the verbal offences. With these offences, villagers checked the stability of their values, especially honour and good name. Their ways of control and understanding of punishment show deeper fears, which were even more explicit, when the outside world started to break into their lives. Values, which were defended through gossip and libel, were their land or property and family, that is its' good name. Similar scandals as in my case study could occur in any setting with the same economic base or social structure, especially if the village is isolated.

Problem of Data Privacy Protection of Research Subjects

Srdjan Jančić (srdjan_jancic@yahoo.com)

Although psychoanalytic interviews are not psychoanalysis, it appears that a psychoanalytical view, manifest in the association method and in the later interpretation of the material, initiates in a research dyade a processes characteristic of a psychoanalytic situation. Ethical dilemmas are therefore those characteristic not only of a research situation, but of a psychoanalytic one.
In the example discussed at the end of the research, an issue regarding data privacy protection occurred. Despite the fact that the basic recommendations for the data privacy protection were respected, I was faced with a dilemma - whether to publish the results - and under which conditions, or to give up on their presentation.
The hypothesis is that the problem of privacy is a result of an insufficient distinction of the research / psychoanalytic context and the private (friendship) context of the meaning due to a multiple intertwining of the everyday life of the research participants (the researcher and the research subject). In the attempt to understand what can

be learned from the ethically sensitive example about the method used and the mistakes in its application, I will analyse the course of the research from its beginning to the very end. Finally - how is a researcher to write a paper without endangering a subject's privacy? The manner in which I wrote this paper presents a practical attempt to apply the recommendations which, according to my opinion, present an answer to this question.

Ethics and the Inevitability of Bias in Research on Nuclear Issues in India

Raminder Kaur, Sussex University (raminder100@hotmail.com)

I examine the ethical concerns that arose during my research on nuclear issues in the proximity of the Koodankulam Nuclear Power Plant in south India, a nuclear site that underwent construction in 2002 and is designated to be Asia's largest.
Firstly, during the course of the fieldwork, I became very wary of the nature of my relationship with "informants" who were against the plant, and who became what I would like to term friends in view of the opinions and activities we shared. In the process, I became conscious that to align too closely with them would be to raise suspicions on not only my intentions, but also their reasons for associating with me, technically an "outsider" who could undermine their authority as national citizens and even subject them to accusations of "terrorism". I account for what strategies were put in place to mitigate such excesses.
Secondly, I account for the fact, that even though I interviewed and liaised with advocates of nuclear power, it was virtually impossible to maintain a semblance of neutrality in my work on the subject of "perceptions and representations of nuclear issues in India". Despite the fact that I attempted situational analyses, symbolic interpretations and contextual understanding, personal bias was inevitable due to a combination of my a priori views on nuclear power and the knowledge acquired and experiences gained during fieldwork. I place this realisation in the long tradition that anthropology has had with marginalised communities as opposed to state-backed and corporate elites.

IW05

Local Encounters with the Global: Diversity of Anthropological Fieldwork Approaches in Globalisation Studies

Convenors: **Regina Römhild, LMU University of Munich (regina.roemhild@soziologie.uni-muenchen.de)**
Vintila Mihailescu, National School of Political and Administrative Studies (mihailescuvintila@yahoo.com)

29 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 302

The local is no more the very place of anthropological fieldwork as it used to be at the time of Malinowski and his followers. Anthropological concepts of "the local" have been fundamentally affected by "the global", perceived as "a planetary network of connected points". And, following James Ferguson, this local is affected even more - and in a more sophisticated way - by the "mondial" as world system of differences and inequalities and "place-in-the-world" of each "local" entity. The global and the mondial are in-forming each local space and social existence. The shadow of the mondial is thus present even in the most peripheral local community. Some even

conclude that, in a way, the local does not exist any more.
In fact, there seems to be a need for reconsidering, if not for overcoming, the spatially bounded concepts traditionally associated with ethnographical fieldwork. At the same time, however, it also seems that the specific focus on "the local" in anthropology is an important and diverse contribution to the interdisciplinary field of globalisation studies. To recapture the local in new terms, then, may well lead to a genuinely anthropological approach towards studying and theorising the global.
The panel is addressing the conceptual and methodological issues of this main problem of present anthropology by pinpointing the diversity of anthropological fieldwork approaches in present globalisation studies.

A "Nested" and "Perspectivistic" Way of Understanding the Global - Local Nexus

Calin Cotoi, University of Bucharest (calincotoi@yahoo.com)

This paper is mainly concerned with the methodological and theoretical problems involved in imagining and studying ethno-religious minorities in Central and Eastern Europe through an "anthropology of globalisation". I use some of Appadurai's and Comaroff and Comaroff's insights into the study of non-isomorphic global cultural flows and local autochtony movements in order to sketch a "perspectivist" and "nested" way of making sense of the dialectics of "global" and "local". The "autochthonous" ethno-religious identity can be seen, thus, not only as perspectivistic but also as "nested", in the sense that the global, national and regional are actually internal relations constituting the imagined "autochthony" of the local. The "perspectivist" way of understanding globalisation and autochthony implies the existence of an imaginary/global character of these cultural flows, strongly modulated by the political, historical and linguistic position of various social agents: nation states, multinational corporations, Diaspora communities, movements, ethnic and religious groups, villages, families etc.
The new configuration of the anthropological field of investigation, even if it radically questions the relevance of classical, spatially bounded, analytical tools, at the same time reinforces the methodological importance of the "local". The new "local" is, nevertheless, de-centred and multiplied, as the anthropological fieldwork becomes multi-sited, in a network of "local" sites that are, at the same time, externally articulated with the global and internally formed by it. This transformed "local" fieldwork needs a reworking of conceptual frameworks for theorising the global.

"Liquid Truth": How the Story of a Demolished Bedouin Village in Israel Travels around the World

Alexander Koensler, Università degli Studi di Perugia (koensler@unisi.it)

In the Israeli Negev desert, home demolitions in "unrecognised" (that is, not authorised by the government) Bedouin villages are a "hot" issue. This study tries to follow the flow of discourses, funds, and people around the very specific event of home demolition in Al-Twail. Informed by Anna L.-Tsings "ethnography of global connections" and by Complex System Theory, this study moves forth and back between a specific place and its global connections. The village of Al-Twail has been demolished seven times during my Ph.D. fieldwork last year, but has been always reconstructed. A wide range of Human Rights activities has been taken place; international journalists and politicians came to visit the place, blogs and newsletters talked about the demotions at global scale.

This is a "travelling story" about global solidarity based on systematic misunderstandings: the very place of demolitions and reconstructions is subject to different interests, desires, and realities; multiple and contradictory "truths" are negotiated. For example, in contrast to some news reports, it has never been really inhabitated.
From a methodological perspective, this approach has been possible by shifting classical assumptions about what is a "community" and what is the "field" in order to recapture the local in new terms. Consequently, the way how we understand the production of social reality is framed in different terms: the "truth" about that very place itself seems to become liquid.

Bioethics or Local Ethics: Can Anthropology Help Answer, which is More Important in the Conduct of Medical Research in Developing Countries?

Patricia Kingori, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (patricia.kingori@lshtm.ac.uk)

The ethical conduct of medical research is increasingly a subject of public debate and critical comment in the academic literature and mass media. From the literature it is possible to deduce that there are sizeable limits to the application of bioethical principles devised in developed countries and implemented in resource- constrained contexts. Whilst some have argued over the application and the practical problems of implementing particular principles e.g. gaining informed consent; there are those who have questioned the relevance of these principles, in these settings. What has been agreed upon is that medical research in resource-constrained communities, introduces particular ethical challenges.
The qualitative examination of the application of bioethical principles in the field has emphasised the need to focus on the challenges and ethical dilemmas faced at the point at which the data is collected, or produced.
I am currently undertaking a study of fieldworkers (FWs) conducting medical research in Kenya (as part of a PhD). The examination of FWs will be used as a means of elucidating the interface bioethical principles and "everyday ethics" or "micro-ethics". Exploring these issues could broaden our conception of what is "ethics", and what it means to conduct ethical research. In addition, the examination will discuss the ethics of collaboration and the challenges that arise from the international research enterprise. Such discourse has been under-represented in the bioethical debate to date and it has the potential to improve our understanding of the ethics of medical research.

Crossing Boundaries: Conversion to and within Islam in a Local Belgian and Globalising Context

Iman Lechkar, Catholic University, Leuven (iman.lechkar@soc.kuleuven.be)

The increase of Secular/Christian Belgians converting to Islam and other conversions within Islam, characterised by reinterpretations of Islam by going back to early Islamic history, present the success of (orthodox) Islam in the current globalised world. Globalisation can be considered as the concept that allows defining this changed conversion environment at the start of the twenty-first century. It accounts for the growing tension between the Western and the Islamic world.
Firstly, we will examine whether the growing success of Islam in the Global Age, is related to the ability of Islam to bridge the global/local divide, by offering the emotional bond of a local community rooted in an internally homogenising but externally differentiating socio-cultural practice, which links the distinct local Islamic

communities dispersed throughout the world to a worldwide "imagined community", the global Ummah.
The second part of the paper will examine how secular/Christian Belgians converting to Islam and converts within Islam in a globalised context use the Internet as a communication instrument in order to improve their knowledge of Islam. We will also explore how the Internet functions regarding the edification of the moral and religious values. The works of Sheikh Albani and Ibn Baaz will be analysed in the light of Manuel Castells' work such as The Internet Galaxy (2001) and The Network Society (2004).

Ethnography as Method and Methodology: Reference to Village Studies in India

Eswarappa Kasi, University of Hyderabad (kasieswar@gmail.com)
Ramesh Chandra Malik, University of Hyderabad (ramesmalik@gmail.com)

The practice of ethnography and its theoretical model has started by two different schools of thought. One is the British School of Anthropology, where Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard and others has laid down the ground of ethnographic studies in theoretical perspectives. At the same time North American scholars of anthropology have started ethnographic discourse on the specific communities. The two schools have brought out the significant scholarship on ethnographic knowledge and field techniques from the different point of views which was earlier hanged up by traditional anthropological studies. They have institutionalised ethnography as a separate discipline and it is an interdisciplinary in nature. Thus, we conceived, here, ethnography as methods and methodology for our discourse on the village studies in India.
Method refers that how ethnographers are conducting their field work with the help of different tools and techniques such as participant observation, interviews, recording and sampling and so on and so forth. Methodology is concerned as the product of whole exercises of ethnographers where they have involved.
In this paper we want to discuss the pre-field training and field techniques that will help ethnographers while they are in the process of conducting their field study. The first part of the discussion is devoted to theoretical aspect of ethnography, i.e., definition of ethnography, use of ethnography and tasks of ethnographer. The second part of the discussion will focus on the empirical observations of the village studies, what we have experienced in our study, with special reference to Indian tribal village.

Ethnography Matters: Multi-Sited Research, Cultural Hierarchies and their Ethnographic Methods

Alexandru Bălăşescu (alec.balasescu@gmail.com)

The presentation will tackle with two aspects of capital importance in anthropological research: the formation, and the position of the ethnographic subject within the discipline of anthropology. I chose the following working definition of discipline: "methods which made possible the meticulous control of the operations of the body, which assured a constant subjection of its forces and imposed upon them a relation of docility-utility" (Foucault 1979:137)
The ethnographic subject (the argument has it) is informed by global dynamics although it appears to be an independent emergence within the field of anthropology. In its construction, the subject reveals thinly veiled cultural hierarchies that underscore the structure of the discipline itself. The choice of the subject and the possibility of following it are pre-inscribed in power relations from which national origins and

institutional positions are not strange.
The ethnographer him/herself is produced within this field of forces, with the unmediated contribution of the ethnographic tools and methods. The encounter between the ethnographer and her/his interlocutors (interlocked in the ethnographic relation) is mediated by the under-researched objects of ethnography (from the writing pen to the passport). The objects construct the ethnographer as such, and the ethnographic relation.
These two aspects of ethnography and their material expression are the focus of this presentation.

From "Flows" Back to Actors: Why "the Local" is no Longer a Place for Anthropology

Judith Beyer, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (beyer@eth.mpg.de)

More and more, social science is delineating the world into three distinct spheres: "the local", "the national" and "the global". It often treats each of these spheres as if it factually existed and as if it had fixed boundaries. It thus territorialises the world even at a time when a great deal of its publications deal with "transnational flows" (Appadurai, Hannerz). In attempting to analyse these "flows", anthropologists have so far either concentrated on how "locals" are resisting, appropriating or reinterpreting "the global" - usually portrayed as a homogenising force coming from "above" or "outside". The anthropology of globalisation is increasingly less about people's lives and more about such "flows" as "a classic fetishised image of capital acting on its own accord, metaphorically treated as a natural phenomenon" (Graeber 2002: 1224).
I hold that "the local" is no longer a place for anthropology. Not because "things" have become "global" nowadays, but because "the local" does not exist. Neither does "the national", nor "the global". The above mentioned terminology does not help us to foster an understanding of their (and our) constantly shifting frames of references and activities, but instead introduces an unnecessary layer of abstraction. By using ethnographic material stemming from fieldwork in Kyrgyzstan, and following Bruno Latour, Marilyn Strathern, Marc Augé and John Law in their theoretical approaches, I offer an exploratory alternative view on how we can conceive of the connectedness of actors and institutions without having to take recourse to "the local", "the national" and "the global".

Mediatised Local: Media Reshaping the Local and the Local Response to Media Impact

Łukasz Leszek Sokołowski, Warsaw University (luklsok@gmail.com)

Ethnographical approach to media and its influence on local worlds is new though very inspiring subfield of anthropology. It is generally described that individuals in contemporary world are involved in enlarging global flow of information on witch post-industrial, non-static "new capitalism" is established. People are believed to move in constant flow, both geographically and intellectually. In such circumstances the classical conception of local and fieldwork methods seem not to be exactly appropriate.
In fact however, local community, and specific anthropological approach to it are the best of all offered by social science methods to catch the global changes under "local microscope". Researching local and interpreting local contexts and noticing

how they reshape information transferred by media seem to give the best image of media impact. There is no local that does not seem to be mediatised. And when some individuals prefer to follow cultural traits offered by popular media, the others turn to what they believe to be traditional local, but use media in this movement as well. Consequently in both cases the new, mediatised local is created. Hence definition and research methods of local ask for new approach. The classical techniques like participant observation or stationary research, however, still seem to be useful.
In my paper I'm going to 1. discuss the theories of media impact on local, 2. give two examples from my fieldwork experience in south-east Poland showing how media broadcast is reinterpreted and mediatised in local context and 3. discuss methodological implication of mediatisation of local.

Researching Fakes, Practicing Anthropology Out of the Corner of the Eye

Elena Magdalena Craciun, University College, London
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Re-production, a global phenomenon, and re-productions, an ubiquitous category of objects in which fake branded goods nowadays predominate, are morally and legally combated and culturally and socially derided. A researcher interested in fake branding as a material practice and fake brands as a material presence is challenged in various ways. In a nutshell, the ubiquitous becomes elusive, and the anthropologist is suspected of sharing these mainstream attitudes and secretly laughing at and/or condemning people, practices and objects.
This paper will present the style of anthropological inquiry forged through attempts at grasping the elusive presence, all the while fighting against the image of the scoffing observer. In frantic attempts to save my active self, I tried various, mainly unassuming, methods to overcome this status. Instead of immersing into social worlds, I found myself hanging around, being there and there, in Istanbul (the main regional producer), in the "Europa" market on the outskirts of Bucharest (considered the main source of counterfeited goods on the Romanian market) and a provincial Romanian town (chosen for its typical clothing-scape, in which "Europa" clothing predominates).
Anthropological mode of knowing is conceived as relational and performative, that is, gained by way of social relationship and of living our part in a social world. However, there are cases in which being allotted a role is less probable, and, I argue, practicing anthropology out of the corner of the eye is a valid strategy for doing research.

IW06

Connecting Peace and Violence: Zones, Transgressions and Causes

Convenor: **Ronald Stade, Malmö University (rss@mah.se)**
Chair: **Ronald Stade**

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 410

The level of violence and insecurity is higher in some places than in others. In one sense, we live in a global landscape that is divided into war zones and zones of peace. At closer inspection, this division turns out to be problematic and a more continuous landscape emerges. The various global zones are connected with one another through migration, the media, ideological diffusion, the arms trade, networks of profiteering, military globalisation and so on. Peace and violence may also be

causally connected in that peace may be achieved through violence and violence in one place relies on peace in another. Culturally, the dream of peace, security and social justice depends on the exorcism of violence. The nation may be made out to be a secure home threatened by violent intruders (e.g. Hage 1998). Such fantasies are interlaced with images of civilisation and barbarism at the global level and anxieties about minorities ("potential terrorists") in the national and local context (e.g. Appadurai 2006). The questions we want to explore in this workshop concern the differences and connections between peace and violence: how is the difference between peace and violence created and imagined? What are the historical, conceptual and social connections between peace and violence? Are peace and violence mutually exclusive notions?

(Un)Settling the "West Bank" of Israel/Palestine: Researching Citizenship in a (Political) "No Man's Land"

Yarden Enav, Edinburgh University (yarden25@gmail.com)

This paper is based on my fieldwork in an Israeli academic college in a "SettlemenTown" located in the middle of the West Bank of Israel/Palestine, and answers to Yael Navaro-Yashin's (2003) call for ethnographic research of (political) "No Man's Land(s)". The concept of "No Man's Land" refers us to a geo-political territory (or "zone"), which is not part of any "normal" state and is not recognised as a "state" on its own by the international community. Such "abnormal" political situation results in the ambiguous situation of the Israeli inhabitants of this territory and in the ambiguous status of their citizenship. Since 1967 the "West Bank" was a territory left in a political "limbo", "betwixt and between" internationally-recognised states. Today, it is connected to "Israel Proper" (within the "Green Line") by a newly-built highway, and at the same time is being disconnected from Israel by the "West Bank Barrier". These structures are the result of the fantasy of dividing Israel/Palestine into different "zones" of "peace" and "violence", and create a unique physical and mental geography within the West-Bank, which this paper intends to follow.

Developing Africa and Europe: The Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda and the War/Peace Business in the Global Shadows

Sverker Finnström, Stockholm University (sverker.finnstrom@socant.su.se)

Uganda: The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and Africa's longest running war. For some two decades, the war has rolled back and forth, like the changes from rainy season to dry season and back to rainy season. Even more, increasingly becoming a global project, perhaps the business of war is now slowly turning into an equally lucrative peace business. In this presentation I argue that the two concepts of peace and war are not absolute categories. Rather they represent quotidian moments along a lived and at times very uncertain continuum. In both peace and war life is continuously constituted and reconstituted in the search for a balance between the existential and the political, the local and the global, and the past and the future. At the same time, the Ugandan war/peace reality expands in time and space, violently connecting Africa with Europe (or vice versa). The massive influx of international aid has ended up being deeply entangled with local war realities. The US government included the LRA on its post-9/11 list of global terrorist groups when the Ugandan government joined the global war on terror. The rebel leadership is wanted by the International Criminal Court. This expansion in time and space, the presentation argues, exemplifies the painful and often violent emplacement of emerging and merging global war/

peace realities. The presentation builds on recurrent fieldwork in war-torn Uganda, starting from 1997, combined with research carried out with the Ugandan Diaspora in Europe.

Governing Social Relations Internationally: The Legal Management of Conflict

Yael Navaro-Yashin, Cambridge University (yn213@cam.ac.uk)

This paper ethnographically studies "conflict resolution" initiatives in Cyprus led by the United Nations and other international bodies. Involving both "local" and "global" actors as agents operating on the same plane, conflict resolution projects and "bi-communal" initiatives have been considered and enstaged as models of and for social relations among Turkish- and Greek-Cypriots in a future-projected peace. This paper studies this performance of social relations in bi-communal gatherings among activists from members of communities deemed to be "in conflict" with one another. It then studies the Annan Plan proposed by the United Nations for the resolution of the Cyprus problem. Conclusions are drawn about the management and legal codification of "local" social relations on a "global"/international scale.

Interactions and Ambiguity of Notions of War and Peace in a Colonial Context

Caterina Miele, University of Naples L'Orientale (caterina.miele@gmail.com)

This paper looks at the complex interactions of cultural meanings of peace and war in a colonial context where peace is represented both as the result of the war and as a continuation of the war. In the "pacified" Libyan colony (1932 - 1943), on the one hand, the conquest and subsequent use of violence was proclaimed to have come to a conclusion, while on the other hand, the colonisers were assigned the task of continuing the colonial war against "barbarity", on a different level. In this phase, the affirmation of colonial rule and the search for stability was pursued via the progressive imposition of a political, economic and cultural order. This paper sustains the hypothesis that, in a settlement colony, the level of peace and security depends not only on the capacity of colonial authorities to overcome the resistance of the local population, but also on the subjection of the colonisers as agents of the Empire. Language, symbols and practices adopted by Italian colonisers in land reclamation and agricultural colonisation, foreshadowed the beginning of a phase of colonial violence, whose object was no longer the "Colonised" but rather Nature and the territory of the colony. Based on colonial texts, autobiographies and interviews with Italian ex-colonisers, this paper underlines that in a colonial context, although the notions of peace and war are presented as being mutually exclusive in official discourses, in reality, the construction of peace is the continuation of war via other means and with other subject matters.

Peace and Violence in Afghanistan

Maren Tomforde, Comand and Staff College (marentomforde@bundeswehr.org)

This paper looks at the sociocultural meaning and connections of peace and violence in Afghanistan. These sociocultural concepts are compared with Western

notions of peace and violence to discuss whether these conceptions are compatible with Afghan notions. First, the historical/sociocultural dimensions of peace and violence are tackled. It shows that peace and violence in Afghanistan are not mutually exclusive but rather interdependent cultural. Second, the spatial dimension of violence and peace in Afghanistan is explored. Due to its various regions with a plethora of (inter)national and regional/local players, Afghanistan is a good example for the continuous landscape of peace and war. Third, consideration is given to the Western notion of "nation". In most Afghan regions, loyalty for a local or regional political body is valued higher than the cease of violence for the sake of nation-wide peace. Western countries deploy their troops to Afghanistan to reach multiple aims, e.g. the stabilisation of the country and to fight terrorism. Yet, can peace be reached throughout Afghanistan due to reconstruction work based on Western concepts of nation, peace and violence or are they these mutually exclusive to Afghan ones? How can local notions of peace and violence be integrated into multinational peacekeeping efforts? Based on literary research and interviews with representatives of various GOs, NGOs and Armed Forces working in Afghanistan, this paper explores the multiple dimensions of peace and violence prevalent in this war-stricken country.

Potentia and Presentia: On the Dynamics of Peace and Conflict in Bissau

Henrik Vigh, University of Copenhagen (henrik.vigh@anthro.ku.dk)

This paper focuses on conflict as potentia and presentia in Bissau, West Africa. It shows how conflict is perceived as a constantly present social condition and illuminates how war is understood as the manifestation of this underlying bellicose potential. War and peace are not sequential but coexisting political modalities in Bissau. Rather than being a normal state of affairs calm is seen as the uncertain period between turbulence. Focusing on the experiential effects of inhabiting such chronically unstable environments the paper examines how young combatants internalise the tumultuous social situation into negative self images. It illuminates how they have come to envision themselves as bearers of socially destructive potentials, rather than the unfortunate inhabitants of zones of prolonged conflict and scarcity, and dwells on the consequences of this negative social imaginary.

Zones of Peace and Violence or a General State of Exception?

Urania Astrinaki, Panteion University (urastri@otenet.gr)

"Peace" and "violence" constitute hegemonic modern (Western?) ideas and phantasies which are embedded in our very thinking of the social. Intertwined with images of civilisation and barbarism, they have become a fundamental tool-kit in othering non-Western societies up to the present, in their representation as sites of violence, Western societies being defined thereby as sites of peace. Although explicit zoning of violence and peace has not gained much currency in anthropology, a manifest tendency to focus on violence in its outstanding material occurrences in non-Western contexts implicitly hints at that direction. At the same time, although several strands of social theory come to question this divide, and many anthropological studies document the blurring of boundaries between peace and violence in many contexts, it seems hard to integrate them in the same frame of analysis and to conceive of violence as an aspect of the social.

In this paper then, I will argue that the dichotomy violence-peace entraps our thought, leading to reproduction and legitimation of hegemonic ideas about the

social order, and about violence itself, and that dismantling it is a prerequisite for grasping the complexities of contemporary social realities. Arguing for a shift of focus to the less impressive and perceptible manifestations of violence as a way to unravel its permanent presence in all societies, including the "peaceful" West, I will suggest that cultural specificities of violence notwithstanding, Benjamin's and Agamben's "state of exception" may prove an inspiring framework for this integration in the contemporary world.

IW07

Empires and Differences

Convenors: **Nancy Lindisfarne, SOAS (nanstarr44@hotmail.com)**
Nikolai Jeffs, University of Ljubljana (situations@mail.ljudmila.org)

29 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 13

Anthropologists and anthropology have always had a close and uncomfortable relationship with colonial and neo-imperial projects. In the 21st century, it is more difficult than ever to ignore the continuing imperial contexts which have framed the discipline and all contemporary studies of social change. Many anthropologists are now actively seeking ways to describe the deep and complex ways imperialism structures everyday lives.

Three related ideas offer an important theoretical approach to the study of imperialism. One idea is the centralisation of capital and identification of capitalists and leading politicians. A second is militarisation of competing centres of capital accumulation. And a third is the resistance of workers and others to ruling elites and capitalist power. With such a perspective in mind, ethnographic monographs cease to be esoteric, but rather become part of contemporary political debates.

This panel aims to continue this radical project via ethnographic and theoretical contributions. The widest range of contributions are invited about the changing face of war and resistance, asylum and labour migration, the present character of NGOs and aid and responses to climate change, as well as how the neoliberal privitisation of everything is rapidly altering local discourses of class, race, gender and ethnicity.

"This is not the End of History": Re-Negotiating Civil Society and Anti-Capitalist Activism in Post-Socialist Serbia

Jelena Tošić, University of Vienna (jelena.tosic@univie.ac.at)

The over-politicised everyday context in Serbia - characterised by the constant battle between democrats and nationalists in the shape of political parties, NGOs and nationalist movements - hides novel political discourse - and agency spaces of anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist social movements and collectives. Those clearly demarcate themselves from both nationalism and neoliberalism of the local political and civil society elites. The rejection of Fukuyama's thesis of the "end of history" represents their starting point for blueprints and visions of an alternative globalisation of solidarity and social justice. The common goal of the movements is the substantial transformation of local civil society - the rejection of local "civil society elites" characterised by a neoliberal ideology and short-winded top-down projects defined by donor organisations ("the project model") in favour of grassroots, holistic and sustainable approaches, which aim at strengthening solidarity, social justice, transnational networking and are responsive to local needs.

Direct actions, alliances with autonomous worker's unions, transnational activism (such as e.g. within the WSF, PGA and the Zapatistas-movement), grass-root democratic decision making processes (such as e.g. the so called "spokes councils") etc. are some of the milestones of the emerging political spaces and strategies.
The theoretical background of the presented ethnographic material comprises anthropological approaches to civil society, grassroots democracy and new social movements (e.g. Escobar, Appadurai, Sampson), contemporary transformations of the state (e.g. Sharma and Gupta, Trulliot, Kapferer, Comaroff and Comaroff etc.) and the anthropology of post-socialism (e.g. Hann, Verdery, Sampson, Kalb).

17th Century Ethnography: Johann Weichard Freiherr von Valvasor

Peter Simonič, Faculty of Arts (peter.simonic@guest.arnes.si)

Johann Weichard Freiherr von Valvasor is a very prominent name in research on the Slovene ethnic space at the end of the 17th century. His travel descriptions of natural conditions, economics, history and habits collected in a series of books called Die Ehre deß Herzogthums Crain, are of greatest value to humanities and social sciences. His attitude towards the Ottomans has not yet been analysed, even though we can find many books and articles regarding him and trace some of his formulations in contemporary narratives. The author of this paper will evaluate Valvasor's linguistic, scientific and social position, and his construction of the Other in the Habsburg Europe of that time.

Actors and Agency in the Situation of Rebellion

Sarah Lunaček, University of Ljubljana (sarah_lunacek@yahoo.com)

In Northern Niger people are faced with armed conflict between rebellion led by Tuareg and army of the state again. The situation of everyday survival in the North is hardened by increased presence of the army that is arresting, killing and torturing civilians on ethnic basis. Many left to the south or across borders. Getting provisions is increasingly difficult and anti-personal mines are creating tense atmosphere. Before rebellion burst out civilian movements claimed greater consideration of local population concerning opportunities, environmental and health issues connected with renewed interests by multinational companies in uranium mining in the pastoral region crucial for Tuareg and Fulani nomads. It is now one of the issues of rebellion that uses discourse of equal rights for all citizens of Niger. Most of the Tuareg don't agree with achieving those aims by the means of arms. The president persistently refuses negotiations and is suppressing journalists' reporting on rebellion, in spite of some voices in the government and neighbouring states that are encouraging negotiations and international organisations demanding liberty of expression.
I shall try to define actors and analyse their motivations, interests, claims, discourses, connections, splits and interactions in the situation, including interested governments, army, multinational companies, rebellion movement as well as divided public opinion and media with the reference to rather small "room of manoeuvre" the most affected people have. I find most important to find ways how least powerful in the situation could have more agency in deciding about their possibilities and living conditions.

Cyber as Space, Cyber as Conversation: Setting up Virtual Empires

Salvatore Poier, University of Milan (salvatore.poier@unimi.it)

This paper looks at the foundation of "cyberspace as space" as a conscious and

aimed action set up by the emerging computer software industry during the 1980s and 1990s as a way to dominate an emergent (and very rich) market. There is in fact another way to conceive cyberspace, which was extremely powerful and shared by programmers during the 1970s. It was the conception of computer programs and protocols as a conversation, as a common language that allowed them to share information, help each other, give reciprocal (and free) advices. From that tradition derive those groups that are affirming the freedom of speech and information on the Internet nowadays. The struggle between people fighting for freedom from copyrights and from the mediation of big corporations (which, with the availability of cheap technology, are no longer necessary mediums) and copyright owners is grounded on a twofold conception of cyberspace as either space or conversation. In this struggle, big corporations are fighting for a privilege that no longer makes sense in the broadband connected world, where even teenagers can record and sell a song everywhere in the world from their own bedroom.
In order to set up an enterprise and ensure its competitiveness in an extremely fast market, corporations attempt to apply property rights also in cyberspace, which is grounded as common. This paper aims to underline the connection between the contested uses of the word "cyberspace", the claim of rights of properties, and privatisation of public spaces in the Net giving account of ethnographic data collected in the most recent HackMeeting (Pisa, September 29-31, 2007).

Nigerian Video Film Cultures

Melita Zajc, University of Maribor (melita.zajc@gmail.com)

Nigeria, where education, health and social systems, cultural production and the media are mostly un-regulated parts of the free market, presents the Empire in its extreme. Nigerian Video Film Culture started as a free enterprise and movie making proved to be a profitable activity. Its movies became prime media for free expression of the opinion on the contemporary Nigerian society. Its systems of production and distribution are based on the alternative (pirate) network for the distribution of video contents (initially VHS tapes). Its film language is using visual models and motives from existing popular Western and Indian contents, creating visual metaphors forming previously unseen worlds of horror and fantasy. By these innovations Nigerian Cinema is the location of resistance within the country and a challenge to the dominant global systems of representation and of video production and distribution.
The 20th century considered the visual (as the ideology, the spectacle, or the simulacrum) to be the vehicle presenting the given power relations as unchangeable. Today, the use of images is becoming more democratic, yet the chances for revolt are being more limited than ever. Democratically-created images reproduce the dominant system of representation; their production is being part of an increased individualism blocking any sense of companionship that is the condition for envisioning a common, different future. Faced with these general observations, could the results of our fieldwork in Nigeria give us any knowledge regarding the chances for the improvement of social conditions, as the visual is gaining importance within contemporary cultures?

Rethinking the Unthinkable: Dignity and Solidarity in the Time of Neoliberalism

Marta Gregorčič, Faculty of Social Science (marta.gregorcic@fdv.uni-lj.si)

This paper presents militant research on alternative theories and praxis emerging at

the end of 20th and beginning of 21st century in global south, in Latin America and South Asia. Hitherto overlooked and scientifically unarticulated dimensions of social and cultural capital are analysed through theoretical praxis and examples of struggles introduced by alternative communities and other rebellious collectivities, peasant movements, trade unions, networks, radical pedagogues, students, publishers, institutes, new media and universities in Chhattisgarh (India), Madya Pradesh (India), El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Honduras and Venezuela.
All analysed alternative communities and other rebellious collectivities recuperate dignity and solidarity from their pre-colonial/pre-imperial tradition and re-establish self-management beyond any form of capitalist relations. The power (potencia) of social and cultural capital to change the everyday life, production of non-capitalistic social relations and social self-government of the oppressed societies are demonstrated by the multitude and the quality of the new political, autonomous praxis and experiments of historical movements and their revolutionary heritage.
This paper is the first serious attempt to articulate those dimensions of social and cultural capital that lead to social change and new articulations of sociality. The paper "Rethinking the Unthinkable" provokes the weakness and incapacity of contemporary academic approaches to analyse present existing potentials and social realities of innovative political praxis in our societies.

The Georgian-Abkhazian Ceasefire Line: An Edge of the Russian "Empire"?

Andrea Weiss, Central European University, Budapest
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Since the break-up of the Soviet Union, Georgia - which claims the territory of Abkhazia to be a part of it - has not been able to exercise sovereignty on this territory. The results are largely poverty, a subsistence economy, petty trade and relative integration of Abkhazia into the realm of the Russian economy. The state of "frozen conflict" achieved by a ceasefire seems on the one hand to be rather "stable" in terms of its long-term persistence over more than a decade, guarded by CIS peacekeeping forces, representing the imperial quality of Russian involvement in the Georgian eyes; on the other hand the situation is fluid and in motion, attested to by an impressive movement of people and goods, not only across the "Russian-Abkhazian" border, but also across the cease fire line (CFL) between "Georgia and Abkhazia". This mirrors the macro-level relations between Russia, Georgia and Abkhazia. Based on field research, reports and secondary sources this paper explores the effects of the permeability of the CFL for Georgian and Abkhaz nation-building and Russia's empire like policies, and the impact of these types of state-building processes on the "management" of the CFL.

IW08

World in Europe

Convenors: **Viatcheslav Rudnev, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology (roudnev@mail.ru)**
Peter J.M. Nas, Leiden University (nas@fsw.leidenuniv.nl)

28 August 2008, 14:00
Room: R1A

Heritage and traditional knowledge are very important in the modern world. People are in search of ways to solve problems in the human-nature-society system by applying

both high technologies and folk wisdom. Original folk technologies quite often assist in solving everyday problems (healthcare, cooking and so on). Practice has shown that folk knowledge can actually be functional in solving high level problems caused by human impact on the environment (e.g. farming methods) offering possibilities for effective long-term sustainable production at the local level. Heritage is also important in modern urban contexts for reasons of identity construction and nation building. Besides material culture, symbolism and ritual constitute an important part of it.
In this workshop we intend to discuss cross-cultural perspectives and focus on the analysis of local heritage and traditional wisdom in the context of modern problems.

Urban Symbolism in Colombo, Sri Lanka

Michelle Schut, University of Leiden (mies_86@hotmail.com)
Peter J.M. Nas, Leiden University (nas@fsw.leidenuniv.nl)
Siri Hettige, University of Colombo (sthetti@webmail.cmb.ac.lk)

As explained in the theory on urban symbolism and hypercity every city has a layer of ritual and symbolism in which its cultural character is expressed. In this framework the most prominent characteristics of Colombo, the capital of Sri Lanka, are street names, buildings and rituals, and the features of conflict as shown in the presence of the military and the fear of the people. The fear overwhelming the city results from a complicated process of Singhalese citizens confronted with Tamil migration to the capital, governmental worries about those Tigers and possibilities of terrorist attacks. These fears are shown by the defensive roadblocks placed by the government, information spreading about dangerous places and moments in the city, and the avoidance of crowded places by the citizens. The prominent place of fear is part of the total symbolic context of the city, which is quite diverse. One particular symbol expressing Colombo identity is lacking, but the migrant citizens inclined to take over Colombo manners in order to claim local origin.

The Intangible Cultural Heritage in France: Towards the Recognition of Cultural Diversity?

Sylvie Grenet, French Ministry of Culture (sylvie_grenet@yahoo.fr)

The 2003 UNESCO Convention on the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) was ratified by the French assembly in June 2006. Since then, the French Ministry of Culture has been in charge of its implementation. According to its article 2, the Convention places cultural communities at the very core of the definition of ICH, making them responsible in defining what they may or may not consider as ICH.
The aim of this paper is to discuss the relation between State authorities, whether local or national, and the communities, and to study how the notion of cultural diversity, nowadays widely stressed by French political authorities, is being declined. It will try to tackle two main issues: the emerging of a definition of cultural communities, considered by French political authorities and the French State as framing a multi-cultural state which is nevertheless respecting the principle of the undivisibility of the French Republic, and the way the French State works in close collaboration with communities in order to implement the Convention, through the drawing up of inventories and of representative and safeguarding lists.

A Lost Roma Tale: Ethnocentric Versus Xenocentric Attitudes in the Gârcini Roma Community

Mihai Burlacu, Transilvania University, Brasov (burlacu.mihai@gmail.com)

This paper presents an exploratory study on a Roma community from the town of Săcele, Braşov County, Romania. The Gârcini slum, part of the town of Săcele, is now in economical decline. The Roma community from Gârcini numbers 45 families with a total of 309 persons. My research is an exploratory one. In Gârcini, from a total population of 6299 inhabitants, 2256 have a social work file. I wanted to study two opposite attitudes present in Gârcini (i.e. ethnocentrism and xenocentrism), in relation with the processes of exclusion, disconnection and political neglect that is facing this community. The attitudes represent an important aspect of the cultural pattern. The cultural pattern is the fundament for any sustainable community project. At the beginning of the 21st century, in Romania, a number of community development projects on Roma communities failed due to the fact that the cultural pattern wasn't an aspect taken into account by the project designers. Therefore, my hypothesis argues that these dominant attitudes of the group represent an important aspect for the design of sustainable community development projects. This is the largest and most impoverished Roma community from Braşov County and one of the poorest Roma communities from Romania. The Roma community's needs are only partially covered and as a result, any type of successful community development project is of great significance.

Sustainability and Folk Culture: Some Features in Contemporary Life

Dorothy Billings, Wichita State University (dorothy.billings@wichita.edu)
Viatcheslav Rudnev, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology (roudnev@mail.ru)

The interest of the 21st century's society in Folk cultures has been generated by features of modern society's problems; in particularly, problems of interaction in the "Human-Nature-Society" system. In 1992 the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil) set standards defining violations of the global environment. The Agenda 21', adopted at this Conference, focused on the need for new solutions to problems regarding the relationship between nature and society.
The interest of society in folk knowledge with regard to life-support activities has fallen on the period beginning with the active transformations of the environment as a result of industrial society's infringement on Nature, and leading to the recognition of the necessity in generating new approaches based on exploitative technologies friendly to Nature.
Hunters, fishermen, farmers in different areas of the World have accumulated unique data, the results of observations in wild nature. This data can be found in folk signs and folk technologies. Farmers in Eurasia, for example, have created a unique system of using Nature which is based not only on original technologies but also includes ethical norms. We will focus our attention in this paper on methods of life-support activities effective for long-term sustainable production at the local level.

Rituality: A Form of Hidden Ritual

Janusz Barański, Jagiellonian University (j.baranski@iphils.uj.edu.pl)

The paper's theoretical point of departure is Barthes' concept of mythicity (le mythique) which he invented in order to grasp new forms of myths dispersed in various forms of

public discourse. According to Barthes, mythical stories of old times do not exist any more but their functions are currently fulfilled by the practices and texts of literature, art, popular culture, politics etc. The paper asserts that although older institutionalised and formalised rituals did not completely disappear from the cultural landscape of contemporary world, they were partially replaced by the practices of rituality: ways of moving, dressing, arranging interior design, using particular items, attending cultural entertainments etc. These forms of rituality could be regarded in terms of the rhetoric of human action. The concept of rituality is close to the concepts of performative utterances (Austin), liminoid (Turner), and habitus (Bourdieu). The moment of reflection relates to Csikszentmihalyi's concept of flow in which one experiences oneself in two ways: being aware of one's action but not being aware of the one's awareness.

Migrants and Their Traditions in Moscow Megacity

Marina Martynova, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology Russian Academy of Sciences (martynova@iea.ras.ru)

In last two decades Russia and especially its capital Moscow has become one of the leaders in the global migration processes. More and more people with different cultural backgrounds are becoming new Moscow inhabitants. This process has varied and complicated influences on the megacity community (on teenagers and adults). I will speak about the role of the traditions of the cultures of migrants in everyday life of the Moscow community. The paper will also pay attention to the process of the social and cultural integration of migrants from the point of view of old city residents. The process of cultural integration has some specificity in the Moscow megacity. This process is part of the total changes in the community mode of life.

Aligning Indigenous Leadership and Development in an African Context

Julie Taylor, SIL International (julie_taylor@sil.org)

For the Sabaot people of Kenya's western highlands, traditional beliefs as well as historical assumptions of identity and geographic entitlement are rooted in a patrilineal clan structure, within which traditional prophets have a powerful role as guardians of mythical knowledge and prophecy. In the late 1800s, a sequence of economic, social, developmental and territorial pressures began to impact the Sabaot, and in 2006, an unprecedented wave of blood-letting emerged, spear-headed by a home-grown rebel militia known as the Sabaot Land Defence Force. By early 2008 the essence of collective identity had fractured, with clan members turning on each other, sub-groups claiming alternative ethnic membership, and the traditional prophets either dispersed or forcefully suppressed. Any progress in looking as a community at fresh directions or seeking sustainable solutions had been subsumed by violence and fear, and the notion that identity strengthens in the face of political struggle and forced compromise was markedly absent. This paper proposes that those construed as a contributing source of divisiveness, namely the prophets, should be considered an essential key in helping the Sabaot unite as "one stomach". The Sabaot have demonstrated that responding to respected leadership from within their clans takes priority over national policies implemented by leaders they do not trust. As a new generation of Sabaot look for peace in their homeland, the challenge is whether their prophets will become advocates for renewed social cohesion, able to help the unique traditions of the Sabaot to exist in mutual partnership with national development aims.

Storytelling for Peace-Building and Sustainable Cultural Diversity

Robert McKee, SIL International (rob_mckee@sil.org)

Indigenous cultural knowledge does not always lend itself to harmonious inter-group relations or cultural survival. In fact, according to Robert Edgerton's Sick Societies (1992), certain parts of this knowledge—e.g., certain beliefs, practices, and values—may be seriously maladaptive for the societies concerned. If culture is viewed as an adaptive process, as in Louise Grenier's Working with Indigenous Knowledge (1998) and UNESCO's Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2002), then maladaptive parts may legitimately be changed or abandoned.

Storytelling, as treated in Jessica Senehi's "Constructive storytelling: A peace process" (2002), is presented as an accessible, flexible means by which a community might examine values embedded in its traditional stories with an eye to abandoning strifeful values and transforming destructive storytelling into constructive. Storytelling for peace-building in Mangbetu (northeastern Democratic Republic of Congo) is used to sketch and illustrate a simple model of the indigenous knowledge-sustainable development relationship. Story examples are two Mangbetu tales from the author's own researches; some brief Mangbetu ethnography, including of Mangbetu tales generally, is first provided as context; Mangbetu tale values examined concern 1. the assertion of fictive brotherhood on the basis of minimal sameness and 2. vengeance in spades against a neighbour-brother for perceived injustice. By analysis, the tales illustrate the point that constructive storytelling lends itself to peace-building and sustainable cultural diversity, while destructive storytelling lends itself to opposite ends. In conclusion, a number of thoughts are presented concerning structure and process for storytelling for peace-building workshops in Mangbetu.

Slovenian Family Mode of Life at the Beginning of the 20th Century According to Investigation by Russian Ethnologists (A. N. Haruzin and V. N. Haruzina)

Mariyam Kerimova, IAE RAS (mkerimova@yandex.ru)

As a result of trips by Alexey Haruzin in 1902 he published in Russian journals the following articles: "Austrian Craina", "National evolution of Slovenes", "Crainian Ridge and its wonderful phenomena", "A Peasant of Austrian Craina and his buildings", "A Slovene's Dwelling of the Upper Craina", and Vera Haruzina published vast essay "Craina". In these papers both Haruzins compared the types of traditional rural Slovenian buildings and its evolution. They discovered some tendencies in modification of Slovenian family mode of life at the beginning of the 20th century, that is very important for reconstruction these dynamic process in connection with modern situation.

During recent trip to the Republic of Slovenia I found out interesting publications in the central Slovene public-literary periodicals of the beginning of the 20th century, such as "Ljubljansky zvon", "Slavjanin", "Soča", "Edinost", "Dom in svet" and others, as well as valuable documents of archive of National University library in Ljubljana. Little-known statements of outstanding Slovene writers, scientists and public figures (A. Aškerc, F. Govekar, A. Trstenjak, T. Enko etc.) concerning analytical Haruzins' articles have certainly enriched Russian and Slovene ethnographic idea. These materials were added with Harusins' remarkable personal notes which I found in one of the main Russian archive - the Department of written sources of the State historical museum of Moscow. All this has allowed me to look on traditional culture of Slovenes not only from the point of view of their importance for modern scientific researches within the framework of culture and science, but also from position of illumination of the further

process of strengthening of Russian-Slovene connections in the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.
Certainly, these new data help us to study traditional culture of Slovenes, and will serve as onother valuable certificate of indissoluble strong mutual relation between Slovene and Russian peoples in the past and the present.

The Archetypal "Language of Light" from Ethnical Tradition to Modern Technology

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Aritia Poenaru, National Inventics Institute, IASI (aritia.poenaru@yahoo.it)

The constant presence of some archetypal forms/symbols of LIGHT is mediating the human transition from nature to culture, both representing: 1. a consequence of the cosmic laws of becoming, having RESONANCE as the connecting principle of the micro-macrocosmic and human world; 2. an outcome of the socio-historical progress, essentially based on the COMMUNION with fellow beings by means of certain symbols of biological and spiritual (bio)light.
The CONNECTION SYNERGY between human being and cosmos was implicitly assumed by the traditional creations/practices, both as: 1. a natural one, contributing to the biological health optimisation by the objective resonance upon the human body of the materials, colours and forms used in architecture, tools, clothing, etc., respectively to the energising ritually of dance, music, speech; 2. a cultural one, psycho-logically optimising the human being by his/her faiths, by permanently informing that he/she is both a divine and a cosmic creation, belonging to a "sacred world". For justifying such a double connection, a complex of Romanian archetypal examples are explicitly offered, starting from the traditional ones to those realised by the power of the recent (nano)technologies.
Anthropologically, to (re)valorise the force of archetypal (light) language for the benefits of contemporary life represents the main purpose of this paper.

Asian Life Style Programme in Hungary (The Impact of Yoga on Everyday Life)

Eva Sebestyen, University of Porto (e_sebestyen@yahoo.co.uk)

The challenges of social affairs, among them the problems of public health, environmental protection, education have reached global dimensions nowadays. Realising the importance of taking responsibility of these demands of our century an ethnographic survey is conducting in the main Yoga Centre in Hungary. The goal is to study the Yoga practitioners' main goal to maintain harmony with nature as well as safeguard and promote spiritual, mental and physical well-being. This paper focuses on the presentation of an anthropological approach to Indian life style programmed which looks for harmonising the body and the spiritual needs of Hungarians. Yoga is a holistic and comprehensive system concerning body, mind, consciousness and soul. The practitioners learn their human responsibility towards the world and environment in which they are living; to foster compassion for all living beings; to develop hidden forces dormant in all of us and learn how to utilise them for the benefit of the world. The research in work process has the following objectives: Conducting a study on diet habits, life style and health conscience of people practicing yoga. This paper deals with a diet survey and lifestyle change in the main yoga centre in Budapest.

The aim of this paper is to show what kind of results can be achieved if the principles of Yoga are present in everyday life in the health preservation, external and internal cleanliness, appropriate diet and proper life style.

Integrating Traditional and Modern Knowledge of Malaria among the Sabaot of Mount Elgon in Kenya

Godfrey Kipsisei, SIL International (godfrey_kipsisey@sil.org)

Some people assume there is an inevitable conflict between modern and traditional medicine. They assume that, if folk societies hold largely traditional concepts of disease causation, treatment and prevention, they will therefore largely reject modern medical services. The majority of Kenyan communities, including the Sabaot, hold medical concepts that are largely traditional. Although this hinders effective communication between modern healthcare providers and traditional clients, it does not prevent Sabaot from using modern medicine selectively. The relationship between the modern and traditional Sabaot systems is shown to be multifaceted, not just competitive, supplementary or complementary.
The paper contributes toward bridging the gap between the modern and traditional Sabaot systems by providing data on Sabaot concepts and practices concerning malaria. Various types of remedial practices are described, including ill-founded and ineffective ones. How the traditional Sabaot and modern systems complement each other is offered as an example of how to confront malaria in Kenya effectively. People in medicine and healthcare are encouraged to use such a blended approach in order to create mutual respect, encourage local participation and build partnership for joint problem resolution. The goals are improved community well-being and thus more readily sustainable socio-economic development.
In concluding, the paper looks at the interaction between the two systems and some possible policy options. The paper as a whole sees itself as critical for contemporary policy makers, health providers and disseminators of health information among Sabaot.

Healing Femininity - Balancing Energies

Katerina Ferkov, University of Nova Gorica/Slovenian Academy of Arts and Sciences (katerina.ferkov@delo.si)

My previous two studies of females and femininity have confirmed a clear need for programs that aid women (and therefore men) in current living conditions with high level expectations and social control. During ongoing iterative participant observation between researcher and group of women and men in Slovenia at daily meditation I collected several family histories and personal body & mind health care issues. The challenges of contemporary living conditions clearly provoke a quest for balance between old patterns (family, material wealth) and new ones (ecology, self-development) for women and men as well as society. But most commonly standard medical practices do not assist women (and men) in conflicts they encounter, which are always complex and interwoven with their conflicting emotions and mind patterns. Currently there is a keen interest in integral, holistic approach towards healing. Since feminine aspect in consumerist environment is most suppressed and therefore the most potentially dangerous, there is a need to address this topic. Daily experience provided me with empirical data that the sole capacity to approach healing from energy principle is the basis of well being, but so far there is still various prejudice and scepticism, also scientific discursive orthodoxy present considering that approach.

Therefore scientific evaluation of methods that support and motivate individuals to be aware of their energy level could foster collaboration between standard medical practices and energy science used in various techniques and methods of healing for balancing energies (for example: ayurveda, chi gong, yoga, tai chi, acupuncture, homeopathy).

Negating Local Knowledge's and Subordinating Cultures: Examples from Croatia's Medical System Changes

Sanja Špoljar Vržina, Institute of Social Studies Ivo Pilar (sanja.spoljar.vrzina@pilar.hr)

The paper is oriented towards presenting the ways in which drastic changes in Croatia's medical system have happened in the past fifteen years, that are on the level of global happenings: a) a marker of turbulent times of subjugating all to economic value, and wider b) a symptom of the continuous aggressive and counterproductive neoliberal logic that turns all knowledge and culture into targets of profiteering markets. It is well known that all transitional countries in the region are on a "rollercoaster" of various crediting projects (WB, IMF, EU) among which rare are done for the benefit of the people. Namely, they are all conceived for economical prosperity reasons in the first place. Detrimental changes in the medical system are most dangerous but last to become visible. The domain of health and illness is the litmus test of the extent to which undermining local knowledge's and practices can go, while the drastic consequences can not be foreseen since there are constant missing links which all have their root in the fact that certain parts of life are not expected to be the object of profit, commercialisation and market. The ultimate goal of this paper is to open a discussion on the undeveloped mechanisms for counteracting aggressive neoliberal ways of destroying intellectual traditions and wisdoms. Specifically those that will, in the end, come in "handy" (!) when the collapse of the bricolage bureaucracy worlds start globally "caving in", as they already are in many well documented local examples, worldwide.

IW09

Changing Global Flows of Anthropological Knowledge - A WCAA-EASA Workshop

Convenor: **Michal Buchowski, University of Poznan (mbuch@amu.edu.pl)**
Discussant: **Johannes Fabian**

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 2

In the last couple of decades, globalisation processes have created the conditions for the development of world anthropologies, that is, 1. of theoretical and political perspectives that are more aware of the epistemological, sociological and cultural constraints of anthropological production; and 2. of a transnational and heteroglossic community of anthropologists. Changes in anthropological theory will now depend more on the heterodox exchanges among anthropologists located in different loci of the world system of knowledge production than on changes of the positions of native populations within national and world systems of power. This panel will discuss these perspectives from different "national" angles. It will also consider which initiatives may be carried out to foster more horizontal and heteroglossic exchanges in world anthropologies.

Fluent Perceptions: Beyond Centres and Peripheries in the Global Production of Anthropological Knowledge

Blai Guarné Cabello, Pompeu Fabra University (blai.guarne@gmail.com)

It is well accepted that the discussion about centres and peripheries in the production of anthropological knowledge has a reductionist character that hides the complexity of a globalised world. In spite of this, we cannot neglect that in the production and dissemination of anthropological knowledge there has been main centres of irradiation and foundational schools that have historically influenced others defined as peripheral. In this process, hegemonic traditions, privileged channels and dominant languages have arisen in front of others that have been unknown or directly ignored. As Gustavo Lins Ribeiro and Michal Buchowski point out, the globalisation processes have created the conditions for the development of world anthropologies. However, current anthropology does not interact at the same level as we would wish, not even at the level that new communication media could allow us. Professor Shinji Yamashita has proposed the articulation of an interactive anthropology, individually connected and transnationally organised. The articulation of this anthropology would imply going from an asymmetrical to a transversal relationship in the production of knowledge. The paper explores this challenge posing the need to shift from a model of structured perceptions to one of fluent perceptions that overcomes disconnections and imbalances in the global production of anthropological knowledge.

Anthropologies of Engagement

Ida Susser, CUNY (susseris@gmail.com)

As we have begun to work with the American Anthropological Association to strengthen our links with anthropologies around the world, the issue of engaged anthropology has been a central concern. This paper explores the avenues for building connections North-South and South-South with respect to engaged anthropology on the local level as well as engaged anthropology which addresses global issues.
The paper initially will review emerging engaged anthropology which I have been involved with both in the United States and southern Africa. Next, the paper will discuss the challenges in each country and also the benefits of cooperation and collaboration among anthropologists and local activists across national boundaries. As we develop stronger links with and recognition of the dynamic anthropologies in different regions today, I argue that this will provide an important platform both for enrichment of a dynamic scholarship and for support of such forms of engagement.

Rethinking the Centre: Thoughts about Insiders and Outsiders from a Peripheral University in a "Central" Location

Joy Hendry, Oxford Brookes University (jhendry@brookes.ac.uk)

The title reflects the position of the author as a professional anthropologist working in a city where her department is a "B" team, sometimes forgotten altogether by the much more famous one that has been regarded as part of the "central" hegemony in the anthropological world. The main argument of the paper, however, will be about her chief research location of Japan, which she will suggest can be used as a model for good relations between insiders and outsiders, both anthropologists and informants, versus the "poor" relations observed in North America, especially from the perspective of the Native Americans/ First Nations who have formed the focus of much anthropological study there. The new twist - for this is an area on which she

has already published - is a perhaps surprisingly positive situation she observed when thinking historically about the position of Oxford in the world of different anthropologies, and reflecting on her own training amongst the "A" team there.

Now that We Are Europeans Are We Better Off?

László Kürti, University of Miskolc (lkurti@ella.hu)

Anthropology, especially its Europeanist kind, has been under tremendous pressure recently to live up to two major challenges: one is to understand and describe world-wide transformations resulting from the movement of capital and peoples together with regime changes and transnational reconfigurations of former identities and, second, to grapple with the way in which scholars must live up to standards set by both the international academic community and its national variants. The bulk of contemporary analysis focuses on the former cloaked under a Western-non-Western divide in what can be termed as identity-studies, while the latter is being relegated largely to marginal national schools of knowledge production. In this presentation, however, I argue that we must continue to critique the way anthropological analysis continue to depend on Western cultural categories, and need to raise questions that may in the end lead to a very different notion of anthropology than that which we have been familiar with over the past two decades.

Social Anthropology: Smuggling Biased Knowledge around the World?

Petr Skalník, University of Pardubice (petr.skalnik@upce.cz)

The paper will discuss the experience of a marginal social anthropologist with practicing social anthropology both in countries where the discipline is fully established and countries where it is considered a foreign commodity received with utmost caution or outright rejected. The cross-relations with ethnology and other ethno disciplines as well as with sociology are analysed on the basis of fieldwork carried out while trying to establish social anthropology in post-communist countries and in Africa. The vicissitudes of de-marginalisation and decentralisation in social anthropology are illustrated by concrete data from four continents.

No Local Debate, No Global Impact: German Anthropology since the 1980s (and a Bit Before)

Dieter Haller, Ruhr Universität Bochum (Dieter.Haller@ruhr-uni-bochum.de)

Globalisation processes may have created the conditions for the development of world anthropologies, but they have not done it the same way everywhere across the globe. National conditions are still not irrelevant to the production of knowledge - but these conditions are often not reflected and debated. Since the 1980s, the discipline in Germany has strongly absorbed and reflected Anglo and French theories, methodologies, debates and intellectual genealogies, but obviously not produced any genuine contribution to these fields that is of intellectual interest to other world anthropologies. My paper will look into this situation and argue that it is mainly rooted in the lack of intellectual debate on the specific conditions and results of knowledge production within Germany itself which has prevented to uncover the (strong and weak) particularities of German anthropology to other anthropologies likewise.

Mutuality and Reciprocity in Situations of Marked Inequality: Dilemmas of and Concerning US Anthropology in the World

Virginia Dominguez, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign (vdomingu@uiuc.edu)

To be addressed are ways of looking at responsibilities the largest and richest anthropological community in the world has, or could have, to its colleagues and students at home and abroad, including some that look contradictory. When size, finances, freedom of movement, intellectual agendas, patterns of training, languages of everyday use, institutional histories, national governments, degrees of public visibility, patterns of internal differentiation and external connections all differ as much as these do in the profession of anthropology around the world, exactly how should we all relate to each other and not just in the north Atlantic?
The paper explores some of the key contradictions I see in ways of looking at the current, past, or plausible role of the U.S. anthropological community, especially that represented by the American Anthropological Association and its nearly 40 Sections. Should U.S. anthropology lead more in the world of anthropology than it currently does? Should it lead less? Should its journals and book series become more international--in authorship and not just readership--or should they be less, thereby acknowledging U.S. national intellectual agendas, histories, political concerns, institutional preferences, and other taken-for-granteds? A great example of the complexity of the problem concerns the Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association. Would making these meetings more multi-lingual, multi-sited, and multi-national not unintentionally lead some, especially in the U.S., to reinforce the problematic but common U.S. view that the U.S. is the world?

Towards a Doubly Rooted Cosmopolitan Anthropology

Chris Hann, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (hann@eth.mpg.de)

Well before the demise of the European colonial empires, their anthropological knowledge production began to change as a result of engagement with societies that had their own textual traditions. Some countries, both inside and outside Europe, generated bodies of knowledge closely related to comparative social anthropology, even if the focus was often restricted to that country (or to a single "nationality" within it). The two types of anthropology were classically described for the case of Hungary by Tamás Hofer in an article in Current Anthropology in 1969.
During the 1970s, both "native ethnographers" and foreign socio-cultural anthropologists carried out research in rural Hungary. It is interesting to compare their outputs with the equivalent knowledge production of recent years: despite the rhetoric of globalisation, I shall suggest that not much has changed in the interaction between foreigners and natives since the 1970s. What is new is that students in Budapest can nowadays study socio-cultural anthropology as a separate program in a separate faculty, entirely distinct from Hungarian néprajz. This is consistent with Hofer's wish in 1969 that the two variants of anthropology should maintain their separate identities. But I shall take this Hungarian example to argue for the benefits of institutional unification. The resulting larger, more cosmopolitan department should not lack local roots. On the contrary, the better integration of national ethnography into both research and teaching should facilitate the persistence of distinctive national, regional and institution-specific intellectual traditions.

Ships Passing in the Night? Interdisciplinarity, East-West Relations and Commoditisation of Knowledge in Anthropology of Post-Socialism

Kacper Poblocki, Central European University (sphpok01@phd.ceu.hu)

Debates on "native anthropology", "anthropology with an accent" and so forth have usually focused on colonialism as the main culprit of asymmetric relations between anthropological knowledges. By bringing the recent dispute between Western and "native" anthropologist of post-socialism into the "world anthropologies" debate, I seek to highlight those aspects of current epistemic inequalities that are not post-colonial in nature, but result from global commoditisation of knowledge. I ponder why Western anthropologists, who started visiting Eastern Europe from the 1970s, concluded that "native" academic knowledge is inferior to their own output. This was not due to a prejudice brought from afar, I argue, but rather was a result of their field experiences. I discuss how three types of native "captive minds" (communist, nationalist, and neoliberal) emerged, and how encountering (or learning about) them made Western anthropologist uninterested in (and distrustful of) local epistemic production. I focus on the putative nationalist "captive mind", and argue that the straw man of East European "positivist" science (as opposed to the superior "theory-oriented" Western anthropology) emerged due to recent changes in the political economy of the academia. I show how the "theoretical turn" was experienced differently in Western and Polish academia, and how these changes, explained by the different regimes of value, show that there has been an increase only in "ritual" exchange between parochial and metropolitan anthropology rather than meaningful communication.

Intricate Relations between Western Anthropologists and Post-Socialist Ethnologists

Michał Buchowski, University of Poznan (mbuch@amu.edu.pl)

Western representations of the Others are criticised by anthropologists, but similar hegemonic classifications are present in the relationships between anthropologists living in "the West" and working on "the (post-socialist) East", and those working and living in "the (post-communist) East". In a hierarchal order of scholars and knowledge "post-socialist anthropologists" are presented as relics of the communist past: folklorists, theoretically retarded empiricists and nationalists. These images replicate Cold-War stereotypes, ignore long-lasting paradigms' shifts and actual practices triggered by transnationalisation of scholarship. Consigned to the "dormant" post-socialist academia either contest this pecking order of wisdom or approve such hegemony. Their reactions range from isolationism to uncritical attempts at "nesting intellectual backwardness" in the local context (what trickles down and reinforces hierarchies). Deterred communication harms anthropological studies on post-socialism which prominence can be hardly compared to that of the postcolonial studies.

W001

Ethical Consumption: Consumers and Producers, Markets and Ethics

Convenors: **James G. Carrier (jgc@jgcarrier.demon.co.uk)**
Peter Luetchford, Sussex University (P.G.Luetchford@sussex.ac.uk)
Chair: **James G. Carrier**

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 532

Ethical consumers prefer objects that are produced and traded in ways that fit the purchaser's values. While this can be a way that people define themselves through consumption, commonly ethical consumers seek to bring about a more ethical world. It is associated with Fair Trade, organic and free-range foods, farmers' markets and the like. It is expanding rapidly as a growing number of people seek to use their purchasing decisions to bring about changes in commercial practices and relationships, often in distant parts of the world. However, it has attracted little anthropological attention.

This panel approaches this social-activist aspect of ethical consumption in a variety of ways. First, who are ethical consumers? What are their values and why have they become ethical consumers? Second, how effective is ethical consumption in affecting commercial practices? How much do ethical consumers know about the practices that they seek to affect through their purchasing? What do producers know of the values of these consumers? Third, what are the political consequences of ethical consumption? Does it signal an abandoning of conventional political activity and its goal, state action? Finally, what is its relationship with the market? Is the market a way people can reliably and effectively express their values, or does it have an influence of its own that can militate against at least some of those values? This exploratory panel will consider these questions through both analytical and ethnographic presentations on producers, merchants and consumers, and the overall processes and issues of ethical consumption.

Introduction

James G. Carrier (jgc@jgcarrier.demon.co.uk)

This presentation will sketch some of the important aspects of ethical consumption and the issues raised by this panel.

Consuming Producers, Producing Consumers: Costa Rican Households and the Ethic of Self-Provisioning

Peter Luetchford, Sussex University (P.G.Luetchford@sussex.ac.uk)

The marketing of ethical consumption under fair trade operates through and reinforces the categories of "consumer" and "producer". Typically, the consumer is asked to help the producer who is disadvantaged under current trade relations. One consequence of this is that it removes agency from producers and allows them to be constructed as objects of consumer largesse. The emphasis on consumer power follows a trend in the social sciences towards the study of consumers and consumption and away from producers and production.

This paper uses ethnography of Costa Rican households engaged in coffee production

to show how these "producers" are also "consumers", and have a strong ethic in their consumption activities. The premise of the paper is that the symbolic importance of self-provisioning through production for consumption in these rural households is based upon shortening the distance between production and consumption, and a politics of avoiding intermediaries. These two ideas are then mirrored in the mission statements of the fair trade movement.
The paper engages with two sets of questions with respect to the relation between production and consumption. The first concerns the distinction between producers and consumers as categories of people and the repercussions of separating out their activities. The second interrogates contradictions in a fair trade movement that seeks to bring consumers and producers closer together, while emphasising the distinction between them.

Re-Inventing Food: Ethics and Politics of Tradition

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This paper considers consumers and consumption in terms of the dialectics between the "values" of traditional production and the relationship between market and politics.
How effective is a focus on traditional recipes and local products in affecting commercial food provision and its social effects on regional economies?
The relationship between markets, ethics and politics comes to the fore if one tries to evaluate the many possible relationships between tradition, ecology, local and global distribution, tacit knowledge and technification. My ethnographic work on traditional mountain cheese in the Italian Alps, and how it is being "reinvented" (La reinvenzione del cibo, Verona, Qui Edit, 2007, www.quiedit.it) is relevant to the issue of ethical consumption in different ways:
- For its many links with the Slow Food movement and its sometimes controversial impact on local economies;
- For the ways in which local recipes of "niche products", such as "alpage" cheese, are being recontextualised within projects for sustainable development and eco-tourism;
- For the particular visual strategies with which it is being marketed and "reinvented";
- For the political struggle and conflicts that the reinvention of traditional foods bring about in local communities and regional economies.
Debate around the preservation of local and traditional foods is heated, whether it focuses on authenticity or economic viability, and the two aspects are often entwined. The dimension of local development and the real economic interests lying behind the rediscovery of traditional recipes is an interesting lens through which "ethical consumption" can be read.

"Trade Not Aid": Cleansing Relationships

Lill Margrethe Vramo, National Institute for Consumer Research (lill.m.vramo@sifo.no)

Based on empirical data collected along the value-chain of textiles designed in Norway, produced in Bangladesh and sold in a fair trade shop in Norway, this paper examines the ideal and normative division drawn between trade and aid found in present fair trade attempts. The material is drawn from a study of a trading relationship, where an expressed aim of the business is to support people in the south. This objective is challenged by western notions of market and trade, which differentiate

fundamentally between gifts (aid) and commodities (trade). Fair trade has its roots in philanthropy and political solidarity. In both cases the south has entered into the relationship in the role of beneficiary, a furthering of the role held as a beneficiary of aid. Still for many northern actors involved in ethical trade the aim of the business is to equalise and cleanse the relationship between North and South through doing trade. In the slogan: "trade not aid", a belief in trade as a positive force and scepticism to traditional aid is expressed. In this paper I relate the turn from aid to trade to a "relational discomfort" that over time have been established between North and South by the way gifts (aid) from the north have been perceived, presented and distributed. Through empirical examples I show how the "relational discomfort" frames the running of the fair trade business, and examine what consequences, challenges and possibilities this underlying premise has for actors (and products) in the value-chain.

One Supersize Does Not Fit All: Flap versus Mac in the Ethics of Personal Consumption

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In writing about the trade of lamb/mutton flaps (sheep bellies -- about 50% fat) from New Zealand and Australia to (the likes of) Papua New Guinea and Tonga, we have encountered debates about how to counter the problem of obesity in the Pacific Islands (and, indeed, throughout the world). One response against state intervention was recently expressed by New Zealand's National Party (which favours free trade and opposes "political correctness"): "the emphasis should be on the practical approaches that change attitudes to food and exercise." Similarly, the U.S.-based Center for Consumer Freedom expressed commitment to the "right of adults and parents to choose what they eat, drink, and how they enjoy themselves." In such views, information should preclude regulation: informed consumers will make appropriate food choices without the demeaning supervision of the "nanny state." Interestingly, we find the same perspective expressed by food writers who appear to have a very different politics than the National Party and the CCF. Thus, Michael Pollan, in his "eater's manifesto," offers the advice necessary to make (really) good choices: food should not be provided by multinational corporations; should be eaten in moderation; should be mostly vegetables. In this paper, we discuss this politics of personal choice. In particular, we compare the choices (apparently) made by the late King of Tonga, once the world's heaviest monarch at 462 pounds, and those made by Morgan Spurlock, once the icon of fast-food diets having gained 24.5 pounds on a 30-day regimen of McDonald's meals.

Narratives of Concern: Beyond the "Official" Discourse of Ethical Consumption

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If one looked at the "official" ethical consumption discourse in Hungary objectified in information brochures, awareness raising campaigns and marketing materials for ethically loaded products, one would find a more or less coherent narrative about a yet-to-come new consumerism built on the conscious consumer and his/her growing awareness of the ethical aspects of everyday purchases. This narrative is centred around such key notions as rationality, solidarity, social progress and the widely used, but vaguely defined notion of Westernness with which this yet-to-come new

consumerism is identified.
But when moving beyond this "official" discourse propagated by a relatively small circle of civil society activists and entrepreneurs involved in the production, distribution and marketing of ethically loaded products, one finds a much more diverse world of consumer orientations even among those who identify themselves as ethical consumers. Building on a series of interviews with self-proclaimed ethical consumers, the paper tries to show the heterogeneity of ethical and political concerns that motivate "everyday ethical consumers", the diverse ways in which ethical consumption is incorporated into varying life strategies. This ethnographic study located in a particular socio-historic setting - that of post-socialist Hungary - contributes to the general anthropological understanding of ethical consumption by showing that the recent boom in ethical consumption discourses and practices can be partly explained by the relative openness of the term, and its ability to mobilise on a wide array of consumer orientations.

How Can One Eat or Farm Organic without "Living Organic"? Ethnography of Values and Practices of Belgian Organic Producers and Consumers

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Through the analysis of Belgian organic producers and consumers' life stories, we will highlight the motivations and values that have brought them to adopt organic practices as well as the evolutions or transformations that these values have undergone over time. We will show how producers and consumers have built their "organic" identity by defining themselves as different from other organic producers or consumers. One of the main criteria of this differentiation is "to have - or not - an organic mentality/philosophy", which is defined by some as having - or not - an "ethical commitment".
To understand how, "today, one can eat or farm organic without 'living organic'", as highlighted by one of the producers interviewed, we must consider the historical development of the organic movement. On one hand, the organic market has expanded over the last decades, creating new products and opportunities. On the other hand, organic farming has transformed over time, becoming increasingly institutional and regulated. It has developed into a production method which is, today, defined by European regulations and subsidised by States. This paper will analyse how the legal and administrative framework has influenced the organic movement and the definition of its values.
Today, the act of producing or buying organic does not necessarily involve an "ethical commitment". This paper will therefore seek to describe what constitutes a supposedly ethical commitment for organic producers or consumers and under which conditions this commitment can still exist.

On the Challenges of Signalling Ethics without Stuff: Stories of Sustainable and Conspicuous Non-Consumption

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This paper takes an ethnographic look at Swedish consumers who have actively modified their lifestyles in an attempt to live more sustainably. Some buy eco-labelled, fair trade, and organic goods while taking care to recycle packaging and reduce waste. These families do all this without much social difficulty. Other individuals and families believe that shopping for environmental efficiencies and social justice will not

be enough to avoid environmental and social risks if consumption levels continue to increase and the status quo is reproduced. These households try to buy green and fair, but also to buy less. Yet social problems arise when these low consumers try to signal their ethics, values, social positions, and capital without all the stuff. Consumers use different strategies to get around these predicaments. Some signal cultural capital with a few expensive and scarce goods while condemning the consumption practices of those who buy cheap or too much. Still others prefer goods that are conspicuously ethical and green. Yet many alternative consumers tire of trying to communicate alternative values to friends and family immersed in and content with normative consumerism. Some give up and others seek alternative social networks and new systems of symbolic meaning. This paper, drawing on ethnographic research with sixty sustainable consumers and interviews with twenty governmental and non-governmental agencies in Sweden, details some of these quandaries as well as the motivations, values, and discourses (popular, state-sponsored and movement-based) that inspire alternative consumer behaviour.

The Challenges of Chocolate: An Examination of the Ethics of Consuming and Producing Chocolate

Amanda Berlan (amanda.berlan@sbs.ox.ac.uk)

Cocoa is a key ingredient in chocolate as well as many chocolate-based products such as biscuits, cakes, snack bars, spreads and hot drinks. Following reports of child and slave labour in the production of cocoa in recent years many consumers have become concerned about buying such products and possibly fuelling abusive labour practices. As a result, many consumers engage in long-standing boycotts of chocolate manufacturers that do not have the Fair Trade mark on their products. However, this paper will argue that perceptions of issues such as Third World poverty and child labour in cocoa are highly malleable as they are linked with the broader meanings consumers attach to different brands of chocolate. For example, consumers are more likely to perceive a company as "guilty" of child labour abuses if the company is a large multinational, even if it sources cocoa from the same cocoa farms as smaller chocolate companies.

By examining how two different chocolate companies engage with the challenge of being responsible companies in a complex global world, this paper argues that classifying companies as "ethical" or "bad" is problematic. It will discuss Cadbury's long-standing commitment to ethical values and some of their recent initiatives such as the "Cadbury Cocoa Partnership" which was announced in January 2008 and aims to promote economic, social and environmental sustainability. The paper will contrast this approach to business ethics with that of Divine, the chocolate company which is part-owned by cocoa farmers in Ghana and operates on Fair Trade principles.

W002

Markets, Kinship and Morality

Convenors: **Adam Kuper, Brunel University (adam.kuper@brunel.ac.uk)**
Stephen Gudeman, University of Minnesota (gudeman@umn.edu)

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 18

Following Adam Smith, economists argue that markets are driven by self-interest, which benefits everyone. Since Mauss, anthropologists usually claim that private interests

undermine social morality and collective identities. In this workshop, we explore the dialectics of self-interest and mutuality, and of kinship and market behaviour.

The Dialectics of Economy

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Economy is made up of two value domains that are dialectically connected. The market sphere consists of competitive, anonymous trades. Through competition that enforces rational choice, efficiency in the use of resources, production and consumption is the justifying value and story - for economists. Anthropologists have long explored the mutual or communal domain of economy in which things, services and symbols connect and help constitute identities. These transactions are guided by diverse values, such as equity, equality, and power. The two spheres are found in high market economies and small, "ethnographic" ones, although their relative importance varies. Sometimes they are separate, sometimes they overlap, sometimes they are mutually sustaining, and often they conflict. Energised by competition and the search for profit, however, the practices of calculative reason or rational choice usually burst the borders of a market and cascade into the realm of mutuality where they erase, veil, mystify or appropriate the materials and language of community. In so doing, they debase the conditions of their own existence, with consequences for local subjectivities, welfare patterns, the environment, forms of development, and well being.

Hunting in the Alentejo (Southern Portugal): The Social and Spatial Outcomes of "Care" and "Selfishness"

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The paper takes issue with the moral opposition between "selfishness" (egoísmo) and "care" (querer saber) as I have learned it from my informants during fieldwork in Aldeia de Cima, in Southern Portugal. In my informants' view, "selfishness" and "care" are attributes of contrasting forms of social conduct, directed respectively towards self-interest and to other people. They pertain to two types of "growth", epitomised respectively in the wealth of the largest, non-local, landowners (os grandes/"the grand-folk") and the social connections of villagers (os pequenos/"the little folk"). In spite of its self-demeaning appearance, it is the second sort of conduct that is thought to be at the source of social value. This is expressed through an idiom that relies heavily on kinship imagery.
"Selfishness" and "care" are ideas mobilised in the course of social conflict around changes in land-use, which are perceived locally in terms of an increasing "closedness", so to speak, of the spatial environment around the village. The paper attends to the spatiality produced by a particular sort of events - hunting events - in which "the little folk" and "the grand folk" meet on the land. It accounts for its relationship with emic views of a dialectics of self-interest and mutuality. Finally, it argues that these views play a role in local ideas of social value and the social construction of places.

"We, the Congolese, We Cannot Trust Each Other": Trust, Norms and Relations among Traders in Katanga, Democratic Republic of Congo

Benjamin Rubbers, Université de Liège (rubbersbe@yahoo.fr)

Congolese traders in Katanga claim that they cannot trust their peers, customers, and employees. Existing literature about traders in Africa does not enhance our

understanding, as it tends to consider trust as depending on the degree of social knowledge. In the Congo, social proximity does not exclude suspicion, nor does social distance necessarily prevent trust. Based on ethnographic fieldwork, this paper aims at developing a more detailed framework. It studies how Congolese traders negotiate two key norms for the building of economic trust - property and reciprocity - with non-relatives, distant relatives, and close relatives.

Traders' Dilemmas among Northern Kirghiz

Svetlana Jacquesson, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (jacquesson@eth.mpg.de)

The topic of market, kinship and morality will be discussed on the basis of the various systems of trade relations according to the place they occur: in the village or on the road. Several factors shape these relations: 1. the social status of the traders; 2. the types of goods sold; 3. the types of transaction; 4. the categories of customers (kin, lineage members, neighbours, village fellows, co-ethnics or foreigners).
Both in the village and on the road, traders face dilemmas but the latter differ according to the context. In a village, traders are most often confronted to choices such as: "Do I sell a bottle of vodka to my neighbour when I know that his family is poor and once he has drunk the vodka he will most probably beat up his wife next? Shall I sell a packet of cigarettes to the son of my sister-in-law's brother, a boy who is minor?". In such cases, moral considerations might influence the choice or they might be silenced down by profit seeking. What happens then on the road? Social or moral considerations seem to be weaker there since, besides a small number of regular stoppers-by, one might rarely have the same customer two times. Which social roles and social identities are communicated then and in which cases moral considerations are the strongest?
The paper examines traders' dilemmas in the light of the Kirghiz data and dwells on "embeddedness" as a spatial and social variable.

The Moralities of Markets: Petty Trade and Merchant Associations in the Margins of the Formal Economy in Peru

Cecilie Ødegaard, University of Bergen (cecilie.odegaard@iuh.uib.no)

This paper explores how traders in urban contexts in Peru negotiate the access to markets - and to land - through the establishment of traders' associations. In particular, the paper is concerned with how trade in this context is based upon an intense cultivation of social relationships, at the same time as competition, distrust and contestations over power are made evident through accusations of corruption against leaders, as well as the use of brujería (witchcraft, or harmful acts). The idea of "markets" has often strong connotations to morality/immorality in most cultural contexts, by being associated with money, the devil or destruction of sociality on the one hand, and modernity, consumption, survival or the participation in society/ citizenship on the other. The aim of this paper is to discuss 1. how this moralisation takes place in a specific cultural context, and 2. what characterises the approach of the Peruvian state to these informal economic practices. By reflecting on how practices of reciprocity, exchange and circulation in the Andean context are seen as "fertile" and as reproducing collective prosperity (e.g. making money "give birth", Harris 1995), the paper discusses the moralities of markets in a context where trade is of a more or less informal kind. It discusses how state regulations and interventions are made objects of challenge and contestation among traders, and how the approach

of the authorities to these activities varies between silent acceptance, policies of formalisation and occasional moves to abolish these practices.

The Notion of Embeddedness and its Relevance in Modern Market Economies

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The social world is present in its entirety in every "economic" action, writes Bourdieu (2005). The originator of such a socio-cultural approach to economics was Polanyi who, by introducing the concept of embeddedness, emphasised the way economies are embedded in society and culture. But while Polanyi argued that all non-market economies are embedded in social, kinship relations and institutions, he tended to see market economy as disembedded.

That economic behaviour is heavily embedded in social relations in pre-market societies and has become much more autonomous with modernisation as depicted by Granovetter (1985) as a common view among social scientists. This view sees the economy as an increasingly separate, differentiated sphere in modern society, with economic transactions defined no longer by the social or kinship obligations, but by rational calculations of individual gain (Garsten, de Montoya 2004).

I find the notion of embeddedness highly relevant in grasping the fluid relation between "the social" and "the economic" in business relations between East and West. The aim of this paper is to discuss the use of embededdness concept in economic anthropology; and to show the relevance of it by analysing market behaviour in modern economies. The key questions to be illuminated are: How entrepreneurs' social ties and patterns of culture shape their strategies in the marketplace? What is the role of kinship in market operations? How meanings people construct about their economic worlds are embedded locally? Scandinavian business operations in the Baltic states between 2000-2006 are the empirical base of the article.

Paying for Parenthood: Money and Kinship in Assisted Reproduction

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Drawing on recent research on assisted reproduction in Greece I would like to explore in this paper the interrelation of kinship to time and thus to money.

In the context of assisted reproduction time is always present in relation to age, the ripeness of ovaries, or the number of efforts one has to undergo, while new reproductive technologies are supposed to give the opportunity to choose the moment of becoming a parent, to expand age limitations, to beat time. However, time is strongly related to money. Time is money and money is time, in the sense that the passage of time costs money to people who wish to become parents, while the ones who have money are able to confront time limitations since they can afford better and more expensive treatment. From this perspective assisted reproduction connects the desire for children with the market economy and becoming a parent equals to having the opportunity to pay for parenthood.

Even so, the notion of motherhood as a gift -in Greece ovaries and surrogate motherhood are legally excluded from the market and can only be given as a gift- and the sheer emphasis on the medicalisation of the process and the role of the experts hides the interrelation of kinship to market and underscores the fact that kinship, after all, is an expensive product that not all people can afford.

Entre le marché, le politique et la tradition: construction des vies privées et intimes chez les jeunes en Chine contemporaine

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L'ouverture au marché de la Chine depuis les années 1980 apparaît comme engageant le monde social chinois et les relations traditionnelles qui s'y jouent dans une mutation profonde. S'opère ainsi le passage d'un système visant l'égalité entre tous à un système où la lutte économique pour la réussite individuelle est la norme. Ces bouleversements s'établissent dans un environnement politique peu transformé, où la main-mise de l'État-Parti continue à empêcher toute réflexion qui le remettrait en cause.
Pris en étau entre l'injonction à la réussite économique qui leur est faite, l'encadrement familial traditionnel, et le cadre sensible d'un État toujours autoritaire, comment les jeunes Chinois élaborent-ils leurs vies privées et relations avec leurs familles? De quels modes usent-ils pour marquer leur indépendance, ou s'inscrire différemment dans la poursuite des solidarités familiales traditionnelles que l'on exige d'eux?
Après avoir rappelé ce contexte historique et politique, cette conférence s'intéressera à la construction des vies amoureuses des jeunes Chinois, à la façon dont se transforment les relations familiales, et dont s'élaborent de nouvelles formes d'indépendances. Je placerai cette enquête en perspective avec le rapport à la politique de l'enfant unique tel qu'il est vécu par la nouvelle génération, afin de cerner le contexte moral général dans lequel s'élaborent les réinventions en cours de la relation amoureuse en Chine.

Asymmetric Flows of Support among Siblings and its Limits: Some Evidence from Current Rural China

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In the age of the market economy in contemporary China, the family income of rural residents depends increasingly on their individual efforts as well as their ability to take part in the labour market or other economic activities beyond agriculture. At the same time, strong notions of the patriarchal kinship system concerning solidarity and responsibility for mutual support, if in need, among siblings (first of all, among brothers) still prevail. Tensions among siblings escalate if the asymmetric flows of support have to be guaranteed over a long period. How do people articulate their claims for and resistance to obligations of support? What strategies are used and accepted for mitigating tensions? What are the consequences for the constant process of division and re-integration within the village community? Based on field material from a village in north China, this paper will explore these questions further.

Kin-Group Characterisation and Competition for Local Resources in Rural Yakutia

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In Yakutia people are often described by moral values uniformly characteristic of their kin-groups. This special kin group character can be inherited by individuals, and is in the focus of local communication, creating a system of rumour. Relying on a 10-month fieldwork, by the comparison of two village communities I exemplify two different ways of how this system of characterisation is used to regulate the competition of villagers for local resources (such as hayfields, fishing ponds) and state benefits (salary jobs, pension). One of the communities is not divided along lineage lines, because

here cooperation and the feeling of togetherness are practically restricted to nuclear families. The system of kin-group characterisation only aims to secure one's positive evaluation, without attaching peculiar moral values to him/her. Thus, this system of rumour results in a type of communication where moral values are either beneficial or detrimental, generating a socially divisive village community, where individuals participate in a sharp competition for symbolic power. In the other village the still effective and meaningful lineages divide the community, but by the help of a more complex communication on kin-group characters, the competition for symbolic power is relatively balanced, resulting in a fairly integrated and cooperative village community.

Markets and Moralities in Danish Housing Cooperatives

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This paper explores the interplay between private interests and communal ideology in cooperative apartment buildings in the city of Copenhagen. Which values, structures and practices have enabled the cooperative housing movement to flourish for decades in a market economy and in an urban context where the ideology of community is not always matched in the residents' day-to-day activities? And what do current moral debates about market prices and critiques of alleged nepotism reveal about the cohesion of the communities? The understanding of social values and exchanges within the cooperative movement points directly to the balancing of individual interest and social obligation in human behaviour as described by Mauss in The Gift. It calls for further theorising about the complex interplay between market and kinship behaviour.

Cooperative housing is a property form that traces its intellectual and historic ties to the rural cooperative movement in Denmark, one of Europe's oldest. Here small and large producers cooperated, irrespective of size, and egalitarianism has remained a key feature of cooperative housing ideology. Current political and economic forces in Denmark are increasingly challenging this ideology. External challenges include a right wing government promoting private home-ownership and introducing new fiscal policies, rising house prices, and new possibilities for obtaining loans in separate cooperative flats. Internal challenges include favouring kin and friends when allocating attractive flats, money paid "under the table", and tenants' temptation to make an individual windfall profit from selling at market prices the flat they bought for "cheap" money.

European Kinship and the Emotional Economy

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A fundamental question for this workshop is whether pragmatically motivated choices by autonomous individuals can lead to cooperation. The alpine and Russian country-dwellers amongst whom I have conducted field research would strongly agree that they can - both vigorously asserting that the need for mutual assistance produces the actual behaviour. In the alpine case they use this idea to explain why, since the arrival of late-twentieth-century prosperity, they no longer cooperate much; while in the Russian case they use it to explain the continuing high levels of cooperation between kin and neighbours. Data collected for the KASS (Kinship and Social Security) project confirm that the long-term decline of peasant agriculture in Europe has been associated with a decline in local and kin-based cooperation.

However, the ethnographic data also shows that, though rationality certainly comes into it, this is not simply a matter of rational choice. Cooperation involves emotional commitment to specific patterns of social relationships - patterns that are conceived of as enduring through time. These models of kinship and cooperation differ greatly between societies - including between European societies. I conclude the paper by reviewing evidence that differences in the local patterning of kinship ties are associated with different responses to recent economic changes.

Private Enterprise and the Ethos of the Collective Era in China: The Case of a Chinese Craft Industry

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In this paper I consider the themes of morality and community in the context of the renewed legitimacy of private enterprise and of the family as economic unit in post-collectivist China.
My case study is the production of "zisha" craft pottery in a township of the Jiangsu Province. In the 1950s, production was centralised in a single cooperative factory. This marked a break in the perceived closure of knowledge that characterised the pre-socialist system known as "one household, one pot": the factory established a community seemingly out of a void, and created ties that cut across class, background and gender. In that context, an ethos of sharing was established, whereby the knowledge of masters was made available to all.
The reintroduction of private enterprise, following the late 1970s economic reforms of the country, is perceived by artisans as a return to the past. Households and individuals are once again in competition, and learning craft secrets once more takes place in the privacy of homes. Yet artisans also strive to uphold the ethos of sharing of the era of the collective factory, even though this might go against family interests. I argue that not only is there a tension between this ethos and new forms of competition within the community of practice, but also that it is precisely the ideals and morality of the cooperative factory that are invoked in discourses on legitimacy and tradition aimed at creating divisions between artisans.

The Market Logic of Illegality in Southern Italy

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The paper concerns the economic practices and representations of southern Italian workers employed by small-scale sub-contactors working for north and central Italian firms. I examine how local ways of working, kinship and other forms of social relations between workers and workers and between workers and employers, articulate with classical market behaviours. Particularly significant is the illegality, or semi illegality, of many of the practices concerned; these enable workers and employers to construct social contexts insulated from the framework of the law. Social science has tended to consider practices that contravene the law in terms of exploitation, resistance or of what neoliberal economists label as "flexibility". Instead, I argue that these islands of illegality produce specifics forms of mutuality and market organisation with their own creative "situated" logics.

"Great Transformation" of Agrarian Tolerance in Post-Peasant Eastern Europe

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Most of Eastern Europe has departed from agrarian times quite recently through state-socialist modernisation. Despite its modernist attempts, state socialism managed to reproduce and even strengthened many elements of rural life, such as the role of kinship and religion, and these elements became crucial for post-socialist development, including current transformations resulting from the integration of Central and Eastern Europe into European Union. I employ the concept of "agrarian tolerance" in order to discuss the pre-capitalist patterns of co-existence in unevenly developed Eastern Europe today. This tolerance is manifested in the activities of ordinary people who avoid nationalist participation, practice their faith with and provide social assistance to others regardless of group membership. These people show conviviality in everyday life, trust their neighbours as well as religious and community leaders, form cultural clubs, organise community events, take part in actions often considered "illiberal" by urban intellectuals. They also employ economic practices at which the individual profit is "embedded" within community, religion and kinship. On the basis of fieldwork in south-east Poland, I argue that the agrarian tolerance has survived socialism and post-socialism, however, under ongoing "great transformation" that is being applied in the post-peasant setting, consisting of rural social structures, traditionalist narratives and agrarian imaginary, this agrarian tolerance is being suppressed by the artificial tolerance as introduced through EU discourses and policies, fostered by elites and generated by the demands of the market. At this point it is necessary to discuss the ambivalent "embedded" alternative religion offers for cohesion.

Moral Economies in a Modern World: Kinship, Morality and Power among the Boatmen of Varanasi (Banaras), India

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The concept of moral economy has generated a lively debate across various disciplines in the social sciences. According to James Scott, the right to subsistence and the notion of reciprocity are central features of moral economies found in pre-capitalist agrarian societies. With the introduction of the modern state and market economy these moral economies were disrupted, generating resistance and rebellion by the poor against such intrusions. In this paper I draw on Scott's model and examine the way in which a moral economy becomes a strategic tool for a marginalised group of boatmen in the city of Varanasi to appropriate and re-work the ritual space along the riverfront of the city. I demonstrate how under specific ideological and material conditions moral economies not only persist, but are reinvigorated to accommodate the changes of modern-day market affected societies. Such moral economies are largely based on oral tradition, community consensus, and kinship networks, in which boatmen attempt to defend their customary rights and practices to perform rituals, ferry tourists and pilgrims and earn their livelihood from the burgeoning ritual economy of Varanasi. Further, using ethnographic data, I suggest that we must apply the moral economic model in a critical manner that is sensitive to the social inequalities and internal divisions and struggles within the boatman community itself. Such considerations raise broader questions with relation to notions of domination and subaltern resistance in contemporary India.

Stressed Responsible Subjects: Market, State and Moral Obligation and the Paradoxes of the Economy

Susana Narotzky, Universitat de Barcelona (snarotzky@jamillan.com)

The proposed paper stems from a 10 year long project on "reciprocity as a human resource" and on "forms of responsibility regulation in informal economic and political processes". The research team has compiled a wealth of ethnographic material that I will compare in order to address several theoretical questions about the articulation of 1. different forms of moral obligation (responsibilities), 2. the accumulation and the reproductive aspects of economies (growth and sustainability) and 3. the production of social cohesion (regulation and institutionalisation). The paper will examine tensions between state and market forms of regulation and other morally regulated systems of production and of household provisioning of resources including care.
I will draw on the analysis of paradoxical concepts such as "commodity fetishism", "fictitious commodities" and "social capital" in order to highlight the centrality of a theoretical twist obscuring the dialectics of self-interest and mutuality in standard economic models. Questions addressed are:
How are mutual responsibility bonds that convey the transfers of resources (material, emotional, knowledge) produced? What are the diverse frameworks of these economic moralities? When, how and why do the practices and material transfers supported by various moral responsibilities collapse? What are the effects of this for social cohesion?
It is increasingly obvious that the debate on economic processes and social cohesion needs to include aspects of what has been variously termed "économie solidaire", "community economies", "care economies", "moral economies". This paper wants to contribute to such theory building.

Lace or String: The Moral Conundrums of Entrepreneurship

Nicolette Makovicky, Oxford University
(nicolette.makovicky@wolfson.ox.ac.uk)

Tracing the production and trade of bobbin lace made in the provincial town of Banská Bystrica and in two nearby villages, Špania Dolina and Staré Hory, this paper examines the moral conundrums of lace making as small-scale entrepreneurial activity. Lace making arrived to this area with German, Bohemian and Croatian immigrants, particularly miners, in the 16th century. Despite having been produced as a commodity in the local area for centuries, fieldwork conducted in 2003-2004 showed that a stigma was attached to commercial activities and this stigma compelled lace makers to employ socially and geographically extended networks of kin and personal contacts in order to secure an income. Craftswomen had to negotiate between the workings of the market economy to which they were bound as producers and consumers, and the obligations of a moral economy to which they belong by virtue of kin and social relations. Examining domestic production in contemporary consumer society, this paper sheds light on the continuing importance of the household for the creation of social and material value. It examines how two forms of economic thinking and practice associated with domestic production - "community economy" (Gudeman 1996) and "house economy" (Gudeman and Rivera 1990) - have endured and adapted to the political and economic changes of the post-socialist period. These form normative frameworks for the creation of moral and social value and promoting ideals, practices and identities which at times are at odds with the entrepreneurialism fostered by market activities.

W003

Towards an Anthropology of Decision Making

Convenors: **Åsa Boholm, CEFOS/Göteborg University (asa.boholm@cefos.gu.se)**
Annette Henning, Dalarna University (ahe@du.se)

29 August 2008, 09:00
Room: R1

In modern society decision-making is a taken for granted capacity of agency attributed to individuals, persons, and citizens, as well as to various collectives (organisations, companies, nations, or even "the global community"). Being the never-ending modus operandi of governing, the public domain, in planning, administration, policy-making and implementation, revolves around the making of decisions: what decisions to make (or not) and how to make them. In our private lives we are expected to make innumerable choices, and not only what goods and services to consume or what lifestyle to entertain. We are supposed to "design" our individual style of life and career and choose close relationships, partners or even children. What we are and what we become as persons are constituted by decisions, our own and others. The "governmentality" of decision-making bridges the private and the public, connecting individual sentiments and desires with structures of social ordering, identity, power, hierarchy and authority. This workshop aims to problematise and explore decision processes. It asks both for theoretical and ethnographic contributions concerning the concept of decision, and decision-making as a situated and temporal process. Contributions that address social contexts, dynamics and tensions of decision-making, and issues bearing on uncertainty and risk in decision contexts are welcomed. Another area of interest is decisions in relation to non-decisions (habits and "traditional" conduct). Ethnographies from all kinds of social and cultural environments that address decisions and decision-making are welcome.

Decision Making in Context: A Case of Swedish Rail Planning in Practice

Åsa Boholm, CEFOS/Göteborg University (asa.boholm@cefos.gu.se)

Land use planning in cases of e.g. transportation infrastructure facilities, energy plants, waste disposal facilities, or mining enterprises actualises a multitude of prospected consequences. Planning must take into account an array of intended outcomes, unwanted side-effects and incertitude. To make the picture even more complicated, negative effects or benefits to society associated with a project, including risks to humans and to the natural environment, are seldom understood and prioritised according to one single frame of reference. This paper addresses the multidimensional context of decision making in land-use planning by taking into account a case of Swedish rail way planning under the government authority of the National Rail Administration. According to the Rail Building Act and the Environmental Code consultation with municipalities, stakeholders, the county administrative board, other authorities, and real estate owners, is mandatory in the planning for a new rail way line. Decision making involves officials, consultants and experts, and is organised within a highly regulated administrative setting characterised by strong demands on efficiency and legality. Expert competencies, stake holder interests and priorities, are negotiated and balanced in accordance with an administrative logic of efficiency (producing pre-defined outcomes in relation to a set budget and time frame and following a standardised set of rules). In this setting decisions emerge as

negotiated (temporary) achievements rather than determined final choices resulting from a rational process of calculating costs, benefits, and risks for identified decision alternatives in accordance with set preferences, as assumed by normative social science planning theory.

Decision-Making and Constraints of Small Peasants in the Amazon

Karin Marita Naase, Free University Berlin (knaase@gmail.com)

Land reform in Brazil has been one of the most appealing and controversial topics in Brazilian politics and continues to produce headlines in the news. Up to now approximately 900.000 families from all over Brazil, a third of them having settled in the north, have been settled. In the Amazon, in addition to the conventional problems of land reform settlements - such as lack of infrastructure, lack of technical assistance and inefficient credit lines for small farmers - problems such as consequences of tropical rainforest devastation prevail.
Due to the process of dismantling of estates, important new actors have entered the stage in the Amazonian land reform settlement regions. They are: the settlers themselves, who come from north-eastern, middle-western and southern Brazil, and social movements such as rural labour unions, cattle farmers, mining enterprises and prospectors, people linked to the timber industry and public organs.
In view of the diversity of actors and their strategies involved in Land Reform it is not surprising, that realisation of land reform in this region is extremely complicated (conflicts, bribery of governmental organs, political and economic pressure upon the involved parties). In my contribution to the EASA-meeting I would like to explain the strategies of the peasants (as a metaphor for "rational choice") in the light of the environmental, economical and political constraints in the region, show the variety of options and outcomes of decisions of the peasants with regard to productivity and also reproduction; and to show the factors influencing peasants decision-making.

Heating Swedish Houses: A Discussion about the Nature of Change, Household Decision-Making, and the Prospect of Reaching a National Target

Annette Henning, Dalarna University (ahe@du.se)

This paper is based on field research among Swedish households and companies selling pre-fabricated homes. It discusses the nature of individual decision-making and structural change, and proposes some implications for present government energy policy. The Swedish Government has set up a target to reduce the amount of energy used for the heating of buildings by 20 percent to 2020. Fossil fuels should be completely abandoned, and renewable energy should increase. It is widely assumed that important ways to reach this target is to use subsidies and information to persuade households to make wiser consumption decisions. The research results show a more complex picture of decision-making as involving passive decisions, non-decisions, decision-making as a chain of thoughts and events, as dependent on emotions, and as a matter of gender, situation and context. Furthermore, the paper discusses how slow-to-change-structures (such as buildings, organisations or common experiences and modes of thought) are able to restrict or influence individual decisions and actions, but also to be modified by them. Houses, heating systems or thermal comfort devices are capable of delaying energy-efficiency processes by a great number of years. Finally, the paper illustrates culture specific experiences, habits and modes of thought which have potential for energy efficiency. It is argued that, rather than

attempting to influence individuals through strategies based on assumed generic human characteristics, the shift of focus provided by anthropological methods would make it possible to support and encourage certain habits that are already in existence.

Hidden Power: Who Makes Farm Decisions?

Amanda Krzyworzeka, University of Warsaw (amanda@bruczkowski.com)

In this paper I would like to consider the process of economic decision making among Polish farmers. The basis for statements is my Ph.D. fieldwork which was conducted in the Eastern Poland about "Farmers' Work and Survival Strategies".
I would like to consider the question of collective character of the decision maker, who is usually not a single person, but a family or its part, or a friend/neighbour group. Reasons and consequences of this situation are of considerable importance for the way the community functions, and the way the local economy works. Another dimension of decision making is mutual relationship between tradition and innovations, which are both important factors of decision making, and both highly valued, although each in a different way and context. This is closely connected to the question of who are treated as local persons of authority and why. The role played by women is also crucial: usually women are not considered as official participants of decision making process, but in many families the last word belongs to them. Interestingly, not only male farmers, but also women themselves tend to deny their position on the farm. Usually neither officials, nor agricultural trainings organisers take their position into account, and so their goals (like changing farmers' way of thinking and making decisions) are impossible to achieve, as they ignore a very important part of the process they try to intervene in. Children's influence is also underestimated.

Matera's Sassi: From "Italy's Disgrace" to UNESCO World Heritage - an Ethnography of Space-to-Place Transformation

Ilaria D'Auria, Free University Brussels (ilaria777@hotmail.com)

The neighbourhood of Matera - the Sassi - has been the centre of political debates over the past five decades: the cave-dwellings have been the primary aim of local urban planning; serving through time as many aspirations as the administrations that governed them.
As diverse statuses defined the Sassi, consequences can be read not only on the urban development of the cave-dwellings and Matera, but also on the way the residents looked upon that space: considered as "Italy's disgrace" in the 1950s and primarily an urban problem, the inhabitants were transferred to newly built popular houses; abandoned for three decades, the neighbourhood re-entered the public debate, this time also as a cultural issue. Since 1986 the cave-dwellings have been opened up again and the government has financed their rehabilitation. Inscribed in 1993 on the UNESCO Heritage List, the questioning enlarged to citizen (non) participation in decision-making, social and economic impact of the UNESCO policies, dynamics and tensions in the space-to-place transformation.
Starting off from the diverse definitions of the Sassi, my ethnography will illustrate, through photographic material and fieldwork anecdotes, the dynamics of decision-making in the definition of space: as Troy's horse, the Sassi have travelled through time serving diverse paradigms (from social shame to cultural pride), each interpretation seen as a sum of negotiations between citizen aspirations and political interests, as

different experiences of habitat (from functional rehabilitation to avoiding practices, passing from diverse forms of vandalism).

Participatory Democracy as a "Social Drama": Deconstructing Public Involvement Procedures in Swedish City Renewal

Annelie Sjölander Lindqvist (Annelie.Sjolander-Lindqvist@cefos.gu.se)

Approaches designed to stimulate public involvement and public consultation in social planning relates to the international discourse on governance: integrating government sectors and increasing public participation are seen as the key to sustainable development and reviving local politics. However, the inclusion of citizens in planning practices, such as urban renewal and community planning, are beset with complexity and uncertainty. Observations and interviews in city planning in the south of Sweden illustrate that state/city administered contexts for the publics' participation in planning procedures and decision-making involve the interplay between the public and various administrative levels that are underpinned by social, cultural and historical contexts. Participatory democracy provides rhetorical and symbolic arenas. Besides that economy, politics, media, regulation, and legal aspects, exert influence on planning processes, the foundations of social and cultural identity (besides the aforementioned also history, collective memory, place and landscape) also become integrated parts of decision-making procedures. The formalisation of participatory democracy can be said to be a sequence of social events (Turner 1974), a "social drama" where messages regarding the past, the present and the future are propagated. This study illustrates that procedures for public participation are highly ritualised and embedded with social and cultural understandings of place and landscape and how participants' roles and positions within the planning process are symbolically informed.

Re-Localisation and the Process of Decision Making in a Sugpiaq Community

David DeHass, University of Alaska (fsdld@uaf.edu)

It should not be assumed that the introduction of a new technology automatically wipes out past cultural practices; rather, it is often the case that these offerings are integrated into a current routine. For the Sugpiat of Nanwalek, Alaska, there is a constant need to negotiate between what to change and what to preserve. Societies judge new technologies that are introduced based upon the shared wants and needs of their individual members.

This presentation briefly investigates how the people of Nanwalek use All-Terrain Vehicles (ATVs) as a way to reconnect with past experiences, and to re-localise many traditions that have been lost, but not forgotten. Hondas have affected the lives and landscapes for those Native peoples of rural Alaska; and, often the impact is negative. However, in many ways, the decision to accept Hondas has allowed for increased participation in "traditional" life-ways and resource management. These machines provide a way to materially and emotionally reunite with that which went before. Many of the activities and places that count are no longer merely fragments of one's memory; rather, they are physical and contemporary in their importance. Yet, it would be a mistake to think that re-localization simply occurs because of the existence of ATVs, or random internalizations and adaptations; rather, it is made possible by purposeful decision making, as well as, the re-interpretations of various

and previously accepted traditions, in an effort to fulfill the current needs and wants of the group.

The Significance of Role, Status, and Authority in Decision Making Processes among Social Workers

Charlotte Siiger (cs@crf.au.dk)

Social workers are involved in numerous and recurring decision making processes concerning their clients. Based on ethnographic fieldwork at three Danish hostels for the homeless, this paper analyses the nature of these processes. According to social workers themselves, decision making processes are about identifying the problems of clients, how best to solve them and assist clients in moving on to, preferably, a better and more self-dependent life. However, this paper argues, there are others and less recognised issues at stake: decision making processes are not only about "business"; they are also about exercising, challenging and re-confirming distributions of roles, status and authority among staff. In that sense, decision making processes serve the purpose of governing the way relationships among actors are maintained and altered, which, in extension, may explain how the identity of an organisation is reproduced and changed.
The analysis form part of a PhD project which examines how work at hostels for the homeless is organised in relation to the intentions of the law saying that residents should only stay on a temporary basis. An essential component is to explore the transformation processes between policy as general guidelines and policy as practice. This involves the understanding of policy as defined by Cris Shore and Susan Wright as well as concepts of technology in line with Michel Foucault.

Vision Meets Muddle: An Investigation of How Vision Statements Affect Decision Making in a Swedish Municipality

Peter Parker, Malmö University (peter.parker@mah.se)

A clearly communicated vision of where the organisation should be headed is often seen as an integral part of leadership and necessary in bringing about development in large organisations. However, even in seemingly successful formulations of organisational vision, it is not entirely clear how the high level goals of a vision statement connect with the everyday decisions in daily practice of the organisation. Many times daily practical decisions are limited in scope and often characterised by struggles to find acceptable solutions to pressing problems rather than consistent work toward overarching high-level goals. The purpose of this paper is to investigate how an organisation's stated vision connects with practice and decision-making on different levels. Special attention is given to the connection of different kinds of organisational logic. On the one hand the importance of vision in creating reflection and identity as a basis for renewal and on the other hand the daily practice of muddling through complex decisions.
The empirical starting point of the study is the municipality of Malmoe that formulated a vision of sustainability and attractiveness. This vision has been operationalised in the municipality's decision to become the first certified fair trade city in Sweden. This decision is in turn translated into operational goals for different parts of the municipal government. However the implementation of these goals in guiding local decisions is neither clear cut nor simple. A detailed study of these decisions processes is intended to shed light on the complex social nature of decision-making in organisations.

W004

Mobility, Transnational Connections and Sociocultural Change in Contemporary Africa

Convenors: **Tilo Grätz, University of Leipzig (tilograetz@yahoo.de)**
Dmitri Bondarenko, Russian Academy of Sciences (dbondar@hotmail.com)
Petr Skalník, University of Pardubice (petr.skalnik@upce.cz)

28 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 4

Mobility is a central feature of African societies, creating supra-regional social, political and economic connections and new transnational spaces. The latter also extend beyond the continent, by way of migration of Africans to Europe, North America or elsewhere, the constitution of Diaspora communities and various modes of integration of Africans into the world economy "from below". The workshop addresses the political and cultural dimensions of these migratory links with regard to issues of citizenship, ethnicity, religiosity, and aspects of socioeconomic change in the home and host societies.

The workshop consists of two sub-sessions.

1. African migration to Europe: enhancing transnational spaces
- Migration of Africans to Europe, including flight, refuge; barriers or modes of integration/disintegration
- Europeans' perception and acceptance/rejection of African newcomers in every-day practice of communication
- Factors promoting or preventing immigrants' adaptation in Europe (educational and professional background, language skills, family status, laws and policy)
- Communication with home regions, African Diasporas as network communities within host societies, Diaspora churches

2. Migration, social mobility and moralities
- Issues of spatial and social mobility inside Africa
- Aspects of social change induced by migration, its moral evaluation in various societies
- "Neotraditionalism", the revival of Africans' interest in "authenticity", "truly African" religion, lifestyle) as a reaction to new realities
- Africans' visions of the West and globalisation as catalysts of changes in their own societies

Presenters are requested to send an extended abstract two weeks prior to the conference.

Miners and Taxi Drivers in Benin: The Emergence of New Moral Field in Informal Settings

Tilo Grätz, University of Leipzig (tilograetz@yahoo.de)

My paper explores two particular socio-economic fields, related to artisanal gold-mining and to motorbike taxi driving in Africa, exemplified by case studies from Benin.

In both cases, access to the field is quite simple and not bound to ethnic networks, capital or skills, what makes these occupations quite attractive especially for those hoping to solve a temporal crisis.

Both settings are characterised by a high degree of social fluctuation, informality and

temporality. I argue that despite these features, norms and rules of behaviour are not less demanding and compelling and do not, however, obstruct the establishment of particular moral fields. In both cases, various daily conflicts occur, but actors have developed a multitude of institutions of conflict resolution.
Linking up with recent publications on comparable case studies in Africa, these examples underline the need for a re-consideration of theories of social structuration with regard to occupational roles and demand a more sophisticated approach to what is usually called the informal sector.

Slavery and Emancipation in the Haalpulaar Society (Mauritania): The Influence of Migrants of Servile Origin on Social Renegotiation

Olivier Leservoisier, Lyon II (o.leservoisier@wanadoo.fr)

Slavery is still a very topical issue in Mauritania with the latest official abolition of slavery dating back to 1981 and more recently the Mauritanian National Assembly adopting, on August 8th, 2007, a law criminalizing the slavery. The aim of this paper is to analyse the role of migrants on the emancipation of groups of servile origin. After a brief presentation of the essential discriminations that the descendants of slaves are facing today, I will focus on the various kinds of resistance that these forms of discrimination produce.
In this perspective, I will show how the political action of subordinate groups reveals the influence of international actors in local political arenas. Hence, international migrants not only support financially the political goals of social movements, but they also influence the local political imagination by introducing new ideas and strategies. Thus, an increasing number of subordinate groups have been to claim an equal share of political power in the name of the principles of equality, dignity and individual competence. Their demands are not limited to participation in the new political structures of the municipality, but they also aim to be represented in the traditional powers of the village.
The example of the village of Djeol (in the Senegal River Valley) will illustrate that power relations between social groups occur not only at the village level, but may well involve a broad network of agents (youths, migrants, administration employees), different transnational spaces (Europe, Africa), and forms of political imagery. These converging factors contribute to the ambivalence of political practices.

Frontières de la mobilité, limites de la citoyenneté: la signification politique de la mobilité pour les Peuls mauritaniens

Riccardo Ciavolella, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris/ University of Milan Bicocca (riccardo.ciavolella@gmail.com)

Cette contribution analyse les significations politiques de la mobilité pour des groupes peuls de la Mauritanie du centre sud. Traditionnellement, l'anthropologie a attribué à ces groupes une « culture de la mobilité » du fait de leur origine nomade. Cependant, les pratiques contemporaines de la mobilité ne sont plus liées à la vie pastorale. Elles correspondent plutôt à une stratégie d'action politique par rapport à l'État. Par exemple, la mobilité peut représenter une forme de rejet des autorités politiques (la fugue des réfugiés du « nettoyage ethnique » de 1989) ou une tactique pour contourner l'État (mobilité rurale-urbaine et transfrontalière). Mais dans la plupart des cas, la mobilité nationale et internationale de ces groupes marginaux est profondément limitée. En ce sens, leurs pratiques de la mobilité sont liées aux logiques politiques d'inclusion et d'exclusion de la citoyenneté formelle et substantielle.

L'article traitera de cette question en relation à quelques dynamiques cruciales actuelles:
- L'impact de la décentralisation politique et des horizons identitaires "glocaux" dans la formation d'idéologies et pratiques néo-traditionnelles;
- La création d'une "region transfrontalière" dans la zone du fleuve Karakoro entre Mauritanie et Mali, avec le support de la CEDEAO;
- L'exclusion des Peuls mauritaniens réfugiés au Mali du plan de rapatriement annoncé par le nouveau gouvernement "démocratique";
- L'exclusion des groupes peuls des réseaux internationaux de solidarité par rapport à d'autres groupes voisins, tells que les Soninké, qui ont historiquement profité de la migration internationale.

Saharian "Borderline"- Strategies: Transnational Mobility of Tuareg (Ishumar) between Niger, Algeria and Libya

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The movements of the Ishumar in this transnatonal field are no cyclic or other "traditional" movements of nomads with their livestock, but situativ bordercrossings of "new modern" nomads, who move in the Libyan-Algerian-Nigerian borderland without papers, identity-cards or passports. The Triangle-Villages Ghat in Libya, Djanet in Algeria and Arlit in Niger are outstanding corners in the new created inner-saharian space of agency. All this three borderland-villages inherit a central position from which the "off-road" routes begin and end. The protagonists operate beyond national loyalities, cross state borders illegally and move in a space of transit with strategies of avoidance in order to pursuit their activities of trading, smugging and migration.
In this paper I will describe 1. the ways, challenges and dangers of the (illegal) bordercrossings and the life in the space of transit, 2. the several strategies Ishumar use in order to move freely in the borderland and 3. the changings in their traditional conceptions of norms and values.

Socio-Cultural and Political Change in a Transnational Group: The Konkombas (Ghana/Togo)

Giulia Casentini, University of Siena (giu_casentini@yahoo.com)

I would like to analyse the socio-political transition of a transnational group, the Konkomba people, focusing on the building of their ethnic identity in order to have access to land ownership and citizenship rights.
The Konkombas are settled along the northern part of the Ghana/Togo border and they represent a good example of what a so-called "acephalous" group in transition could be, owing to their struggle to emancipate themselves by obtaining their neighbours' chieftaincy institution.
In this landscape the construction of identities becomes a political tool in order to establish who should be included or excluded from citizenship rights.
The issues around ethnicity, belonging and autochthony assume a specific character in this border zone: in Ghana the Konkombas are said to be "non-indigenous" coming from Togo, as well as in Togo several authors affirm that they are believed to come "originally" from Ghana.
What are today the mutual relations and perceptions between members of a group that has been divided as part of two different nation-states during the colonial era?
What are the answers to the needs of a minority group in transition held by Ghana and Togo since their different colonial heritage (British in Ghana, French in Togo) and

their current political systems?
With my research I would like to highlight the contemporary interactions between transnational Konkombas and, consequently, try to find out what is the role of the border in building ethnic identities furthermore in defining and re-defining the access to citizenship rights.

Transnationalism and Social Mobility through the Performing Arts in Senegal

Hélène Neveu Kringelbach, Oxford University (helene.neveu@africa.ox.ac.uk)

One of the youth's preferred routes towards social mobility in Senegal is to become a performer in one of the numerous neo-traditional troupes that have flourished since the 1960s. The profession emerged with the creation of the National Ballet, set up in 1961 to act as a cultural ambassador for Senegal and contribute to nation-building. As the national project weakened, the genre was re-appropriated by neighbourhood and hometown associations to embody local identities and take advantage of the global success of "African performance". With each tour, many performers settled in the host countries, often benefiting from already established transnational connections.
This paper explores some of the ways in which "artistic" mobility has affected sociocultural change in Senegal. For example, the successful careers of migrant artists have challenged the traditional perception of praise-singers and other performers as persons of a lower social status. In this predominantly Muslim society, it also raises acute questions of morality, particularly where women performers are concerned. Finally, it inevitably sustains the imagination of non-migrants and makes immobility problematic in a social environment often hostile to those who are reluctant to leave or do not "make it" abroad.

"Nerves!": Struggling with Immobility in the Gambia

Paolo Gaibazzi, University of Milan-Bicocca (pgaibazzi@yahoo.it)

In the face of the increasing importance of transnational migration for Africa and Africans, a large number of subjects in the sending contexts do not or cannot migrate. Even if willing they may lack socioeconomic resources or fail to obtain visas due to restrictive immigration policies in the West and elsewhere. How do they live transnational migration and policy making? Which social and cultural practices have such processes engendered in the sending contexts?
The paper analyses the so-called "nerves syndrome" in The Gambia which mainly concerns young men aspiring to migrate; it does so by paying particular attention to Soninke communities, one of the most travelled peoples in the country. "Nerves" is part of a larger vocabulary through which youths speak of their frustrated aspirations of migrating and progressing socially. However, rather than seeing it as a simple result of the juxtaposition between push factors in Africa and tight migration policies in the West, the paper looks at the "syndrome" as a complex phenomenon stemming from the historical articulations between geographical and social mobility. The phenomenon condenses concepts and bodily experiences of masculinity and work, wealth and consumption, success and failure, morality and destiny, some of which become contested topics in the public sphere. The picture is further complicated by models and imaginaries about success and cosmopolitan experience circulated by migrant activities and networks.
The paper therefore elaborates on the contradictory ways in which transnational migration effects socio-economic inequalities, performs and strains solidarities, and produces cultural change.

Local Perspectives on Transnational Relations of Cameroonian Migrants

Michaela Pelican, University of Zurich (m.pelican@access.uzh.ch)

This paper discusses local perspectives on international migration and the role of the family in the migration enterprise. The focus will be on south-south migration, namely from Cameroon to other African countries and China. The presentation is based on a joint research project with colleagues and students of the Universities of Yaoundé (Cameroon).
As in many African countries, international migration has become a major concern for large parts of the population of Cameroon. While western countries still feature as preferred destinations, many Cameroonians have turned to other, more easily accessible options. Most common is migration to neighbouring countries, such as Gabon, which has less bureaucratic requirements. Alternatively, some Cameroonians have chosen South Africa in the hope of making a quick fortune and subsequently a way out of Africa. A few individuals have opted for China - with mixed results. In all these migration enterprises the family plays a crucial role, both in the preparation of the journey and with regard to transnational exchange relations (i.e. distribution of remittances, spiritual and moral support). However, besides mutual support, these relations are also characterised by secrecy and suspicion.

The "CUDA" Associations in West Cameroon: Between Autochthony and Transnational Virtual Communities

Jean-Pierre Warnier, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (jp-warnier@wanadoo.fr)

Over the last fifteen years, the kingdoms and other societies of West Cameroon have fostered the development of local associations. Their acronym is made of the first letters of the society's name followed by "CUDA", meaning "Cultural Development Association" (ex.: MACUDA for "Mankon Cultural Development Association"). Their goals are manifold: promoting local development, lobbying in favour of the local community, enhancing the power of their leaders in national or local politics, etc. However, thanks to the Internet, they came to assume another role of growing importance: they assimilate transnational Diasporas and maintain them within the virtual limits of their kingdom or community of origin - especially as regards transnational elites. This role, in its turn, has taken up a new dimension with the booming politics of autochthony before and after the UN Declaration on the rights of autochthonous peoples (October 2007). In the context of contemporary Cameroonian politics, these associations increasingly tend to mediate citizenship at the local and transnational levels, to achieve the closure and exclusiveness of local identities, and to give access to globalised resources. The paper will analyse the dynamics of those associations in the context of local politics and transnational migrations.

Africans in Moscow: Foreign Churches as a Factor of Socio-Cultural Adaptation or Non-Adaptation

Ekaterina Shakhbazyan, Russian State University for the Humanities (Shakhbazyan@yandex.ru)

The paper is based on the field evidence collected in 2007 and 2008. In spite of the fact that the present research is limited to the Moscow megapolis, we believe that, although probably with some minor reservations, the situation in Moscow can be projected on other Russian megapoleis in which the overwhelming majority of African

migrants is concentrated.
Among the great variety of factors that influence the migrants' socio-cultural adaptation process (educational and professional background, language skills, family status, financial position, interrelation with the accepting socio-cultural milieu, etc.), the factor of religion stands prominently. This factor includes not only the role the beliefs as such are playing but also the possibilities for performing the cult in the host country and the part the religious organisations (Churches in the case of Christians) play as a means of the migrants' integration and co-operation. The role of the foreign Churches to which the majority of the African Christians living in Moscow belong is estimated in the paper as dualistic: On the one hand, they promote the adepts' keeping of their original identities (not religious only but socio-cultural in general as well) what can give them the feeling of psychological comfort, while on the other hand they can also move the migrants further away from the norms and values accepted in the Russian society, thus complicating the process of their adaptation.

Dynamics of Migration and Development Cooperation between Sub-Saharan-Africa and Germany

Nadine Sieveking, University of Bielefeld (nadine.sieveking@uni-bielefeld.de)

The paper addresses the way in which migration in the space between Sub-Sahara-Africa and Europe is conceptualised from the point of view of German development cooperation. In spite of the growing interest in the link between migration and development, German development cooperation has so far been reluctant to get fully engaged in this discussion. Existing return programmes and pilot projects involving African Diaspora organisations indicate a way to deal with the issue, but so far this approach has not been systematically mainstreamed into the broader country strategies. Moreover the agenda of German development cooperation is not homogeneous and diverging positions illustrate a quite tense relation between restrictive immigration politics and the recognition of migration as a development potential.
The proposed paper is based on ongoing research for a study commissioned by the German Ministry for development cooperation, including fieldwork in Ghana and Mali. It focuses on the interface between German development agencies and local actors, analysing the way how specific aspects of migration dynamics (gendered, age-related, and regionally specific pattern) and their supposed root causes are articulated and linked to development processes. With respect to the empirical case studies it is argued that the various ways to approach and understand migration reflect different visions of development. This is shown by contrasting examples from Ghana and Mali, which illustrate different patterns of mobility. The examples indicate that the relation between migration and development is highly ambiguous - it has to be contextualised in order to understand its dynamics.

Here and There: Presence and Absence among Hausa Migrants in Belgium and Urban Niger

Sébastien Lo Sardo, Brussels Free University (slosardo@gmail.com)

Due to economical migration, long distance trade and global Islam, Southern and Central Niger witness intense population movements, at both transregional and transnational levels. Besides human displacement, money, media and material goods circulate through the same channels. As a result, urban and rural spaces are not only

deeply interconnected but also filled with material, visual and discursive fragments of distant "elsewheres" - i.e. West African cities, North-America, Europe, Middle-East and Eastern Asia. Through appropriation in everyday life, these foreign artefacts orient local practices and perceptions of the world. Beyond the processes of local appropriation, my aim is to analyse such dynamics through a multi-sited ethnography that tracks the ties connecting distant places, persons and communities.
In Niger, researches have been conducted among Hausa migrants in urban centres and within the rural areas from which they originated. Fieldwork has also been carried out in Belgium within the Nigerien Diaspora. Drawing on experiences of migration, this paper explores how, despite distance and absence, migrants continue to be active in their homelands through flows of artefacts, money, information or the building of houses. Concurrently, it examines how, through similar mediations, past homelands pervade the daily life of migrants at collective, emotional and cognitive levels.

W005

Reflecting on Reflexivity in Anthropology and Social Science

Convenors: **Terry Evens, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (tmevens@email.unc.edu)**
Christopher Roberts, Reed College (robertsc@reed.edu)
Chair: **Don Handelman**

27 August 2008, 14:00
Room: 410

In contemporary social scientific discourse, reflexivity has become a lightning rod for polemical debates on diverse epistemological, ontological, aesthetic and moral issues. An ongoing epistemological critique of objectivity in the social sciences has fostered a heightened reflexivity in which researchers turn back on themselves in order to assess the impact of their positions, as experts and socio-political beings, on the subjects of their research. This workshop aims to critically assess the theoretical and practical value of reflexivity in the context of social science, especially anthropology. The principal aim, then, is not to forge a reflexive anthropology as such or to illustrate reflexive analysis in first-order ethnographic research, but rather to scrutinise reflexivity itself, reflexively. The prescriptive theme is that however one comes to terms with the critique of objectivity as a historically specific paradigm, one has to turn the lessons of this critique back on reflexivity itself.

Cosmopolitan Reflexivity: Towards a Transmodal Analysis of Rituals

Koen Stroeken, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (koen.stroeken@ant.kuleuven.be)

There is no way of telling reflexive from non-reflexive thought. I argue that reflexivity refers not to an evolved cognitive mode but to a particular organisation of cognitive as much as social and bodily modes of being. Such code, defined as a visceral reality, requires a "transmodal" analysis, in terms of values, not mechanisms. Comparing critical social theory to the Sukuma diviner's discourse, I show that reflexive meanings adopt an intrusive structure: transgression of institutionalised separations (e.g., between inside/ outside, between semantic domains, between historical moments, between moral values, between cultures). Reflexivity is enfleshed as pain, intersubjectively shared as crisis, and thought as subversive. The reflexive flow takes one of three forms: sustaining the intrusion, terminating it, or synchronising with it. The first flow is ritualised

in witchcraft discourse, the second in initiation, the third in spirit possession, also in greeting and joking, and in the majini spirits of Muslim healers. We call the third form cosmopolitan. The paper pushes the exercise in cultural comparison a little further in the tension between imperialist and cosmopolitan types purity (a position beyond good/ bad). Just as social scientists think to have learned from the mistakes of our imperialist past it seems they have been laying ideological foundations for a form of reflexivity that sustains crisis - producing a pleasure of its own, but obstructing avenues to cosmopolitan reflexivity.

Intercultural Borderlinking, Intersubjectivity and Self-Knowing

René Devisch, University of Leuven (rene.devisch@ant.kuleuven.be)

Hypothetically, my own intergenerational and intercultural self-reflection as I describe it here has developed along fours tracks. There is first the traumatic family memory of the impact in my home region of World Wars I and II that I came to embody and carry on, in particular through the intergenerational recycling of my name René ("the reborn"). I venture to argue that the memory carried by my name led me to become 2. a psychoanalyst and (3.-4.) an anthropologist along a double track. The positions of psychoanalyst and anthropologist provide different self-reflexive hermeneutical perspectives on the intercorporeal and intersubjective dynamics by which I am being interwoven with my host community in RD Congo, a former Belgian colony. My sustained effort to fine-tune myself to that community by means of asymmetrical mirrorings and otherings relates in particular to the following two self-critical modalities: 3. my co-implication in contexts implying both incommensurable life worlds and a transsubjective gnosis that exceeds western-borne ratio; and 4. my looking from "there" to "here as if it were there," a stance which equally comprised both my self-conscious unravelling of the repressed in the civilisational clash as well as my assessment of the failure in the intercultural social sciences with regard to thinking the invisible in both its epiphanous and uncanny dimensions.

Perfect Praxis in Aikidō - Take II: A Reflexive Body

Einat Bar-On Cohen (einatcb@hotmail.com)

The students of aikidō - a pacifistic martial art - transform the aggressive relationship between them, which always sets out with an attack, into smooth circular movement, annihilating the effects of violence. In view of the simple characteristics of a typical aikidō exercise, this paper sets out to explore the potential embedded in the reflexive mode revealed through aikidō. First, since aikidō is utterly embodied, what does it mean to be reflexive with one's entire body? Secondly, given that aikidō has an ethical pacific project, embedded in body movement alone, what does non-discursive ethical reflexivity mean? And finally, forming the sociality of aikidō and its project does not depend on representations or discourse, reflexivity on the other hand, is often understood in relation to discourse, what then does a non-discursive reflexivity amount to? I will engage with these questions in Deleuzian terms.

Reflections on Teaching Ethnography

Deborah Golden, University of Haifa (deborahg@construct.haifa.ac.il)

This essay, based on the anthropological insight that there is much to be learned about a culture by the way it takes in its newcomers, takes a finely-grained look at teaching ethnography. By making use of Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger's notion

of learning as "legitimate peripheral participation" I look at ways in which students are instructed in becoming part of a community of practice. I look not only at what skills the apprentice must learn in order to be able to "do the job", but also at what he or she is to imbibe as a way of being. This close look at ways of learning to be an ethnographer reveals a complex fabric of doing and being, of which reflexivity is only one dimension. Indeed, I shall try to argue that reflexivity cannot be directly pursued in and of itself, and that the direct pursuit of reflexivity may result in its shallowest articulation. Rather, I argue that reflexivity is made possible by, and emerges out of, altogether other facets of the ethnographic enterprise.

Reflexive Anthropology and Social Activism

Terry Evens, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (tmevens@email.unc.edu)

In recent decades ethnographic science, consonant with 20th century physical science, has come to acknowledge that there is no observation in which the observer is not a participant. If the beholder shares in the determination of the beheld, then she cannot lay claim to a view from nowhere, a completely objective perspective. Given the inevitability of a particular and hence biased perspective, it can become ethnographically attractive to choose one's bias in a considered manner directed primarily at not so much doing "good research" as, simply, doing "good". This paper suggests that there has been too little thought given in the discipline to the implications, for ethnography and social activism, of the critical truth that the view from nowhere is indeed pie in the sky. The paper argues that the vital fact of the beholder's share relativises and complicates, but does not collapse, the distinction between research and activism, and that in the absence of attending diligently to the relative force of this distinction, activist anthropology risks, ironically, failing to take advantage of the faculty of reflexivity and to reflect on it critically enough.

Reflexivity in Politics

Yaron Ezrahi, Hebrew University (msezrahi@mscc.huji.ac.il)

Since the political order has no foundations in divinity, nature, historical or social laws, or any other safe grounds, and is constituted by a mixture of conscious and mostly unconscious enactments of socially shared imaginaries (fictions), collective political reflexivity on the groundlessness of politics may have subversive or even revolutionary potential. Hence the metapolitics of a hegemonic political order tends to largely focus on devising strategies for denying its own groundlessness, for combating or resisting attempts to expose the shaky foundations of the internally legitimating genealogy of the regime. In these battles mythologisers and demytholigisers, literalists and fictionalists, or naturalisers and historicisers convert and then enlist the vast resources of culture including magic, science, poetry, metaphysics, theology and the arts as their weapons. The paper will discuss the metapolitics of the contemporary democratic social order as a continual battle between reflexivity and literality on denying or granting reality status to contesting imaginaries of origins and destiny.

Ritualisation and the Reflexive Critique of Scientism

Christopher Roberts, Reed College (robertsc@reed.edu)

This paper begins with the premise that the study of ritual depends upon a reflexive practice that acknowledges the scholar\'s dependence upon the phenomena that

s/he would scrutinise. As ritual studies have come to encompass reinterpretations of ritual as formalisation, performance, and, the objectification of ritualisation as strategic practice, this history provides the resources for constructing a post-theoretical perspective that rejects the reifications intrinsic to scientism. Such an auto-critical perspective overcomes scientism by addressing the myriad ways that scholars depend upon ritualisation even as they take it as an object of scrutiny. If one draws upon the ethnographic and historical work of Bruno Latour and the Edinburgh Science Studies Unit, one can see that ritualisation and scientific research differ not in kind but in degree, for both deploy the strategic weaving of received behaviour with innovation to produce desired outcomes (felicitous ritual performances, successful experiments) and reproduce ritual or scientific agents. Ritualisation thus brings the field into direct conflict with scientism and all other theories that depend upon singular epistemological breaks to separate a given field from its religious, ritual, or ideological antecedents. The putatively objective nature of ritual studies -- and by extension, scholarly practice as a whole -- shifts to become a mode of involvement, for instead of encoding ritual phenomena into a non-ritual metalanguage, we now have the charged interface between different ritual systems and conflicting ritual expectations.

The Ethic of Being Wrong: Levinas in the Field

Don Handelman, Hebrew University, Jerusalem (mshand@mscc.huji.ac.il, don.handelman@huji.ac.il)

Fieldwork anthropology is a unique discipline in academia because it desires and often requires unmediated contact between anthropologist-as-subject and native other-as subject: subject to subject. The ethics of Levinas encourage me to argue that what I call "the ethic of being wrong" is a special virtue in anthropology. Anthropology begins with the other as subject. This is why the ethics of anthropology should be positioned at this conjuncture of self and other, where the anthropologist as subject learns from the other as subject. An inquiry that begins with other as foreground must first be wrong about otherness, and may well continue to be wrong, not as nihilistic pessimism, but as an accurate refraction of human social and cultural formations and confusions and their relations to self-ness - a refraction of the humaness of Human Being. Consider being wrong, in terms of Levinas' ethics. Levinasian ethics emphasises the unmediated relatedness of self and other, face-to-face, the priority of other over self, the ethical demand made by other, the unmediated demand that cannot be known, and the necessary response of self to the unknown. The anthropologist tries to relate to others he does not know, others who have priority because they are living their lives in their own habitus in which the anthropologist is an interloper. If he is going to learn, he must put the other before himself, because he can only learn from others in their life. In Levinasian ethics, it is in being wrong that the anthropologist opens and makes space for otherness.

Where is Anthropology When You Need It?

Robert Daniels, University of North Carolina (robert_daniels@unc.edu)

Anthropology, while claiming a global sweep and evolutionary time scale, is ultimately rooted, not in objective knowledge, but the appreciation of shared understandings. We are drawn to highly localised, in-depth long-term research. The result is a concern with the reflexive nature of our knowledge, an appreciation that what we have learned is inseparable from how we have learned it, that our knowledge. Along the

way, anthropology has failed to also develop its promise of a global perspective.
It is now being recognised that the human species has entered a new era. The interlocked problems of non-renewable resource depletion, accumulating industrial waste, biosphere degradation and climate change lead expert and lay observers to postulate extreme predictions about the foreseeable future: e.g. the collapse of industrialised food production and a "die off" of human population from 7 billion to less than 3 billion in the next 150-200 years. Many political commentators see these crises as the underlying explanation for the current geopolitical situation.
Surely nothing could be of more central concern to anthropology. I do not know any anthropologist who is not deeply concerned; many are alarmed. Yet those discussing the possible futures of humanity are natural scientists, independent authors, and journalists, not anthropologists.
Anthropology lacks a solid paradigm on which to start a predictive theory and, it seems, is about to be rendered irrelevant by truly global transformations occurring to its own subject.

Wittgenstein and the Ethical Reflexivity of Anthropological Discourse

Horacio Ortiz, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (horacio.ortiz@free.fr)

In his late writings, Wittgenstein analyses the description of action in terms of rules by applying it to his own writings. He remarks that using the language of rules when describing someone else's action, like anthropologist do, is not to neutrally represent phenomenal reality in the realm of words, but to engage in a relation with the reader of the description. By analysing its own practice in its own terms, anthropological discourse can thus develop a specific ethical reflexivity. Pierre Bourdieu and Michel de Certeau have explicitly taken up this approach from Wittgenstein. Like him, both authors use their own method of describing action in terms of rules to describe the practice of anthropological discourse itself. This leads them to spell an anthropological understanding of the relation between their own practice and those to which it is addressed. For Bourdieu the ethical import of his own discourse consists in its critical potential. De Certeau insists on the ethical importance of the creative potential of a description that would place the reader in the situation of action. Drawing from two examples from my research on contemporary finance, I will try to show that this ethical reflexivity helps us to stabilise the objects that we study, since it clarifies our relation to them, which is always also a relation to our potential readers. While the ethical and the objective content of anthropological discourse are not related in a simple way, the clarification of each helps the clarification of the other.

W006

Sustainable Cultural Diversities in Europe

Convenors: **László Kürti, University of Miskolc (lkurti@ella.hu)**
Alexandra Bitušikova, Matej Bel University, Banska Bystrica (alexandra.bitusikova@umb.sk)

28 August 2008, 11:00
Room: 03

Our objective is based on the Sustainable Development in a Diverse World Network of Excellence funded by the EU. Thus far diversity has gained attention mainly in "Western" societies, but gradually we can observe the growth of diversity, multiculturalism or

interculturalism also in places that until recently have had no experience with everyday "otherness", such as post-socialist countries, Scandinavia, Switzerland, the Balkans or new EU Member States. The current economic, cultural, political and social discourses acknowledge diversity, both as a source of conflict and multiculturality, but they also legitimate it as a possible positive value of contemporary societies. There is an increased need to design policies that can govern diversity in a dynamic way leading to artistic creativity, growth and sustainable development. We want to address the issue of cultural diversity and sustainable development in urban settings where diversities are most present and evident. We aim at bringing diversity perspectives from all European regions by inviting proposals that look at aspects of diversity, i.e. both as an engine for development and as a challenge to established/majority ways of life. Case studies investigating how diversity is understood and managed leading to dynamic developments are especially welcome.

Comparison of Open/Heterogeneous - Closed/Homogeneous Local Systems in Dealing with Diversity: London

Rossella Lo Conte, University College, London (r.loconte@ucl.ac.uk)

Bow and Battersea are two inner-London areas which were identified by previous research as two different ideal types of local systems in dealing with diversity: Bow as being closed/homogeneous and Battersea as being open/heterogeneous. Diversity-Indicators were also defined. The two areas manage resources and organise access to such resources differently, defining a local according to ethnic group or to the degree the person "fits with us", in contrast to "them". London, as all large cities, offers many groups to belong to and many others from which being excluded, identification in THIS and differentiation from THAT is a very complex but interesting process when considered in a urban setting where there are just more boundaries. The focus of this research has been to investigate whether the distinction of "open: closed" still holds today and whether the current situation could have been predicted from any of the initial indicators. Official 2001 Census Statistics accompany findings from informal household interviews conducted to people of different age, gender and ethnic background, living in the areas. Longstanding and new residents' perceptions about changes are also explored looking at their livelihood options in the neighbourhood. Battersea is not as open as it used to be and Bow is not as closed. Some features have changed and more options have become available. We believe that diversity is beneficial for both hosting people and newcomers. Results are hoped to have an impact on people working on local planning and policy areas.

Differences among European Students in Motivation to Learn: A Cross-Cultural Study

Janez Kolenc, Educational Research Institute (janez.kolenc@pei.si)

Because of the impact of motivation on educational outcomes, student motivation in schools has become a major field in educational research. Different goals can have dramatic impacts on achievement outcomes. In our study, we try to reject a stereotype, that competition is not a desired personal characteristic and specific motivational factor. Therefore, the principal hypothesis is that if motivation to learn and competition are investigated in a context of self-concept, also positive dimensions as well as correlations with self-concept and motivation to learn areas could appear. As a consequence, a new model of self-concept, based on different kinds of competition and motivation to learn, could be postulated. It could also be assumed that this model

might differ from culture to culture. Therefore, the participants from three countries participated in the study. Countries were chosen on the basis of political and cultural indicators in Eastern/Southern versus Western/Southern European changes: Slovenia, Serbia and Montenegro and Spain.

Politics of Identity: Saxonness without Saxons in a Transylvanian Town

Monica-Livia Stroe, Central European University (monica.stroe@gmail.com)

The paper is an attempt to reveal the identity-building strategies used in the case of the Romanian city of Sibiu to support the title of European Capital of Culture awarded in 2007. The city was founded as a fortress founded by German settlers (Saxons) in the twelfth century and was widely known throughout medieval times by its German name, Hermannstadt. It preserved a multiethnic component until the last decades of the communist era, when the German population radically decreased down to 1.6% of the population at present.
I am applying Rogers Brubaker's framework of "ethnicity without groups" to study how Saxon ethnicity is reduced to a set of practices (patrimonialisation, staging and performance) in the quasi-absence of a Saxon population in the city. The focus is on how Saxon-ness is instrumentalised by ethno-political entrepreneurs and acquires the role of a cultural idiom translated into a discursive frame. The research on the organisation of the European Capital of Culture reveals a narrative domination of the Saxon-ness when it comes to staging identity and building the city's brand. Communicating ethnicity becomes a political stake with both economic and symbolic dimensions. Why is Saxon-ness the successful city branding strategy considering the local, national and European context? To find the answer to this question, the research focuses on official discourse, patrimonial policies and cultural program.

Sustainable Cultural Diversity and Mutuality: The Case of Slovenia

Zvezda Delak Koželj, Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia (zvezdana.kozelj@zvkds.si)

Changed social conditions, particularly the new constitutional role of property, the development of ethnology, new protection tasks - also in the sense of integral conservation - and new meanings of cultural heritage dictate the need for additional professional obligations of ethnologists/conservators and their future strategy.
These new elements and changes demand a critical approach, careful consideration and definition of the role of ethnology in the integral conservation of cultural heritage diversity and its expansion in the planning of sustainable development that integrates all aspects of the life and phenomena of culture, as well as physical planning. The lack of complex ethnological research and syntheses, complete with evaluation and efficient incorporation at all levels of protection procedures as well as spatial and developmental planning, results in threatened regional and local identities that are subject of protection endeavours.
Ethnologists must take advantage of the increased interest in cultural identity and find suitable answers to where, why (with justification) and how a certain cultural element, and not only selected examples of cultural heritage, should be protected.
Preservation as a sustainable, cyclical process should be a mutual decision and obligation of the proprietors and experts, as well as all other stakeholders (the state, local authorities, ministries, non-government organisations, enthusiasts, etc.). The selected cultural phenomena should be presented with the help of diverse, tried

and tested, recognised or innovative solutions as possible development potentials to planners at all levels, both vertical and horizontal.

Towards Sustainable Diversity in the City of Bratislava

Alexandra Bitušikova, Matej Bel University, Banska Bystrica (alexandra.bitusikova@umb.sk)
Daniel Luther, Slovak Academy of Sciences (daniel.luther@savba.sk)

The paper deals with questions of sustainable social and cultural diversity in the city of Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia. It compares two historic periods of state socialism and post-socialism and is based on the hypothesis that urban life differed significantly in the two periods and was influenced by two dominant features: politically forced order, discipline and uniformity leading to homogeneity in the period of the communist rule; and "freedom" and individualism following the collapse of the totalitarian rule in the first period of post-socialist transition, connected with uncertainty, chaos and growth of heterogeneity and diversity in all spheres of life. Transformation of the society went along with two competitive processes - globalism and localism that have also had an impact on the new diversified look of the city.
The case study of the city of Bratislava focuses on two selected indicators relevant to sustainable diversity in the post-socialist city that showed dramatic changes in the last decade: urban public space and civic participation in the governance of the city. The study does not focus on urban populations' diversity in the sense of ethnic, racial or religious diversity of immigrant groups because the scale of this diversity is still not large enough to make a broader analysis about it. The main attention is put on elements related to broader diversity that includes various social, cultural or marginalised groups of population and changing strategies, practices, mechanisms, values and attitudes in a transition society. The analysis is built on mostly qualitative data collected from the city council documents, local newspapers, reports of governmental and non-governmental organisations and a long-term ethnographic research based on participant observation and interviews.

We and Others in Process of Migration

Alena Pařízková, University of West Bohemia (alena.parizkova@gmail.com)

The paper is based on the social anthropological research on labour migration from the Czech Republic to foreign countries from the view of the persons involved. These migrants leave quite homogenous society and many of them encounter the multicultural societies of the West cities. For many of them it is new experience which they had to solve. To orient themselves in the situation they create different categories based on language and country of origin. There are two strong categories - we and others. Use of these categories can lead to formation of stereotypes which influence social interaction. Both categories can have different content for different migrants. Respondents of my research defined very often the category - the others - like the other migrants; especially they mentioned the migrants from Poland. In many places it was the biggest group of other migrants they met in process of migration. I examine how these categories influence the experiences and valuation of migration experience. The set of information has been gathered through semi-structured interviews. The emphasis was given on the narrations of migrants' experiences and evaluation.

W007

Staging Sport and Celebration: The Power of Play

Convenors: **Noel Dyck, Simon Fraser University (ndyck@sfu.ca)**
Gregor Starc, University of Ljubljana (gregor.starc@guest.arnes.si)
Chair**: Noel Dyck**

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 232

The capacity of sporting events to entertain and excite participants and spectators has long been appreciated by aficionados and has more recently begun to attract the interest of anthropologists. Events ranging from the Olympic Games to "world cups" of many different sorts - not to mention more routine professional and amateur competitions - demonstrate the remarkable popularity, profitability and power that may be harnessed through the staging of sporting activities. What is also evident is that stylised and elaborate celebrations of many kinds have become an integral and expected component of sporting events. Indeed, the action on the field of play is often far less compelling than the "play" that occurs around and beyond it. This occurs not only at national and global sporting events that command exhaustive media coverage but may also enter into the staging of sports and celebrations at decidedly more mundane levels of competition.

This workshop will explore the ways in which sport and celebration are staged in a wide range of social and competitive settings. Specifying the processes and purposes of those involved in various dimensions of staging of sport and celebration offers a promising point of entry into understanding the capacities and powers evident within these arenas. What we seek are accounts of the myriad ways in which individuals and members of groups strive to construct celebrations connected to sport as a means to pursue larger or smaller, immediate or subsequent, and expressive or instrumental purposes.

Articulating the "Powers of Sport": Canadians and the Discursive Construction of American Athletic Scholarships

Noel Dyck, Simon Fraser University (ndyck@sfu.ca)

This paper investigates the discursive construction of American athletic scholarships within the field of child and youth sports in Canada. Specifically, it examines the articulation of various "powers" associated with sports as embodied practices, organisational forms, and competitive performances. It is argued that commonplace discourses about the value and provenance of athletic scholarships serve not only to celebrate the significance of athletic accomplishment but also to orient the organisational hierarchies and resources devoted to child and youth sports in Canada.

The Aesthetics of Skiing in the Birth of a Nation: The Case of Slovenia

Gregor Starc, University of Ljubljana (gregor.starc@guest.arnes.si)

The ideas of national sports are common phenomena among the European as well as other nations. In the case of Slovenia, the aesthetics of skiing became one of the key identification points of the Slovenian people in the times when the idea of independent existence outside Yugoslavia started to be disseminated across the masses. Nationalist skiing aesthetics grew in importance during the 1980s when

skiing was turned into one of the most characteristic features of Slovenianness and started to be perceived as naturally inherent to all Slovenians. The imagery of the snowy Alpine world was intertwined with the imagery of skiing, cow bells, courageous mountaineers, and old Slovenian traditions; they all became signifiers of the chain of equivalence of Slovenianness, and the prevalent one in the homogenisation of Slovenian identification. The main dissemination channel for this dissemination was television, supported by press, which together formed an effective national-building tool that made masses of people believe that skiing is an important and impassable difference between Slovenians and other Yugoslavs. The proposed paper will present the strategies and cultural outcomes of media campaigns involving skiing aesthetics in the 1980s Slovenia that introduced new nationalist knowledge about Slovenianness based on old myths.

Revolutionary Blasts: The Politics of Passion within the Celebration of Home Runs in Cuban Baseball

Thomas Carter, Sussex University (t.f.carter@brighton.ac.uk)

Baseball, like many sports, is intricately and intimately tied to nationalist representations that reinforce a supposedly homogenous nation. Cuban baseball certainly appears to do just that, but manner in which baseball is organised accentuates rival notions of what it means to be Cuban in what I have called elsewhere the language of contention. Using ethnographic material compiled over the past decade, this paper explores the emergent dramatic "nocout" moments in Cuban baseball. This paper considers these emblematic and ephemeral instances moments in which a Cuban Self is attenuated and affirmed as an undeniable assertion of one version of being Cuban. These celebrations are spontaneous emotional declarations of being. The entity in question, however, being affirmed is not a question of whether a Cuban self exists but which one. Cuban baseball provides an embodied narrative spectacle of what I call the politics of passion. These experiential politics inform how Cubans imagine themselves and their worlds and yet are structured by the discourse surrounding what it means to be Cuban as embodied on the baseball diamonds across the country.

Celebrating Charity through Sport

Jon Mitchell, Sussex University (J.P.Mitchell@sussex.ac.uk)

UK mass-participation athletics events have expanded exponentially over the past 20 years. The London Marathon - now Flora London Marathon - for example has expanded from an initial field of 7,747 in 1981 to 46,500 in 2007. This expansion has gone hand in hand with an expansion of the charitable sector in general, and of charitable sporting activity in particular, to the extent that such events are now veritable carnivals of charity. This paper examines these celebrations of charity in the context of, on the one hand, the intensification of bodily projects in the articulation of the self in modern society, and on the other hand, the (re)moralising of the economy, work and leisure in the context of neoliberalism. In these contexts, participation can be thought of as a particular type of voluntary activity, geared towards cultivating both the self - physically and morally - and the other: the generalised "other" of wider society, and the specific "other" as recipient of charity. As such, it encompasses both larger and smaller goals, with immediate and subsequent, and expressive and instrumental consequences.

Scenery in Motion: The Event of Laugavegur Ultra Marathon, Iceland

Katrín Lund, University of Iceland (kl@hi.is)

This paper explores the bodily and sensational relationship between runners and the landscape they run through in the Laugavegur ultra marathon in Iceland. The event is a sporting event that has taken place in July every year since 1997. Laugavegur is a well known 55 km long hiking route in the south of Iceland. The event of Laugavegur ultra marathon has become more popular every year with an increasing number of foreign visitors taking part and is now being promoted as one of a life time event for runners from all over the world to partake in. What is emphasised is the stunning unspoiled landscape of wilderness that the participants run through which offers not only a magnificent scenery but also the challenge of running through a constantly changing nature, or as the slogan says: "The extreme challenge in a magnificent environment". This holds in hand with the way in which the Icelandic Travel Board is promoting Iceland as a place to visit, as a place of untouched wilderness, displaying magnificent contrasts in a landscape of mountains, glaciers and thermal springs. Thus the venue has been created, packed and marketed as a remote natural setting at the edge of the world, as something detached from the urban everyday lives of the participants, which nevertheless can be explored through the bodily challenge of running through it. This paper looks at how the runners experience the landscape whilst running through it and how it matches the image the Travel Board promotes.

From Dionysus to the Olympics: Sport and Ritual between the Local, National and Transnational

Christos Papakostas, University of Thessaly (christospapakostas@hotmail.com)

The aim of this paper is the anthropological investigation of the performance of a ritual during the closing ceremony of Athens Olympics 2004. The ritual, Babougera, features traditional masquerades which take place between the 6th and the 8th of January (Epiphany) in the village Kali Vrisi (Good Tap) in Northern Greece. In much Greek folklore and archaeological literature it is reported that this ritual emanated from the ancient era of God Dionysus. This was a very important criterion for the choice of local ritual as an initial part of the Olympics closing ceremony, which was a modern theatrical, artistic and "international" staged performance. The main significances that appeared were the continuity of Greek culture and its direct origin from ancient Greece. The performance of this ritual in an international event gives new characteristics to the cultural identity of a small local community.

Sport: In the Search for Immortality

Jernej Pisk (jernej.pisk@gmail.com)

There is only one real problem each human being faces and this is death, because nobody lives eternally. In the essence, human is a mortal being; being-unto-death, as posed it Heidegger. But human being never reconciles with this fact. Since ancient time humans have been searching ways to become immortal; to somehow stay alive eternally. In this paper we will focus on one specific common understanding of immortality among people - immortality in memory. Since ancient Greece success and fame have meant not only different privileges in the community but also achieving immortality. Artists, politicians and athletes - all of them were trying to become well-known. So other people would remember them after their death, praise

them, and keep them in their memory. In times when transcendental immortality was not known (or accepted), this was the only mean to become immortal. Till now list and statues of ancient Greek Olympic champions survived. So in a way champions are still alive - they achieved immortality. With the rise of metaphysic in philosophy and the Christianity with transcendental understanding of immortality also the need to be famous, to stay alive in memory declined. But nowadays, when the faith in transcendental immortality is weak, once again the ancient notion of immortality is becoming more and more powerful. Being fameous recognised among others, staying in the memory of others - that can be one of important causes for trying hard to become a champion in the field of sport.

National Identity and Global Awareness in Two Major Football Tournaments

Andreas Droulias, University of Alaska (ftad@uaf.edu)

The European Championship of 2004 in Portugal and the World Cup in 2006 in Germany provided arenas in which football fans from all over the world redefined their national identities. This interaction took place under an overarching global consciousness of the "football fan". It is argued that this consciousness, in these sporting events, created a non-threatening environment where everyday people had the chance to spontaneously express, reassert and celebrate their national uniqueness at the same time that they could transcend boundaries, socially and culturally constructed, that differentiate them from others. This is a complex process that deserves systematic investigation in light of, to date, unsuccessful political and economic efforts to replicate it. The paper is based on participant observation in both tournaments where the anthropologist was himself subject to these processes.

Globalisation and the Contestation of Identities in Football

Hans Kristian Hognestad, Telemark University College (hans.k.hognestad@hit.no)

This paper discusses how transnational connections in football challenges more homogeneous notions of local and national identity. This issue is highlighted through authorised calls for protection of "our" talents and restrictions for the possibility of "foreign" footballers. This is particularly evident in debates which seeks to promote the interests of national team football in times when international club football, with players competing in a global labour market, in many respects holds a more important position as a generator of identities for the supporters. Drawing from empirical research in Northern Europe, this paper seeks to analyse the ways in which football supporters apply notions of "who we are" and "who we are not" within a complex, globalised semiotic system. The paper also seeks to delve into the issue of how these orientations can be linked to more general social, racial and cultural issues.

Football and the Domestication of Money: Mimetic Strategies of Maskoy People in the Paraguayan Chaco

Valentina Bonifacio, Manchester University (bonivale@libero.it)

This paper addresses the issue of the massive adoption of football and volleyball by Maskoy indigenous people of the Paraguayan Chaco. I argue that the adoption of these "Western" games on the part of indigenous people is part of a wider mimetic strategy through which indigenous people attempt to become accepted by the surrounding society by adopting dominant visual/structural features. However, the

adoption of football and volleyball has not been undertaken in a passive way: while retaining the visual identity of the performance, the space/time of the game is the space/time in which money is made visible and socialised. The antagonistic nature of football and volleyball games allows players to become involved in an elaborate betting system through which money is circulated and made acceptable within a broader social context in which money is seen as dangerous. The antagonism between the players allows money to circulate and enhance sociality instead of conflict.

Le phénomène sportif en Afrique soudanienne

Koné Yaya, Université de Paris VIII (alphayaya@hotmail.com)

C'est au travers de diverses pratiques que nous exposerons nos travaux. Nous nous intéresserons principalement à deux pratiques: la course à pied et le football. Il semblerait qu'au fil des ans, le football soit devenu un projet de société dans des pays comme le Mali ou la Côte d'ivoire. L'évènement sportif de grande envergure que représente la Coupe d'Afrique des nations 2002, a été utilisé comme un véritable outil de développement. De plus, le football semble être une des causes, parmi tant d'autres, de l'énorme gâchis du potentiel athlétique des pays soudaniens, dont les habitants ne jurent que par le football. On peut parler d'une position monopolistique. Le sport constitue un véritable analyseur des sociétés africaines comtemporaines. Ainsi, on constate, une distribution sociale et spatiale des pratiques physiques et sportives. Fruit d'une longue enquête de terrain, cette étude permettra de mettre en exergue, les processus qui mènent aux sports et les incidences, les influences des pratiques sportives sur les sociétés d'Afrique soudano- sahélienne.

Celebrating Femininity? Women's Professional Football in Romania at the Interstices of Market Marginality and Compulsory Heterosexuality

Irina Costache, Central European University (costache_irina@phd.ceu.hu)

This paper looks at the emergence and development of women's football in Romania as an autonomous field. My research addresses several interrelated questions concerning gender, sexuality and class in structuring an embodied gendered self in this particular setting.

If men's football, one of the last standpoints of male preserve (Elias, Dunning: 1986) is the most popular sport today (and in history), women's professional football is highly marginalised in terms of audience, revenues and popularity. On the pitch women, only apparently compete against each other, when in fact we witness a symbolic struggle on the terrain of a masculine stronghold. Thus, socially acknowledged images of womanhood appear to be in stark contradiction with the image of the ideal footballer.

The paper, discusses how femininity, conceptualised as an embodied identity, functions in a particular, liminal, and to some extent, transgressive field: that of women's football.

Women footballers while acting in a field imbued by societal prejudices of appropriate gender behaviour, gendered occupational and skill features coupled with the specific demands of the sporting field in terms of strength, motility and competition, they nevertheless bring their own personal interpretations of what it means to be a woman footballer, thus challenging the very foundations that shape their practice.

Football Fandom as a Factor behind Cultural Differentiation: A Case Study on Sarajevo and Željezničar Fans in Bosnia-Herzegovina

Özgür Dirim Özkan, Yeditepe University (dirimozkan@gmail.com)

Football is the most popular game in the world. Simplicity of the game makes it easier to be popular, but on the other side, the main reason behind its global popularity is its promise of identities. Especially in the postmodern age, underestimating the boundaries of time and space, this popularity becomes one even more crucial for daily life. Bosnia-Herzegovina is as a country where cultural dynamics are bind to ethnic differences. However, on the other side there are different dynamics which may be effective on cultural differentiation. One of them might be argued as football fandom.

Although ethnicity plays a crucial role in Bosnian football rivalries, urban-rural (Sarajlija-Palanka) rivalries shall also be considered. On the other side, some rivalries are free of any other identity backgrounds, which do have implicit cultural dynamics stemmed from the very nature of football fandom itself. One of the most well known rivalries in Bosnian football is recognised as that of between the fans of Sarajevo and Željezničar, although their fans are recognised as mostly comprised of Bosnian Muslims. The historical rivalry between those two fan groups is effective on establishment of cultural differentiation on different levels. This paper will simply try to show those different levels referring to the ethnographical study conducted with fans of both football clubs.

W008

What Makes Popular Piety Popular?

Convenors: **Liza Debevec, Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (liza.debevec@zrc-sazu.si)**
Samuli Schielke, University of Joensuu/ISIM, Leiden (schielke@rocketmail.com)

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 019

Christianity has a long tradition in designating saint veneration, pilgrimages, magic, etc, to the ambiguous category of "popular piety", a field once associated with and distinguished from "proper" Christianity by the virtue of its "popularity". Also many anthropologists of Islam have found it convenient to distinguish "popular" from "orthodox" Islam. But how come is it that there are no self-proclaimed practitioners of popular Christianity or popular Islam? How come magic and mysticism, often practised only by a few marginalised people, are popular while the mass movements of Evangelical Christianity and Salafi Islam are not?

Many recent ethnographies of religious practice show that the category of "popular" is rarely applicable to the complex dynamics of scriptural tradition, charismatic movements and everyday negotiation of religious norms. Heir to the problematic distinction of "great" and "little" traditions and based on a dichotomy of "correct" normative religion and "popular" deviation from the norm, "popular" is a term so strongly embedded in the normative language of social and knowledge hierarchies that it seems questionable whether it should be used at all. And yet the very frequency with which people around the world label practices and ideas as "popular" in order to legitimise, discredit, exoticise or sanitise them, compels us to enquire what exactly it is that makes popular religion popular.

Rather than simply rejecting the category of "popular", this panel attempts to develop

new and meaningful approaches to the anthropological study of mass appeal, subaltern discourses, and knowledge and social hierarchies in the field of religion.

Divination and Islam: Existential Perspectives in the Study of Ritual and Religious Praxis in Senegal and Gambia

Knut Graw (knut.graw@soc.kuleuven.be)

Divination is one of the most wide-spread and resilient institutions of ritual life in West African countries such as Senegal and Gambia. Rather than being practised at the margins of an assumed Islamic orthodoxy, Senegambian divination is embedded in and integrating other forms of Islamic ritual such as sadaqa and duwa'. In this regard, Senegambian divination seems to resist categorisations of Islamic religious and ritual practices as pertaining to the realms of either "popular" or "official" varieties of Islam. Drawing on extended ethnographic observation, case studies and the anthropological and phenomenological analysis of divination and related practices in Senegal and the Gambia, the paper sets out to develop an understanding of Senegambian divination in relation to the larger complex of Islamic praxis of which it appears to form an important part. Focusing on the existential rather than the theological or symbolic dimensions of these practices, the paper argues that, in the West African context, one of the most important dimensions of the cultural and social significance of divination and Islamic praxis lies in their contribution to the construction of a cultural space of hope and prospect for the individual as well as, possibly, society as a whole.

Postponing Piety in Urban Burkina Faso: Discussing Ideas on When to Start Acting as a Pious Muslim

Liza Debevec, Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (liza.debevec@zrc-sazu.si)

Among the "moderate" Muslims in urban Burkina Faso those individuals who do not pray regularly or act in ways that are considered essential for "true" piety by most practicing Muslims, often claim that they are waiting for the right time to start performing the five daily prayers on a regular basis and abide by the tenets appropriate for a "proper" Muslim. Their explanations are based on vernacular notions of piety developed primarily in discussions among friends, in which they also significantly draw on statements made by Muslim religious leaders in their sermons and lectures so as to defend and justify their act of postponing piety. By exploring these vernacular and literal concepts about the right time to start acting as a proper, pious Muslim among the inhabitants of Bobo Dioulasso (Burkina Faso), this paper discusses a variety of notions, both "popular" and "official" religious ones, of what constitutes "true" piety for urban Burkinabe Muslims. It further aligns this notion of postponing piety to the more conventional notions of piety that claim one should always be a fully practicing Muslim.

What Makes Polish Catholicism "Popular"?

Anna Niedźwiedź, Jagiellonian University (a.niedzwiedz@iphils.uj.edu.pl)

Popular piety, folk or folk-like religiosity, lived religion, popular Catholicism, mass religiosity are all terms appearing in contemporary anthropological discourse concerning the state of religion in post-Communist Poland. What does it mean that "religiosity is popular", how "popular religion" reveals and manifests itself within a contemporary, transnational, global, and post-socialist society? I am proposing

to analyse this concept in the context of Polish historical and cultural background revealing complicated and multi-levelled aspects which have made Polish Catholicism "popular". I will focus on two levels: 1. connection between "popular religion" and national mythology 2. power of emotional private religious piety and practice.
In the Polish case it happened that a so-called "great" tradition was historically strictly correlated with a "little" religious tradition. During the period of Communism this mutual reinforcement developed leading toward symbiosis between "religious" and "national", "private" and "popular". Mass religious events, which appeared at this time, started to be related with the anti-Communist resistance movement. It is important to note that their powerful influence was based not only on "national dimension" and mythology, but also on an intensive religious practice and private emotional piety. Usage of religious symbols, objects and rituals, infused with both religious and national (ethnic) dimension, "popularised" religion and elevated "folk piety" on a national level. It is essential to ask how those patterns are still present in contemporary Polish post-Communist society, what kind of re-evaluation appeared after 1989, how the society re-defines itself in the context of "religious" and "national", "private" and "public", "popular" and "marginalised".

Quand des femmes et des réfugié-e-s fabriquent des saints: genre, religion et mémoire à Lesvos (Grèce)

Séverine Rey, University of Lausanne (Severine.Rey@unil.ch)

A travers le cas de l'«apparition» de trois saints à Lesvos (Grèce), nous nous interrogerons sur la dynamique sociale à l'œuvre dans la fabrication de la sainteté. Le processus fut initié par des témoignages de rêves formulés par des villageois, pour la plupart des femmes et/ou des réfugié-e-s venus d'Anatolie occidentale durant la guerre gréco-turque de 1919-1922. Sceptique, l'église locale rejeta tout d'abord ces formes de piété, les considérant comme des marques de crédulité. Dans un deuxième temps, les autorités ecclésiastiques entreprendront cependant une procédure de reconnaissance officielle des figures saintes, et ces dernières seront au centre de différentes commémorations nationales ou religieuses.
Ce cas permet de réfléchir d'une part à l'intrication des niveaux d'intérêts et d'enjeux: loin de pouvoir qualifier le phénomène de «populaire», nous montrerons comment différents acteurs interviennent et quels sont les registres auxquels chacun se réfère. D'autre part, la composition apparemment «subalterne» des acteurs initiaux offre l'occasion d'analyser la place du populaire dans la religion et en particulier celle des femmes, catégorie à laquelle se sont référées tout aussi bien les personnes qui voulaient soutenir le phénomène que celles qui cherchaient à le discréditer. En dernière instance, il s'agira de s'interroger sur les éclairages qu'apportent le genre et la subalternité dans l'analyse anthropologique.

Between the Notions of Popular and Scholarly Islam: `Abd al-Halim Mahmud's Endeavours to Market Sufism for the Educated Public in Contemporary Egypt

Hatsuki Aishima, Oxford University (kamriya@hotmail.com)

`Abd al-Halim Mahmud (1910-1978) is French trained scholar of Sufism, former Shaykh al-Azhar, and a Sufi celebrity who currently receives exceptionally high media attention in comparison to his contemporaries. He was one of the first Azharite scholars to employ mass media to perform da`wa — the promotion of "proper" Islam. While being a prolific writer on Sufism, he also spoke regularly in radio programmes on various

Islamic topics. He expressed his ideas in a type of fusha addressed to an educated public rather than to the scholarly community. Even though he was not initially a Sufi shaykh of a particular tariqa, `Abd a-Halim is well on the way to becoming a wali — a saint with his own mawlid.
The paper will situate the rise of the public personality of `Abd al-Halim before and after his death in wider context of explanation. It will suggest that once the apparent need to have a "correct faith" began to occupy a considerable part of Egyptian Muslim lifeworlds after 1967, mass-mediated Sufism became a significant way to reconnect the "self" to its "cultural roots". Contemporary anti-Sufi sentiments are generally expressed in the form of unease at following a shaykh. 'Abd al-Halim was able in providing a public anchoring to mass-mediated Sufism as an authority that dispenses educated Muslims who are suspicious of institutionalised Sufism from personal dependence to a shaykh. He became such a public personality not only through his teaching, but even more by developing a communicative style suitable to the task.

Authority Matters: Islamic Revival and Female Authority in Urban Mali

Dorothea Schulz, Indiana University (doroschulz@gmx.de)

The paper takes prominent female representatives of Islamic moral renewal and their contested position among Muslim leaders and intellectuals as a starting place to reflect on the literature on female authority and piety in Muslim West Africa. By pointing to the various forms of female authority and religious practice, it interrogates two common paradigms in the literature on Islam in Africa. First, by showing that women play an instrumental role in articulating knowledge and practices of piety that are deemed essential to the movement, the paper refutes the still widespread tendency to associate female religious practice with "popular Islam". Second, by illustrating that the authority of female "moral educators" is deeply rooted in locally specific understandings of spiritual power and charisma, it moves the debate beyond the tendency in scholarship to understand religious authority in Islam as one being primarily based on textual interpretation, and thus to disregard, or treat as exceptions, forms of authority that draw on different sources of spirituality and piety.

Consumption and the Islamic Revival in Egypt

Samuli Schielke, University of Joensuu/ISIM, Leiden (schielke@rocketmail.com)

Looking at the ways consumption informs and transforms the significance of religious objects and practices, this paper discusses the contradictory effects of the popularisation of a revivalist piety movement that promotes an ideology of comprehensive pious discipline but in everyday practice becomes embedded in precisely the kind of banality and ambiguity that they originally aim to overcome. Rather than class and other hierarchies in the field of religion, this presentation looks at the issue of popularity through the category of the everyday, the necessarily pragmatic and ambiguous manoeuvring people undertake in their lives as opposed to religious ideologies that on the level of discourse proclaim a coherence and unity they cannot maintain when appropriated by large segments of people with often complex and contradictory expectations towards religiosity.

Offerings to Sacred Fish: A Popular Sacrificial Site in Burkina Faso

Katja Werthmann, University of Mainz (Werthmann@uni-mainz.de)

Dafra is a sacrificial site near Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Fasos's second-largest and predominantly Muslim city. Dafra lies at the source of the river Houet and is situated in a gorge. In it live silurids (catfish); these are considered the tutelary spirits of Bobo-Dioulasso. Dafra has the reputation of being a powerful place where wishes made and confirmed by vows will be fulfilled. People come to Dafra because of illness, infertility, lack of money, failure in school or business, nightmares etc. Ritual practice at the site includes killing chickens and feeding their intestines to the fish. Should a wish be fulfilled, an offering of thanks in the form of an animal sacrifice has to be made. Pilgrims to Dafra come from all over Burkina Faso, neighbouring countries, and even from as far as Europe or the US. Although the pilgrimage to Dafra is disapproved by representatives of the monotheistic religions, not only adherents of local religions, but also Muslims and Christians go there.
The category of "the popular" as opposed to "the orthodox" implies that the popular is by definition non-normative. Although the current ritual practice at Dafra is modelled on local religious traditions, the killing of chickens at the site seems to be a recent introduction and is not appreciated by everybody. Thus, even within the (non-emic) category of "the popular", and in spite of the absence of institutions that define and maintain "orthodoxy", there are both normative views and dissenting opinions about what constitutes proper ritual practice at Dafra.

Expressions of Popular Piety at the Shrine of Santa Maria delle Grazie: The Construction of Padre Pio's Sanctity

Evgenia Mesaritou, Cambridge University (em304@cam.ac.uk)

Focusing on the expression of popular piety in the context of Christian pilgrimage, this paper proposes a new theoretical model for its analysis, departing from Eade and Sallnow's proposal to see pilgrimage sites as "religious voids", deriving their power not only from their own religious significance, but also from their character as a platform (Eade and Sallnow 1991: 10) able to accommodate the different and often conflicting meanings, ideas and practices that officials, pilgrims and locals bring to the shrine. Taking on board the criticisms of Coleman and Elsner, who also stress that the "'religious void' is in fact full-crowded with material props, holy objects and […] crowded with pilgrims who may even reaffirm the sanctity of the site […]" (Coleman and Elsner 1998: 49) - the paper draws on De Certeau's theories on everyday practices in order to illustrate the role of expressions of popular piety such as pilgrimage practices, in the construction of the sacred. The paper will make use of ethnographic data collected during fieldwork at the Southern Italian shrine of Santa Maria delle Grazie in San Giovanni Rotondo, Puglia, where the tomb of Padre Pio, as the recently canonised San Pio is universally known, is located, focusing on expressions of popular piety in the shaping of space and its structures. It will therefore show how the notion of the sacred is constructed through the interaction of shrine managers and shrine visitors, as this is filtered through the physical landscape of the shrine.

Going to the Mulid: Street-Smart Spirituality in Egypt

Jennifer Peterson (guinevere@riseup.net)

This study introduces a trend of grassroots Egyptian dance music called "mulid" that is named after festivals held in the honour of saints. It draws musically and lyrically on

mulids and the Sufi tradition of inshad (a form of spiritual, ritual-focused singing), albeit in a youthful and boisterous electronic style.
Both producers and consumers speak of the trend as building upon national "folklore" and "cultural heritage" in a way that reinforces pride in local identity and which essentially "re-popularises" inshad. The range of approaches it takes in doing so is wide, however, from that of pure appreciation for the danceable musicality of inshad, to a quest to impart "traditional" moral messages to youth, to playful and jesting imitation of Sufi ritual and wholesome fairground fun.
This study explores the ways that notions of religion and spirituality, whether taken seriously or in a more light-hearted approach, are popular among Egyptian youth as a form of street-smart music culture. It further discusses the success of moralistic mulid songs and the religious-cultural-social attitudes of their fans. In doing so, it seeks to outline the ways that forms of piety are appropriated by youth culture in Egypt and expressed as popular, street-smart entertainment.

W009

Marginality, Nationalism and Citizenship

Convenors**: Vasiliki Neofotistos, State University of New York (neofotis@buffalo.edu)**
Vassiliki Yiakoumaki, University of Thessaly (yiakoumaki@otenet.gr, yiakoumaki@uth.gr)
Chair: **Vasiliki Neofotistos**
Discussant: **Jaro Stacul**

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 404

This workshop addresses issues of social marginalisation in ethnically diverse societies in contemporary Europe. Specifically, we are interested in examining the ways in which marginalised populations navigate social tensions emerging from the interface between supra-national European citizenship, nation-state citizenship and ethno-national identification. We explore how the mutually reinforced ideologies of exclusion and inclusion within contemporary nation-states can inform constructions of nationality and European citizenship among the marginalised. Through papers rooted in ethnographic detail, the workshop will focus on shared social spaces and practices (for example, shopping, popular music, schools, food, festivals and ceremonies of commemoration) that allow for mutual interests and experiences to emerge in plural societies. Such mutual experiences and the divergent meanings with which they tend to be imbued are important to consider, we suggest, because they are telling of the kinds of relations that the disenfranchised can work out both with the nation-states they inhabit and with Europe as an "imagined" entity guaranteeing the protection of democracy, equality and human rights. We welcome contributions that draw from ethnographic research in countries of Eastern and Western Europe.

The Cultural Politics of Shopping and the Fashioning of "Modern" Albanian Subjectivities in the Republic of Macedonia

Vasiliki Neofotistos, State University of New York (neofotis@buffalo.edu)

In this paper I examine the practice of shopping for "Western" material goods and the meanings that this practice has for secular Muslim Albanian women in post-

socialist Macedonia. Specifically, I focus on Albanian women from rural backgrounds in the capital city of Skopje who have socio-economic aspirations and acquire the habitus, or "system of dispositions" (Bourdieu 1977), of the "modern" female urbanite: that is, a woman who does not veil, converses in the Macedonian language, and shops for "in" goods at "in" places to fashion a "Western" Self. These female rural migrants in Skopje transgress conventional standards of social behaviour whereby Albanian women shop in the "backward", predominantly Albanian-populated part of the city, and Macedonian women shop downtown and in the "modern", predominantly Macedonian-populated urban areas. Unlike marginalised populations elsewhere that can repudiate their stigmatised identities in pursuit of Western modernity, Albanian women in Skopje embrace them. The practice of shopping in the main mall downtown allows them not only to produce and perform in public "modern" subjectivities that are of a particular ethno-nationalist variety, namely Macedonian. In addition, shopping allows them to reposition themselves vis-à-vis a larger system of power in the country, which privileges Macedonians and casts the Albanian collectivity as "backward" and peripheral, and articulate understandings of a "Western" society that is non-hierarchical, disregards ethno-national divisions, and centres around tastes and dispositions.

Crafting Cosmopolitanism: The Production of Post-Modern Trends in the Global Regionalist Culture of the Italian Nordeast

Claudia Brazzale (brazzale@ucla.edu)

In the 1980s north-eastern Italy, a historically rural and poor region, witnessed the rise of a noteworthy number of small family-firms successfully targeting niche markets worldwide. Globalisation favoured these firms in multiple ways: while the opening of markets (EU) and the growing international demand for made-in-Italy goods ensured the success of the firms, local entrepreneurs perspicaciously produced and marketed cosmopolitan trends for the global market. During the process of assembling cosmopolitanism for global consumption, the region became the site of some of the most conservative regionalist and localist rhetoric.
Based on fieldwork conducted in the Veneto region of the Italian North East, this paper examines the ways in which local entrepreneurs strategically deploy postmodernity to achieve a cosmopolitan edge that positions them in a modern global order and questions the tension between this pursuit of cosmopolitanism and localist politics. Considering how Italy's obsession with "backwardness" plays out both at a national and regional level, I relate the country's efforts to integrate into an imaginary geography that classifies nations according to their modernity to Veneto's globalist aspirations. Finally, I ask what kinds of exclusionary practices and new marginalities this competition for "modernity" produces.

A Nostalgic Expression of Kurdishness in Humorous Popular Culture

Anna Grabolle Celiker, University of Tübingen (agrabolle@yahoo.co.uk)

In the past Turkey has often dealt with its Kurdish population by denying its existence as a separate ethnic group and/or by vigorous assimilation drives. The call for Kurdish political and cultural rights has been perceived as a threat to the integrity of the Turkish state, particularly since the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) started its armed campaign in 1984. Different discourses on "Turkishness" and "Kurdishness" thus coexist and influence each other in the country. EU membership negotiations for politically active Kurds represent hope for change, as accession reports note human rights violations

and policies towards minorities. It is thus hoped that EU accession negotiations can be used for political leverage in domestic issues. On the other hand, Kurds in Turkey are by no means a unified, politically mobilised community, as differences in region, education, religious affiliation, social class and degree of religiosity cut across ethnic identity. Although there are attempts by a Kurdish intelligentsia to create a Kurdish "high culture", which may even aim at targeting Kurds beyond state borders, the audience is limited because of linguistic and educational limitations and continuing state restrictions on the dissemination of Kurdish culture. In this context, the paper discusses one emerging form of humorous Kurdish popular culture based on folkloric roots which has arguably been enabled by the political struggle and EU pressure for cultural rights, but which is not overtly political itself.

Cultivating Sensibilities from "Above": On the Visibility of Jewish Identity in the Greek Public Sphere

Vassiliki Yiakoumaki, University of Thessaly
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In this presentation I provide an ethnographic glimpse of the larger process of inscribing Jewish history and identity in the Greek public sphere from the 1990s onwards. I view this process as part of the larger moment of adopting multiculturalist politics in the Greek state.
As a historic ethnic population of Greece with Greek citizenship, the Jews of Greece have experienced a kind of marginality which can be summed up as a conspicuously silent presence in the Greek public sphere and official history.
I explore the "novelty" of the present visibility of the "Jew", placing an emphasis on the role of official actors and institutions, i.e., through practices of monumentalisation and the integration of a culture of Holocaust memory in Greek public life (e.g., school curricula, intellectual fora, high-profile celebrations of Jewish identity, etc.). I believe that such a mapping process serves the larger and timely project of exploring the tension between the strong sentiments of anti-Semitism "below" and the celebratory endorsement of visibility from "above".
The task of tracing the emerging, and "belated", visibility of the "Jew" in a European region such as Greece, is politically important in that it can provide awareness of the mechanisms of adopting the politics of "tolerance" (hence, of "political correctness") in the process of European integration today. At the same time it provides awareness of both Judaism as a European history, and the larger geopolitical context of US and European relations as featured in the "Middle Eastern" question.

EU Policies and the Institutional Construction of Marginality

Eleftheria Deltsou, University of Thessaly (eldelt@uth.gr)

The emphasis that European Union policies put on regions, dominates current discussions over the future of Europe and the various nationalisms that, for some, largely compete with the emergence of a unified Europe. The support that the European Union offers to "regions" and "local cultures" provides a social space for the articulation of identities that may vie with, coexist or even replace former, presumed homogeneous, national identities. The question of the social and cultural manifestations of the identities of such groups is an interesting and crucial development in European Union member states, as it allows for either latent or newly emergent groups to claim recognition and a public and social space for them. This paper will start with a discussion of cases where regionalism and locality are associated with

ethnic backgrounds that distinguish themselves from dominant national identities. The questions it will raise concern the policy context of the European Union in which these groups acquire recognition and the contribution of EU policies to the construction of marginalised and less favoured groups as institutional categories.

"Loud and Clear": The G2 Second Generations Network in Italy

Dorothy Louise Zinn, Università degli Studi della Basilicata (sanmartino.sassi@tiscali.it)

This paper examines the Italy's "G2" network as a response to a group's social and political marginality. Because of the Italian jus sanguinis citizenship regime and the difficulty of obtaining naturalisation even for those born and raised in Italy, the "children of immigration" often face exclusion. Even where these "new Italians" have managed local inclusion, in several widely reported incidents second generation youths have faced discrimination as "non-EU" citizens. The "G2" network was formed in 2005 by so-called "second generation" young adults, children of immigrants and refugees/asylum-seekers living in Italy. This association mainly organises through its online website, blog and forum, and also operates through local groups in several Italian cities. G2 has focused on citizenship as a key issue, and over the past year it has brought the members' case for changing the citizenship law to the attention of politicians. In addition to citizenship in legal terms, there is also much discussion among G2 members of what it means to be Italian, especially if one "doesn't look" Italian. The question of Italian identity is particularly interesting for exploring the problematic inclusion of the second generations, as it is a site of pre-existing tensions within autochthonous Italian society, given persistent North-South differences and robust local identities. This paper, then, will consider how members of the G2 variously articulate forms of identity that negotiate different levels (local, regional, national, EU, transnational, ethnic), and at the same time coalesce as a movement under the G2 umbrella.

W010

Looking, Seeing and Being Seen: Connecting and Controlling through Visual Representation

Convenors: **Thomas Fillitz, University of Vienna (thomas.fillitz@univie.ac.at)**
Helena Wulff, Stockholm University (helena.wulff@socant.su.se)

27 August 2008, 09:00
Rooms: 32 and 233

Visual representations impact on everyday life and are distributed in various ways around the globe. Confronted with diverse forms of visual representation, this workshop will scrutinise the relationships of the different gazes that are connected via images, pictures, objects and other visual signs. Our take is two-directional in that we not only focus on ways of seeing, but also importantly of being seen, that is looked at, which might entail being controlled by a gaze. However, the gaze may also be returned. To this end, we would like to invite papers in three thematic areas:

1. Seeing and being seen: examples of visual systems are visual signs guiding travellers through airports, pedestrians through a city, but also control technology such as CCTV, as well as biometric passports. One aspect of visual systems is the potential to produce new differences between people.
2. Visual representations: what images are people creating in order to represent

themselves? What images (logos are but one example) are being created and/ or appropriated by those in power to represent institutions (nation-states, political parties, corporations, etc.)?
3. Global art, many modernities? There is, on one hand, the idea of one global art world quite similar to the idea of one world culture. The proliferation of art biennales supports this perspective. On the other hand, there is a growing claim that contemporary art expression is multifaceted. How is art across the globe connected and controlled through gazes?

Black, White and Red All Over? An Anthropology of Book Fairs

Brian Moeran, Copenhagen Business School (bdm.ikl@cbs.dk)
Lise Skov, Copenhagen Business School (ls.ikl@cbs.dk)

What is the purpose of a book fair? Who goes there and why? What do participants do when they get there? This paper is based on fieldwork at the Frankfurt and London book fairs and examines visual aspects of the book trade. Who is looking at books? Who is looking at people looking at books?
Publishers display their books at various different events: academic conferences, library association meetings and international book fairs. Although book fairs differ in their focus, the biggest ones in Frankfurt and London are concerned primarily with the sale of rights. They thus draw publishers, distributors, retailers and associated service personnel (in primarily printing and electronic publishing spheres) who, over a period of between four and five days, gather from around the world in a single venue to meet partners, gather information on publishers' planned offerings, place orders, negotiate translation rights, give feedback on the past year's activities, and so on and so forth.
During these business transactions, face-to-face communication takes place for perhaps the only time in a calendar year. (All other business is conducted by e-mail.) Judgements are made about a potential business partner's reliability and deals are signed. Publishing houses may splash out on receptions of one sort or another, to enable those in the publishing world to gather in more informal conditions to exchange information and gossip. And all the time, participants are reading, as well as being read by, others in their pursuit of books.

Can the Visitor Do the Art Work?

Gabriela Nicolescu Cristea (cristea.gabriela@gmail.com)

My study is focused on the ground of contemporary relational art of the 90's, as defined by Bourriaud in Relational Aesthetics and on the movable domain of eco-museum as analysed by Peter Davis. The eco-museum mainly refers to a museum that demands action by the community to conserve its own material culture and natural heritage within the boundaries of its geographical area or territory. What people create in order to represent themselves in two eco-museums in Italy and Romania? Can the visitor/the member of the community do the art-work? Who chooses the images and objects that are considered representative for "a community" /"a place"? Who created these images/objects and for what purposes?
These active-do-ing actions that the usually passive museum visitor does not experience are very important features for relational aesthetics also. Does the contemporary artist need spectators to convolve in the process of representation and creation of meaning? Do artists represent communities or do communities or individuals represent themselves through the contemporary art expression means?

My purpose is not to give a reception theory answer on the aesthetics of the museum's exhibited objects or images, but to focus my attention on the social relationships that are established between new museum policies and funds - curators' "ideal models of design" - visitor's (inter) activity - community members' economical and political interests - ethnographic art objects, images and the exhibition work as a "techne", an art product in itself.

Challenging the Gaze: Art Biennales as Global Places

Thomas Fillitz, University of Vienna (thomas.fillitz@univie.ac.at)

The art world is at the forefront of processes of globalisation in various perspectives: economically with the art market and the movement of art works around the globe; culturally, by determining which objects may be included or excluded from such interconnections. A contemporary global art world however is still largely determined by criteria defined within the European-North American art world. Museums of contemporary art neglect the art, which is created outside this art world. Art biennales, actually, have been spreading around the globe since the early 1990s. They are nowadays handled as those places, where new gazes are made possible, where the one global art world may intersect with multiple, regional ones.
Following the idea of a world culture, this paper proposes to consider art biennales as global places. A major question will be, which aspects may determine biennales as such places: are these the selected artists, the biennale curators, the critics, the audience? One also has to ask, whether art biennale constitutes another European-North American category, a universalistic one, or whether the notion has to be considered according to the particular locality, and how it stretches out into other spaces.

Displaced on the Display: Screen Image-Event in Net-Theatre

Marijana Mitrović, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (pansjao@yahoo.com)

The conceptual realm of the new, digital media and arts is still unstable. This paper examines how anthropology could tackle the practices emerging within performing arts, realised through digital technologies, and performed in VR or on-line environment: that is, net-theatre or cyberformance. This multifaceted art form is considered non-elitist and interactive, since the difference between performers and spectators (audience) is uncertain, and it disrupts classic social situation for audience and its gaze. At the same time, it poses question of encounter between "displaced" performer and the screen avatar.
This account of net-theatre will relate to above mentioned aspects of net-theatre, indicating wider issues of confrontation with screen image-event, available more or less at the same time, more or less all over the planet. It focuses on the problematic location of net-theatre in the context (history, institutions, paradigms, social status) of theatre and culture(s), since it challenges traditional notion of theatre (performing arts) by showing "what normal theatre hides". Deconstruction of the smooth signifier of the sublime body in ballet and its mechanism of gaze-desire identification will be particularly emphasised. Finally, by examining some of the first cyberformances in South-East Europe, especially those performed by TkH troupe, as well as performances dealing with global control in the age of (digital) terror, it will challenge prevailing paradigm of explanation of net-theatre, since its references so far have mostly related to supposedly one Western and world culture, and that way the paper will try to explore potential variations and diversity within it.

Exposed to (In)Visibility: The Strategies of Production of Parallel Knowledge in the Work of Tadej Pogačar

Martina Vovk, University of Primorska (martina.vovk@gmail.com)

The Slovene artist Tadej Pogačar (born 1960) uses manipulation of the (in)visibility as a operative strategy in his art work, which is related to museums and the wider social sphere. Pogačar defines his artistic strategy as the "new parasitism", which is based upon the complex approach towards the notion of a museum. The presentation of museum artefacts explicitly concerns the past but implicitly also the current mechanisms of the production of knowledge. It is precisely these narrative mechanisms, which often prove to be sophisticated systems of exclusion and ideological disciplining of society (European "orientalism", unauthorised histories, post-colonial production of The Other…) that Pogačar transgressively exposes into visibility/knowing through "parasitic" interventions into existing museum collections. Pogačar's work in the wider social sphere (projects "Kings of the street", CODE:RED, "Parallel economies") concerns the topic of social (in)visibility: erasure of certain marginalised social actors from the field of vision is a symptom of the predominant distribution of power in macro-social structures. Their entry into (social) visibility - through the use of art strategies, advertisement, theatre - subverts the invisible into visible and thus reveals the existence of a parallel social reality, which is oppressed due to its incompatibility with the predominant social regime. Manipulating the (in) visible in the realm of museum narration of history or in the seemingly homogenous social tissue is the core of Pogačar's focus: the means of deconstructing any notions of "neutrality" and "naturalness" (of mechanisms of knowing and mechanisms of social systems).

Happy Interactivity or Hidden Distinction: Contact Zones in the Field of Contemporary Art

Judith Laister, University of Graz (judith.laister@uni-graz.at)

Looking at artistic practices in the course of recent art biennales, festivals and public art projects, we can identify a tendency for including people actively in the process of art production and reception who were so far not present as subjects within the field of contemporary art. Although working with them in separated areas such as art education, art mediation, community art or art therapy since decades, they are nowadays revaluated as emancipated spectators or equal collaborators. Thus the field of contemporary art is transformed into a "contact zone" (Mary Pratt, James Clifford) where people with different social and cultural backgrounds negotiate different forms, values and interests. So, for example, artists collaborate with the inhabitants of a social housing block in marginalised urban areas to exhibit the process to the art audience on site, rural Chinese are invited to the documenta of Kassel or homeless people from different European cities meet for a conference in the course of an Austrian art festival, being accommodated in a first class hotel.
Taking significant participatory art projects as examples, the paper traces the causes of their increased prominence within the legitimised field of contemporary art. Based both on the postcolonial concept of the "contact zone" and Pierre Bourdieu´s theory of the social space, it examines the notion of this longing for mutual exchange. Are ideas of "happy interactivity" (Nicolas Bourriaud) a useful tool of networking as empowerment or do they rather euphemise the powerful distinctions of the social space?

Image & Text: (In)Visible Connections in Visual Representation of Irish Travel Advertisement

Helena Wulff, Stockholm University (helena.wulff@socant.su.se)

With the visual turn in the social sciences, text has often been left out of the analysis. There has been some interest in the relationship between image and text, but rarely in any greater detail. In visual anthropology, there was the debate over image versus text where one side argued that images present circumstances that cannot be expressed in words, while the other side voiced the traditional anthropological view that text is the superior of the two forms. This paper explores (in)visible connections between image and text by focusing on Irish travel advertisement on the Internet and in travel catalogues. Images in Irish travel advertisements are characterised by scenes of hospitality, traditional music and dance, heritage and culture. There are green landscapes and dramatic cliffs along the coast. Following the notion that images are ambiguous, it will be argued that part of the particular power of images is what the viewer makes of them, the fact that personal emotional experiences are inserted into images. There are many ways of seeing, of looking at an image even though some images offer more room for flights of imagination. There are instances when images have a capacity to evoke emotional states to which it is difficult to do justice through words. Images are not contra text, in some kind of opposition to text. It is crucial that text and images belong together; they influence each other in a dialectical relationship. Images help to explain texts, texts steer the viewer's interpretation of an image.

Indigenous Self-Representation: Native American Contemporary Art and Native Curating

Mylene Hengen, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (mylenehengen@msn.com)

The visual representation of the American Indian, from cabinets of curiosity to Boas' ethnographic displays with the use of comedic icons as sports mascots have affected the social reception of Native populations in the United States for centuries. Today, in the years following legal and social movements on the North American Continent, various legislations have been put into practice concerning collaboration with Indigenous communities in regards to sacred, traditional, and sensitive material caring within state and nationally funded institutions.

These movements have been slowly redefining the notion of the "museum" and have allowed for American Indian populations to have increased control and authority over their own visual displays, as well as have a very singular voice in regards to their cultural patrimony. "Indigenous Curating" has risen, through collaborative exhibitions within ethnographic museums or institutions holding ethnographic collections, with increased numbers of Tribal Museums and Native American Cultural Centers where the contemporary indigenous voice is privileged.

Often, Contemporary Art is now presented and used by these native communities within exhibitions of their communities alongside "traditional" ethnographic displays. "Native Curating" and the Native Voice is disparate and multi-layered, but through exhibitions within these native-run institutions, as well as the Contemporary Art of artists such as Erica Lord (Inupiaq/Athabaskan), the visual politic of the American Indian resonates of past injustices, cultural preservation, and social development and awareness. A view into "Native Curating" through various tribal museums, cultural

centres, and contemporary works of art provide an insight into the layers of indigenous self-representation today.

Island Magic: Tourism and the Dialectics of Self-Imaging in La Reunion

David Picard, Leeds Metropolitan University (d.picard@leedsmet.ac.uk)

This paper will discuss the relation between tourism and the historical dialectics of self-imaging in La Reunion. Like other island populations that have been in continued contact with travellers, explorers, colonial settlers and tourists from continental societies, people in La Reunion, Indian Ocean today tend to auto-glorify their island, especially by attributing it magical qualities. Common sense discourses and images by Reunions for instance frequently affirm that matter brought into the island is becoming bigger, livelier, more powerful, more sexual, juicier, and able to break out of established boundaries and constraints. At the same time, this quality of the island to transform or "awaken" things (often presented as alienated from an existentialist nature of being - as part of its ideology) inflects on the very identity of the islanders in relation to the outside world. In this paper I will argue that the mobilisation of these tropes within the contact zone with Western strangers results from a dialectical process of gazing at each other, of imaging the self in the mirror of the other; from the transculturation and the auto-ethnographic use of European visual and literal romantic tropes of the 18th and 19th century introduced to, and reworked in, the island by European travellers, local European elites, and the island's 1960s decolonisation movement. In the recent and contemporary past, these tropes and their visual embodiments are once again picked up and re-twisted in the intersubjective space of tourism and related museum and heritage projects.

Reflective Gaze - Effective Image: The Case of Muslim Women's Headcovering in Vienna

Irene Bregenzer, University of Vienna (irene.bregenzer@gmx.at)

Islamic covering in its polysemic meanings became as well the symbol of a greater visibility of Muslim women - who came to stand for Islam in general - and may represent potential threats of different kinds in the eyes of the Non-Muslim Other. As a consequence, certain ideas of an appropriate appearance/look of the self in society have been developed, in which particular ways of appearing/looking, e.g. Muslim women's headcovering, are being mediated and judged as more pleasant and appropriate and therefore less threatening than others.
It will be shown how the populist Austrian Freedom Party made use of that knowledge for the purpose of justification of its political ideas by discussing one of its posters.
As both sides of this two-directional gaze between a minority part of society and the majority part will be explored, the paper concludes by looking at the outcomes of these images mediated by the majority part of society on the sartorial performance of Muslim women living in Vienna.
The material used is based on fieldwork in Vienna, focusing on Muslim women's styles of headcovering.

Teens Cultures and Their Representations

Nadine Wanono, CNRS (wanono@ivry.cnrs.fr)

The first part of my presentation could on one hand, briefly, presents the ways of seeing with a camera and the impact of this specific technology on visual anthropology

methodologies and on the other hand to underline digital technologies' capacity to create representations with computational means.
The second part could focus more specifically on the process followed by these 12 teens during 18 days in order to create representations of their own life and cultures.
I started the project in collaboration with a media artist, Renaud Parmantier, and a music composer, Philippe Autuori, and set up a writing workshop with Nicole Simonet. The challenge was to elaborate reflections on this antinomic but meaningful opposition between identities and otherness. From this, we decided to focus on the ways "people" perceived their "Teens Cultures" and the ways to shape their ideas.
They had access to Frutiloop, a software for conceiving music and Director, multimedia authoring tool for "la mise en scène".
The Mairie de Paris and the CNRS has founded this project and a website presenting their work is accessible: http://www.cultures-jeunes.org/index.html.
Actually, I'm working with Alex Chan, author of the French Democracy, on a project to handle the question of the "Family reality" for young people and the ways they will represent it, after being trained to create "Machinima" on their own.

The Warrior-Shepherd Signifier: Locations and Meanings of Highland Cretan Photographic Subjects

Konstantinos Kalantzis, University College, London
(kkalantzis@googlemail.com)

The paper is concerned with diverse significations of a certain visual imagery that evokes "tradition", ruggedness and masculinity in contemporary Greece. This imagery is currently central in both global (commercial products, tourism) and local contexts. It draws on my fieldwork observations in the Sphakia region of south-western Crete and elsewhere in Crete and Greece.
The paper focuses on the images of specific Sphakian shepherds who were photographed throughout their lives by professionals and tourists. These photographs are currently used in various contexts, such as public state displays, on commercial products, as postcards but also in household photographic albums.
Sphakia is a region in contemporary Greece that holds an evocative "myth" of masculine tradition which is understood within a visual, typological aesthetic of a warrior-shepherd who displays embodied tradition and hardship. Such imagery (initially the product of 19th century folklorists and travellers) which is central in the national imaginary, has been recently re-used within a context of global commercial potentials but also of Cretan re-engagement with the past. The imagery entails both glorifying and exoticising facets.
In my analysis I explore different spheres and engagements with the discussed images and thus examine the location, dislocation and production of meaning, paying attention to consumption as well as to the pictorial strategies involved. Broadly, the paper engages with issues of power in visual stereotypical motifs but focuses on signification thus exploring the importance of the aesthetics of ruggedness for different ''agents'' in a time when tradition and the past are objects of great interest.

W011

Body and Soul: On Corporeality in Contemporary Religiosity

Convenors: **Ruy Blanes, University of Lisbon (ruy.blanes@ics.ul.pt, ruy.blanes@gmail.com)**
Anna Fedele, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris (annafedele@yahoo.com)

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 209B

In this panel we propose to discuss the importance of the body and its perceptions in contemporary religious faith. Corporeality has always been a key locus for the definition of belief and religious experience: in Christianity, for example, it has ranged from the blood of Christ to the Pentecostal tongues of fire. Contemporary spiritual experiences (Neopaganism, Neo-Pentecostals, Falun-Gong) have produced new instruments for conceiving faith and the body, opposing or recovering "traditional" senses. Anthropologists have been, over time, developing multiple strategies to describe and analyse this kind of spiritual bodily experiences: from Evans-Pritchard's description of Nuer conceptions of the soul to Constance Classen's insights on Inca cosmology and the human body, Paul Stoller's postmodern approach on sorcery apprenticeship in Niger and Thomas Csordas' study on the phenomenology of healing. In this panel we intend to discuss these and other possible approaches calling for papers on ethnographic contributions focusing on the connection between "body" and "soul".

Transforming the Soul of Music into Bodily Practice: Tone Eurythmy's Artistic Principles and Their Relation to Underlying Structure

Andrew Spiegel, University of Cape Town (Mugsy.Spiegel@uct.ac.za)
Silke Sponheuer, Centre for Creative Education (Silke@cfce.org.za)

As practised in Waldorf (Steiner) schools and the related anthroposophical movement, the art of Eurythmy includes, as core to Tone Eurythmy, a process of choreographing and then performing what is represented in musical scores through bodily movement. Those movement forms are not, however, random; nor are they reflective of idiosyncratic emotional responses to music. Rather, they are explicitly choreographed on the basis of an understanding that particular musical elements and structures are readily transformable into specific movement forms - in other words, that musical structure is transformable into structures of movement. That understanding reflects, in turn, an understanding, fundamental to anthroposophy, that the whole universe, including the universe of time, is structured in ways that can be seen as transformations from one level and context to another. The paper describes the kinds of music-to-movement transformations that are produced in the processes of eurythmic choreography and performance of a selection of musical scores. It uses those to illustrate how the transformative principle is applied in Tone Eurythmy. And it reflects on the extent to which human agency is understood, from an anthroposophical perspective, to be able to effect such structural transformations, something that was absent in earlier anthropological work on structural transformations in and of symbolic systems.

Re-Enchanted Bodies: The Significance of the Spiritual Dimension in Danish Healing Rituals

Ann Maria Ostenfeld-Rosenthal, Århus University (etnoaor@hum.au.dk)

As a consequence of the Cartesian dualism body and soul have for a long time been conceived of as separate entities of a different nature. These notions of body and soul are changing. This is especially evident in New Age concepts of body and self, illness and healing as it is also reflected in my study of spiritual healing and patients with medically unexplained symptoms on which this paper is based.
The paper will address the following questions: What are the characteristics of patients' and healers' changing notions of body and self? How do patients link body and spirit and what does it mean in relation to a healing process? With a point of departure in on the one hand patients' and healers' notions of body and self, illness and healing and on the other hand patients' experiences of "the sacred in the body" I want to argue that when bodily sensed spiritual experiences take on a personal meaning it opens a possibility for "religious sceptics" to believe in the existence of a spiritual world playing an important role in relation to the healing process.

Between the Self and the Other: The Interpretation of Bodily Experiences

Ehler Voss, University of Leipzig (ehler.voss@uni-leipzig.de)

Unusual bodily experiences are often the decisive factor for conversion and the main reason for faith among the contemporary mediumistic healers in Germany I have researched. Their practices are often oriented towards evoking perceptions outside ordinary ways of experiencing. The interpretation of such experiences leads to questions concerning the conceptualising of the body and the soul, and thus "the Self" as well as leading to the question of the relation between "the Self" and "the Other".
The emic discourse of the mediums as well as the etic discourse of anthropologists about experiences in religious contexts oscillates between finding the origin of such experiences inside and outside the Self. On the one hand "Spirits", "Energies" and similar things are seen as autonomous entities affecting the Self, while on the other hand they are seen as having originated in the Self through projections of the unconscious or through imagination.
Even some phenomenological approaches which actually aim to conceptualise experiences beyond dichotomies such as inner and outer or the Self and the Other, like the much cited approach of Thomas Csordas, tend to entangle themselves in such dichotomies and tend to trace back experiences of the Other as having originated in the Self.
This presentation traces different emic and etic conceptions of body, soul, the Self and the Other and, against this background, argues for a phenomenology of otherness which is grounded in the assumption of an otherness of experience itself and which promises a new understanding of bodily experiences in religious contexts.

Body and Soul in the Occult Imaginary in the Contemporary Central African Republic

Aleksandra Cimprič, University of Provence (cimpric.a@gmail.com)

In this paper, I would like to argue the importance of the "body" and the "soul" in the representations of witchcraft and occult practice in contemporary urban context of Bangui (Central African Republic). The stories of steeling and selling some parts of

the body or even the body (especially the soul), of zombies, of vampires, of Mamy-Wata, of crocodile man and of others "figures of the imaginary" (Tonda 2005) are omnipresent in different parts of the sub-Saharan Africa. The population of African cities are living in a permanent spiritual insecurity (Ashforth 2005), in the fear of being abducted, taken away or "eaten" by the actors of this occult night world.
Through the study of this imaginary, by using some examples of my recent fieldwork in Bangui, I will investigate firstly the relation of body/soul and the occult imaginary. I will point out that the concepts of the body and the soul are closely related to the representations of the occult forces (witchcraft). Finally, I will argue that the significations and representations of body and soul have been reinterpreted, readjusted and transformed by introducing in the discourse of witchcraft the notions of power, consumption, production, exchange and wealth.

Spirit Possession in Ovahimba Culture: Living and Healing of the Ancestors and Other Spirits

Rina Sherman (sherman.rina@neuf.fr)

This multi-media presentation is about trance as an imaginary complex with diversified articulations that form an integral part of Ovahimba thought systems in daily life. Ancestral and animal spirits participate in ritual and everyday affairs in a seamless manner beyond the material divide. Spirit possession or "kambura ombepo" or take the spirit, according to the expression in Otjiherero happens when the spirit of an ancestor or an animal becomes animated in the body of a human individual. "I do not know where I am myself when the Omakumuka ancestral spirit comes into me", says Kakaendona Tjambiru, the youngest daughter of the late Omuhimba Headman of Etanga. Whilst the spirit animates her body, he dictates her movements and speaks through her to express himself. Only those that "have" a given spirit, be they or not in trance, can understand him "speaking in tongues". The applications of spirit possession are varied. A frequent reason for it to take place is to address problems caused by spells cast on individuals by witchdoctors, of which in turn there are different kinds. The spell itself is a distance intervention, such as a miscarriage, death of an infant or loss of cattle, causing misfortune to the being of an individual, potentially affecting body and mind. In this way ancestral and animal spirits are present in everyday life and as such are called upon or choose to intervene whenever problems arise to heal, undo a spell, mediate or simply transmit a message or even ideas.

Senses of the Body: Sufi Practices in Contemporary Cairo

Paola Abenante, Università di Milano-Bicocca
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Within the dominant moral and corporeal landscape of public Islam in contemporary Cairo, the aim of my paper is to draw attention to the alternative symbolic and sensorial dimension of faith enhanced by a non-dominant form of Islam such as Sufism, through the emotional and bodily practices of its adepts.
This paper explores the discourse on the inner-spiritual body that derives from the mystical tradition, as opposed to the exterior-material body honed by Sunni preachers that dominate the public sphere. Thus it explores how this body manifests itself in the historical and everyday context, through its senses.
My interlocutors employ the dichotomy between zahir (exterior) and batin (inner and invisible dimension of faith), proper of the mystical texts, as rhetoric to support their ritual and behavioural practices against the Sunni disapproval and the regulations

enhanced by the state.
The paper argues that if the brotherhood denies verbally the importance of the body, it then employs it in alternative ways through its practices. In order to have access to the batin dimension of faith, Sufis use, during their rituals, body techniques that stimulate their sensorial capacities to feel hob, love for Allah. Thus the body finds a new role in this inner dimension of faith, through the use of its senses: body plays, through its sensorial dimension, an essential role in the production of batini emotions and in the honing of the ruh (soul).

"I Want to Feel the Camino in My Legs": Trajectories of Walking on the Camino de Santiago

Keith Egan, National University of Ireland (keith.m.egan@nuim.ie)

In studying the body in religion, pilgrimage is a privileged site for contemplating embodiment and lived religion. Pilgrims buck the trend of dwindling numbers characterising the recent decline in mainstream religious worship. The Camino de Santiago, once the third most popular shrine in Medieval Christianity, has reclaimed much of its previous glory. By adopting a phenomenological method, this paper contends, researchers can chart the boundaries along which pilgrims travel, exploring the edges of their faith and the ground of their being, wherein the body becomes a language in itself and walking a form of rhetoric, a "strong poetics" (Harold Bloom). In the contemporary recovery of this pilgrimage route as therapeutic movement, I suggest, the "suffering soul" can craft for itself a wounded body capable of manifesting the ills of a dimly perceived "improvised life" (Clifford Geertz). Such a life, I conclude, does not require words to give it shape, but the immediacy of a body in the midst of struggle to give it direction.

Becoming Sacred: Revelation and Agency in East Java, Indonesia

Konstantinos Retsikas, SOAS (kr1@soas.ac.uk, kostasretsikas@yahoo.com)

Central to several forms of Sufi cosmological conceptions is the concept of nur Muhammad, the light of Muhammad, emanating from God and allowing for the communication and transfer of divine knowledge to humanity. This light is thought of as descending on especially pious persons who have through impeccable character, exemplary deeds and ascetic practice, progressed far enough upwards the path towards unity with God. Drawing on material from Muslim East Java, the paper concentrates on the assumed connections of the body and the soul of human persons with the otherwise invisible and imperceptible sacred, and builds upon a series of narrative experiences of revelation by people who have come to be endowed with the capacity to heal humanity's many ailments so as to conceptualise processes of corporeal becoming and transformation.
The inception of divine light into the human is portrayed in highly dramatic tone and usually follows upon many trials by ordeal in which the incipient must prove his/her worthiness. The gift of knowledge is bestowed in the midst of highly dangerous and tormenting encounters and cases of privation that culminate in the sudden loss of consciousness, a little death of sorts, while it is marked by crashing sounds - nddhuuk... struum...shreed - electrical currents, and unexpected body penetrations. The becomings that the embodiment of the gift inaugurates amount to the acquisition of an enhanced sense of awareness and an amplified degree of control over the forces at play in the world. Such becomings are publicly evinced through the capacity to perform healing.

The Sikhs' Bodies: A Case of Embodiment and Ostentation of Religious Identity

Sandra Santos, University of Barcelona (sssanndra@gmail.com)

The Sikh Dharma or The Sikh Code of Conduct not only refers to the religious aspect of Sikhism but also to the ordination of a series of corporal practices from which it organises and arranges the lives of its followers. Some practices, that include a disciplined schedule, limited consumption of some foods and other products considered as contaminants, and, especially, with the ostentation of some elements, the embodiment of which have the objective to generate identity, to reveal identification and to recreate generation and the ideals of the community. So, it is through the body and the embodiment of some elements that the Sikhs are related to their deity and, at the same time, they form a relationship with other communities, exhibiting a corporeality which stresses, not only their religious belonging, but also the distinction with respect to their "others".

The Body in the "Festa dei Gigli" in Nola and in Williamsburg

Katia Ballacchino, University "Sapienza", Rome (katia.ballacchino@uniroma1.it)

Giglio's feast has finished to catalyse and promote relationship networks based on a double belonging, religious and ethnic one. Eight heavy nolan spires, 25 meters high, are brought to shoulder every year for 24 hours by hundreds of "collatori" demonstrating, through their performance of dance religious procession, their faith, their feat men and their strength and virility. The main consequence of this effort body, however, is a malformation shoulder called "callo di S. Paolino" or "Pataniello" which marked for life every "collatore" of Nola. Another interesting aspect of the body in relation to the feast in Williamsburg, are tattoos representing lily that Italian-American "collatore" is created on the arm or calf, in honour of the Holy, Italy and feast.

Embodying the Holy Ghost: Incorporation and Time within a Nigerian Pentecostal Church in the Netherlands

Kim Knibbe, Vrije Universiteit (ke.knibbe@fsw.vu.nl)

Pentecostal Christianity has a distinct focus on bodily mediated experiences. In African Pentecostal Christianity, bodily practices have a central place: fasting, abstaining from alcohol and cigarettes, enthousiastic style of worshipping and an insistence on speaking in tongues. Moreover, the church central to this paper has a strong emphasis on church-planting, mobilising their members immediately to spend a lot of time and money on expanding the church, expecting them to participate in all night prayer services and travel to gatherings in London and Nigeria. By mobilising their members and their resources, the Redeemed Christian Church of God has managed to sustain a long period of intense growth since the early eighties, and has parishes all over the world. In the Netherlands, they have grown from one parish to 19 parishes in about 10 years. However, to the Dutch Pentecostals who participate in this church, this is felt as an unacceptable form of incorporation and even bodily force that goes against the spontaneity and freedom they are looking for in Pentecostalism. The church leadership is aware of these differences, and tries to find ways to deal with them but in the process comes up against barely articulated and ingrained bodily habits that are resistant to change or even hybridity. This paper will explore these issues based on ongoing research.

Metaphor, Image and Change: The Body in a Missionary and Development Endeavour

João Rickli, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam (JF.Rickli@fsw.vu.nl)

This paper analyses the bodily aspects of missionary and development initiatives organised in Brazil by Kerk in Actie, a Dutch Protestant missionary agency. The text focuses on three main aspects: body as religious metaphor, representations of body in the missionary endeavour, and the social construction of the bodies of missionaries and target groups. The analysis of the first aspect provides an understanding of how body appears in rituals and religious discourses of the missionary organisation as a metaphor of (and for) unity and cohesion, being the expression of processes of inclusion and exclusion. The second aspect is related to the images of healthy, beautiful, and saved bodies that orientate missionary and development endeavours. Combining some concepts of cognitive anthropology and the anthropology of body, the paper discusses how specific symbolic repertoires (D'Andrade) play a role in the social construction of bodies as objects of salvation and development, looking also at how the difference between body and soul is reflected in discourses about mission and development, respectively. Finally, the analysis of the third aspect provides an understanding of the social construction of bodies in the whole missionary network, based on the phenomenological notion of embodied self (Csordas). The analysis treats the transformation of bodily dispositions of both missionaries and missionised, trying to explore the superposition between two dichotomies: the one opposing mind and body, and the other opposing the West and the rest.

Holding the Saint in One's Arms: Miracles and Exchange in Apiao, Southern Chile

Giovanna Bacchiddu, St. Andrews University (g.bacchiddu@st-and.ac.uk)

The small community of Apiao Island (700 inhabitants, mostly Catholic) regularly host elaborate public prayer meetings (novenas) to celebrate a miraculous saint, San Antonio de Padua. The saint's image is fetched from another island and stays in Apiao for cycles of 9 days. During his stay Anchuquito, as people familiarly call him, is hosted in a private household, the residence of the person who received the miracle. The image of the saint is spoken of as if he was a person, and held and kissed as if he was a baby. During novenas people pray, eat, drink and dance in front of the saint and in his honour. The peculiar relationship of affection and reciprocal exchange that tie Apiao people to the little image is described and analysed. Negotiation with this powerful entity culminates with the celebration of the novena ritual gatherings. In the cult's celebration, a unique code of decorum takes place regarding the body and the proper way to interact with one's fellow novena goers.
Religious beliefs as well as crucial social rules inform and shape a cult that embraces and dramatically exposes the pillars of Apiao people's social theory.

Anxious Bodies, Performing Selves: Greek Orthodoxy in Inter/Action

Eugenia Roussou, University College, London (e.roussou@ucl.ac.uk)

Faith/full performances are closely intertwined with bodily praxes. Religion is experienced and expressed corporeally, embracing manifestations of belief and dynamics of spirituality. Drawing on my ethnographic research, which has dealt with the "evil eye" practice in Crete and northern Greece, I shall negotiate the variety of embodied acts of faith in the context of Orthodox Christianity. Religion in Greece

is stereotypically synonymous with Orthodoxy - in terms of national/ethnic identity claims, as well as of everyday perceptions of being. Contemporary Greek religiosity, however, is far from homogeneous. Hand-in-hand with "official" Greek religion, new forms of spirituality are to be found; practices, such as the "evil eye", which, despite a contrasting relationship with Christian Orthodoxy, embody religious belief, inhabiting a "sacred" space in close proximity with the latter; supernatural experiences, perceived with the body, which are regarded as complementary religious phenomena; and practices, such as yoga and feng-shui, which have, during very recent years, gained popularity, and have claimed their existence in the spiritual ideology of Greeks. In this synthetically religious panorama, "soma" holds a central position: in "official" ritualism (ranging from Church liturgies and the Holy Mysteries, to exorcisms and priest blessings) and in everyday ritual practices ("evil eye" healing, religiously driven everyday somatic performances and spiritual exercises). My aim in this paper, hence, is to focus on these anxious bodily interactions of performed religiosity, which challenge the "Orthodox" representation, rendering it a religion-of-embodied-action.

To Heal the Sick is to Heal Oneself: The Body as Congregation

Isabelle Lange, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (isabelle.lange@lshtm.ac.uk)

"Your job is to persevere, and our job is to keep praying for you, to keep the faith." Serge was speaking to a gathering of friends at the 32nd birthday of Alexandre, a young man with a cancer that had been consuming his face half his life despite numerous surgeries to remove the tumour.
Based on fieldwork in Benin surrounding patients of a Christian hospital ship, I explore the interpersonal and spiritual networks that have formed as a base beyond the surgical and evangelical interventions of the ship that, with its arrival, joined a sort of congregation around Alexandre and his illness. The body's expression of grave illness is a physical manifestation of the (negative) energies affecting the sick individual and a complex centre of contestation surrounding the source of affliction and the recourses to heal in this landscape where many hold to Christian beliefs to counter the feared capacities of other local religions. The ill body becomes the principle for social cohesion. It is a call to arms for those who choose to answer, beyond family and friends and the church, to a selective greater community that unites in order to assist an individual who is suffering. By looking at the religious responses enacted through individuals - long weekly prayer circles, collection of money for surgeries, and public testimonies praising God's healing abilities - a patchwork is woven wherein it is not just the ill body that is taken care of, but the body of the congregation and its belief.

W012

"West" and "East": Dreaming, Writing, Imagining, and Practicing Europe

Convenors: **Jurij Fikfak, Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (fikfak@gmx.net)**
Maria Vivod, CNRS (vivod@hotmail.com)

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: R1

The EU constitutional crisis shows how "Europe" is far from being a homogeneous

entity. It is a playground of large and small, old and new countries, which perceive and present themselves in different ways, and use different culturally constructed strategies and tactics in relation to imagined "Europeanness".
The panelists will consider some key themes, such as understanding of the self and of the other regarding the writing the memories, imaginaries of Europe and its continually changing borders. Attention will be paid to the relationships between groups and individuals who are seeking to maintain a cultural link in the recreation of their memories and identities in a Europe seemingly captive of its own myths. The diversity of the new forms of identification through migration is a subject to be explored. We propose three topics to be developed:
What the label "West" and "East" mean in European contemporary societies? What is "West" seen from the "East" and vice versa, and how these positional categories are defined and become "real" for the social actors? How is the issue of power (economical, cultural, s.f.) and negotiation important in the discourse between "West" and "East".
Which are the elements-differences and commonalities between cultural practices and images, of the "West" and the "East"?
The description of the European anthropologists' experience in writing these topics; the papers presented during the workshop will explore issues relating to the construction of what we might call "integrative ethnography".

Entre le "West" et le 'East': le concept de l'Europe centrale

Karen Denni, Université Marc Bloch (Karen.Denni@gmail.com)

Durant des années 1980 des dissidents des pays de l'Europe de l'Est (Kundera, Konrad, Havel) ont lancé les concepts ambitieux d'une Europe centrale.
Tous ces concepts stimulaient le rêve des deux côtés du « rideau de fer » au travers de l'idée du centre représentant un lieu de transition et de médiation des cultures. L'Europe centrale semblait remplir la fonction de passerelle entre les deux parties occidentale et orientale, mettant en avant sa grande histoire culturelle.
Depuis - au lieu d'assurer un transfert réciproque d'idées entre l'Est et l'Ouest - l'Europe de l'Est a repris le modèle capitaliste occidental et a vu cohabiter réussites économiques et fractures sociales, sentiments d'admiration et d'aversion pour le modèle occidental.
Les nouveaux membres de l'Union Européenne pourraient-ils enfin rêver d'un nouveau paradigme où la culture trouvera sa place ? La création d'une identité européenne qui transcendera les connotations de 'West' et 'Est' sera t-elle possible? Nous défendons la thèse que l'Europe centrale vivant d'un syncrétisme et d'un créolisme de plusieurs pays - dont les frontières géopolitiques et culturelles sont très difficiles a définir - peut proposer un modèle culturel très prometteur dans une Europe en quête de ses fondements culturels.

Negotiating Nicosia: Geographies of Europe from its Margins

Rebecca Bryant, George Mason University (rbryant2@gmu.edu)

This paper examines imaginations of East and West in Cyprus' European Union accession. Cyprus presents a problematic case for Europe, in that the ceasefire line that divides the island into north and south also appears, in common discourse, to divide it into an EU-member West and a Turkish-controlled East. This paper takes two ethnographic cases — a park and a shopping street, both in Nicosia — to analyse the ways in which Turkish Cypriots put their imaginations of East and West into practice. My

particular emphasis is on the ambivalence in the ways that Turkish Cypriots address and have addressed the prospect of their own EU entry. While many acquired passports from the Greek Cypriot-controlled Republic of Cyprus and so are able to travel as EU citizens, the part of the island where they live remains outside EU law and heavily influenced by Turkey's military, economic, and political presence there. In recent years, the growth of the construction sector in the north has meant that the numbers of manual labourers arriving from Turkey has exploded, producing, especially in the capital Nicosia, a sense among many Cypriots of being under siege. Taking examples from that city, the paper examines the many layers of Turkish Cypriots' understanding of what it means to be Turkish in Cyprus today. In particular, the paper will examine the ways in which Nicosia has been written into an imagined geography of West and East, and how, in everyday practice, Turkish Cypriots use and discuss that imagined geography as it applies to their possible futures.

One Step Forward, Two Steps Back: Serbian Path to Europe at the Beginning of 21st Century

Mladena Prelić, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (ombre@eunet.yu)

In most of East European countries consensus on EU integration was relatively easily made. Serbia, however, makes an exception. Political and intellectual elites are still reluctant to make definite decisions in this matter. In this paper I will try to elaborate what are the meanings of "Europe" in public discourses of contemporary Serbia, as well as what concepts are counterpositioned to it, and what eventual alternatives to EU integrations of Serbia are. I will focus on the point of view of contemporary Serbian intellectuals, in contemporary political context, as well as in relation to the results of the public opinion on the same issue.
The quest for a new identity of Serbia actually began during 1980's. It was the period of Serbia experiencing the most severe crisis in its recent history. The only unequivocal period of pro-European orientation lasted only slightly over two years and ended tragically with the political assassination of its pro-European Prime Minister. A period of partial restoration of a non-democratic regime followed. Political divisions are becoming more and more vivid in the society, with the deepest schism between those oriented towards Europe and those against the Union, which can be interpreted as pro and con a modern, democratic, civil society. My goal in this paper is to analyse the public discourses on this important issue and their possible contextualised meanings in order to determine why Serbia did chose to take such a different path from its neighbours who have decided to become part of Europe.

Sensible Memories, Embodied Borders: An Ethnographic Research on Family Resemblances in Warsaw

Nicoletta Diasio, Université Marc Bloch (nicoletta.diasio@misha.fr)

The question of a central Europe which would be situated between "East and West" often dominated the debate on the status and the identity of a country as Poland (Bondyra-Lisiecki, Konwicki, Kostrzewa, Krall, Maslowski, Milosz, Tomaszewski). This "quartering" was sometimes considered as controversial, and more popular in the West than in the same country, sometimes as the heart of the Polish myth and of the spiritual and physical geography of the borders. The ambiguity and the polysemous character of these notions correspond to a deeper problem which demands a further reflection. An ongoing research on family narratives on memory and transmission in Warsaw, allows an analysis of these positional identities as they are made in social

bodily practices. Questioning the ways to tell and to make the family resemblances within a small number of Polish families, I will point out the idea of "Polishness" at the time this country joined to European Union, the role of women in transmitting this ideal, the embodiment of memories and belongings in everyday life, and, by the way, the refusal of my interlocutors to be entrapped in a system of binding and univocal identifications.

The Inner Border: Frontiers, Structural Nostalgia and Cultural Intimacy in Topolò/Topolove (Natisone River Valley, Udine, Italy)

Donatella Cozzi, University Ca' Foscari (bulunut@tin.it)

On December the 21st 2007 one of the most grievous and torn borders of Europe, the one between Slovenia and north-eastern Italy, has definitively fallen down, absorbing the Republic of Slovenia into the Schengen area. What was once seen as a border between two irreducible worlds - the border between East and West - since the eighties is considered as one of the most osmotic boundary between the two Europes.
The iconicity of this boundary (Michael Herzfeld 1997) presents two sides, apparently opposite one another, contrasting close vs. open, but functional both to the construction of the respective national identities as well as to the dynamics between national state and minorities. It is not a case that the Slovenian people settled along the border between the region Friuli Venezia Giulia and Slovenia are defined as "ethnic minority". This term is dense and full of contrasts when close to the border, becoming meaningless when looking at it from Rome or Naples. The Topolò/Topolove village has been separated from the Isonzo Valley - its natural agricultural and exchange outlet - by the border set in 1947.
Here I am presenting three generations' narratives, which have lived with the border in different ways. Some people elaborated strategies to bypass it; some others have built up a contrasting ethnicity, intentional isolation and a "structural nostalgia" (Michael Herzfeld 1997); and eventually part of the population in the process of dissolving this cultural essence. Similarities and differences become differently articulated symbols of the past and of the future.

The Integration of "East" and "West": Slovene Eurocrats and Shifts in European Identity within the Institutions of the European Union

Tatjana Bajuk Senčar, Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (tbajuk@yahoo.com)

The proposed paper will explore how an anthropological study of the first generation of Slovene civil servants of the European Union, or "Eurocrats", can shed light on the way that the European Union's expansion affects notions of "Europeanness." It is interesting to note that virtually no anthropological attention has been paid to the ways that both old and new generations of Eurocrats have negotiated European Union's significant expansion to the "East" and how this expansion has affected established systems' cultural categories. This paper will explore shifts in the understanding and dimensions of "Europeanness" through an ethnographic investigation of the integration experiences of a relatively new group of (Slovene) Eurocrats who have recently migrated to Brussels and who have assumed a new professional identity at Europe's "centre." How has the new position of Slovene Eurocrats (presumed shift from "East" to "West") informed their notions of their own identity? What sort of markers become significant for them and what is their provenance? What sort of meaning do they accord to the categories of "East" and "West" from their position

within the EU institutions? In what terms do they articulate their identity in relation to their professional colleagues? Exploring these questions will allow for a grounded discussion on the way that a particular cultural group is negotiating the integration of Europe on multiple levels and on possible significance of the categories of "East and "West" in contemporary Europe.

The Westernised Law and the Local Conditions: The Case of Informal Area in Tirana's Suburbia

Nebi Bardhoshi, Institute of Cultural Anthropology and Art Studies (nedebai@yahoo.com)

Albanian society, considered as the most "isolated" place in Europe during the period of communism, has opened to doors to the process of European Integration. During the communism period Western Europe was a foe, and symbolised, together with U.S.A, the cradle of capitalism. The perception now has changed and Western Europe, especially, European Union, is seen as the ideal community. The imagination the former enemy is, ideologically, transformed into the ideal type and a "natural" place where Albania ought to be. In this paper we will try to argue how political elites make use of European-base legislation laws to legitimise their decision, and undertaking reform, as right and just, in the name of integration/modernisation, and as the sole way to "Go West" and EU. Under focus will be the legislative system on land property that is transplanted into Albania, and how the westernisation motif is used to legitimise it. The ethnographic data are taken from the informal area suburbia of Tirana.

W013

Experiencing Calamity - Expressing the Unthinkable

Convenors: **Susann Ullberg, Stockholm University (susann.ullberg@socant.su.se)**
Sergio Eduardo Visacovsky, Instituto de Desarrollo Económico y Social/ Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (seredvisac@fibertel.com.ar)
Chair: **Susann Ullberg**

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 5

Major crises - be they famines, natural disasters, economic breakdowns, armed conflict, pandemics or environmental catastrophes - are disruptive events in the established social order as well as in the life course of those experiencing them. Social crises expose the conjunctures of politics, economy and culture on local, regional, national and transnational levels, and are, by definition, situations permeated by uncertainty and sudden loss, which prompt for urgent "meaning making" of the event in itself. "Accidental communities" are created by means of shared experience and encompassing large social aggregations and individuals alike. How do people make sense of the unexpected? What are the lived experiences of the unthinkable? How do people cope with strain, socially, culturally and materially? We invite scholars to explore how experience of calamity is expressed on different levels, in practice, in narratives, in images and/or in performance. We welcome papers on all related

topics, such as emotions, symbolics, memory making, inter/subjectivity, identity, aesthetics, diversity and other aspects.

Practising Morality at Times of Crisis: Palestinian Boundary-Making during the Intifada Al Aqsa

Nina Gren, Göteborg University (nina.gren@globalstudies.gu.se)

At times of experienced threat due to violent conflict, societies tend to watch their social boundaries and to position one's own group as morally superior to one's opponent or enemy. This paper explores one such case, namely how Palestinians in a refugee camp in the West Bank made sense of their recent experiences of violence and insecurity through moral narratives and practices. Meaning-making at the time of intifada al aqsa implied positioning Palestinians as morally superior to Israelis, but also as superior to other Arabs and Westerners, when it came to life styles and politics. There was thus an on going process to uphold circles of sameness and otherness.
The camp was conceptualised as a moral community. This community was however under constant threat; the morality and community of the camp inhabitants had always been better in past times. There were also many concerns with moral contamination due to contact with outsiders, especially Israelis. This contamination could for instance occur through work or imprisonment in Israel, but also through a more general trend of modernisation and consumerism. Most importantly, morality involved gender discourses and the concepts honour and shame as they were understood locally. The argument of the paper is that this moral boundary-making is, except from a response to a deep sense of threat against the Palestinian society, also to be understood as "an investment in the game", to quote Bourdieu, i.e. a way to augment social being and to re-establish hope.

La Dignité: entre la dépendance et l'autonomie. Rhétoriques, pratiques et expérience de l'accompagnement psychosocial des sinistrés de la catastrophe La Tragedia (1999) au Venezuela

Paula Vasquez, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (paula.vasquez@wanadoo.fr)

La définition courante des programmes de « soutien psychosocial » va de soi dans les discours médiatiques qui circulent dans les contextes d'intervention humanitaire lors des catastrophes. Dans les sociétés contemporaines, il est devenu banal que des professionnels, psychologues et psychiatres, soient sollicités et engagés pour soigner les « blessures psychiques » des victimes qui ont vécu des situations d'extrême crise. La souffrance des populations confrontées à des événements exceptionnels (guerres, famines ou autres catastrophes) est ainsi devenue un champ professionnel dans la réalité contemporaine. Dans ce domaine du travail humanitaire international, la souffrance des victimes est tout à la fois l'origine et la justification des programmes et des projets qui ont pour objectif d'aider les victimes. Cette communication porte sur les dilemmes et les ambigüités des « programmes de soutien psychosocial » mis en œuvre au Venezuela lors de la catastrophe de décembre 1999, nommée localement La Tragedia, des coulées de boue qui dévastèrent les zones urbaines du nord du pays. Une enquête ethnographique menée entre 2000 et 2004 sur sept sites d'accueil des familles sinistrées permet de reconstituer la logique de fonctionnement des dispositifs d'accompagnement et d'analyser l'expérience de l'assistance dans la longue durée.

Banal Millenialism: Images of the End of the World among Old Colony Mennonites

Lorenzo Cañás Bottos, Tallinn University (lorenzo@ehi.ee)

Catherine Wessinger's 1997 invitation to research "millenialism without the mayhem" has hardly been taken up, and most studies of millenarisms have focused on the spectacular practices performed by those believing to be in the last days. This paper focuses on the construction of millennialism in a self defined pacifist, quiet and world rejecting groups: the Old Colony Mennonites. This paper argues, applying Michael Billig's idea of "banal" to the imagination of the end, that these need to be constantly produced, updated and rejected, creating a stock of constantly applicable scripts and scenarios that remain marginalised, waiting for the right time to be broadly accepted.

Raw Madness and Cooked Crime: The Unspeakable Politics of Rapes as an Instrument of Ethnic Cleansing

Albert Doja, University of New York, Tirana (albert.doja@ul.ie)

Rape is an important topic, one that merits close anthropological attention, especially with reference to those aspects of gender and sexuality that are related to ethnicity. I argue that political use of rapes in ethnic conflict is not merely a mental neither symbolic act but has to be considered first by taking into account the local cultural background and the context of ethnic conflict. I first conceptualise the complex of rapes as a theoretical argument for highlighting how the transgression of Leibniz's principle of the indiscernible identity works as a structuring principle of unavoidable Manichean options towards the destructive aims of the exacerbated interethnic fighting. Drawing on this conceptualisation I aim at showing that the politics of rapes must be in the first instance not only to eliminate the community in its entirety, through its self-destruction as social and ethnic group, but this very destructive intention and the effectiveness of its politics in the Yugoslav ethnic conflicts became possible due to a cultural similarity and identical cultural features, by the introduction of the same and identical structural principles, which produce social pollution and danger. It is exactly in function of this similarity that politics of social behaviour make sense in both sides, a sense shared by both camps in a same way. It is this cultural "intimacy" that permitted an efficient politics of rape, with a kind of intensity and relevance of the aggressive message expressed and transmitted in the same language, and using the same cultural code.

Dreaming Conspiracies: Experiencing the Law in Post-Soviet Chechnya

Maxim Kovalcik

This paper examines the experiences bound to physical pain, feeling of loss and the consequent suffering and grief that - mediated and produced through legal engagements (undergoing extraction of confession, memorising fictitious crime details, attending trials, writing numerous letters, applications, and complaints, walking and negotiating the legal offices in search of the disappeared or in attempts to help the sentenced ones) - find the expression in dreams and conspiracy narratives in post-Soviet Chechnya. Based on the recent fieldwork paper argues that legal system situated within the local and federal politics and schemes of corruption, and subscribing to torture, kidnapping, fabrication of evidence, staged trials and contradictory rhetoric, also offer a framework for living through such experiences.

Defined by the shared corporeal practices of reading, writing, handling, seeing, feeling, and dreaming these state operations, legal engagement helps to structure emotions and ascribe meaning to suffering. It turns law into the object of affective attachment in people's daily aspiration towards the idea of justice (spravedlivost) or hope to find the missing ones, yet it is indefinitely postponed and almost never realised within the labyrinthine bureaucracies of the state. Conspiracy narratives and dreams become the medium where such tensions, uncertainties and asymmetries come to be realised and conflated.

The Meaning of the Disaster: Three Scenarios for La Tragedia, Venezuela 1999

Sandrine Revet, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (sandrine.revet@free.fr)

In 1999, mud flows and floods destroy the Venezuelan coast. Following this particularly disruptive natural disaster, it is necessary to explain the event, to give it a sense. This collective operation, which allows not only the victims but also the whole country to "make sense" of the disaster, also leads to define possible actions likely to be taken to avoid the recurrence of such a tragedy. The whole of the tools implemented to resolve the disaster can be analyzed like different scenarios that offer both thinking settings and action settings. Based on an ethnographic field work, the paper proposes to analyse the way religious symbolism, naturalistic thought, and risk rhetoric coexist and are alternatively used by the different actors involved -institutions, churches, residents, journalists, politicians.

De la biographie mutilée à une identité narrative multiple: le cas des sans-abri en France

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La mémoire sociale (souvenirs d'ouvrier, participation aux luttes syndicales, à la guerre d'Algérie etc.) qui émerge des récits de vie des personnes sans abri sont difficilement pris en compte par les intervenants sociaux. C'est l'histoire des pertes, dans sa forme la plus individualisée, une histoire sans mémoire, qui constitue le matériel utilisé par l'action sociale pour l'ouverture des droits. Les sans-abri sont ainsi réduits à des êtres en perte de structures fondatrices de la condition humaine, à savoir l'espace et le temps social.

Dans cette communication je voudrais montrer à travers une ethnographie réflexive comment ces personnes résistent à la violence de leurs « biographies mutilées », véritable contrôle de la mémoire sociale des sujets. Enfermées dans une ligne de vie qui les condamne à un seul destin - la désaffiliation radicale - et face à la situation de dépossession et d'incertitude matérielles limites dans lesquelles ces personnes se trouvent au quotidien, elles mettent en place une identité narrative multiple (des bricolages fictionnels, mémoires plurielles, des thématisations particulières dans des contextes précis). Cette identité est indissociable d'une « présence récalcitrante » dans un territoire irréductible (« Je suis d'ici », « Je connais l'histoire du quartier » affirment-ils). Ceci fait éclater la biographie institutionnelle liminaire. Et surtout met en cause le processus d'extraterritorialisation dont ces personnes sont soumises par le regard social et les pratiques politico-économiques.

Contesting Disaster: Politics of Memory and Oblivion in Santa Fe, Argentina

Susann Ullberg, Stockholm University (susann.ullberg@socant.su.se)

Disastrous floods are historically recurrent in the town of Santa Fe in the Northeast of Argentina, generally affecting the socially most vulnerable people in town. In 2003, though, occurred what many Santafesinos describe as the worst in memory. On this occasion a third of the city area was flooded and among the victims were many middle class residents who had never before been affected by the city's floods. For them, this was not only an unexpected event but also culturally unimaginable. Many of these victims constitute the protest movement of "los Inundados" (the Flood Victims) that emerged in the wake of this disaster, claiming accountability of municipal and provincial governments for their actions before, during and after the disaster. Such claims have largely been dismissed by local authorities though. By conceptualising the narratives and practices of "los Inundados" as techniques of memory, this paper aims at understanding how subjective experiences of disaster are expressed at a social level and thereby constitute an "accidental community of memory," which forms the basis for social mobilisation. The ethnography presented is based on fieldwork in Santa Fe in 2005.

Heroes, Massacres, and Svetskava Street 12: Remembering the War in Kosovo

Karin Norman, Stockholm University (karin.norman@socant.su.se)

The many years of repression during the 1990s in Kosovo and the subsequent war there are ever-present, not only in terms of images of loss and traumatic experiences of death and destruction, but also in the workings of everyday social and political life. Personal and collective images, narrations, and memories of the war shift and change as they are fused with ongoing life experiences within the folds of Kosovo's precarious socio-economic situation. How is violence, fear and loss remembered and expressed by people in different social contexts? What meanings are embodied in references to, and depictions of, extreme violence and massacres? How does this relate to more "uneventful" memories of fear and avoidance?

Anthropologists are rarely "there" when major crises, such as war, actually occur (cf. Nordstrom). We are left with the political, social and personal aftermaths. In telling and remembering, people's claims to "truth" may be especially strong and contradictory, which raises methodological issues of a particular poignancy and complexity. How does the anthropologist cope analytically and emotionally with tragic or horrendous "information"? As researcher one may feel a particular urge to find out "what really happened", while instead one is constantly left with fragmented impressions and uncertainty. This need not essentially differ from other fieldwork contexts, but dramatic and violent crises underscore not only experiential uncertainty, but the issue of its methodological equivalent.

The ethnographic material is based on recurring shorter periods of fieldwork since 2000, in Kosovo and among Kosovo Albanian refugees in Sweden.

W014

From Medical Pluralism to Therapeutic Plurality: Medical Anthropology and the Politics of Diversity, Knowledge, and Experience from Multiple Perspectives

Convenors: **Leonardo Menegola (leonardo.menegola@gmail.com)**
Uršula Lipovec Čebron, University of Ljubljana (ursula.lipovec@gmail.com)
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Chairs: **Melissa Park, Chiara Pussetti, and Carlotta Bagaglia**
Discussants: **Mariella Pandolfi (UQAM) and Dough Hollan (UCLA)**

28 August 2008, 09:00
Rooms: 15 and 116

This workshop will explore different aspects of the tensions and complementarities between biomedicine and "other" medicines. Through ethnographic evidences, we will contribute to the study of diverse practices of suffering and healing by focusing on how social representations and cultural constructions embedded in the encounters between "the West and the Rest" migrate, transform, or collide at the intersections of emergent scenarios of contemporaneity. At the crossroad of medical pluralism and therapeutic plurality, human experiences, social representations, and culturally embedded practices linked to "suffering" will reveal a vast ethnographic territory, across which migrational processes will constitute one among the transversal concerns of this workshop.

We will outline dynamics of exclusion and inclusion between biomedical and alternative practitioners of healing in contexts of education and associations; and within processes of legalisation in institutional practices and formal professionalisation. We will examine the interactions occurring between distinct discursive practices and systems of meaning — as carried out and reproduced by different social actors — to investigate socially relevant ways in which diverging, pre-established schemes and representations interact with reference to symptoms, illnesses, models of affliction and wider socio-moral notions of personhood and the Self. By looking at the embodiments, feelings, and sensations through which people make sense of suffering, illness, and healing, we will focus on the political and performative meaning of such experiences as forms of resistance, opposition, defence from systems of hegemony, and on the politically authorised, socially recognised ways of performing both sufferance and healing. We will explore the strategic references made to "experience" (e.g. through the mundane world of sensing) by non-hegemonic medicines that rely on the creation of experiences of intersubjectivity and mutuality between healers and patients.

Section 1 (PAPERS No. 1 to 7): Cultural Diversity as Knowledge and Practice. Chair: Chiara Pussetti

This section deals with the biomedical discourse on diversity and cross-cultural communication and, at the same time, the absence of discussion on underestimated aspects of this relationship. By focusing on the building of knowledge and the articulation of criteria of efficacy (clinical trials, standardisation and quality control of other "traditional" medicines,) we will explore the social use of diversity in public health policies, and we will explore the boundaries between culture and affliction by analysing the articulation of different therapeutic theories and practices among multiple social actors.

Section 2 (PAPERS No. 8 to 16): The Medical Anthropology of "Experience:" Illness, Suffering, Healing. Chair: Melissa Park

This section will explore the socio-political meanings of "experience" in different contexts of medical hegemony and pluralism. "Experience" identifies and differentiates both suffering and healing practices; it enters mechanisms of efficacy, apparatuses of techniques and the practical knowledge required to administer them. We will examine "who" experiences suffering, unease, processes of healing; "who or what" manages or interprets such experiences and administrates the dynamics of cure; and how social and medical systems locally structure (translate, legitimise, reshape, deny) particular facets of experience.

Section 3 (PAPERS No. 17 to 23): Politics and Challenges of Integration. Chair: Carlotta Bagaglia

This section introduces a critical medical anthropological discussion of various concepts of medical pluralism, and aims to draw ethnographic evidence on the ways in which biomedicine can coexist and/or interweave with other medicines. From both an applied and a theoretical perspective, the analysis will mainly focus on different strategic perspectives of actors and institutions involved, such as: users, complementary and traditional healers, medical professionals, health-care institutions, insurance companies, etc, as well as on the complexity of their mutual relationships in various ethnographic contexts, especially in Latin America.

Section 4: Roundtable: Healing as Plurality, Politics, and Experience

The discussants, chairs, and convenors of the workshop will partake in a final Roundtable. The discussion will address "diversity" in its medical anthropological declination, both as migration of particular individuals and groups, and as encounter (hybridisation, borrowing, translation, struggle) between different practices of suffering and healing. We will gaze at cultural diversity and medical pluralism through a multiple perspective and threefold socio-cultural lens: as a cultural construction, as a social strategy, and as a political performance. We will adopt multiple perspectives (e.g. focusing on institutions, cultural heterogeneity, and the particularities of experiences of falling sick, being ill, returning to a "sense of ordinary life"). We will thus contribute to the social and political analysis of the epistemological heterogeneity of socially co-habiting healing systems, issues of therapeutic (or scientific) efficacy, and dynamics of social inclusion and exclusion. Finally, we will reflect on the epistemological challenges of an increasingly "pluralist" Medical Anthropology, where plural scenarios and objects give way to plural-synthetic conceptual frameworks and methods.

Alcohol, Crack and Therapeutic Effects of the Saint Daime in Homelessness

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Walter Varanda, University of São Paulo (varanda@usp.br)

The spread of the ayahuasca usage around the world, in the outline of spiritual practices from the Amazonian region, is strongly linked to the processes of self knowledge and therapeutic finalities. We focus on experiences like that among persons who live in the streets of the city of São Paulo, which promoted both behavioural changes and re-evaluations of negative experiences along their lives. For some - three people interviewed, and considering information about other similar cases, it resulted in redemption of the use of alcohol and drugs and their reinsertion in productive activities, as already reported in other social categories. The analysis of elements in ritual use of the Saint Daime is set against the abusive use of alcohol and crack by homeless individuals, commonly treated under psychiatric point of view. Considering the homelessness as an experience of social liminality, the use of the ayahuasca in the ritual context operates as a transition qualified element.

La jeunesse de classe populaire et son «contrôle» par la santé

Ana Malfitano, University of São Paulo (amalfitano@gmail.com)
Rubens Adorno, University of São Paulo (radorno@usp.br)

Nous voudrons discuter quelques réflexions de nos recherches sur le champs de la Santé Publique et les Politiques Sociales pour la jeunesse, sûrtout a propos de la jeunesse de classes populaires. Dans l'actualité il y a une demande et, comme réponse, la création de services publiques pour la jeunesse considerée «sensible », c'est-à-dire la jeunesse qui habite dans la banlieue et peut menacer l'ordre sociale. Dans ce context, la santé est appellée à composer ces services et, dans la majeure partie du temps, elle crée les services de santé mentale pour travailer avec les jeunes de classe populaire, qu'on peut aborder dans la perspective d'une psychiatrisation du domaine social.
Nous parlons à partir de deux travails de terrain : au Brésil et en France. Le premier, au Brésil, s'est passé avec les jeunes qui habitent dans la rue à la ville de Campinas (São Paulo), travail de terrain developé pendant les anées de 2002 à 2006, environ de la politique publique locale pour cette population. Le deuxième travail de terrain a été fait en France, en 2007, sur les services qui travailent avec les jeunes, où il y a una grande présence des immigrées.
Nous proposons la réflexion sur le rôle de la santé et ses liaisons avec le champ social, dans la perspective des politique publiques pour tous, ne pas selement les jeunes « sensibles », mais pour toute la jeunesse ; avec la proposition de creer interventions pour son autonomie et ses droits.

Singing Sorrow: From Emotional Attitude to Emotional Dysfunction

Chiara Pussetti, Centro de Estudos de Antropologia Social, Lisbon (chiaragemma.pussetti@gmail.com)

Acknowledging anthropological approaches to "emotions" as a helpful theoretical tool for analysing migrants' mental health, this paper - based upon a long-term fieldwork in the Bijagó Archipelago (Guinea Bissau) and in a Portuguese mental health service for migrants - underlines how the culture of biomedicine is responsible for pathologising the moral experience of suffering. Among the Bijagós, hopelessness and depressive affect are emotional experiences not only accepted, but also considered morally and aesthetically appropriate. The "burnt heart" (local expression) is an existential condition due to the awareness of the misery of human life: a sign of intelligence and refinement and not at all as a deviant behaviour, an emotional trouble or a medical problem. In the diasporic context, what is seen by my Bijagós informants as a sophisticated emotional attitude, in the psychiatrists' interpretation, driven by the political economy of the pharmaceutical industry, counts as a depressive disorder. The "burnt heart", a culturally constructed emotional attitude, is considered pathological and an obstacle to the goal of assimilation: the pharmaceutical make-up is regarded as necessary. This ethnographic case presents a reflection about old questions: is the category of depression a universal condition? And are its treatments applicable everywhere? What should we consider normal and abnormal states of unhappiness? Who has the power to propose emotional models to aspire to in order to define ourselves and the wished quality of our life and our emotions? Which are the economic and political interests of these new models of persons and emotions?

Cultural Sensitive Introduction of HIV/AIDS Prevention by Initiation Ritual of Rural Girls in Mozambique

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HIV/AIDS prevention in Mozambique has a low efficacy rate. The national strategic plan to control HIV/AIDS criticizes that prevention messages are not culturally adequate and cannot lead to a safer behaviour. Anthropologists` question how can the positive aspects of tradition be used for HIV/AIDS prevention? Initiation rituals of girls are practiced in 7 from 11 provinces; they teach sexuality (without mutilation) and how to be a responsible human being. Initiation rites represent culturally the best recognised context to speak about sexuality and moral (prevention) behaviour. To introduce bio security HIV/AIDS prevention counselling in initiation rites implies a dialogical communication between biomedical nurses and initiation godmothers, women healers, on verbal and on mostly non-verbal forms. Dances and songs are the main communication forms together with the verbal traditional counselling. It is a process that teaches through diverse stages the girls since they reach 7-9 years old, through transition ritual, marriage and until the first baby. The complementary introduction of biosecurity counselling in the initiation imply the management of diverse contradictions; biomedical trainer nurses (with "splitting" problematic between modernity and tradition) should learn to be open and able to bridge between the traditional and the biosecurity paradigms. The initiation godmothers/healer women have to deal with contradictions between the biological contamination concept and the local paradigm of impurity, danger and prevention -, with their own neglecting of the promotion of the use of condoms.
This approach provokes an empowerment-process of women in their communities.

The Use of Traditional Medicine as an Observation during Fieldwork in Brazilian Amazon

Margret Jaeger, University of Graz (margretjaeger@yahoo.com)

Two researchers of different sex, language, cultural background and education are working on aspects of women's health in Belém do Pará, Brazilian Amazon Region. In our projects with prostitutes, HIV and health politics for early detection of breast cancer, we are confronted with a reality were women suffer from diseases, lack of health services and other dangers.
The living reality in the Amazon Region is especially hard for women. On the one hand, there is a lack of doctors, health services and hospitals; and on the other, there is the tradition of the use of plants for healing passed down through the ages from the people's indigenous ancestors.
During conversations with women of different ages and life situations, we made observations, held discussions and asked for their perceptions of health and health services. We received from this information about health and illness beliefs, recipes and explications of how and why they make use of plants and traditional healers.
In a minority of public health services in Brazil, they are starting to use the traditional knowledge and medicines to cure people, often motivated both by lower costs and by people's belief and trust in this form of medicine.

Cancer Patients and Complementary and Alternative Medicine in Turkey

Ayşecan Terzioğlu, Koc University (aterzioglu@hotmail.com)

This paper investigates complementary and alternative medicine (CAM) in Turkey, based on the illness narratives of Turkish cancer patients, which I collected and studied for my Ph.D. dissertation. It describes the broad range of complementary alternative medical methods that those patients benefit from, as well as providing a general categorisation of those methods in Turkish society. Accordingly, these methods are categorised as the ones, which are informed by the global, new age trends, such as yoga, reiki and positive energy, and the "traditional" ones, which are based on popular Islamic and folk conceptions of health and illness. These categorisations also reflect the health behaviours of people with different socio-economic backgrounds, since the former is generally associated with people with higher education level and urban, middle and upper class background and the latter with less educated people with rural and disadvantaged background. This categorisation also informs medical discourse on patients and influences the health care providers' differentiation of good and bad patients, as well as their attitudes towards those patients. This paper also analyses how those dynamics and processes are influenced by the historical and current interaction between Turkish medicine and modernity and how the patients and health care providers evaluate the possibility for the discursive and practical integration of CAM to the dominant biomedical system. This paper also questions the concept of "Islamic medicine" and how it is used in the Turkish medical realm, and relates that concept to the recent debates on the rise of political Islam in Turkey.

An Aesthetic Frame of Experience: Underground Pleasures for Children with Autism in a Sensory Integration-Based Clinic

Melissa Park, University of California, Los Angeles (mmpark@sbcglobal.net)

Biomedical hegemony in the United States funds, and thus constrains, research to methods that favour large-scale, replicable outcome measures of treatment efficacy. This exigency for evidence-based practices renders invisible those more ephemeral aspects of healing and transformation that emerge on-the-ground and in-the-moment between particular individuals. Yet, the ability to capture the emergence of such intersubjective moments is particularly relevant for children diagnosed with autism. The psychological criteria of the DSM-IV locate social deficits solely within the individual, while neuroscience findings that children with autism have "broken" mirror neuron systems indelibly wire, or rather, not wire in "autistic aloneness." This paper will utilise an aesthetic frame of experience to examine the emergence of intersubjectivity in a pediatric clinic. Aesthetics — drawing from anthropologies of performance and the senses — constitutes both the bodily-sensing of experience and cultural forms that illuminate "what's at stake." Microanalysis of body alignment, eye gaze, vocal tone, and the like of two clinical interactions in a pediatric clinic excavate how sensually-saturated and affectively-laden, improvisational and imaginal moments lead to the creation of what I am calling healing pleasures. Illuminating embodied pleasures — from the simple iteration of "apple-apple-apple" by a child with severe autism to the whirling praxis required in enacting a twister by a child with high-functioning autism — foreground the centrality of bodily-sensing experiences to human connectedness. Often ephemeral, such transformations of self risk erasure when only scientific-positivist terms (i.e. joint attention, social referencing and the like) determine "treatment efficacy."

Thai Massage as a Therapy: Suffering and Healing among the Thai Urban Middle Class

Junko Iida, Kawasaki University of Medical Welfare (iida@mw.kawasaki-m.ac.jp)

Today, Thai massage is popular not only as a means of relaxation for foreign tourists but also as a therapy for the Thai urban middle class. In fact, the Thai government, which has been standardising Thai traditional medicine since the 1990s, has been promoting Thai massage as one of its traditional therapies. Based on fieldwork at a traditional therapies clinic in Chiang Mai, this paper explores how Thai clients interpret their symptoms and why they choose Thai massage to solve their health problems. The majority of Thai clients have "pain" or "stiffness" in the body and find their symptoms are caused by a disorder of the "sen", lines which run through the body in folk anatomy. They feel massage is more efficacious in treating the root cause, the "sen", than biomedical treatment. Notably there are many clients who say that they choose Thai massage because they prefer "natural therapy" to taking painkillers which have side-effects. At the same time, they say that they prefer Thai massage which has been standardised and thus controlled by biomedicine to massage done by "unqualified" healers. Massage practitioners at the clinic, however, acquire massage skills not only through the standardised curriculum but also through intersubjective experience in the process of tactile interaction and communication with colleagues and clients. A practitioner's experiential knowledge, which includes knowledge of an individual client's body and symptoms, creates a sense of trust and ease for the client, and is therefore also important in keeping regular clients.

Trajectories in Pain

Gabriella Aspraki, University of Crete (aspraki@yahoo.com)

With few exceptions, chronic pain has been discussed in the relevant literature as the epitome of the subjective, the inarticulate, and the a-social. Pain is discussed as a sensation and feeling which can be neither communicated in language nor perceived by the observer's senses. In this sense, pain constitutes an experience strictly private to the subject in pain. Pain is also private in the sense that it appears to engulf the subject and disrupt her social world.

Yet, despite the above, pain is a socially and culturally constituted experience. Pain's very designation as chronic derives through long, and as a rule, painful trajectories of the subject among a multitude of fields and relationships of mutual determination. From self-healing to folk healing practices and from biomedicine to alternative healers the subject in pain becomes a chronic pain sufferer. Life trajectories might be private but are not solitary; their pain constitutes a field of encounter and negotiation among people in pain, their close ones, doctors and carers, insurance organisations and work place. Through these encounters with self and others, the subject makes meaning of her experience and re-organises her social world. In this presentation:

- I draw on ethnographic fieldwork with chronic pain sufferers
- I use a life history to reflect on trajectories in pain
- I attempt to see pain as a dynamic field of relationships rather than as private experience.

Noisy Hearts: Auto-Auscultation and Sound in Illness Experience

Tom Rice, Cambridge University (contacttomrice@gmail.com)

Following my research into patient experiences and interpretations of hospital soundscapes (Rice 2003), this paper explores the soundscape within patients themselves. The internal soundscape has been an important resource for doctors since Hippocratic times. Through auscultation, the act of listening to the body (in more recent years using a stethoscope) sounds have been used to provide indications as to the health of the organs by which they are generated. But while useful to the doctor, the internal soundscape is generally quiet for a patient, and is only rarely or distantly perceived, staying on the very edge of consciousness. In some cases, however, patients can become acutely aware of strange and frequently irritating sounds originating from inside them. These patients are often suffering from heart problems, usually involving quite severe abnormalities of the heart valves. The bizarre sounds, which are repetitive and sometimes loud, inspire fear and anxiety, in some cases becoming integral to patients' sense of themselves as "sick" or "diseased". The paper draws on ethnographic encounters with what is known as "auto-auscultation" to bring sound into an anthropological consideration of the body, and an initiate an acoustic exploration of ideas of health and sickness.

Experience of Disability in South Africa

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The historical and social transformation process after apartheid has extended the disabled person into political subjects who resist the one-dimensional picture of the disabled body as part of domination, normalisation and dependency; culture produces the person "all the way down" in Geertz's sense (2007). The political movement of struggle against apartheid has created new relations among people and new social identities. The root of apartheid, the sign classification, and labelling disability have a common ground with general discrimination mechanisms in South Africa. Further, the fact that many people became disabled due to the struggle against apartheid makes the connection to the national project of reconciliation and rehabilitation. The movement have made a culture of disability which flow between people and creates support and possibilities ("I can" Merleau Ponty 2002). Establishment of such cultures has manifested the self within intersubjective encounters were the person is woven into close relationships to manage the every day life situations. This paper investigates how disability activists rewrite poverty knowledge by giving the poor disabled persons new images closely linked to the local concept of ubuntu. Using multi-sited ethnography the material is collected over a period of 11 month fieldwork in two settings rural areas in Eastern Cape and the political urban centre. The project has financial support from Norwegian Research Council (2005-2008).

Gender as a Trigger for Medical Pluralism: Differing Experiences of Madness among Moroccan Berbers

Matthew Carey, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (mac61@cam.ac.uk)

Madness and mental disability are highly gendered forms of illness/suffering among highland Berbers. Not only are women far more likely to be defined as mad, but the social treatment meted out to them also differs radically from that accorded men. Where madmen are normally married off and kept under the tutelage of brothers

or uncles, women are often "exiled" to high mountain pastures and/or "denied" marriage opportunities. These differences are also reflected at the level of medical approaches. Women are more likely to respond to their illness by performing (collective) pilgrimage and trance - their illness isolates them and they respond publicly and/or collectively. Men, in contrast, often seek a Western bio-medical response to their suffering and endeavour to keep it within the private domain. This paper explores these divergences and analyses local people's own interpretations of the differing regimes of treatment available to them. It also looks at how they relate to the different sorts of practitioners to whom they have recourse, from religious specialists (fqihs) to city doctors and French NGO nurses, exploring the ways in which these encounters shape their understandings of the issues.

Chinese Acupuncture in Norway: Experiencing Traditional Chinese Acupuncture in the Context of a Biomedical Evaluation

Gry Sagli, University of Oslo (gry.sagli@medisin.uio.no)

This paper will discuss patients' perspectives on the effects of acupuncture as compared to the results of a medical evaluation carried out in a public hospital in Norway in order to measure these effects. In the discussion I will draw on data from a project focussing on experiences (bodily feelings and verbal articulation) from participation in Chinese health practices (traditional Chinese acupuncture and qigong/taijiquan) in Norway. Fieldwork has been carried out in different social settings, both inside and outside public health care. In the autumn of 2006 a hospital in Norway conducted a pilot project to evaluate the effects of receiving a series of acupuncture treatment sessions. As part of my fieldwork, I have observed treatment sessions and interviewed some of the persons who participated in the pilot.
I will apply the concept of the power of constructing reality, as elaborated by Bourdieu (1991), in order to analyse the finding that there are effects that both patients and the medical evaluators seem to see as "natural", but that there also are examples of great discrepancy between the viewpoints of patients and medical observers. In conclusion I will discuss the question of acupuncture evaluation in the context in which it takes place, namely in the tension between evidence-based medicine and an attempt to integrate acupuncture in a public hospital ward.

Unfolding Limbs, Recasting Selves: How Non-Conventional Healings Focus on the Senses of People with Dementias - Cases from Italy

Leonardo Menegola (leonardo.menegola@gmail.com)

During a "Music therapy" séance in a retirement home, a music therapist embraces the head of a motionless, old woman affected by advanced Alzheimer disease. He caresses her shoulders, and softly cradles her head, whispering a song. The lyrics are her name (repeated,) or shapeless vowels.
What is considered as "therapeutic efficacy" here? Sensorial and affective configurations contribute determining a practical horizon of interaction, performance, and rituality between the therapist and the patient. In this paper I focus on particular practices of music therapists and other Western non-conventional healers focused on "art" and "creative expression." I discuss how these therapists consider that world of sense-and-affection as shared with their mute patients, and how that horizon becomes meaningful to both of them. The way a therapist perceives the body and emotions, or imagines the senses and feelings of a patient, gives way to mutuality of physical acts, sensorial contacts, gestures and postures between the two. Particular

manipulations of the patient's body work at framing and inventing subjectivities.
While the combination of commonsensical and biomedical representations makes the patient's head "lost;" her selfhood "disintegrated;" her agency "hiding" in the darkness of dementia, the music therapist encounters that head with his touch; holds it together; sings, or speaks to the "person" wherever she is. What is the politics of personhood, the body, and the Self that lies behind this "therapeutic" practice? Towards an answer, medical anthropological analysis contextualises such practices and their diffusion within the current juncture, characterised by the hegemony of biomedicine.

Medical Plurality and Experiential Dualism: A Brazilian Case Study

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In medically plural environments clinical and religious ideologies and interventions have the power to differentially shape experiences of illness and selfhood. How do social actors select from and make sense of multiple meanings, practices and frames of reference that are available to them? I address this question by drawing on a case study of Paulinho, a young research informant from my ethnographic fieldwork in the Brazilian Amazon. Paulinho is a practicing spirit medium in the Kardecist tradition who has suffered from epilepsy and episodic psychosis. In this paper I trace his life history and highlight important aspects of his psychosocial experience and help seeking strategies that led him to simultaneously utilise clinical and spiritist therapeutic modalities. I discuss how Paulinho has internalised cultural messages from both domains and how they jointly inform his understanding of illness, spirituality, and moral identity. Additionally, Paulinho makes distinctions between, peculiar sensations and imagined voices and visions that are psychotic symptoms on the one hand, and those that are manifestations of spirits on the other. I illustrate this by examining his use of different metaphors of embodiment that register subtle distinctions in perceptual attunement. Paulinho's "experiential dualism" is a compelling example of how "flexible selves" are cultivated in medically plural social ecologies. Implications for the role of person-centred ethnography in the study of medical pluralism are also discussed.

Traditional and Complementary Medicines in Istria: Intertwining or Paralleling?

Uršula Lipovec Čebron, University of Ljubljana (ursula.lipovec@gmail.com)

The paper is based on a two-year ethnographic research conducted among traditional healers and complementary therapists in Istrian Peninsula, their patients and users, inhabitants of different Istrian localities, both rural and urban.
The paper explores the theory and practices of traditional healers and complementary therapists through their understanding of the body, categorization of illnesses, etiological concepts and treatment methods. This enables a further examination of relations between these two medical systems and helps establishing whether there is continuity, a close encounter between the two, or whether no closer link exists but they rather operate in parallel.
The analysis will be focused on the conceptualization of the body which seems of essential importance for both medical systems in the determination of the rest of their aspects: i.e. the understanding of the causes of illnesses, their categorization and treatment. The understanding of the body by traditional healers is tagged as the "collective-metaphysical" conception of body, and by complementary therapists as the "individual-metaphysical".

Special attention is given to questions of etiology, which lead to the conclusion that in the context of Istrian traditional medicine mostly the so called external causes of illness are applicable, and commonly represented by "ideology" of the curse and the related concepts of collective and individual štriga (a type of witch). The analysis of the etiological concepts of complementary therapists shows the recurrent involvement of the idea of internal causes of illness, whereby illness is perceived mostly as a consequence of different kinds of imbalances, for which the persons themselves are responsible. It is also noted that recently complementary therapists often tend to interpret illness through the "ideology" of the curse, and by doing so draw closer to traditional medicines and their external conception of causes of illness. In relation to this, the reasons for the occurrence of this significant "epistemological shift" of complementary medicines are also analyzed.

From Ignorance to Stigmatisation: Changing Faces of Medical Pluralism

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This paper is based on my PhD research (2005-2007) which dealt with interrelatedness and co-existence of biomedical and non-biomedical systems in the city of Zagreb, Croatia. The process of rapid adoption and introduction of complementary and alternative medicine (CAM) to Zagreb was evident after the fall of communism and was shaped by the context of transitional post-socialism.

The staring points of this research were the patients and their attitudes towards illness, health, wellbeing and suffering which determined their choice of therapies and healers. I looked at which factors (cultural, social, generational, educational, religious, political-ideological, financial, and emotional) determined their choice of therapies. Secondly, I also looked at the feelings of social exclusion the CAM users (and practitioners) reported. Thirdly, I examined the current political discourses surrounding the legislation of CAM in Croatia, now presented as liberal, democratic and a pro-EU type of legislation, versus more conservative, Catholic views sceptical towards plurality and multiple realities.

As an ethnographer, I was faced with moving stories of loss and trauma, patients with Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome, patients suffering from Alzheimer's disease, cancer patients, as well as stories of miraculous healings and becoming well again which made me re-examine my position of observer, interpreter and analyst. Through the process of understanding and interpreting sensitive cultural practices, I explore whether anthropologists are uniquely placed to actively protect the rights of people to whom they owe their science.

Is Some Training Worse than No Training? The Problem of Empathy in Multi-Cultural Care

David Napier, University College, London (d.napier@ucl.ac.uk)

This paper examines the consequences of empathic cultural sensitivity training courses for clinical care-givers in ethnically diverse settings. The paper outlines some dangers of under-training clinicians, and asks whether such courses do more harm than good. Using data collected from several years of work with medical and pre-medical students, and with medical associations attempting to introduce cultural sensitivity training for clinicians, the paper argues that the kinds of generalisations about culture that clinicians are drawn to on short courses actually introduce new problems to clinical encounters that perpetuate stereotypical behaviours. In many cases the very assumptions about culture and ethnicity that we strive to overcome

are reintroduced and misused in clinical situations where training course in cultural sensitivity lead clinicians to make generalisations about how culture influences illness behaviour. Examples from research conducted in the United States are compared to problems of clinical practice in multi-cultural settings in the UK. Alternative methods for training physicians that do not involve such generalisations are recommended, though there is little evidence that such changes in educational practice will be implemented in the near future.

Studying HIV-AIDS in Cartagena-Colombia: Dealing with Competing Knowledge

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Traditionally, HIV prevention programmes reproduce a discourse that emphasises individual behavioural change. This discourse is based on health promotion and health education models grounded in social psychological theories (Green and Kreuter 2005). Recent studies in medical anthropology and AIDS focus on the interaction between local culture and local institutions (social representations of body, health, illness, risk, gender, kinship, local economic structure and organisation) and national-global political and economic processes (f.i. Parker et al. 2000; Schoepf 2001).
Starting from the concept of "empowerment", this paper aims to explore the ongoing tension between emic and etic analysis in social psychological as well as in more recent political economy approaches. It will explore questions such as "What value to attach to the "local" problem definitions, including emic analyses of the problem´s context?" and "How does or should the emic analysis interact with the etic problem analysis of health professionals and other experts?"
In this paper we will discuss possibilities to overcome those frictions. Inspired by the work of the Latin American Collective Health Movement (f.i. Almeida and Silva 1999; Breilh 2003) we initiated a study in which we explored the relationship between expert and the local knowledge in the analysis of HIV/AIDS phenomenon in Cartagena-Colombia. Our study started with a "dialogical ethnography" among men and women living in Cartagena.
In this paper we will present the first results of the fieldwork and discuss the question whether our approach sheds light on the interaction between expert and local knowledge and institutions.

Medical Pluralism in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan: Relations between Biomedicine and Complementary Medicines in the Context of Political and Socio-Economic Transition

Danuta Penkala-Gawecka, Adam Mickiewicz University
(danuta.gawecka@opal.info.pl)

The focus of my paper is on the complex field of medical pluralism in post-Soviet Kazakhstan, examined as the arena of encounters, competition and cooperation between biomedicine and complementary medicines of diverse origins. I will stress the dynamics of these processes connected with radical political changes and economic difficulties during the period of transition and the following relative stabilisation. After the first period of strong ideological - nationalistic bias, which resulted in predominant official support for the Kazakh folk medicine, more weight was given to such "great medical traditions" as Chinese or Korean medicines, to

homeopathy, manual therapies and other branches of the so-called "traditional medicine". I will explore official strategies of legalisation and professionalisation of complementary practitioners and their responses to such efforts, as well as modest effects of the attempts at integration, especially in medical education. The analysis is based on my many years of fieldwork in Kazakhstan and my main aim is to stress the importance of careful examination of manifold factors that influence the relations between biomedicine and other medicines in a given socio-cultural context, and the need to take into account perspectives of multiple social actors involved.

The Attitude towards Official Medicine and Local Healing Practices among Polish Inhabitants of Pojana Mikuli Village in Southern Bucovina, Romania

Iwa Kołodziejska-Degórska, University of Warsaw (iwonak@biol.uw.edu.pl)

Pojana Mikuli is a village in Carpathian Mountains inhabited by Polish minority. Local knowledge on medicinal plants is well established there. Almost every family in the village collects and uses medicinal plants. I would like to present the attitude towards official and local healing practices - how they are interconnected in the discourse of Polish minority living there. The knowledge on medicinal plants among my interlocutors is very individual (for example neighbours, members of the same family often use different names for the same plant), and personal experience is very important in this context. Sentences like: "this or that medicine/plant are said to be good for such or such illness, but I don't know if they are because I didn't try them yet" can be heard very often there. In local medicinal knowledge, pieces of knowledge and therapeutic practice from various sources are bound and mixed. In this paper I would like to answer the questions: which of them are the most important in the context of this place and time, what kind of power and authority official doctors have, how this knowledge is constructed (the role of authority and personal experience).

W015

Diversifying Anthropology: Politics of Research or Research in Politics?

Convenors: **Aleksandar Bošković, Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade (bezuslovno@yahoo.co.uk)**
Vesna Godina, Faculty of Social Science (tuintam3@yahoo.com)
Chair: **Aleksandar Bošković**
Discussant: **Vesna V. Godina**

28 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 434

While the experience of diversity ("other tribes, other scribes", as well as "other people's anthropologies") is part of anthropology since its very beginnings, it is only recently that our colleagues began to contemplate the discipline's way of coping with practical political challenges of the world we live in. In this workshop, we shall explore some aspects of diverse strategies of applying anthropological research (as well as ethnography-based knowledge) to different areas of human life, as well as some of the responses that anthropology can offer to coping with increased complexities. These will include (but not be limited to) different kinds of political pressures (both within anthropology, and outside of it), anthropology and human rights, risk management, the role of "applied anthropology," etc.

Raced in America: Ethnography from Below

Mwenda Ntarangwi, Calvin College (mwendantarangwi@gmail.com)

The last four decades of academic anthropology have been characterised by an epistemological and political shift, moving from the positivist studies of "other" (primitive) cultures to an inquiry into the poetics and politics of ethnography. This shift, often referred to as a "crisis in anthropology" emerged as "other" voices begun to appear in academia and has continued to dominate ethnographic writing. Ethnographies can no longer be seen as objective accounts of culture recorded by detached anthropologists but rather as accounts incorporating subjective positions of anthropologists. Yet a closer scrutiny into this shift reveals continuity; the bulk of anthropological inquiry is still centred around Western anthropologists focusing on "other" cultures. Moreover, even those studies that focus on Western cultures have tended to concentrate on cultures on the "margins" (sexuality, ethnic/racial minorities, or urban poor). In this way anthropology remains a Western enterprise. This proposed paper reverses this trend by providing an alternative anthropological perspective on Western culture through the eyes of an African anthropologist studying American culture through graduate training in anthropology in a US university. It uses a reflective stance to interrogate life on a university campus including that of anthropologists as a window into the larger American culture.

Seeing beyond Ethno-Racial Classifications at South African Universities: An Anthropological Intervention

Rehana Vally, University of Pretoria (rehana.vally@up.ac.za)
John Sharp, University of Pretoria (john.sharp@up.ac.za)

In the wake of several incidents in which black university students and workers were intimated and humiliated, there is much discussion of continuing racism on South African campuses. University Principals have appointed a commission to examine the problem, and newspapers have attempted to pin down its precise nature. While the recent, publicised incidents of outright racial insult are seen as outside the norm, as they involved only a handful of perpetrators at specific universities, there is also a widespread assumption that these episodes are, in another sense, only the tip of the iceberg.

But what is the iceberg? Commentators appear to believe that the problem is "racism", defined as negative attitudes towards members of other "races" and/or "cultures" and the discriminatory behaviour flowing from such attitudes. This is evident in arguments about the ostensible importance of "everyday racism" and "hidden racism", the latter, in particular, to be revealed by strict (and politically correct) discourse analysis of selected texts and behaviours.

We attempt to counter this bias towards psychologising by offering a more anthropological assessment of the issues at stake. Without discounting the significance of racism, we suggest, on the basis of materials available at the University of Pretoria, that a prior problem consists in widespread adherence to the notion that "races" and "cultures" are natural entities and the basic building blocks of humanity, and that belonging to entities of this nature determines an individual's identity. Here is one important instance in which "seeing beyond ethno-racial classification" is of crucial significance.

The Concept of Mutuality and Diversity in the Socialist and Post-Socialist Period: The Museum of African Art, Belgrade

Emilia Epstajn, Museum of African Art (emilia.poznanovic@gmail.com)
Marija Ličina, Museum of African Art (marijalicina@yahoo.com)

In dealing with the methodology, programs and main concepts of the Museum of African Art's work in the 30 years of its existence there can be revealed several points of interest for anthropological discussion on diversity and mutuality:
1. The socio-political climate at the time of founding and the changes that influenced the Museum's field of work;
2. Working in accordance with cultural dynamics and trends of technological development.
The Museum of African Art with its collection opened its doors to the public in 1977 in the light of Tito's non-aligned movement and its specific understanding of what is today termed (to a certain extent) as diversity. The changing socio-political climate which weathered this institution: the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the 10-year-sanctions and the following period of a budding democracy have defined the policies of representations (through different programs) and offer insight into the changing concept of diversity.

Caught between Acronyms: HTS, AAA and the Politics of Ethics

Kathleen Reedy (kreedy@gmail.com)

Wary of, and occasionally apologetic for, its association with covert operations through the 20th century, the discipline of anthropology appears to have sought to distance itself from the dangers of applied political anthropology. Yet no ethnographic encounter is apolitical, whether it involves seeking visas and official research permits from host countries or signing and adhering to a set of ethical standards in order to get research approved by the academy. Caught between the ideals of an objective anthropological institution and those born of a desire to make a difference, applied anthropologists walk a tight political line. And yet, rather than being above politics, anthropological institutions' reactions to such applications of anthropology reveal that they are actually fully implicated in political manoeuvring. On top of this, applied anthropologists are responsible to and must negotiate with their sponsors and employers, itself a highly politicised situation, especially when the research in question is in the context of a conflict zone. This paper will present an ethnographic examination of how anthropologists and other academics who participate in the much-debated Human Terrain System navigate these waters, and how they are attempting to come to terms with and resolve their precarious ethical and political positions.

Whither the Political Party?

William Fisher, College of William and Mary (whfish@wm.edu)

Eric Wolf councils that "we must not confuse the theory of state sovereignty with the facts of political life," however, the absence of the analysis of political parties within the writings of political anthropology, in effect constitutes an assertion regarding the relative unimportance for political parties as a form of social agency. Not only are political parties almost absent from the encyclopaedic Companion to an Anthropology of Politics, (eds. David Nugent and Joan Vincent 2004) but a review of the literature regarding politics within states shows multifarious topics that receive higher billing: peasant, tribal and chiefdom organisation within states, clientalism,

ritualisation of politics and political campaigns, local politics, factionalism, political symbolism, identity, ethno-nationalism, imagined communities, media, post-socialism, post-colonialism, neoliberalism, and collective violence. Generally, anthropological analysis of organisational and communicational form has taken precedence over the analysis of social process involved in party building, reproduction and exercise of power. In keeping with this panel's mandate to "contemplate the discipline's way of coping with practical political challenges of the world we live in," it is argued that by devolving the site of agency away from political parties, anthropology makes an assertion about the wellsprings of politics and about the value of anthropological knowledge.

Moral Stances, Near and Far

Edward Fischer, Vanderbilt University (edward.f.fischer@vanderbilt.edu)

Anthropologists often pride themselves on their enlightened moral positioning, informed as it is by the knowledge of distant suffering, subaltern agency, and enlightened relativism. This is well and good within the Northern academy, but is problematic in the context of the dialectic epistemology of ethnographic engagement. Good intentioned activism can have unintended consequences, even metastasising into paternalism. The ivory tower's political correct stances may not be shared by those we study and seek to help. Challenging certain hegemonic positions reinforces others. This paper examines the complicated matter of invoking distant moralities that may be removed from the exigencies of local life in the context of Maya political activism in Guatemala.

W016

Intercultural Mobilities in Tourism Context: Migrants, Tourists, New Residents and Local Population

Convenors: **Antonio Miguel Nogués Pedregal, Universitas Miguel Hernández (amnogues@umh.es)**
Ramona Lenz, J.W. Goethe University (r.lenz@em.uni-frankfurt.de)

28 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 02A

The objective of this workshop is to dialogue about the complexity of interculturality in tourism contexts. Local population (insiders), new residents, labour immigrants and tourists are distinct social and cultural groups that share a common ground. Their practices are usually observed, ethnographically described and anthropologically analysed on the basis of a relation between the local population and any of the other groups. For instance, Northern European residents in the Mediterranean and the local population, the social integration in the local society of the labour immigrants, the impacts of the presence of tourists on the local culture… The reason for the prevalence of this approach may be due to the hegemonic role played by the dialectical conceptualisation of social and cultural life within anthropological theory and social practice, or to the methodologies used for data collection during fieldwork. Despite this, and fortunately, a vast majority of anthropologists agree that interculturality is produced, and reproduced, by all the agents and social groups involved in the general process.
For this reason the workshop will focus on the "relations among relations", rather than on the relations between any pair of these groups. We will specifically inquire into

the cultural mobilities in territories already constructed for mass tourism consumption. Examples of questions to be addressed are: how is social organisation within these groups being modified by the presence of any of these groups? Is the seasonal nature of these mobilities (European residents are part-time residents, individual immigrants keep moving from city to another, tourists come and go, and local population can hardly be defined) an obstacle for fieldwork methods and anthropological analysis? In these contexts, can "culture" still be conceived as the central and most distinctive anthropological notion for ethnographic research and theoretical thinking?
Interested researchers are invited to send statements rather than finished papers. For this reason participants are strongly encouraged not to read their papers but to explain them. After the workshop authors of selected statements will then be asked to write a full paper for a specialised publication.

Perception of Tourist through the Eyes of Local Residents

Alja Kotar, Ljubljana Graduate School of Humanities (aljus19@yahoo.com)

In Huancayo which is the regional capital in Peru, local people engage mainly in trading, while tourism is a growing field of occupation. Host communities engage differently in tourism; some have indirect, and others direct contacts with tourists. With growing awareness of importance of tourism as important income opportunity local people try to develop different kinds of tourism which is in opposition to mass tourism. The emphasis is in search of (experimenting with) alternative forms of combining development and tourism. In the paper I will explore how locals receive new forms of tourist planning. I will be particularly interested how can alternative forms of tourism generate social, economic, and environmental benefits for local communities while also creating truly transformative experiences for tourists (Stronza 2001). Local communities are no longer passive in the decision making. On the contrary, they are active participants (Due to endeavours of local authorities). Local authority and some institutions in Huancayo are trying to involve local residents as decision makers in tourism projects.
Many local people in Huancayo see tourism as "economic bridge" which will rescue them from poverty and the one which will give them better conditions of living.
What are the effects of tourists on local community? What is the degree of their active participation? What is their role in transforming culture and identity? Will people in host destination lose their cultural identity as a result of tourism?

Tourism, Travel Agencies and Interculturality in the Kuna Tourism of Panama

Xerardo Pereiro, Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro (xperez@utad.pt)

The tourism influences tourists and the local people provoke effects and changes on the communities that receive tourists. But tourism is not the only factor in the social and cultural changes. The hosts (Smith 1992) are not passive in the cultural contacts with guests (Santana 1997; Gmelch 2004). Tourism let to the hosts link to the global world and promote and re-invented their cultural identity and interculturality. In the Kuna case, they have developed a political strategy to the control of tourism activities. In our research we want to know the advantages and problems of this intercultural model.
From our point of view is very important to ethnography the role of travel agencies in the production of images, experiences and ideologies of interculturality, to understand better the complexity of tourism. Tourism is a powerful mechanism that

changes senses of place in the world. How we can understand this process in the places where the local communities control the tourist development process? What is the role of travel agencies in the definition of interculturality?

Are Gender Roles and Ethnicity Influenced by Tourism in Central Himalaya?

Sigalit Ben-Zion, International Relations and Ethnic Relations (sbz12@hotmail.com)

"When there are no longer slaves, there are no longer masters." (Fanon 1967: 219)
This paper seeks to focus on the dialect between gender relations and ethnicity and to examine the impact of reconstructing women's identity on the border between traditional and modern society. In this lecture one case study will be presented, namely gender relations in North India in relation to tourists who represent modern society.
The main research question is whether gender roles and ethnicity are influenced by tourism in Central Himalaya?
In order to elucidate this research several issues will be examined:
1. Women are expected to maintain their cultural identity and its boundaries ("border guards"), symbolised by retaining their traditional role, i.e. a traditional style of dress, public behaviour, restriction on social and physical mobility, etc.
2. While women are expected to play the role of "border guards", men allow themselves to cross over the social borders and bring social changes into their traditional society.
3. Nevertheless, hidden power is exercised on men by women; masculine identity can be achieved only as long as women's traditional identity is symbolically reconstructed.
The analytical framework is based on three interrelated paradigms; 1. within post-colonialism I will use Fanon's psychoanalytical perspective about the dialect between the master and the slave; 2. Scott's theory about the art of resistance; 3. Geertz's paradigm about negotiating primordial identities.

Challenges and Opportunities for Involvement with Host Communities among Nordic Long-Term Visitors and Expatriates in Costa Blanca

Jens Kr. Steen Jacobsen, University of Stavanger (jsj@toi.no)

Many people from North-Western Europe have quite long stays in Mediterranean Spain, partly related to phenomena such as seasonal movements and sabbatical holidays, to a large extent to their own houses or apartments. It has been suggested that some long-term visitors and migrants to Spain are part of international communities; developing transnational identities. Simultaneously, it has been maintained that many foreigners in Spain actively request the services of functional mediators from their home country and/or seek out compatriot enclaves, including associations established for and by expatriates. This paper explores challenges and opportunities for involvement with the host communities among long-term visitors and expatriates in Costa Blanca/Alicante. The paper includes the respondents' assessments of vital aspects of their (temporary) life in Spain, for instance their relations to local people in general, the authorities and various aspects of Spanish culture. The paper is mainly based on an exit survey of people who had stayed in the Alicante area for four weeks or more, on their departure to Norway.

Discursive Aspects of Long-Term Tourism in Spain: The Case of Norwegian Visitors

Leif Selstad, University of Stavanger (leif.selstad@uis.no)

It is becoming clear in recent research among North-West European long-term visitors to Spain that there is not a single adaptation or mode of existence for tourists and other visitors. The case in point is Norwegian visitors who in preliminary interviews voiced concern about their image in the media and in other representations. The visitors wanted to express their varied activities and involvements during their stay in Spain. This raises a number of dilemmas and challenges in how to represent activities that in some circumstances are represented fairly straightforward as tourism, but in other settings verge on topics such as migration, transnational identities and multicultural relations. Theories of discourse, symbolic construction and social practice will be employed to discuss the implications of a more composite view on long-term visitors and tourism in Spain.

Living in Algarve: Which Means Home?

Carla Almeida Sousa, Universidade do Algarve (carla.desousa@mail.telepac.pt)

The "residential tourism" is a category identity ambiguous, contradictory. In speeches by these residents is clear differentiation its face to tourists, the natives and residents of other migrants. By limit put in a situation of margin face the traditional types of tourists, or face the study of other international migration. In parallel with each other constitute a community based on several factors. The most obvious is a more or less permanent occupation of a residence regarded as "home", primary vehicle of social identity.
In this paper, which comes as a result of a work in progress for will understand the different meanings of "home" allocated by its residents: 1. the modes of ownership and differentiation, individual or group, in the context in which tourism hinterlands, 2. in the context of other possible residences at the place of origin.
A "home" as a unit of production and social reproduction is a key factor in defining identity in the anthropological literature. Their use from other contexts other than that of "residential tourism" may allow questioning the classifications pre-established in the literature of tourism as well as other types of migration.

New Geographies of Belonging in the Greek Island Borderlands

Heath Cabot, University of California, Santa Cruz (heathcabot@yahoo.com)

The Greek islands of Samos and Mytilene are known for sea and sun, prime destinations for recreation and tourism. However, only a few kilometres from Turkey, they are first points of arrival on EU territory for many asylum seekers, who have travelled from Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Somalia, and farther to cross these short but dangerous distances. As stepping-stones into the EU, these islands figure powerfully in the experiences of new arrivals, shaping expectations and imagined possible futures in Europe. While sites of dangerous sea crossings, often violent policing, and months in detention, these islands are also points of intense hope and possibility, as new arrivals board ferries to Athens, attempting to move onward to new lives, education, and prosperity. This paper examines the tensions that surround these island borders, where tourism mixes with violence, danger, and imagined possibilities of Europe. I

enlist ethnographic data from detention centres, interviews with local officials, asylum seekers' stories of crossing and "arrival," and European Parliament discussions of the Greek borders. While new arrivals on these satellite European coasts imagine European futures, locals accustomed to serving foreign tourists express both fear and hospitality toward these new "foreigners" (ξένοι). Meanwhile, the power centres in the European North condemn Greece for not maintaining its borders and detracting from the EU's realisation as a site of "freedom, security, and justice." I show that these tourist centres of coast and sea are central in multiple re-delineations of who and what is Europe.

The Anthropologist on a Touristic Fieldwork

Raluca Nagy (Université Libre de Bruxelles/SNSPA Bucharest)
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The position of the anthropologist on a touristic fieldwork has been part of the literature on the subject ever since tourism started to be studied by the discipline. It is probably not a surprise to any anthropologist that tourism has been treated as a "soft" subject for quite a long time; it has been avoided and marginalised for a sum of reasons having to do with the confusion of the two actors on the field, which the anthropologist much feared. Thus, the last one preferred to ignore the tourist and all linked activities rather than to be taken for one. Moreover, anthropologists considered that tourism was not revealing much of the social reality.
In the last decade, though, anthropologists realised that tourism is quite revelatory when it comes to understanding the mechanisms of a globalised world. Another important evolution in the studying of tourism was shifting the focus from the impact of tourism on local communities to the interaction between "sending" and "receiving" societies and eventually to the tourists themselves.
In the first part of this presentation I will focus on and discuss "classical" dichotomies of differentiation between the tourist and the anthropologist status, such as temporary - permanent / continuous, amusement / loisir - working, exoticism - normality, independence - dependence, consumption - production, etc. In the second part I will try to illustrate some epistemological issues taking as example my presence as an anthropologist on a touristic fieldwork.

W018

Mutuality and Difference in Multireligious Local Communities: The Politics of Neighbourliness

Convenors: **Magdalena Lubanska, Polish Academy of Sciences (magdalena.lubanska@gmail.com)**
Karolina Bielenin-Lenczowska, University of Warsaw (k.bielenin@gmail.com)
Glenn Bowman, University of Kent (glb@kent.ac.uk)
Chairs: **Magdalena Lubanska, Karolina Bielienin and Glenn Bowman**

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 05

The workshop has a dual focus. On the one hand it is concerned with how and when situations of reciprocity between members of two or more communities occur, and with the ways such situations are sustained. In Balkan societies, for example, neighbourliness is often a compromise, in which similarities are emphasised and

differences are concealed. Here there is a constant confirmation of peaceful intentions displayed by manifestations of reciprocity (exchange of ritual food, gifts, politeness, paying and receiving visits, etc). Hence it is clear that respective religious groups often perceive differences as a threat to non-violent coexistence and work to conceal or disarm these.

On the other hand, it addresses the ways in which agencies of identity politics, such as churches or ethnically-defined movements, interpret such inter-communal interaction and often work to undermine or disallow neighbourliness. Here, again, the Balkans provides salient examples of religious and nationalist movements attacking, both rhetorically and violently, manifestations of inter-communal co-operation in the pursuit of purity and authority. The issue of how local communities respond to such "attacks" is salient to this panel and close attention will be paid to the ways in which local communities subsequently continue, modify, or cease practices which had brought ethnically or religiously diverse communities into degrees of communion.

Ethnographic fieldwork by anthropologists can provide grassroots knowledge about the ways in which multi-religious local communities use mutuality as a strategy of coping with the problem of difference. The ethnographic data to be discussed in this workshop will not only inform regional politicians, NGO activists, social workers and lawyers as to the character of the local communities they work with, but will also demonstrate -- contrary to the arguments of advocates of "warring civilisations" -- that peoples of distinct confessional alliances not only can and do co-exist peacefully but also, in many cases, work to generate strategies allowing inter-communalism to be perpetuated despite pressures to dissolve it into warring elements.

"What's the Difference What's my Nation or Religion?"

Iwona Kaliszewska, University of Warsaw (iwona@tajga.org)

Dagestan is Russia's most ethnically heterogeneous republic, which over thirty ethnic groups, most of them Muslim, some Christian and Jewish.

"What's the difference what's my nation or religion? Do you want to "reduce me" to nationality? We all live here peacefully"- I kept on hearing from Dagestanis, usually referring to their neighbours from different ethnic groups. It was not uncommon for my respondents (all of whom lived in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods in the city) not to know the ethnic affiliation of the neighbour or friend. They were usually aware of each other's religious background, distinguishing between Muslim and non Muslim (here Russian and Mountain Jews) however exchange of ritual food or gifts as well as participation in each other celebrations was common.

I will show how ethnically and (to lesser extent) confessionally heterogeneous local communities respond to rhetorical attacks of religious and ethnic movements of various groups.

I argue that despite religious and nationalist movements trying to disturb inter-communal co-operation in pursuit of purity by, for example, attacking "non purely Muslim practices" or usage of Russian language, neighbourhood communities were able to work-out strategies of resistance: the more passive like "doing what we have done but not speaking about it" and more active like achieving a consensus on double language standard - used for example during weddings (also inter-ethnic) or local festivals (e.g. Lak culture festival) in order not to offend people from other ethnic groups with whom they can communicate only in Russian.

Being a Muslim in Poland: The Polish Tartar Case

Katarzyna Warmińska, Jagiellonian University (kwarminska@o2.pl)

My research interests focus on a small Muslim community of 5000 Polish Tartars who have inhabited Poland for over 600 years. Nowadays Polish Tartars do not constitute a socially compact community, as they are dispersed all over the Poland, living mostly in smaller or bigger towns. They do not cultivate their traditional community life around the place of their residence, but rather around moments of being together on religious, ethnic or family occasions. The Polish Tartars are a very good example of the religious community living in a multiethnic and multireligious environment for very many years. One of the consequences of being a religious minority is a creation of many different types of cultural strategies of cooperation with their neighbours (i.e. the locals, Poles or Christians, and others). The main purpose of these activities has been to preserve group cultural/religious characteristic and not to assimilate but rather to become "a tamed other" within the Polish (Christian) society. This "cooperation strategy" means, e.g., organising intercommunal activities on a religious and cultural level; meeting with Christians during their religious holidays or inviting them for Muslim weddings or developing ideology of complementarity with Polishness, which has taken a shape of an identity description: We are Polish Muslims.

According to my research results, the tendency towards separation from Christians does not dominate in groups' actions, which we can observe in a drive to redefine religious resources and it is directed inwards, not outwards, and it concentrates mostly on a "discussion" with other Muslims, not with Christians.

Inter-Confessional Sociability in a West African Village: The Example of Gêba, Guinea-Bissau (West Africa)

Christoph Köhl, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (kohl@eth.mpg.de)

I focus on neighbourhood interaction in Gêba, a village in Guinea-Bissau whose population is marked by a high degree of religious and ethnic diversity which, however, does not divide people socially. Common local origin and historical narratives serve as uniting forces across religious and ethnic boundaries.

In the 17th century, Europeans, Cape Verdeans and Africans established Gêba as a trading post. Subsequently, a creole community emerged, today known Christians of Gêba. They differentiated themselves mainly from their predominantly pagan and (later) Muslim surroundings by emphasising their Catholic faith. Religion became this ethnic groups' distinctive marker, in opposition to Muslim ethnic groups. Since the 19th century, Gêba has been on the decline, causing the gradual emigration of Christians from Gêba and Muslims becoming the majority.

Inter-confessional relations in Gêba are characterised by conviviality, mutual respect, and the rejection of religiously motivated violence, and they are supported by a national ideology which fosters unity among citizens by means of conceptualising and portraying the nation as a uniting umbrella.

Although Muslims and Christians practise distinct religious ceremonies and have different places of worship there is also a common sacred site in Gêba which is frequented by both Muslims and Christians.

Shared identification among Muslims and Christians is also maintained through historical narratives referring to Gêba's presumed former prominence, expressing the villagers' pride in their town. Thus, it is locality which serves as the main source of identification among the inhabitants of Gêba, thereby creating common identity transcending ethnic and religious boundaries.

Metaphorical Kinship and Religious Identity: Changing Politics of Neighbourliness in the Hinterland of Guinea and Liberia

Christian Højbjerg, University of Copenhagen (ckh@hum.ku.dk)

This paper explores the changing character of prevailing forms of representations that inform the relationships between two neighbouring peoples in a West African border zone. In the hinterland of Liberian and Guinea two clusters of peoples have coexisted for several centuries in both a peaceful and at times a belligerent manner. These peoples include the politically dominant and economically successful Mandingo and the self-proclaimed autochthonous "forest peoples" of various ethnic origins. The Mandingo are Muslims and a majority of the forest peoples remain committed to secret society religious practice. Matrilateral alliance between mother's brothers and sister's sons has long served as a binding metaphor characterising inter-communal relationship. Forest people "uncles" have been ascribed the status as first arrivals in relation to the late coming Mandingo "nephews". In the wake of prolonged civil wars and ethnic conflict, the recognition of rights and obligations associated with metaphorical kinship has been giving way to a new politics of identity that emphasises religious and cultural differences. Contrary to the reciprocal relationship implied by matrilateral kinship, the current expression of religious identity nurtures feelings of difference and exclusiveness that sustain the risk of further violence. The paper seeks to know whether an irreversible change of politics of neighbourliness is taking place in the studied area; or, if local strategies of co-existence suffice to cope with the problem of difference. It furthermore asks to what extent the prevailing, exclusivist identity and rights discourse pertaining to religion may be seen also as an effect of global connections.

Muslims and Christian Holy Places as a Strategy of Coping with Differences

Karolina Bielenin-Lenczowska, University of Warsaw (k.bielenin@gmail.com)

Having based on fieldwork in Western Macedonia I focus on visiting Orthodox churches and monasteries by Muslims. In villages I researched only Muslims have lived recently, while for 1960s and 1970s in all localities had lived Orthodox Christians as well. Almost all of them moved to cities to seek a job and education. Muslims remained in villages or migrated abroad. In all villages there were two parts (maalo) of Christians and Muslims as well as two temples (church and mosque).

Interlocutors recall this neighbourhood as very close and friendly. They point a necessity of cooperating since they used to live and work together, i.e. all depended on others. The politics of neighbourliness revealed in paying and receiving visits, exchanging gifts and respecting of others' feasts and customs.

Even though currently Christians have not lived in villages of Western Macedonia, material signs of their presence still exist. Those are churches, monasteries, cemeteries. Christian holy places are often visited by Muslims who need some magical ways for healing. They frequent monasteries or churches to light candles for health and happiness. It is commonly believed between Muslims that sleeping in monasteries improves health and cures diseases.

Interlocutors' explanations depict a need for defining differences between Christianity and Islam and diminish them by emphasising similarities between feasts and values presented in the Bible and in the Koran. Christian temples are defined as "houses of God", i.e. are put on a par with mosques.

Shared Shrines and the Construction of Local Identities in the Balkan and Anatolian World

Maria Couroucli, Université de Paris X-Nanterre (maria.couroucli@mae.u-paris10.fr)

Shared religious practices in the Balkans and the larger post-Ottoman space have been the focuses of recent ethnographic research (Bowman 1993; Hayden 2002; Hann and Goltz, forthcoming). These phenomena have often been related to representations of a past characterised by "tolerance" towards the religious other.
My paper is based on ethnographic observation of an annual festival taking place at one of the sites traditionally visited by both Christians and Muslims in Istanbul - and still attracting tens of thousands of people. I look at the local configurations of such sacred places in a comparative perspective within the Eastern Mediterranean, where Christianity and Islam have a long tradition of coexistence and highlight the specific concepts of space and representations of the local community involved.
Shared shrines are mostly situated in marginal places, outside and beyond the state-controlled administrative territories, villages or towns, often in the wilderness. They become focal points of the autochthonous communities, across religious frontiers. Sharing sacra seems a phenomenon at once local and marginal, pointing to the dynamics involved in the making of concepts of belonging to place - beyond and despite organised religious and political communities. The ways local society copes with the consequences of (officially prohibited) marriages across religious frontiers point to the existence of larger collective identities, expressed during celebrations at shared shrines, outside the jurisdiction of political and religious authorities. Is there a relation between local – chthonian - spirits and alternative concepts of local social identities?

Spaces of Separation and of Integration: Identities and Symbolism in the Evolution of Post-War Mostar

Vanni D'Alessio, Universitá di Napoli Federico II (gidaless@unina.it)
Eric Gobetti, Scuola Superiore Studi Storici di San Marino (erk.g@libero.it)

Fragmentation and cohesion are two opposed funding forces and elements of Mostar demographic, cultural and political history. A sense of distinction and uniqueness has traditionally been, and still is, an important aspect of the local urban identity, but Mostar's historical picture of cohesion can be easily reversed underlying the high difficulties in, and the strong reluctance to cooperation and pacific coexistence between groups.
In this paper, our intention is to focus on the trends towards separation and conflict, and on those towards cohesion and cooperation in Mostar, and to see how these attitudes and inclinations have interacted in the very recent history. Our paper is based on a research we are conducting on the historical evolution of the political geography in Mostar after the 1990s war. The research has started in association with a project of an ethnographic film on post-war Mostar ("Around Mostar, the Bridge and Bruce Lee"). The task of our research, partly overlapping with the fieldwork for the ethnographic film, has been to observe the visual traces and discuss the symbolism in the urban public space to analyse the extent of division and integration in town. Therefore, in our research we are trying to observe how the two main and dominant ethnic and national groups present in Mostar since the end of the war have been interacting in the public arena, and to observe the elements of conflict and cooperation between them and among the whole population.

W019

The Anthropology of the United Nations

Convenors: **Christoph Brumann, University of Cologne (christoph.brumann@uni-koeln.de)**
Regina Bendix, University of Göttingen (rbendix@gwdg.de)

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 6

The United Nations and its many subsidiary and affiliated organisations are an increasingly tangible presence in societies the world over. As a civilising project of nation states forever falling short of their loftier, world-government goals, they are nevertheless one of the most important forces of present-day globalisation, substantially influencing the lives of many people and requiring at least a token acknowledgement even from those all set on pursuing different goals. With this panel, we therefore propose to turn an anthropological lens to the many projects pursued under the UN umbrella, such as International Criminal Court proceedings, UNESCO World Heritage designations, UN Working Group on Indigenous Issues conferences, UNICEF initiatives for children's rights, WHO immunisation campaigns, and Blue Helmet missions. How are the UN agencies and their representatives met and engaged by nation states and local populations worldwide, and how is this reflected in their strategies? Where do they deliver on their universalist goals, and where are they bound by the agendas of member states and other players? What dynamic unfolds between the global and the national here? And how is cultural difference imagined, reified and dissolved in all these bodies? Studies of on-the-ground interaction between local and UN actors, ethnographic inquiry into the global cultural layer produced in the UN agencies' meetings and memorandums, and more reflective pieces exploring the links between the imagined world community, nation states, universalism and culture are all welcome.

The Local Negotiations of the Global Status of "Orphaned and Vulnerable Children", in the Nigerian Muslim Context

Elise Guillermet, Lyon II (elise.guillermet@yahoo.fr)

Since the beginning of 2000', UNICEF proposes economic and sanitary interventions for "Orphans of aids" called "Orphaned and Vulnerable Children" in order to include children with alive parents.
In Niger, a Muslim context, the orphan is "officially" a fatherless child. The distinction of orphans is founded on kinship rules and no on illness or "global" categories. In spite of it, since 2005, the Global Fund and Unicef proposed a support for the OVC of aids. Consequently, different actors started to interact around these different definitions: the UN representatives, the state workers, the local actors (the traditional chief, the religious leaders and the families).
This communication proposes to describe how the global, medical and Muslim definitions of orphans are reappropriated and negotiated in this context through the case study of an association of people living with HIV/aids in Zinder (the second town of Niger).
This focus is permitted by the combined observation of:
- the emic status of orphaned members and their strategies of membership,
- the description of a meeting on the OVC and aid application,
- the analysis of the gap between the children statistically registered (near 120) and

the children physically identified or included in health program (less than 50).
The logics of the identities' negotiation appear in the interactions and the discourses of the different actors, and associate:
- health preoccupations
- religious meanings
- social constraints (kinship, neighbourhood)
- economic strategies fluently observed in a "developmentist" context.

Nora's New Job: UN Coordination in Practice

Tim Allen, LSE (t.allen@lse.ac.uk)

There has been growing pressure on the UN to improve its accountability mechanisms, and in particular to avoid direct competition and conflict between its own agencies. The new cluster arrangements are supposed to address the issue. Individual agencies have been allocated 'cluster lead roles' for specific situations, and funding from donors is supposed to be channelled through them. UNDP has been appointed cluster lead for 'early recovery' in circumstances of war to peace transition. The idea is that, where there is an anticipated shift from humanitarian assistance to development assistance, UNDP will coordinate UNHCR, WFP, WHO, and UNCEF, as well as all the other locally operational aid agencies. It directly challenges established arrangements, and there are far reaching implications. This paper overviews the experiences of a young woman who is appointed to be an early recovery adviser, and is based on fieldwork within a UN agency. Due to the sensitivity of the material, and to disguise the identity of informants the ethnography is presented as a fictional account.

Stalling and Speeding: Ways of Speaking at WIPO's Intergovernmental Committee on Cultural Property

Regina Bendix, Universität Göttingen (rbendix@gwdg.de)
Stefan Groth (stefan@antistyles.com)

In 2001, the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) installed an intergovernmental committee focussing on the development of frameworks concerning ownership issues in the realm of genetic resources, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions (GRTKF). The committee faces an enormous task in conflating divergent conceptions of these conceptual domains within one communicative setting, seeking consensus amongst actors from disparate backgrounds and speech communities. The inception of intellectual property agreements on GRTKF is thus contingent upon their compliance with the positions of attending actors, and on the committee's ability to by-pass communicative problems encompassing its work.
Drawing on participant observations from two committee meetings as well as on ethnographic readings of the committee's extensive paper trail, the paper will examine different modes of communication and patterns of speech among different groups of actors on the international, national and regional levels during the sessions and in collateral meetings as well as their relevance to the decision-making process. We are interested in examining the repercussions resulting from diverging conceptions of "culture", "tradition", "resource" or "property" within different speech communities of heterogeneous backgrounds. We will present evidence from our ongoing research on the maturation of communicative norms and conventions in an UN agency. We will probe to what extent this tentative or emergent state can be harnessed for bargaining tactics and whether these matters are reflected by the committee itself

and in official documents made available by the WIPO Secretariat which serve as a basis for negotiations.

Evolving Pasts: The Anthropologisation of UNESCO World Heritage

Christoph Brumann, University of Cologne (christoph.brumann@uni-koeln.de)

UNESCO World Heritage now includes 851 sites in 142 states and has developed into a major global brand name that bestows prestige upon participating nation-states and is a significant resource for tourism. The general success of the program, however, fosters rather than decreases concern about the "credibility" of the list that almost from its inception has been castigated as overly Eurocentric. I will show that the countermeasures taken have led to both a more dynamic and a more "anthropological" conception of heritage. Instead of immutable witnesses of the past, recent position papers and nomination rounds emphasise "living" cultures and milestones within narratives of ongoing technical, scientific, or political progress. At the same time, conceptions of culture have been broadened, authenticity is defined in a cultural relativist way, and sites from everyday rather than elite backgrounds are increasingly listed. The recent expansion into immaterial heritage promises to strengthen these two trends even further. Besides analysing the underlying factors of this development, the paper also looks into the consequences for anthropological practice.

Grounding International Organisations and Indigenous Rights in Peru: An Anthropological Perspective

Peter Bille Larsen (billelarsen@yahoo.com)

One of the arguably most high profile UN processes relates to the consolidation of internationally recognised rights of indigenous peoples. This paper focuses on the International Labour Organization and its Convention concerning indigenous and tribal peoples (C169). As an anthropologist having worked within the ILO system and now undertaking ethnographic research in Peru, I seek to provide an anthropological perspective on the interlinkages between international normativity, local actor strategies and discourses on Convention 169.

The paper will explore such interlinkages through the realm of international standard setting and normativity as well as are articulated and recycled in national and local discourses. This will include presenting ethnographic material ranging from the corridors of Geneva, national politics in Peru to indigenous communities in the Peruvian Amazon.

The paper will explore this as a process of cultural production grounded in a particular set of global dynamics. It will seek to provide an anthropologically grounded discussion of what the case implies for wider discussions on how the work, presence and particular discourses of UN organisations relate to wider socio-cultural and economic dynamics. Whereas UN organisations are in a constant quest to respond to "real" issues of the world, the paper argues that an anthropological perspective is fundamental to explore how this "reality-connection" is made, articulated and played out.

Transparency and the Global Gaze: The UN and the Problem of Social Accountability

Christina Garsten, Stockholm University (christina.garsten@socant.su.se)

In an expanding global economy, "transparency" has gained increased currency as an organisational goal. In a wide variety of situations, "transparency" is held up as a panacea for the ills that transnational trade and corporate power may bring along. A number of transnational organisations, including the UN, has placed transparency on top of their agendas in the pursuit of social accountability for business. "Transparency" has emerged as a key ingredient of "audit culture".

The current significance of "transparency" is evinced in the creation of voluntary corporate "codes of conduct" and standards for "corporate social accountability", encouraged through the UN Global Compact. Through workshops, training sessions and consultancy services, corporate managers are learning how to "open their books" to public scrutiny and judgement. Yet, processes of making visible certain kinds of information also involve complex negotiations regarding what shall be displayed and what shall remain hidden. Transparency may thus be seen as a technology that allows for enhanced visibility of organisational decisions practices - but also for a shadowing of these.

The paper will address the UN as a transnational, multilateral organisation involved in the regulation of social accountability at a global level. The paper addresses how "transparency" is perceived and put forward as an important regulatory concept in relation to corporate social accountability in transnational trade. The discussion builds on in-depth interviews with UN staff, with senior managers of corporations, as well as multi-sited fieldwork in Europe and the US.

W020

The Anthropology of Drug Policy: A Way to Diversify the Field of Drug Studies?

Convenors: **Vibeke Asmussen Frank, Århus University (va@crf.au.dk)**
Axel Klein, University of Kent (a.klein@kent.ac.uk)
Steffen Jöhncke, University of Copenhagen (steffen.johncke@anthro.ku.dk, stj@mail.dk)
Chair: **Vibeke Asmussen Frank**

28 August 2008, 11:00
Room: 019

Ethnographic studies of the uses and the users of psychoactive drugs have generally shown the complexity of the meanings of drugs across time and space. In this manner, ethnography has contributed to the problematisation of beliefs and policies that rely on simplistic notions of drugs and drug users. But by focusing primarily on the users, ethnography has also - perhaps inadvertently - contributed to the idea that drug users are indeed the ethnographic Others that we need to study, rather than, for instance, the policy-makers, the police, prison staff, prevention workers, staff of treatment institutions, or some of all the other groups of people involved in the formulation and implementation of drug policies.

In this workshop we take a starting point in the Anthropology of Policy as put forward by Shore and Wright (1997) and invite all anthropologists - academic or applied - who are involved in the study of or work with drugs and drug policies to join us in

order to explore issues pertinent for the development of an anthropology of drug policy. Among the issues we suggest be considered are the impact of the drugs' illegality on users and on societies, the development and practice of harm reduction policies, the ethnographic study of treatment facilities, and the uneven development of drug policies internationally (heroin used in treatment, general testing schemes of employees and school children). Where is drug policy on a global scale going and how may anthropology help explore it?

Treatmentality: A New Approach to the Policy and Practice of Drug Use Treatment

Steffen Jöhncke, University of Copenhagen
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Based on a number of applied anthropological studies of methadone treatment and related services to drug users in Denmark, this paper suggests that the idea and practice of "treatment" itself needs ethnographic exploration as a particular cultural construction of the relationship between drug users and the rest of (the welfare) society. In our everyday thinking, the need for and practice of treatment is usually regarded as obvious and at least intentionally beneficial, something that on the basis of reason or morality cannot and should not be questioned. However, this paper argues that treatment first of all serves to establish a particular relationship in which the solution (treatment) defines the problem (drug use and drug users' lives and activities) in culturally and politically expedient ways. Drawing on the theory of "governmentality" from Michel Foucault, this paper argues that a crucial component in the functioning of treatment is the creation and targeting of drug users as a particular and identifiable section of the population, and that researchers - anthropologists included - assist in this process.

The Anthropology of Drugs: A Modest European Proposal

Axel Klein, University of Kent (a.klein@kent.ac.uk)

An anthropology of drugs takes the consumption aspect as a starting point, how consumers construct their identity, derive meaning from the act of consumption, and express their relationship with society in the process of consuming drugs.
Drug use has spread widely through the different strata of the so-called subcultures of young people, is embedded in the behaviour of deviant groups, both predictor and consequence of offending and anti-social behaviour, a ritual of rebellion, a rite of passage and an increasingly mainstreamed part of ordinary pleasures seeking behaviour.
Drug taking remains highly controversial, is imbued with moral uncertainty, is highly politicised, but at the same time poorly defined. Popular definitions tend to derive from the legal status of psychoactive substances, which has in effect left the definition to lawmakers.
The weak empirical foundations for drug policy are in part a product of the multifaceted character of the issue. Anthropology has an essential role to play as critical friend of ongoing activities due to methodological advantages
1. the relative method
2. concerns with the construction meaning by informants
3. locating behaviour within wider contexts and analysing relationships
4. detailed studies of small communities with ethnographic observations on actual patterns of use

5. anthropology can humanise marginalised groups and despised practices.
European anthropology has to outline an area for systematic exploration including
- field studies of cultures of drug use across Europe
- the impact of drug control on citizens and the state - what are the successes and failures of drug control.

Social and Cultural Dimensions of Case Management - Aspects of Control in Drug Treatment

Katrine Schepelern Johansen (katrine.s.johansen@gmail.com)

Within the drug treatment and research environment in Denmark the issue of what is treatment has been intensively debated throughout the last decade. This has resulted in several reports recommending how treatment of drug use should be organised. One of the recommendations is that people in treatment should have a case manager. A Campbell review has also recently pointed out that case management is effective in bringing people within the treatment system. It seems that case management is becoming one of the cornerstones in drug treatment in the first part of the twenty first century.
In this paper I will present an ongoing research project in an outpatient clinic for people with a dual diagnosis (people with both a psychiatric disorder and a drug use). One of the treatment principles in this clinic is intensive case management (ratio: 1 case manager has 5 to 6 patients). I will focus on the benefits of case management as experienced by the staff. Case management seems to produce a very close relation to the patients that the staff uses to facilitate psychiatric treatment, to avoid and contain aggressive behaviour on part of the patients, to create a standing point in a moral difficult environment there patients talk and live with violence, prostitution and criminality, and last but not least where case management give a possibility for control in a treatment setting where former control through rules of methadone dispensing have been abandoned with reference to the principles of harm reduction.

Host, Guests and Inmate Clients: The Relationship between Prisons and External Drug Treatment Programs Operating in Prison Settings

Helle Vibeke Dahl, Århus University (hd@crf.au.dk)

Danish drug policy reflects in several ways an uneasy or ambivalent balance between prohibitionist and non-prohibitionist regulations and interventions. This becomes particularly evident when the ideological and organisational circumstances and everyday practices regarding drug treatment in prisons are scrutinised from a contextual or a critical angle. In order to illustrate the relevance of this claim I will provide examples of some of the common challenges and dilemmas observed and documented when external drug programmes and civil drug counsellors enter prisons to offer their services and perform drug treatment. These examples represent challenges rising from various levels in the respective organisations and between different profession groups and staff, and include tensions over bureaucratic slowness, different practices, overt or/and or covert conflicts and resistance between host and guest projects. The tensions may to a wide extent be ascribed to the policy level but also to opposing views of the target group or the prison population. From the prison's and the prison staff's point of view the inmates are firstly and foremost prisoners serving sentence (punishment) and the external programs viewed as guests and representatives of a naïve or sloppy humanitarian attitude. From the perspective of the drug counsellors the inmates are clients in need of care and support, who must

be motivated to reduce or stop their use of drugs by participating in-group and/or individual counselling and treatment programs.

Distributing Anti-Depressive Drugs in India: Policy and Reality

Stefan Ecks, Edinburgh University (stefan.ecks@ed.ac.uk)

What role do networks of distribution play in the use of psychopharmaceuticals in India? To date, the social effects of psychopharmaceuticals have mostly been studied on four levels: marketing strategies of companies, psychiatric diagnostics, prescription practices, and popular/patient understandings of drugs. The ways in which medications are distributed have never been studied in detail. In comparison to established topics of research, drug distribution appears to be rather less intriguing. Distribution seems to be something purely technical, a mundane job that needs to be done with any commodity: inventories, storage, shipping, taxes, and so forth. Yet the ways in which psychotropics are distributed has a great effect on all parts of the chain, including how doctors prescribe them and patients use them. In turn, governmental and transnational drug policies that target patterns of distribution also affect usage. This paper will present initial findings from the collaborative project "Tracing Pharmaceuticals in South Asia" on the distribution networks around fluoxetine (Prozac) in India.

Anthropology of Drug Policy: How Does It Fit into Already Existing Drug Policy Research?

Vibeke Asmussen Frank, Århus University (va@crf.au.dk)

Drug policy studies forms part of for example criminological research or policy studies in general. These different knowledge traditions also colour the perspective and methodological aspects of drug policy studies: drug policy research is often reduced to control policy focusing mainly on legislation and the more formal aspects of drug control; and, it is mainly quantitative studies based on documentary evidence, such as numbers of seizures, prosecutions, sentencing, and arrests in relation to drug offences, as well as police activity in relation to drugs. The present paper takes a point of departure in the perspective of both recent and classic drug policy studies, in order to discuss how an anthropology of drug policy can contribute and expand this field of study. In general, the argument will be that an anthropology of drug policy covers drug policy in the broadest sense, including both the formal aspects of legislation and how it is constructed, as well as how legislation is implemented in practice, e.g. how policing is conducted, treatment is formed, prevention is carried out, etc. Examples from a study of drug treatment in Danish prisons and a study of cannabis policy in Denmark forms the empirical examples of discussing how an anthropology of drug policy can contribute with new insights and new perspectives to the field of drug policy studies in general.

W021

"Soft Law" Practices, Anthropologists and Legal Scholars

Convenors: **Filippo M. Zerilli, University of Cagliari (zerilli@unica.it)**
Julie Trappe, University of Heidelberg
(Julie.Trappe@urz.uni-heidelberg.de)

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 434

"Soft law" has undoubtedly acquired a prominent position in the making of a global legal order. Designating quasi-legal instruments, such as "principles of conduct", "guidelines", "code of practices", "declarations", it is widely used by non-state actors such as the IMF and the WTO and by transnational political institutions such as the UN, the EU and even the G8. This panel invites empirical (ethnographic) case studies of its concrete functioning within any politicised social field (migration policies, trade agreements, bioethics, security and anti-terrorism strategies, human rights etc). Relevant questions include: how does soft low operate in the realm of social relations, how is it concretely fabricated and by whom? From which sites do its principles and codes of practices emanate? What is the interconnection, if any, between hard and soft law? What is the social logic of their often unquestioned separation? To which extent can soft law be considered the product of a paradigmatic shift from the sovereignty of state law to the supranational legal order of "fast capitalism"? Is soft law an expression of an increasing economisation of the juridical typical of neoliberal ideology? Who benefits from it and why? We also very much wish the panel to be taken as an opportunity to reflect upon the diversity and mutuality which exist between the disciplines of law and anthropology today, asking how they respectively contribute to the understanding of the contemporary transformation of law (and anthropology) and the production of a global legal order.

Introduction: The Rule of Soft Law

Filippo M. Zerilli, University of Cagliari (zerilli@unica.it)

From "Hard" to "Soft" Affirmative Action: Racial Diversity and the Use of Global Policy Metaphors in the Brazilian Private Sector

Rocio Alonso Lorenzo, Vanderbilt University (ra.lorenzo@vanderbilt.edu)

This paper examines how a variety of forms of "soft" affirmative action initiatives have made inroads into the Brazilian private sector through voluntary, and sometimes overlapping, global policy frameworks such as human rights action plans, corporate social responsibility indicators, international labour conventions, and sustainability goals. Since the late 1990s, policies and practices endorsing diversity and affirmative action for Afro-descendants have significantly extended from U.S.-based corporations operating in Brazil to non-U.S. corporations, mostly European and large Brazilian enterprises. Yet, in Brazil, despite the constitutional illegality of racism and the Brazilian government recent endorsement of affirmative action, this has not been made legally mandatory, as a U.S. — "hard" — civil rights approach would suggest. At the same time, many Brazilians oppose affirmative action on the grounds that it challenges the so-called myth of "racial democracy," the belief that there is no racial prejudice in Brazil and that the Brazilian national character is a product of the blend of European, Indigenous, and African elements. Based on fieldwork carried out during 2004 and

2005 among an enterprise network located in São Paulo, this paper will discuss how global policy frameworks, albeit limited, fragmentary, and sometimes controversial, may also act as powerful metaphors, or protecting "institutional umbrellas" for specific stakeholders. Thus, policy-relevant groups such as mangers, consultants, advocators, and activists very often use them in order to make their own cases stronger, particularly, in contexts where legally binding — "hard" — public policy frameworks regarding highly controversial issues are either absent, "undiscussable," or do not operate.

Soft Law in a Time of Culture: EU Bureaucrats and Intercultural Dialogue

Jeff Katcherian, University of California, Irvine (jkatcher@uci.edu)

DG Education and Culture at the European Commission (EC) is promoting "The Year of Intercultural Dialogue 2008" (EYID) in hopes of issuing voluntary guidelines for EU countries to implement, comprised of a set of concepts and actions to help member states foster "tolerance" and diversity while facilitating unity through exchange between diverse cultures within and beyond "Europe." In this way, the EC has moved from promoting cultural programs to producing European cultural policies by experimenting with the Open-Method of Coordination (OMC). The proposal therefore, will analyse the EC's "EYID" as an instance of the OMC and the cultural management within the EU which becomes particularly controversial when factoring in the following two dimensions of culture administration: the principle of subsidiarity; and the influx of Muslim immigrants which seems to challenge "European" values of inclusion. This proposal will explore how bureaucrats at the EU articulate, understand and/or transform notions of "culture" and "law" as they engage with these two forces. It is also invested in exploring the uses of soft law and the way these laws may change the way in which culture is understood under the contexts of subsidiarity and immigration. How do EU bureaucrats measure the impact of cultural soft laws?; What are the law-like mechanisms used to enforce compliance?; Who takes part in developing these mechanisms and guidelines that are designed to have an impact on policy-making at the member state level?; How does the use of the OMC blur the lines between cultural consciousness/competence and legal consciousness/competence?

Devolution and Health Care Reform in Wales: Adding a European Dimension of Non-Binding Normative Principles and Related Forms of Legality

Scott Catey, University of Florida (catey@ufl.edu)

This paper will ethnographically address the apparent logical incongruities of, on the one hand, decentralisation and policy divergence in the U.K. and Wales, and, on the other, the development of European Union powers concerning the regulation of health. Specifically, I will focus on municipal government responses to soft law measures in the implementation of EU health policy in Wales since the implementation of devolution in 1998. My discussion will position the relations between EU social policy, soft law instruments, and health care in Wales through an examination of convergence and the management of health care uniformities, such as consumer protections, patients' rights, and access to services, through the operation of the internal market. My basic analytical premise holds that achieving social policy objectives through market-based structures requires particular rationalities and technologies for motivating compliance and seeking uniformity, including contracts and other private law measures. Soft law, in this analysis, constitutes one important device targeted at normative aspirations, and

characterised by the tensions that inhere in plural commitments to market principles, citizenship, and rights. The negotiation of these tensions through the practices of soft law drafting, promulgation, and conformity-seeking illustrates one avenue by which neoliberalising preferences are inscribed into quasi-legal instruments with the potential to develop into common principles, customary forms of legal ordering, and other forms of binding legality that directly affect the experience of health and illness in any particular context. The content of this paper will be based on dissertation fieldwork initiated this year in Cardiff, Wales.

CSR as Soft Regulation: Perspectives of Using CSR to Improve Work Environment in Small Companies

Dorte Boesby Dahl, National Research Centre for the Working Environment (dbd@arbejdsmiljoforskning.dk)
Anne K. Roepstorff, Copenhagen Business School (ar.ikl@cbs.dk)

In Denmark issues concerning occupational health and safety have traditionally been regulated and monitored by legislation, certificates, reports and collective bargaining. Work environment in small companies is hard to reach by these traditional types of regulation and certain aspects of work are difficult to cover - for example psycho-social aspects of work. We regard CSR as a type of soft regulation and examine how CSR enters small firms' work environment policies. Our paper is based on interviews in 21 small Danish companies, 3 larger companies and with 7 CSR-experts.
Until recently, the CSR-debate has almost exclusively focused on big companies. Small companies have only recently caught attention in the CSR-debate. Small companies are motivated by their stakeholders to work more strategically with CSR: E.g. many branches in Denmark currently experience a shortage of labour which makes the need for recruitment and retention an argument for engaging in CSR activities focusing on employees. Furthermore, big companies increasingly require their suppliers to meet certain social and environmental demands. The influences from various parties contribute to the formation and fabrication of CSR in small companies.
We shall ask: How a soft law practice as CSR enters the arena of smaller companies, who strive to improve their work environment? Do the principles of CSR offer a possibility to improve work environment in small Danish companies? What kind of impact has the introduction of such a soft law on the working conditions? And where is CSR relevant and where does it meet its limits?

Soft Law for Serious Crimes: The Duty to Remember and the Liberty of History

Julie Trappe, University of Heidelberg (Julie.Trappe@urz.uni-heidelberg.de)

Dealing with serious crimes such as genocide and crimes against humanity is no longer a topic reserved for judges. Beyond individual responsibility and punishment, international and national organisations and institutions have tried in recent years to codify what is roughly understood as "collective memory" by using soft law. Documents such as the Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust (2000), the Resolution on the Need for International Condemnation of crimes of totalitarian communist regimes adopted by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (2006), the European Parliaments Declaration on the International Condemnation of the Franco Regime (2006), the Declaration of the condemnation of the communist regime by the Romanian Parliament (2006), or even some of the French Lois mémorielles (1990-2006) and the Spanish Ley de Memoria Histórica (2007) are all a case in point.

Examining and comparing some of these examples this paper explores the role and effect of such soft law instruments in the process of dealing with serious crimes. Do those moral and political condemnations in a legal framework represent a useful mean of coping with the past by establishing a necessary duty to remember or do they rather violate the "liberty of history"? To what extent can soft law establish hegemony over interpretation on historical facts and who are the main social actors involved? The paper also aims to scrutinise the way the mentioned soft law instruments are produced and used in a specific political context, considering as well the interference between the national and the international level.

From Soft to Hard Law: International Minority Rights Instruments and the Drafting of a Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland

Elizabeth Craig, Sussex University (emc22@sussex.ac.uk)

This paper explores the use of soft law by those involved in the drafting of a Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland, drawing in particular upon the author's experiences as legal advisor to the Language, Culture and Identity Working Group of the Northern Ireland Bill of Rights Forum. The first part of the paper compares the content and status of three international minority rights instruments (the CSCE/OSCE Copenhagen Document (which includes a section on minorities), the UN Declaration on the Rights of Minorities 1992 and the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities 1995). This part of the paper reflects on the extent to which each instrument can be appropriately categorised as either "hard" or "soft" law and aims to challenge some of the assumptions underlying any prima facie attempt at such a categorisation. This is explored further in the second part of the paper, which highlights some of controversies that have arisen in debates over the content and scope of provisions addressing language, culture and identity issues in any future Bill of Rights in Northern Ireland. This part of the paper focuses in particular on some of the challenges presented by calls for the incorporation of the Framework Convention into domestic law and questions the appropriateness of using international "soft law" in a bill of rights drafting process.

Against the Road to Cultural Annihilation: Indigenous People's Rights and the 2008 Wirrarika Uprising in front of State Road Construction

Giuliano Tescari, University of Turin (giuliano.tescari@alice.it)

The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples is already largely acknowledged in different indigenous contexts as a bulwark for the defence of their rights to auto determination. The case of the 2008 works for the construction of a road which cuts across the communal territory of the Wirrarika in the Western Sierra Madre of Mexico is typical: a work that will disrupt the territory and the ecology of the area, and that soon will make accessible to touristic exploitation a region which for a long time has been "remote" is rightly seen by the two involved Communities as a major menace to their cultural survival. The call they launch to the external world invokes precisely those rights that undergo a gradual definition in the international seats for the defence of indigenous peoples' cultural survival. Taking into account the secular struggles that this people has moved for its cultural defence, the paper is meant to rethink the particular current conjuncture of indigenous local claims and international proclaimed "soft law".

W023

For a Sceptical Anthropology?

Convenors: **Soumhya Venkatesan, Manchester University (soumhya.venkatesan@man.ac.uk)**
Lee Wilson, Cambridge University (lw243@cam.ac.uk)

28 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 404

This panel's provocative title seeks to engage with a recurrent problem in anthropology. How do we know when an expressed statement or belief is "just a metaphor", and when we ought to "take it literally"? While it seems self-evident that the answers to this kind of question can only come from the ethnography, in some situations the ethnographic data may itself be confusing and contradictory. How then do we not only make sense of what might be going on, but also theorise and work with it anthropologically? We could take a heuristic rather than an analytic approach to our ethnography, allowing all definitions to come from the field as it were (see Henare, Holbraad and Wastell 2006, Introduction). However, people are not always consistent in the ways in which they define and classify things. Furthermore, what people do, what they say they do, and how they reflect on the distinction between the two raises interesting questions. Multiple epistemes may exist within the same person or group without them being coterminous, i.e. their boundaries and meanings may clash at times and not at others. This specific form of diversity forces us to re-examine the implicit assumption of mutuality within the anthropological project. This is not just a crisis of representation; it is a challenge to the core principle of empathy and thus the possibility of understanding through the ethnographic encounter.

We invite contributions to this panel that focus on these problems and think through them ethnographically.

For an Anti-Literalist Anthropology

Felix Girke, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (girke@eth.mpg.de)

This paper critically engages with the theme of the panel, in that it argues a different approach for dealing with metaphors and literal speech.

Literalness, not "metaphor" (or evocation, irony), is the problematic mode. To use it or expect it in quotidian contexts is impolite, confusing or naïve; it also lacks elements of play and agon. Literalness (or consistency) is common and appropriate only in limited settings, and is seen here as merely another rhetorical claim. In all speech situations certain "definitions of the situation" are rhetorically negotiated and people constantly compete and collude in such framing.

To assume literalness as the preferable modality of interaction (as also non-linguistic action is rhetorical), preferable in both a normative and empirical sense, misses out on performative aspects, recently a focal research interest.

While anthropological knowledge does reside in the reflection on the distinction between what people do, say they do, and say they should do, assuming any of these dimensions to be predominantly "literal" blinds us to the element of persuasion inherent in all interaction. Anthropology is strongest where it embraces ways of speaking (or, modes of persuasion, definitions of the situation, meaning-making etc.) in their complexity and ambiguity, and not where it tries to impose consistency where only the inchoate exists.

While every anthropologist has to work it through themselves, patient and empathically,

the danger to the "mutuality within the anthropological project" lies thus mainly in methodological preconceptions. The debate is supplemented by examples from research in Southern Ethiopia.

Ghosts, Maths and Ethnographic Practice

Penny Harvey, Manchester University (penny.harvey@manchester.ac.uk)

Working ethnographically on a major road-building project in Peru, I was party to a conversation between an engineer and a young woman who was interested in ghosts. She asked him if he believed in ghosts. No, he replied, I believe in maths. How scepticism might help me, the ethnographer, work out what is going on in this exchange? Do people believe in maths in the same way as they believe in ghosts? Might we question the belief in maths in the same way as we might question the belief (or lack of belief) in ghosts? Thinking through this example, ethnographically, the paper questions what it means to take something literally. I suggest that an appeal to "literal meaning" is not necessarily an appeal to transparent meaning, but a call to slow down the interpretative process, to not assume we know what something means to those involved. I suggest that ethnography can be patient without necessarily being sceptical, and that ethnography is our best chance of complicating the data in ways that compel rather than efface the hesitation.

Making and Unmaking Gods

Soumhya Venkatesan, Manchester University (soumhya.venkatesan@man.ac.uk)

In everyday life Hindus often make a clear separation between persons, things and gods but these can be made one and the same thing through expert processes, and in certain marked spaces and times. This paper draws on fieldwork among Hindu ritual sculptors, priests and worshippers at temples in Tamilnadu, South India.
Ritual sculptors and priests employ their skills and knowledge as well as material and immaterial resources to make immanent in an image a transcendent deity. The stone/metal image then is god and worshipped as such. My own interest in this paper is to explore the opposite of this process - when a god is de-sanctified, returned to being an inert object, again through ritual processes. I ask how different kinds of person -priests, worshippers, sculptors and others engage with these de-sanctified images that they once worshipped and may well continue worshipping. This is an important question because even as people accept the expertise of others and the effects their actions have at one level, at other more affective levels they may be unwilling to "let go" fully. The image may simultaneously be god and not god. This poses an important challenge to ontological stability that worshippers and others live with, and that anthropologists of Hinduism need to engage with.

Reflexive Scepticism and Familiar Ethnographic Objects: Finding Something to Say in the Network

David Leitner, Cambridge University (dsleitner@gmail.com)

At stake in a sceptical anthropology might be the degrees to which scepticism can be either an oppositional stance or a reflexive practice. Does the sceptical anthropologist only apply methodological "disbelief" to informant's/other's statements, explanations, and terms of analysis, or can she hold her own terms and explanations to the same fire and still claim to "know" something? The question gains sharper relief when

anthropologists study "familiar" informants, ones who occupy cognate social spaces to anthropologists in the societies from which anthropologists emerge.
In this paper I reflect on my experiences studying the ways inhabitants of the Cambridge biocluster use "networks" and "networking" as explanations for social, economic and creative phenomena. I reflect on how a seemingly uniform metaphor of "network" is deployed in fluid and manifold ways, the implications of the direct and indirect anthropological roots (among others) of this metaphor, and the problems posed when informants (who are equally capable of treating the anthropologist sceptically) present seemingly familiar social explanations.
Can the anthropologist be reflexively sceptical without resorting to either broad psychologism or oppositionalism on the one hand, or, on the other, a nihilistic reflexivity in which nothing can be known? This is more than a call for "reflexive" anthropology or a question of whether anthropology at "home" is possible. Rather, it is a call for repositioning the anthropologist as always being "in between" fields and recognising that "empathy", as a goal in any site, is not the same as "agreeing" or "believing".

Scalar Selves: Narratives, Interviews and the Responses of Informants

Berndt Clavier, Malmö University (berndt.clavier@mah.se)

In this paper, I would like to discuss the implications of three interconnected theoretical critiques of common sense assumptions related to human communication, namely narrative theory, theories of subjectivity, and scalar/spatial theory. What I am particularly interested in is the way in which the interview assumes access to the consciousness of the informant. When informants are asked questions, their answers are treated as coming from them as individuals. This projection of an individual response is then often theoretically generalised in the ensuing analysis, a generalisation that makes the response available in terms of a pre-existing collective identity, e.g. immigrant, Turk, Muslim, woman, man, etc. However, from a philosophical point of view there is much to suggest that we need to be suspicious not only of the generality of the generalised and collective identities, but also of the way in which the individual is constructed based on the narrative responses given. By addressing these issues through the lens of scalar theory, a more realistic approach to what people say might be offered.

The Anthropology of the Possible: The Ethnographer as Sceptical Enquirer

Lee Wilson, Cambridge University (lw243@cam.ac.uk)

Associated with the martial art of Pencak Silat in Indonesia is the development of "inner power". Through a series of breathing exercises and bodily postures exponents claim to be able to cultivate their inner power to the degree where it can be channelled to any part of their body. Those in possession of inner power are able to perform seemingly incredible feats, such as striking assailants from afar, sending them hurling through the air without physically contacting them. Or to develop sensitivity to the vibrational frequencies of objects, allowing them to "see" while blindfolded. Since the beginning of the 1990s schools teaching the development of inner power have blossomed throughout Indonesia and internationally. Yet the practice of inner power is controversial, and many are sceptical of the claims made by practitioners. The paper explores the place of scepticism in ethnographic engagement with informants making public claims to the efficacy of inner power. It argues that often the default, though by no means overt position of anthropological exegesis is sceptical of the truth claims made by informants. While valid and interesting they are often seen to be metaphorical or explained via recourse to sociological argument. When confronted

with extraordinary claims, the practice of scepticism provides a more intellectually robust basis for the exegetical framing of ethnographic encounters. An acceptance of scepticism as a legitimate mode of enquiry opens up intriguing possibilities for mutuality in anthropology unburdened by liberal ideals and the desire to treat all forms of knowledge as equally valid.

The Ontological Cocktails in Everyday Theology: Forms of Transcendence in Two Christian Traditions

Cecilie Rubow, University of Copenhagen (cecilie.rubow@anthro.ku.dk)

Drawing on fieldwork in Christian folk churches in Denmark and the Cook Islands, the paper discusses coexistent forms of transcendence in the context of death rituals. By focusing on the everyday theological practice, i.e. the way participants are interpreting ritual cosmology, the paper examines difficulties in understanding and representing the ontological fluidity in the accounts. The play with meaning between symbolic and literal meaning in ritual and beyond is well documented, but when it comes to the details of the differences and transformations, analysis tends to "get stiff" in binary concepts or "blurred" in third positions. Taking ways of believing in the eternal life as an example the paper makes suggestions to a dynamic interpretation, envisaging smooth concepts, easy to mix in the representation of the colourful cocktails.

The Troubled Histories of a Stranger God: Tagaro and Christianity in North Pentecost, Vanuatu

John Taylor, Manchester University (jacktaylor2@gmail.com)

The 1960s and 1970s was an important period of theological revision for the indigenous Anglican clergy of island Melanesia, many of whom sought to formulate a positive answer to the question "Is Christ a Melanesian?" While throughout the preceding century both indigenous Christians and white missionaries had sought to communicate Christian concepts through the use of local terms and categories, now such projects became intimately combined with the anti-colonial desire to reconstitute Christianity as a distinctly "Melanesian" religion, and thus empower indigenous communities and national independence movements. However, rather than syncretism, such translation usually entailed the one-way extraction and transposition of indigenous categories onto those of the scriptures. This elided the more embedded meanings and cosmological significances of such categories, and thus eclipsed the ambivalent nature of indigenous conceptualisations of sacred power, the complex personalities of culture heroes, and the contested nature of the local histories from which these terms were drawn.

This paper seeks to understand some of the entanglements and conflicts that have occurred in relation to the attempted deification of one particularly enigmatic figure, called Tagaro, in North Pentecost, Vanuatu. For some a local benevolent "God", for others a maniacal axe-wielding foreigner, here the fraught issue of Tagaro's "real" history has become embroiled within ongoing social and political divisions. All the while, contesting knowledge of Tagaro has intensified his (split) personality, and thereby betrayed the ambivalent nature of Christianity's transformative powers, and its ambiguous position as both intimately local and dangerously foreign.

Theorising Diverse Understandings of Mental Disturbance in Khayelitsha, South Africa

Hayley MacGregor, Sussex University (h.macgregor@ids.ac.uk)

Explanations of mental disturbance in Khayelitsha, South Africa, tend to incorporate a diversity of understandings. In a setting of more formal inquiry, detailed classifications are presented of witchcraft or ancestral influence in order to explain the occurrence of such illness. Such typologies in fact vary from person to person; however, even more striking is the fact that the actual illness accounts of individuals usually include a mixture of seemingly conflicting aetiological concepts. Beliefs in the agency of witches and ancestors are adapted, but there is also evidence of ideas assimilated from Christianity, lay psychiatric vocabulary and trauma models popularised by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Seemingly conflicting registers are interwoven as people attempt to draw together a narrative account of their experience of help seeking. The paper will focus on ethnographic material illustrating this particular endeavour to make meaning from inchoate thoughts and often fragmentary, partly incomprehensible, illness experience. It will finally address the question of how best to frame this complex and at times confusing reality in analytical terms.

W024

Mutuality and Memory: Encounters in Mediterranean and Middle Eastern Cities

Convenors: **Julie Scott, London Metropolitan University (j.scott@londonmet.ac.uk)**
Nefissa Naguib, University of Bergen/University of Oslo (nefissa.naguib@sosantr.uib.no)
Chair: **Tom Selwyn**
Discussant: **Glenn Bowman**

28 August 2008, 14:00
Room: 533

This panel is about the changing patterns of mutuality in cities of the Mediterranean and Middle East, as they are reconfigured through shifting populations and the material practices of co-existence, and filtered through memories of forms of mutuality and the sharing of experience in the past. We will be concerned with the "stories from below" of past and present encounters between groups and individuals across barriers of various types that have inspired the maps people use; created or transformed educational or health practices and provision; stimulated new economic relationships; or produced new forms of creative partnerships.

We especially invite papers which combine anthropology with other disciplines, through the inclusion of the role of oral history and heritage practices in commemorating diversity and mutuality. Participants are asked to examine case studies of the daily interaction of diverse presences, how these encounters are gendered, and the role of nostalgia in the way these are thought of, talked about, and become embedded in private and public discourse. The workshop ultimately aims to develop a fuller picture of ideas about mutuality, its contribution to the making of, and encounters between, Middle Eastern and Mediterranean society, and to discussions about the future.

Bethlehem Past and Present: Memories of a Lost Community

Bard Kartveit, Christian Michelsen Institute (bard.kartveit@smi.uib.no)

Personal narratives can provide valuable insights on how dramatic social changes are experienced by individuals. This paper explores local conceptions of social change and community relations in Bethlehem in the recent past. The West Bank town of Bethlehem has faced dramatic changes over the last fifty years. Once a predominantly Christian village in, Bethlehem has evolved into a mixed town with a Muslim majority, and a shrinking community of local Christians. After more than a century of emigration, mainly to the Americas, the old families of Bethlehem have dwindled in numbers, gradually being replaced by internal migrants from rural areas around Bethlehem and from Hebron. In Bethlehem, where identities are highly localised, and social boundaries are based on family ties and long term co-residence, these are seen as dramatic changes. In this paper, I want to explore how these changes are conceptualised through individual narratives of Bethlehem-residents. I will use examples to illustrate how descriptions of a community of the past marked by intimate and lasting social relations and mutual trust, are contrasted with more recent experiences of social fragmentation and alienation, as well as deprivation and insecurity under an ongoing Israeli occupation. Through narratives of Bethlehem past and present, I will look at how social and cultural boundaries are negotiated along regional, sectarian and family lines. Taking in a wider picture, I will comment on how individuals - through their narratives - connect experiences of social change with political processes at a national and regional level.

Euro-Mediterranean Arts and Heritage on the Southern Italian Stage

Maurizio Albahari, University of Notre Dame (malbahar@nd.edu)

Film festivals, concerts, and a variety of events centred on intercultural, trans-regional and inter-religious dialogue, practice, and heritage seem to be flourishing in southern European settings. This ethnographically informed paper focuses on the case of Apulia, the Italian south-eastern peninsular region, in its institutional engagement of North African, Balkan, and Middle Eastern partners in the Euro-Mediterranean context. I overview current practices and discourses of intercultural, trans-regional and inter-religious dialogue, focusing in particular on publicly funded programs in the performing arts and heritage promotion. I then offer an evaluation of these attempts' actual socio-cultural impact, interrogating the accompanying rhetorical clichés and the meanings that dialogue, diversity, cultural heritage, and geographical locale assume. The paper is also interested in mapping the unintended implications of such increasingly institutionalised cosmopolitanism. For example, do "socially engineered" cosmopolitan practices and discourses magnify, reify, or paradoxically obliterate the diverse histories and everyday lives of Apulian coastal towns? And how do asymmetrical relations of power across the Euro-Mediterranean region traverse the stages where cosmopolitan heritage is to be performed?

Farewell Rumelia, Greetings Anatolia: An Oral History of Macedonian Immigrants in Turkey

Emine İncirlioğlu, Bilkent University (incirli@bilkent.edu.tr)

A television series, Elveda Rumeli (Farewell Rumelia) has been aired in Turkey in the 2007-2008. The plot revolves around a Turkish-Muslim family in a village near Bitola, Macedonia, in the beginning of the nationalisation movements of the 1900s. Relations

with the Christian population include tolerant yet cautious coexistence, peaceful division of labour in economic dealings, a love affair between a young Christian man and one of the daughters that is met with fierce resistance from both sides, and outright armed conflict when a Bulgarian guerrilla squad attacks the region. Eventually, the family will be forced out of the region, along with other Muslim Turks in the area, to migrate to Ottoman Turkey.
I have been conducting and recording informal interviews with women who are either first generation migrants from Skopje and Štip, or their daughters, who are now settled in Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir. In this presentation, I propose to describe and discuss their narratives against a backdrop of this TV series—which they all have been watching with diverse yet similar reactions, or deliberately refusing to watch because it is "too close to home." Their narratives and the themes they highlight, i.e., "filter through memories" will yield a story of migration that was maintained and silently reproduced in three generations. This study then will be both audience ethnography and an oral history that feed one another. Deliberate silence and "forgetting`, in addition to the themes highlighted in the interviews will be particularly considered in the presentation.

Now and Then: Expressing Social Time in the Refugee Camp

Svetlana Ćirković, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (scirkovic@hotmail.com)

After the political events in Serbia in 1999, many Serbs from Kosovo were displaced and found themselves in refugee camps in Serbia proper. In this paper I will present the data obtained during the interviews with a participant from Kosovo, recorded in a Belgrade refugee camp in the spring of 2003. During our conversation I insisted on topics related to traditional spiritual culture, but interpolation of the participant's own autobiography into the formal discourse is evident.
The material I will analyse here contains two different types of autobiographical data. On the one hand, within the discourse on traditional culture, autobiographical data blend with the description of certain rituals and, on the other, autobiographical fragments also occur in digressions on the participant's present life in the refugee camp, as opposed to her former, pre-refugee life.
I will focus here on some examples which illustrate a specific way of expressing time and try to analyse them using linguistic anthropology methods. Namely, I will explore binary oppositions such as now/then and the usage of temporal adverbials today, tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, also paying special attention to the temporal markers used by the participant as boundaries for past, present and future (e.g. one day before the war, one day before the bombing and so on).
At the end, I will stress that social time is a very important time dimension in the participant's discourse, in which people's behaviour is guided by rules and norms for relations with other people.

Of Rhythms and Refrains in Contemporary Damascus: Natality and Nativity

Andreas Bandak, University of Copenhagen (bandak@hum.ku.dk)

For the Christian Arabs of Damascus Christmas is a time for celebration. By focusing on the practices of Arab Christian families revolving around tableaux of the nativity crib different kind of lived memories is reflected. The nativity crib connotes both the time for perpetual birth and new beginnings. And at the same time it is filled with memories and practices from a past. Taking the cue from Hannah Arendt's idea on natality and

Giorgio Agamben's reflections on the nativity crib the paper attempts to investigate the zone opened by the tableau, the place where past and present fuses, and a dual perspective is put forward, a perspective which focuses on both rhythms and refrains of life. Hereby a conjecture is proposed of the thinking of Henri Lefebvre found in his attempt at an Rhythmanalysis of Mediterranean Cities and the thinking of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, namely in their concept of refrains as recurring themes in a social landscape. By this a discussion is opened on how Christian Arabs refashions old and new in daily life.

Opening up Files: Adjudication of Egyptian Jewish Claims in Cairo

Nefissa Naguib, University of Bergen/University of Oslo (nefissa.naguib@sosantr.uib.no)

The forces of modernity dislodged the Egyptian Jewish communities' deep roots in the country, giving rise to dramatic experiences of displacements. During the last decade there has been a growing interest in the history of Egypt's pluralistic past. This is more than a historical curiosity. It comes at a time when Egyptian judiciaries are opening files regarding Jewish properties and adjudicating cases for Jewish families claiming back what was sequestrated from them by the state between the years 1956 - 1961. We find in these cases recurring arguments about the claimants' self-presentation as "Egyptian Jews" with emotional attachments to Egypt which was once their protective homeland. This paper is about the basis of their sense of security. Sketching ongoing cases adjudicated in Egypt, this is an attempt is to take a look back at powerful Cairo Jews and their access to foreign power's protection, loosing it and reclaiming it from the Egyptian state.

Pioneers of the Turkish Muslim Bourgeoisie: A Muslim Merchant Network from the End of the Ottoman Empire

Aliye Mataracı, Bilgi University, İstanbul (amataraci@bilgi.edu.tr)

These letters draw us a good profile of the import and export activities realised by the three brothers as drapery and haberdashery import and export commissioners. Among them are letters of correspondence between the three brothers concerning their business but most of them were written to the traders they do business with in various regions: The Black Sea, Anatolia, and the Arab lands. These letters of correspondence provide the opportunity to talk about the existence of a Muslim merchant network within the Ottoman Empire, which is almost known as inexistent within the available literature. They also tell us about the infrastructure in which the trade transactions were actualised i.e. the means of transportation and communication used.
It is possible to read these trade letters both as the instances of the socio-economic conditions of the period in which they were written and also as instances of identity formation. The trade business Hajji Ahmed Efendi and his sons started was performed within the economic framework introduced by the Young Turk Government. They were among the Muslim national entrepreneur traders that were supported by the Young Turk Government of 1908-1918. Referring to the trade letters, it is possible to talk about an indirect support regarding the way these transactions were handled, which was totally in line with the economic and political perspective of the government of the period. Especially the year 1914 manifests itself as a turning point in this merchant family's self representation: From Ottoman Muslim merchants to Turkish Muslim merchants.

Re-Establishing Mutuality

Julie Scott, London Metropolitan University (j.scott@londonmet.ac.uk)

The traditions of cosmopolitanism and everyday mutuality for which the Mediterranean is known are part of the living memory of many of its inhabitants, but the conditions, institutions and spaces for its continued survival as practice have been severely attenuated by nationalism, conflicts, and the re-drawing of boundaries during the 20th century. This paper explores attempts to draw on the heritage of "rooted cosmopolitanism" in efforts to re-establish relationships of mutuality on the divided island of Cyprus. Focusing on the ethnography of a recent community tourism development project, the paper explores the relevance of the intangible heritage of mutuality, embodied in the stories of exemplary individuals and shared sociability in the past, to the contemporary context.

Reciting Pushkin: Repatriation and Reverse Diaspora among Soviet Greeks in Greece

Eftihia Voutira, Macedonia University, Thessaloniki (voutira@uom.gr)

The phenomenon of migration from Eastern to Western Europe is normally identified with the Fall of the Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the Former Soviet Union. In Greece, the migration of ethnic Greeks from the Former Soviet Union has been labelled "repatriation". This phenomenon has become the object of investigation by different disciplines (economics, sociology, anthropology, geography). In this paper, I identify a less familiar phenomenon which refers to the "reverse Diaspora". It includes the creation of a particular type of cultural nostalgia vis-à-vis the countries of origin (Russia, Georgia, Ukraine). It examines the particular nostalgia which emerges once people return to their historical homeland (Greece) and entails the formation of a Russophone cultural identity which for the former Soviet citizen constitutes a source of pride and veneration to be transmitted to their grandchildren.

The Art of Memory in Mediterranean Croatia

Jelka Vince-Pallua, Institute of Social Studies Ivo Pilar (jelka.vince@pilar.hr)

On the basis of several examples of standing stones found during the author's own fieldwork in Mediterranean part of Croatia this contribution tends to prove that a woman - memory incorporated monoliths known as babas - can be considered as a genius loci, genius of the town. Babas bring happiness and overall prosperity to the individuals and to the town so they have to be donated fruit and wheat and kissed when seen for the first time. It will be shown that features of archaic culture, suppressed and sublimated, live on through symbolic undertones of the mythological and legendary heritage in a kind of syncretistic reality of female cults and legends. This paper shows that in the case of this material practice chosen to encode memory, there is no tension between constancy and variation in transmission of culture. Its aim is to show that long-term semantic memory, millenary long history and heritage practices are transmitted from illiterate times and premodern (memory transmitted customs) orality to the present moment.

W025

Elite Strategies of Distinction and Mutuality

Convenors: **Carola Lentz, University of Mainz (lentz@uni-mainz.de)**
Richard Werbner, Manchester University
(richard.werbner@manchester.ac.uk)
Chairs: **Carola Lentz and Richard Werbner**
Discussants: **Richard Werbner and Mattia Fumanti**

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 115

There is a remarkable dearth of in-depth research on elites in developing countries, despite frequent assertions of their strategic importance for "good governance" and economic development and despite repeated calls for anthropologists to "study up". Elites are integral to processes of socio-political change, and ties or conflicts between elites as well as their relationship to both the state and local communities are essential to the working or collapse of the polity.

The convenors of this workshop invite papers that explore the histories and practices of specific "Third World" elites, focusing on changing patterns of elite recruitment and reproduction, including elite relations with the state; practices of elite cohesion and exclusivity; elite discourses of distinction and legitimacy; and the elite's relations with broader non-elite constituencies. How is elite status "performed" and maintained, across the generations? Which images of themselves do elite men and women project, and how do they justify their upward social mobility? How do they balance regional commitments and national aspirations in their careers and activities? And how do urbanised elite men and women perceive their roles with regard to their rural "home" communities and non-elite families? What role do they envision themselves playing within the nation-state? How do elites reflect on their histories of activism and service for the public good? Case studies that address one or several of these questions can contribute to a critical discussion of the broader issues involved in the EASA conference's theme of diversity and mutuality.

Emerging Ethos: Ethnographic Notes on "Success" in Contemporary Brazil

Diana Lima, Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro (dlima@iuperj)

During the 1990s, many people were still decrying the economic crisis that developed in the previous decade immediately following the 1980s boom in consumption and was hitting mainly the middle class. At the same time, Rio de Janeiro's sociological map was witnessing a new social segment's appearance: The so-called "New Emerging Society", a network composed of social subjects whose social ascension was a constant theme in the press over a six-year period. Their recent "success", attributed to the discipline of their enterprising work in the Northern Zone of Rio de Janeiro's suburbs, was invariably illustrated with images of grandiose material conquests. The term "emerging" was borrowed from the vocabulary of economics, and although at times used to stigmatise in fact rewarded these "successful" people with a special taste of victory. The term's appeal lay in the fact that it seemed to metaphorise historical cravings for a Brazil full of promise. Based on newspaper articles and ethnography among members of this network, I reflect on the social imaginary regarding notions of distinction, economic productivity, and success in contemporary Brazilian society.

Dialogical Subjectivities for Hard Times: Expanding Political and Ethical Imaginaries of Labour and National Elite Batswana Women

Pnina Werbner, Keele University (P.Werbner@keele.ac.uk)

Tracing the careers of three elite women in Botswana, two trade unionists and hence part of a small labour elite, and one a public servant who became, first, a politician and then an international civil servant, the paper argues that postcolonial subjectivities are to be understood as essentially dialogical; they emerge in interaction on testing occasions. The paper explores the three women's sense of mission as it evolves in performance, in the making and remaking of their consciousness as subjects, as citizens and as members of a global community. As a subject's recognition of her location within power structures expands, the paper shows, so too does her ability to act and think in terms of wider social universes of discourses. And along with wider consciousness, her sense of responsibility for others expands, just as the political imaginaries she embraces encompass wider horizons. The paper debates the problems inherent in poststructuralist definitions of subject and subjectivity, following Foucault, and suggests that a dialogical understanding of subjectivity engages with his "negative paradigm" while nevertheless recognising that emancipatory movements lead inevitably to new heteronomous regimes of subjection.

National Aspirations, Local Commitments: Elite Funerals in Northern Ghana

Carola Lentz, University of Mainz (lentz@uni-mainz.de)

Based on fieldwork conducted in Ghana and amongst the Dagara in particular this paper explores the history of a particular group of elite men and women from Northern Ghana and asks how this elite balances local and regional commitments with national aspirations. How do these urbanised elite men and women, who come from an economically marginalised region and now work in high-level positions in public administration, education, the free professions (lawyers, doctors, etc.), the army, and the Catholic church, perceive their roles with regard to their rural "home" communities to which Ghanaians generally feel deeply connected? I will pursue these questions by looking at elite funerals − a personal, emotionally highly charged ritual which is, at the same time, of great social, and sometimes even of political, importance. In Ghanaian society in general, and for the Dagara elite in particular, funerals constitute the crucial moment when belonging must be ultimately validated. They are an occasion during which the deceased's "home ties" are re-evaluated and the relations of his survivors with their rural kin re-negotiated. But funerals are also an arena in which elite status is performed vis-à-vis both one's home constituency and Ghanaian fellow elites.

White Skin Colour and Elite Distinction on the Island of Mauritius

Tijo Salverda, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam (t.salverda@fsw.vu.nl)

The Franco-Mauritians - the white elite of the island Mauritius (numbering about 10,000 individuals) - have successfully maintained their elite position, even forty years after Mauritius' independence. That the transition from colonialism to independence has not deprived them of their position can be explained partly by their maintenance of a distinct (ethnic) identity in an overwhelmingly non-white society. At the core of the Franco-Mauritians distinction as elites is their white skin colour, with all its historical connotations.

The paper will contribute to the debate of how elite distinction is shaped through

both intra-group and inter-group processes. It will discuss, on the one hand, how endogamous marriage practices, exclusive social and sport clubs, and, more generally, an elite culture reinforce Franco-Mauritian identity. On the other hand, it will argue how the strong focus on ethnicity in Mauritian society at large facilitates the Franco-Mauritians' elite distinction through skin colour. On the small island with its 1.2 million inhabitants, ethnicity is omnipresent, and Franco-Mauritian identity as such thus hardly challenged. Despite regular criticism of their colonial past and unequal share in the island's wealth, Franco-Mauritians co-exist relatively peacefully with the rest of Mauritian society. However, since their ethnic identity continues to provide them with privileged access to the island's most powerful business networks, elite distinction marked by the white skin colour is persistent.

By Hard Work or by Birth? Practices of Elite Distinction and the Legacy of Slavery in Gambia

Alice Bellagamba, University of Milan-Bicocca (alice.bellagamba@unimib.it)

Slave origins are hardly discussed in public in the tight social environment of Gambia. Such silence covers a complex and overlooked history of emancipation, which resulted in descendants of slaves achieving positions of economic, social and political prominence in the capital city in the course of the 20th century. Migration to the urban centres, hard work and engagement in trade within the cash crop economy of the River Gambia sustained some of these trajectories of upward mobility. Slave descendants were sometimes able to transform their former masters into dependents, by offering them financial support in time of crisis. Education and national politics played a major role from the late 1950s onwards, and upwardly mobile slave descendants appropriated to some extent the marks of prestige and discriminatory attitude, which were deemed to characterise the behaviour of masters.
Currently, some men and women of slave origins fill the ranks of the national elite. Some are aware of their ancestry, other pretend not to know, still others have no clue that their grandparents and parents successfully concealed their low social origin to the point of erasing the social memory of it. I will take the silencing of this historical legacy as a starting point to analyse two different though interlaced strategies of elite distinction. The first strategy is to rely on the universalistic legitimation provided by wealth and education, with wealth overcoming education today. The second is to resort to the narrative of honour prominent in the past of Gambian society with its traditions of slavery. This narrative associates success and prominence with purity of origins. Conversely, poverty and marginality speak of enslavement and subordination. A historically informed analysis of the emergence of the Gambian national elite shows why elite men and women cannot identify with contemporary "masters" and simultaneously recognise their ascendancy from former slaves.

From an Exclusive Elite to Nation-Builders: The Various Faces of Creoledom in Guinea-Bissau

Wilson Trajano Filho, University of Brasilia (trajano@unb.br)

This paper examines the polymorphic character of the Creole elite in Guinea-Bissau. In the 19th century it was organised as a group of autonomous patrimonial extended families involved in trade with Guinean indigenous societies. The new conditions brought about by the colonial regime forced these families to change their strategies of social reproduction and public presentation if they wanted to survive as elites. They

managed to present themselves as an exclusivist elite that championed Christian values and Western manners. They distinguished themselves from the bulk of indigenous groups, to whom they were, at the same time, strategically linked through matrimonial alliances, adoption of African children, and patron-client relations. However, they had to compete with newcomers better equipped to take over the higher and middle positions in the colonial apparatus and to control colonial commerce, namely Cape Verdeans and metropolitan Portuguese. Consequently, they became a kind of subaltern elite that played the role of intermediaries between Africans and colonial rulers. However, by the late 1950s, this strategy was no longer successful, and they now engaged in the nationalist movement, projecting themselves as Africans, and builders of a Guinean nation. They achieved independence, but did not develop efficient mechanisms in order to fully incorporate the indigenous groups in the new nation. The paper ends by analysing the current predicaments of the Creole elite.

The Kolkata Intellectuals and Elite Identity

Kerstin Andersson, University of Gothenburg (tinni.andersson@telia.com)

Examining the life histories of some members of the intellectual elite in Kolkata, this paper will discuss how elite status has been performed and maintained across the generations. The Bhadralok, the "modern" intellectual elite in Kolkata emerged as a distinct social category in the colonial encounter in the 19th century and have sometimes been described as a "colonial middle class" or "subaltern group". The group has a long tradition of intellectualism, radicalism and political activism, and at present, constitutes the leaders in the leftist government. Dominating the political and cultural sectors but not economic activities, the group occupies a social space between the economic elite and the lower groups. The Bhadralok are internally differentiated, but outwardly put forward a common identity, expressed through the discourse of "intellectualism" and displayed in distinct forms of social institutions, culture, lifestyle, values and norms. The discourse of intellectualism encompasses factors as pedigree, education, radicalism, cultural awareness and a common tradition. In Bourdieu's terms, it constitutes a symbolic capital that legitimates status positions and defines distinctions towards other groups in the hierarchically ordered social universe of Kolkata.

Debating Leadership and Legitimacy in Timor Leste

Maj Nygaard-Christensen (maj.nygaard@gmail.com)

The current national elite of Timor is largely comprised of former resistance leaders who led the struggle for an independent Timor Leste. Today, these leaders occupy influential positions such as ministers and parliamentarians. Their change of position, however, has been challenged. Based on interviews with national and rural leaders and their electorate during national elections in 2007, the paper will examine issues of this new elite's legitimacy.

The paper will focus on what is popularly regarded as the transformation of leaders from being part of "The People" to becoming part of "the big people". This upward move is problematic in terms of the popular rhetoric of legitimacy, characteristic of the resistance struggle, which celebrated the unity of local leaders and "the people" and sought to eliminate notions of elite distinction. Current debates invoke these populist notions and criticise the increasing distinction between elites and their electorate.

The 2007 election campaigns provided a unique opportunity to investigate how elites attempted to maintain and legitimise their positions in post-independence Timor. I will

examine the ways in which national leaders negotiate the balance between popular demands for "closeness" between leaders and the people, and the exigencies of being representatives of the state commonly regarded as distant and aloof.

Social Strategising within an Urban Elite in Morocco

Barbara Elisabeth Götsch, University of Vienna (gobabs@gmx.at)

Examining the life stories of the members of an NGO team in urban Morocco, the paper discusses what motivated them to engage with this type of work, how they position themselves in the political and academic landscape, and how they attempt to maintain or improve their position. Most team members belong to a hereditary elite, but at the same time, by virtue of their high-profile education and professional activities, also form part of an educational elite. The combination of these resources ensures them access to and support by "power elites". The paper explores how the team members explain their professional success and closeness to these higher circles and why they feel it is important to be associated with them.
Moreover, the paper examines the NGO elites' social strategising among themselves and towards outsiders, be it their (European) donors, state institutions, or the "beneficiaries" of the NGO's activities. This strategic behaviour has to be understood against the backdrop of a rapidly changing political environment, where it is not only important to be personally acquainted with powerful protagonists, but also to adopt the new rhetoric of neoliberalism and good governance.

The Politics of Conviviality: Traditional Rural Elites and the Local State in Southern Mozambique

Euclides Goncalves, University of Witwatersrand (euclides_efg@yahoo.com)

Debates on elites in Mozambique have focussed on post-colonial nationalist and democratic elites and explored elite formation and reproduction based on religious influence, party allegiance and educational background. However, scholars have only recently begun to address the changing practices and discourses of traditional rural elites in the context of recent socio-politic reforms.
Drawing on field research conducted in Inharrime district, Southern Mozambique, this paper puts into historical perspective the complex relations between rural traditional elites and the local state. Based on an examination of life trajectories of both traditional figures of authority and local state officials, it argues that although the ideology in different political contexts may have posited local state officials against sections of rural traditional elites, in practice, local state officials have long learned that power and authority must be locally negotiated and that they need to ally with traditional chiefs and influential elders. Furthermore, the paper shows that amidst power struggles, the tacit endorsement of a politics of conviviality guarantees the reproduction of rural elites.

The Power of Mutuality: Authority and Legitimacy among Traditional and State Elites in Southern Ghana

Umberto Pellecchia, Università degli Studi di Siena (u.pellecchia@gmail.com)

Which role traditional authorities (chiefs) should play in a modern nation-state is a much debated and controversial issue in present-day Ghana. While some regard

chieftaincy as an institution that constitutes the core of local political culture, others consider it as an obstacle to democracy. Examining the case of the recent deposition of a paramount chief in Sefwi-Wiawso, the paper discusses conflicts and alliances between "traditional" and state elites and analyses the ways in which authority and elite status are legitimate. At the centre of the ideologies and practices of legitimation of both "traditional" and "modern" elites stands the concept of abundance. Political authority is regarded as a mechanism for redistributing wealth and, at the same time, manufacturing subordination as well as consensus. The power of elites, whether chiefs, politicians or civil servants, rests on their capacity to operate in accordance with ideals of mutuality and "abundance" that inform their relations with non-elite constituencies.

Multiparty Politics and the (Re)production of Political Elites in Cameroon: The Case of the South-West Elites Association (1990-2007)

Rogers Tabe Egbe Orock, University of Helsinki (rogerstabe@yahoo.com, rogers.orock@helsinki.fi)

The return to multiparty politics in Cameroon has been characterised by the emergence of powerful ethno-regional political cartels that have developed as platforms aimed at vocalising the concerns of various local and regional communities. Combining a discourse-historic approach with a political ethnography of multiparty politics in Cameroon, I use the case of the South-West Elite Association (SWELA), one of these ethno-regional political lobbying groups in one of the English-speaking provinces, to explore the intricate relations between multiparty politics, elites and the state, in the ethnically fragmented state of Cameroon.

The paper makes a two-pronged analysis of elite practices relating to multiparty politics in Cameroon. First, I explore the South-West elites' articulations of a narrow and exclusionary agenda and discourses of regional development and greater political inclusion into the state in Cameroon. Secondly, I unravel SWELA's discourses and practices as explicitly aimed at not only securing the political capital of established regional political elites as "ethno-regional delegates", but also as a medium for the recruitment and renewal of such elite bases, within the strongly ethnically coloured "democratisation" process in Cameroon.

These analyses of how multiparty politics in Cameroon produces, recycles and sustains political elites as "ethnic delegates" of their communities in the state since 1990s, demonstrate the productivity of an anthropology of "democracy" and discuss the multivalent relations between elites, masses, and the state in multiparty politics in African post-colonies and beyond.

W026

Imagining and Constructing "Terrorism" and "War on Terror"

Convenors: **Reetta Toivanen, University of Helsinki (Reetta.toivanen@helsinki.fi)**
Julia Eckert, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (eckert@eth.mpg.de)

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 233

This workshop focuses on the cultural construction of terrorists and terrorist organisations as "the other". There is a lack of research about the processes in which "knowledge"

about the "dangerous other" is produced. It is interesting to think about the methods currently in use against terrorism, whether international or national, and about the ways in which a cultural construction, the stereotype of a terrorist, as "the other", influences the politics in which human rights are restricted in order to produce security/ stability/economic growth. The workshop calls for papers discussing the processes and meanings of the dominant constructions of "terrorists" by decision makers, media, security agencies and international actors. At the same time, papers addressing the political and socio-cultural implications of the "war on terror" are welcomed.

From the Cultural Construction of Terrorists to the Social Production of Antagonism: Why Social Conflict is Irreducible to Diversity

Detlef Georgia Schulze, Free University Berlin (DGSch@zedat.fu-berlin.de)

Juridical practices are an important factor in constructing "terrorism". When first regarding this position, one could state that "terrorists" are criminals, who do not enjoy the equal protection of the laws. When doing so, we tend to see "terrorists" as the mere product of that production process, whereas the hegemonic juridical etc. forces are the subjects of this process. It seems likely, that neither the protagonists of the "war on terror" nor the "terrorists" will agree with that liberal victimisation of the "terrorists". "Terrorists" are not treated equally, because they are - as the EU Frame Decision on combating terrorism states - aiming at "seriously destabilising or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country". So, maybe it would be useful to test the reverse hypothesis: "Terrorists" are political enemies who are not considered as political enemies, but instead as criminals. "Terrorists" are not Others, rather: "Terrorism" is denied Otherness.
Therefore we have to face that contradiction: On the one hand the state tries to deny the political character of "terrorism" and to treat the "terrorists" as criminals; on the other hand the state treats "terrorists" differently to other criminals. But why "terrorists" are in reality not treated as "normal criminals" as the liberals suggest? Or should we not better ask: What makes it impossible for the state to treat terrorists as "normal criminals"? To answer this question we do not need a theory about the cultural construction of "terrorists", but rather a theory about the social production of enmity, of political antagonism.

German Alien Departments in Germany and the Construction of Categories of Dangers

Boris Nieswand, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (nieswand@eth.mpg.de)

The proposed paper examines how categories of terrorist danger are constructed in the case of German migration and foreigner policies and what impact they have on the interaction of state institutions and migrants. The field of migration and foreigner policies was affected by legal changes after September 11th 2001. The control of non-citizens is regarded as means to reduce the supposed risk of terrorist activities. Because the criteria of identification remain in the case of potential Islamic terrorists necessarily unspecific state suspicion is often only loosely coupled with actual behaviour or convictions of persons and organisations. Beside other institutional actors, also German aliens departments (Ausländerbehörden) have become involved in the execution of preventive security policies. But since the changes of national laws are often meant to be preventive, it is practically difficult to develop procedural criteria to decide to whom these policies apply and to whom they don't.

Decision-making under the condition of vague and incomplete information about the target groups is connected to practices of "labelling" and the employment of stereotypical features (i.e. mobility patterns, nationality, religious affiliation). Many Muslims in Western countries experience the state activities in the field of security policies as discrimination. However, since the national legislators perceive the threats of terrorism as a significant problem and, therefore, cannot just stop to develop instruments to protect their populations it seems that the Western European nation-states and their Muslim populations cannot easily "get rid" of this dilemma of civil rights and preventive security policies.

Purifying "Hezbollah": The Entanglement of Diverse Forms of Expert Knowledge on "Terrorism" in Lebanon

Nikolas Kosmatopoulos, University of Zurich (kosmatopoulos@ethno.uzh.ch)

Whereas the increasing militarisation of academic knowledge on "terrorism" has heavily contributed to the apotheosis of Eurocentric superficiality (different versions of "clash of civilisations" thesis), a similar partisanship seems often to drive traditional institutions attributed with the task of producing knowledge about the "Other" (e.g. mainstream think tanks and intelligence services) into a cul-de-sac of mirrored, hence distorted images. Arguably demonisation has a certain backlash effect by putting several black boxes into place.

Moreover, the appearance of new forms of entanglement of different kinds of expert knowledge (diplomatic, military, academic, intelligence) draws a quite complex and intriguing matrix of actors and institutions competing or cooperating for resolving these new enigmas. Often their claimed expertise is premised upon a certain degree of proximity to the "Other", which has a delegitimising effect upon their own credibility in their respective audiences.

An ethnographic analysis of the making of the field of expert knowledge production about "Hezbollah" in Lebanon shall demonstrate how the entanglements and modalities inherent in the field on a local level have acute implications on its final output on a more global scale, where think tanks, intelligence services and individual experts strive to "purify the hybrids" (Latour).

Creating Enemies in the War on Terror: The Reinforcement of Essentialised Cultural Difference through "Legalised" Torture

Elan Abrell, CUNY (elanabrell@gmail.com)

A series of executive orders and disingenuous legal memos produced by the Bush regime - most notably the infamous "torture memo" written by Department of Justice lawyer John Yoo while working at the Office of Legal Counsel - resulted in the de facto legalisation of torture of people designated as "enemies" by the U.S. government in its "war on terror." This sanctioning of torture (along with other anti-rights policies) combined with a widely disseminated discourse conflating the threat of terrorism with radical political Islam has contributed to the production of a juridically reinforced category of essentialised cultural difference. This attempt to legally legitimise torture has had the ideological effect of further normalising the perception of its Muslim targets as bad (evil, even) and thus deserving of such horrific treatment.

This paper will focus on the Bush regime's attempt to legitimise torture as a process by which essentialised cultural differences centred around political ideology and religion are reinforced by the justification of policies through legal manipulation. After outlining the series of pro-torture legal opinions and executive orders produced by the

Bush regime, it will draw a connection between this tactic and the larger project of producing an absolute enemy (to replace the defunct soviet "evil empire") against which U.S. imperial military exploits can be legitimated, stressing how this enemy is used to facilitate privatised war as a mechanism for racialised and culturally essentialised accumulation by dispossession.

W027

Sounding Ethnography: Mutuality and Diversity in Musical Life

Convenors: **Carsten Wergin, University of Halle-Wittenberg (carsten.wergin@gmail.com)**
Kristin McGee, University of Groningen (kamcgee32@yahoo.com)

29 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 535

The present workshop contemplates particular challenges to the ethnography of diversity and mutuality in music, especially in contexts where music emerges as a vital force in social life. At a general level, mutuality is a condition of music-making and experience. Mutuality is central to the performance of music at concerts, weddings and other social genres with collective presentations of music such as radio and film. Music also provides particular avenues through which individuals and communities express and negotiate diversity, both in the very act of performance and the wider discursive space around it. Keil's concept of "participatory discrepancy" and Gilroy's diasporic cultural space of the Black Atlantic are cases in point.
The workshop specifically looks at the challenges to ethnography at particular performance sites. Presenters are encouraged to talk about how various groups of people create and experience imagined worlds in particular venues and geographical contexts (cities, villages, islands, mountains, deserts, etc). The live music club, for example, is a key site of urban culture, a home to articulations of community and belonging, but also class distinction and difference within a commercial space. Mutual sentiments in relation to music have produced new experiences of diversity around categories such as Jazz, HipHop, Reggae, Séga and Roma music, which can be analysed in relation to various forms of circulation, transculturation, creolisation and hybridisation.

Sounding Ethnography: Mutuality and Diversity in Music

Carsten Wergin, University of Halle-Wittenberg (carsten.wergin@gmail.com)
Fabian Holt, University of Roskilde (fabianh@ruc.dk)

We wish to open the panel by a collaborative paper to introduce the topic in relevant cultural and scholarly contexts. First of all, we wish to emphasise the difference between mutuality and unity to stimulate new critical approaches to cultural challenges in global space. Mutuality can be viewed as an alternative to reductive ideas about cultural difference. Mutuality deepens cultural ethics and social engagement. Moreover, mutuality provides a ground for new approaches to thinking about forms of production and consumption. Examples include the involvement of consumers in product development and the social dynamics among cultural producers in both grassroots and corporate settings.
We have encouraged all panellists to grasp the topic from their encounters as ethnographers in particular field sites. The idea is to maintain a focus on a fundamental methodical practice, and to confront the ways in which issues of mutuality and

diversity play out in different places around the world.
Our introductory paper addresses three basic questions to help build a common frame for the papers and for a concluding discussion between all panellists:
- Is there anything particular about mutuality and diversity in music? This pertains to fundamental questions about the role of music in society and its expressive qualities.
- Where and how are mutuality and diversity in music produced and shared? We will consider music scenes and music venues as spaces of mutuality
- How are mutuality and diversity constituted in live and mediated performances? This is to recognise the growing impact of electronically mediated communication.

"Die besten falschen Russen": Exploring Diversity and Mutuality in the Russenpartyszene in Berlin

Tirza de Fockert, University of Amsterdam (windeater@gmail.com)

Since its first emergence on the Berlin club scene in 1999, the "Russendisko" parties at Kaffee Burger have mostly been treated as a place where Germans come to escape modern life and wallow in vodka-drenched soviet-nostalgia. The social historical context of the Russenpartyszene, which sprung in post-Wende Berlin since the late 1990s, has been largely neglected up until now.
The paper will look closer at this context, specifically at the places were this scene flourishes most. Particularly vibrant in the former East Berlin districts Mitte and Prenzlauer Berg, German and Russian musicians create new musical worlds on the very ground where they once fought against each other. In Kaffee Burger, famous for its still intact GDR-interior, but also in clubs like Haus der Sinne and CCCP, different groups meet that spent most of the 20th century in secluded spaces. Through musical imagined worlds, Germans and Russians de- and reconstruct ideas of otherness and sameness. On an empirical level, this paper will look at how German and Russian musicians use a variety of key-symbols in their stage-performance, advertising, lyrics and music that is generally recognised by their German audiences to be "authentically" Russian. The paper will explore how musicians both use and redefine this idea of Russianness. On a theoretical level, the paper will ask, where this German longing for Russianness comes from, and how the secluded space of the musical event allows for the exploration of issues such as collective memory, identity, and implicit social knowledge of a problematic shared past.

Bass Nature and the Mutuality of Creative Ecologies in Dubstep Music (London UK)

Christoph Brunner, Concordia University (c_brunner@gmx.net)

From an anthropological perspective the experience of electronic music and nightclubs have been mostly perceived as non-discursive formations and spaces where "difference" outside discursive strata can be experienced.
As an example, London's history of black diasporic music cultures dates back to the first waves of immigration after the Second World War, mostly from the West Indies and Jamaica.
Dubstep as a recent descendant of roots-related and dub-based music describes a cultural phenomena in the lineage of the "Black Atlantic" (Gilroy). As a hybrid music style, mostly performed at "underground" venues in London's east end and with close relations to pirate radio, Dubstep becomes an intersection between, ethnicities, social classes and mutational forms of creativity. Referring to Kodwo Eshun's emphasis on the displacement of "black music" (Gilroy) I will apply an AfroFuturist perspective

to approach the history of dub-centred music in the UK. I will then highlight the conceptual trajectories of "difference" and mutuality to emphasise the potential for micro-political forms of creativity and resistance through music.
By transcending the closed circuit of the club into an ecology of practice I will specifically focus on the relations between music, humans, and technology to articulate the very aspects of "embodiment" and creative "becoming" (Deleuze) through lived experience that take place within current modes of creative production.
These ecologies of practice comprise networks of artistic production, consumption and communication that broaden the often too narrow contexts of social sciences and transcend these fixtures into non-hierarchical and rhizomatic modes of cultural production and interrelations.

Spontaneous Results of an Organised Musical Experience: A Residency of Arab and British Musicians in the United Kingdom

Marie-Pierre Gibert, Southampton University (marie-pierre.gibert@wanadoo.fr)

Last May, a fascinating artists' residency took place in the United Kingdom, bringing together 12 musicians from all over North Africa and the Middle East, and 3 musicians from the UK. As part of a wider research project funded by the British AHRC, I conducted an ethnography of this 3-week long musical encounter.
Fostered by a British cultural institution, this residency had two different aims. On one hand, it intended "to create new work". On the other hand, it aspired to develop networks amongst the artists from the Near East-North African region and between them and the British music scene. Therefore, while many different musical genres were brought together (rock, jazz, hip hop, classical Arabic music, etc.), the Arab origin of the majority of the musicians (but not necessarily of their music) was also an important dimension, aiming to challenge the "classical" British representation of what music from this region "should be", as well as showing a contrasted United Kingdom to the visiting artists.
Whilst most empirical studies of artists' encounters and the development of "fusion" music are based on bottom-up musical formations, this paper will focus on the top-down dimension of this planned "musical encounter" and "challenge of cultural stereotypes". The presentation will investigate the ways in which this double aim, implemented "from the top", produced musical creation and individual relations "from below". Finally, specific methodological and ethical challenges will be addressed, in particular the tension between artists' expectations for, and organisers' reservations on, the involvement of the researcher.

Anthropologists in the Opera: Professional Engagements and Private Inclinations in Musical Life

Vlado Kotnik, University of Primorska (vlado.kotnik@guest.arnes.si)

On the one hand opera is an "exotic" topic for anthropologists, while on the other anthropology is still perceived as a very unusual approach to opera. Opera's urban glamour, whether it be represented through the splendour of court spectacle, the pomp of national myths and sentimental melodramas, the political party, or the bourgeois festive occasion, seemed hundreds of miles away from anthropologists' traditional activities or priorities. For four hundred years, opera's aim was to fascinate and create phantasms, focusing principally on the culture of Europe, while anthropology's task was rather different: the deconstruction of such fascinations by focusing mainly on

non-European cultures. In the last decades this traditional antagonism has been overcome.
The paper will thus introduce the work of anthropologists and ethnographers whose personal and professional affinity for opera has been explicated in their academic and biographical account. Anthropological accounts on opera (made by Claude Lévi-Strauss, Michel Leiris, William O. Beeman, Denis Laborde, Paul Atkinson, etc.) convince us that social anthropologists do not need to travel to distant places, primeval forests or islands to find relics of social rituals and experience the "exotic". They merely need to go to the opera, where our own weird rites are performed in both their highest and their most trivial form. As a field site, the Slovenian opera habitus (the Ljubljana and Maribor Opera Houses) will be particularly emphasised.
Professional or private ethnographical inquiries of opera mostly deal with diversity and mutuality in local social venue and musical life. The paper will therefore show that the contexts of diversity (such as different places of opera determined by different social venues, music scenes, urban structures, (trans)national ideologies, collective memories and cultural traditions as elements of mutuality) do not only reveal the specificity of the role opera plays in diverse spaces but can also explain the epistemological and conceptual diversity of anthropological interest for opera research.

A Public Square, a Stadium, a Theatre: Experiencing the Nation through Popular Music in Croatia

Catherine Baker, University College, London (cbakertw1@googlemail.com)

Recent thinking about nationalism and nationhood (Michael Billig, Katherine Verdery, Alex Bellamy) encourages us to consider how the nation is experienced and reconstituted through social practice, while David Kertzer's political anthropology suggests that belonging involves reconciling divergent understandings of the nation (etc.) under particular symbols demonstrated through ritual - which may usefully be combined with Richard Jenkins's emphasis on performativity in expressing social identity. This paper explores these ideas using the example of popular music. The mutuality involved in forming part of an audience at a musical performance might offer a way to experience the nation: but who is being mutual with whom, how is it expressed, and does their interaction actually reflect on the national level of belonging?
In Croatia, popular music has often been used to articulate national identity narratives (frequently connected with war memory and/or particular localities). It has also been a site of struggle over the location of cultural boundaries between Croatia and the east/the Balkans/Serbia/Bosnia. Various understandings of nationhood are therefore attached to Croatian popular music, making it an appropriate site for observing the reconstitution of nationhood through mutuality. This paper draws on nine months of ethnographic fieldwork in Croatia, and particularly on participant observation of three events in 2007: a concert in central Zagreb to celebrate a Croatian sporting victory; a stadium concert held by a well-known patriotic singer, Marko Perković Thompson; a performance of a drama satirising the decline of old-fashioned Zagreb life and the rise of popfolk music (pejoratively, "turbofolk").

The Discourse of "Musical Quality" among Jazz Musicians in Athens

Ioannis Tsioulakis, Queen's University, Belfast (itsioulakis01@qub.ac.uk)

What happens when the concept of musical quality, associated for ethnomusicologists and musical anthropologists with elitist approaches by classic historical musicology, is

strongly present in discourses in the field? How do sites of musical performance serve as the physical space for such a discourse?
The last two decades of the twentieth-century saw an increase in the popularity of jazz music amongst professionals and students of the Athenian music scene. Combined with a lack of interest and familiarity of the wider audience with jazz musical culture, this phenomenon resulted in an unbalanced situation: the number of jazz musicians emerging from music schools all over the city or repatriating after being trained abroad was far greater than the local music scene was able and eager to support. Facing that situation, the majority of jazz musicians were forced to work within the popular music industry (performing pop, folk-pop, or so called "art-song" music), with only occasional opportunities to play the music they were trained for.
This paper will examine contesting conceptualisations of quality in music, constructed within these circumstances of division between musical labour and playful creativity. It will attempt to illustrate the significance of shifting between performative sites (from the popular music club to the small jazz venue) for the construction of a musical identity balancing between the experienced locality and the imaginary of globality. It will also discuss the role of discrepancies in musical aesthetics and affiliations in the experience of mutuality on stage and with the audience.

Smooth Jazz, Transnationalism and Gendered Representations

Kristin McGee, University of Groningen (kamcgee32@yahoo.com)

This paper explores the gendered and cultural representations of smooth jazz, one of the most commercially viable musical genres to emerge during the last two decades. In particular, I investigate the promotion of fusion and "cross-over" in jazz music as important "multi-cultural" and gendered conceptions in the international sites of smooth jazz production, consumption, and creativity.
During the recording crisis of the 1970s and early 1980s, the promotion of cross-over jazz artists facilitated a broader rooster of mixed-genre performers within the recording divisions of the major jazz record companies like Verve and Blue Note. These new artists successfully sold records but also acquired prestige and financial gain in the mass mediated jazz sites of adult contemporary radio and international jazz festivals, as well as newer performance sites including smooth jazz vacation destinations and Internet sites. During the 1990s, smooth jazz extended beyond its prior musical formula signifying not only a radio format and musical descriptor but eliciting a particular cosmopolitan attitude towards living, consumption, and cultural taste and in turn spawning new sites of smooth jazz performance. In Miami, for example, all-star smooth jazz cruises attracted middle and upper class contemporary jazz fans, chartering both musicians and tourists to America's multi-cultural tropical ports like Key West and Coco Cay in the Bahamas. In California, the birthplace of smooth jazz, wine festivals provided both sophisticated meeting points and epicurial delicacies for an upwardly mobile, culturally diverse group of music lovers and "good living" enthusiasts. Indeed, contemporary sites of smooth jazz production embrace fluid and sometimes transient trajectories such as those provided by travelling jazz festivals, ocean cruises and seasonal wine harvests.
This paper explores some of these symbolic constructions and mobile sites as well as the musical contributions of two prominent, international, touring instrumentalists, Candy Dulfer and Sheila E. who have both performed as featured guests for smooth jazz's mobile performative sites. Since the 1980s, both E. and Dulfer have prominently contributed to a variety of cross-over musical projects and their performances have

continually reflected developments in contemporary jazz and popular music within the context of an increasingly mass-mediated and trans-national music world.

W028

Being Human, Being Migrant: Dealing with Memory, Dreams and Hopes in Everyday Life

Convenors: **Anne Sigfrid Grønseth, University College of Lillehammer (anne.gronseth@hil.no)**
Birgitte Romme Larsen, University of Copenhagen (birgitte.romme.larsen@anthro.ku.dk)
Kristina Toplak, Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Institute for Slovenian Emigration Studies (ktoplak@zrc-sazu.si)
Chair: **Karen Fog Olwig (University of Copenhagen)**
Discussants: **Nigel Rapport (St Andrews University) and Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik (University of Nova Gorica)**

28 August 2008, 09:00
Room: R3

This session focuses on communication and experiences of everyday life among migrant and refugee populations. We are especially concerned with how memories, nostalgia and traumas, the here and now social experiences of daily living, and the hopes and dreams for the future, all interact in migrants' and refugees' experience of identity and quest for well-being. By examining these life concerns, both apart and together, we seek to cast light on migrants' agency and perceptions of self in relation to local, national or transnational contexts of life. Recognising how both cultural and social issues often are at play in processes of inclusion/exclusion and alienation we call for papers that use ethnographies of face-to-face interaction and engagement as important avenues for exploring continuity and mutuality between people across difference and diversity.

"Although I Have a Jordanian Passport…": Memories and Dreams of Palestinian Refugees in Jordan

Gudrun Kroner, Austrian Academy of Sciences (gudrun_kroner@yahoo.com)

Many Palestinians have been "naturalised" in Jordan, which means that they receive the same benefits as the Jordanian population. They are regular citizens possess a Jordanian passport and a national ID card. Nevertheless, they still have - and this after 50 years - the label of being refugees. They are considered as Palestinian by the "native" Jordanians. Furthermore, the Palestinian community is not as homogeneous as one might assume, e.g. there are the "Kuwaitis" and "Gazans" who are also viewed as different from the Palestinians.
Terms such as memories, nostalgia, and dreams regarding the future differ between generations, groups of different socio-economic backgrounds and/or different diasporic experiences (e.g. Palestinians who have worked in the Gulf countries and were forced to "return" to Jordan because of the Gulf War in 1990). Appadurai and Beckenridge cite that "Diasporas always leave a trail of collective memory about another place and time and create new maps of desire and of attachment" (1989: i). In the case of Palestinians living in Jordan distinct group identities, e.g. of

the Palestinians who lived in Kuwait, can be observed in everyday life. Many of the Palestinians have lived in more than in one country and are therefore "products and mediators of different places and cultures, incorporating both "the traveler" and "the native""(Ben-Ze'ev 2004 127), which is also reflected in daily activities.
This proposed paper is based on fieldwork conducted in Jordan in 2006/2007. It explores group identities and the different perceptions of home, nostalgia and dreams among these various groups.

Behind the Iron Fence: Exploring Difference and Marginality in Ljubljana

Maša Mikola, Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (masa_mikola@yahoo.com)

Ljubljana "Asylum home" as it is formally called was moved from the inner suburb of Ljubljana to the very fringe of the city in 2004. Basic living conditions for asylum seekers improved, but the sense of marginality deteriorated. Asylum home invokes feelings of temporality and it is deprived of any true character. How much of "home" can the institution such as Asylum home actually afford to offer? To what extent does the place determine who one is and how one is perceived by the others?
This paper follows journeys of asylum seekers in Ljubljana in recent years, especially after 2004, and explores the impact they make on certain locations within the city. It examines migratory changes in the "city on the crossroads" and explains the extent and ways of incorporation of difference into the city's everyday.
The paper employs a specific spatial approach to studying migration. It focuses on chosen micro places and uses different narrative approaches in trying to describe what it means to be "different" in a city where difference was always present but only rarely challenged or appreciated. The paper deals with the notions of home, representation, place and displacement. While focusing on specific locations and specific stories of migration, it is offering alternative way to link place, movement and social dynamics in studying migration. It explains how places become politicised. By highlighting concepts such as action, communication and power, it examines tools that people use to mobilise meanings that places tend to offer.

Being Human, Being Tamil: Exploring Tamil Refugees' Sense of Identity and Agency

Anne Sigfrid Grønseth, University College of Lillehammer (anne.gronseth@hil.no)

This paper explores how Tamil refugees in Norway experience self and personhood in everyday life of today. As a refugee population, Tamils are exceptional in the Norwegian context of being economically well integrated but socially segregated. Investigating this social reality, issues concerning Tamils' memories of the past, everyday life in the present and visions of the future become significant. From an ethnographic study based on participant fieldwork and engagement in everyday life with focus on Tamil's illness and well-being, this paper presents a case story of a Tamil woman. The case gives opportunity to explore how embodied memories and nostalgia of the past are intertwined in today's everyday life and future visions. Taking an analytic approach of embodiment and "being-in-the-world", the paper discusses Tamil individuals' agency and selfhood in creating a sense of well-being and meaning to their present day-to-day living. The paper suggests how Tamils reconstruct and negotiate embodied Tamil values and practices in motivating and creating a life of today and in the future.

Drawing Back the Curtains: Everyday Processes of Inclusion and Exclusion among Newly Arrived Refugees in Rural Denmark

Birgitte Romme Larsen, University of Copenhagen
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The paper will investigate how refugee families, admitted into Denmark as UN quota refugees 1-2 years ago and living in Danish rural and provincial areas, seek to become integrated in local communities through everyday interaction with local inhabitants. Since 1999 the Danish authorities have dispersed refugees in ethnically Danish rural communities and small towns in accordance with the Danish government's integration policies. Thus, the majority of refugees granted asylum today are placed in smaller municipalities with few refugee or immigrant residents. For new refugees in Denmark, conditions for establishing new social networks have changed radically as they are now, to a larger degree, expected to create social relations with ethnic Danes rather than with people of their own ethnic origin (or other immigrant-/refugee populations). But how does this political intention translate into practice? How does the social incorporation of refugees into society unfold when it takes place, not in the diversity of the city, but in the uniformity of a small rural community?
Based on ethnographic cases the paper will explore the everyday negotiations of inclusion, exclusion and belonging that take place in encounters between newly arrived refugee families and ethnic Danes within the local neighbourhood. What kinds of social relations develop between refugee families and their neighbours and what is the role of everyday routines, such as the routinised local practices of gardening and house keeping?

Dreaming of "Home" and "Belonging" in Transnational Families: Generational Views on "Return"

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This paper draws on material collected as part of a research which explored various aspects of family life in contemporary transnational families for the Ethnicity Strand of the Families and Social Capital ESRC Research Group. In particular, this paper deals with issues of "home" and "belonging" in transnational families, locating the experiences of different generations of people of Italian origin in comparative perspective with those originating from the Caribbean. The paper explores how the issue of "return", or migration to the "homeland", is conceived and experienced by different generations of migrants focusing, for instance, on how the memories and nostalgia of the parents are re-interpreted by their children; how experiences of inclusion/exclusion in the country of settlement shape attempts at connecting with the homeland; and on the contradictory nature of "return" - sometimes causing new longings (e.g. for the country of settlement) and feelings of exclusion. Drawing on ethnographic examples, the paper will explore: what forms does "return" take for contemporary transmigrants; how "return" is imagined and enacted; how experiences of return may vary; how "return" is linked to issues of belonging; and how are ideas and experiences of return shaped by gender and generation.

Everyday Creativity in Exile: Case Studies of Two Afghan Refugees in Athens

Christina Georgiadou, University of the Aegean (x.georgiadou@sa.aegean.gr)

My aim in this presentation is to describe the everyday life of two young Afghan refugees living in Athens. I focus on their involvement in artistic and political initiatives, even through they work as heavy manual labourers for economic survival. Compared with the everyday life-styles of their compatriot refugees in Athens, the choices of the two young Afghans seem to be contradictory and heterodox. Two questions arise: 1) What are the preconditions and motivations for their creativity and, 2) What are the effects of their activities on their personhood (as individuals, as refugees) and on others in their social environment? In the analysis I use the concept of subjectivity suggested by Ortner as the ensemble of modes of perception, affect and thought (provoked and shaped by cultural and social formations) that animate acting subjects. I examine how this notion of subjectivity, as the basis of agency (how people try to act on the world, and in turn, how the world acts on them), can be combined with the writings of Lefebvre and de Certeau on the creative potential of everyday life.

Fantasy and Vulnerability: Women Histories of Forced Migration

Barbara Pinelli, Università di Milano-Bicocca (barbara.pinelli@unimib.it)

In this paper I discuss the theme of forced migration as the lived and witnessed experience of women asking for asylum in Italy. Within their life histories, I will explore the construction of a new daily world after the breaking down of other systems of relationship. In order to look into the drama of the experiences of these women and the continuity of violence that they have been living before and after migration, I will refer to the notion of vulnerability, intended as a result of the exile trajectory and of assistance policies. These women's identities become fragile because of diverse forms of social exclusion they face in the host country. However, they are far from perceiving themselves as victims. Intended as what one would like to be or become, as an imagined future - better than the present life, I will use the concept of fantasy to explore the desires these women express about their future and the ways in which they try to realise them. In this perspective, fantasy becomes a social practice performed by these women to remove their marginality. Vulnerability and fantasy represent two almost juxtaposed aspects of forced migrations: I will argue how fantasy creates a breach in their marginality, thus enhancing action and a survival strategy to face the suffering of forced migration. Furthermore, the notion of fantasy introduces a new dimension, that of future, which the research on migration - especially on forced migration - often does not consider.

Human Aspirations, Migrant Experiences: Articulations of Love, Loss and the Future in Japan

Paul Green, University of Leicester (pdg9@le.ac.uk)

Studies of Brazilian nationals living and working in Japan tend to focus on the role of ethnic and national identity concerns in the making and shaping of everyday migrant experiences. Excluded from Japanese society such people, it is argued, find a sense of belonging in the "collective shelter" of a displaced Brazilian community. This paper, however, draws attention to the significance of real and imagined kinship ties in defining mutually valued notions of selfhood, well-being and personal security. It is these relationships, in other words, that set the tone and rules of play for the ways

in which people make sense of and articulate their diverse personal journeys through life, time and transnational spaces. In being single female migrants Diana, Lidia and Kátia are able to value a sense of freedom and independence that is inspired by the experience of living alone in a small flat or apartment for the first time in their lives. Friendships evolve, meanwhile, through the "imagined family" of one's turma (group or gang). Yet for these three human beings the here and now of everyday experience is intimately connected to their memories of loss (of lovers, husbands and parents), hopes of a "family future" and individualistic dreams of a house by the sea. Hopes and dreams, in this sense, represent two different versions of an uncertain future and future sense of selfhood that are simultaneously associated with the unwelcome needs of aging parents in Brazil and the fear of growing old alone in Japan.

Imagination of Iranianness

Julia Czarnowski, Institute of Iranian Studies (julia.czarnowski@oeaw.ac.at)

This paper deals with conceptions of Iranianness as mirrored in a range of interviews conducted with social actors of Iranian heritage (born Iranians) or descent (born Austrians) in Vienna in between 2005-2008. As I found, social actors understand Iranianness mostly in cultural terms as physically ingrained (albeit stereotypical) behavioural templates, skills, or likes and dislikes. Yet, on another level, social actors' phrased belonging also divert from such kind of attempted rationalisation. They often refer to more emotional experiences centring on smells, colours, tastes, and textures etc. connected with Iran and their individual experience of cultural identity and home. On the basis of some vivid interview excerpts I will go into depth to examine interviewees' classification strategies at which Iranians were defined, as well as the development context of their individual imaginations of Iranianness. Here, interviewees' choices of strategies as well as their respective manner of identification are tightly interwoven with social actors' corresponding hopes, dreams and local experiences of exclusion and inclusion which I will address, too.

Ruptured Lives and Reconfigured Identities: The Impact of Foreign Domestic Work on the Lives of Migrant Women in Canada

Denise Spitzer, University of Ottawa (dspitzer@uottawa.ca)

Thousands of migrants, predominantly university-educated women from the Philippines, have entered Canada under the auspices of the Live-In Caregiver Program (LCP). LCP workers are required to work and live with their employers caring for children, the elderly or the infirm. After completing 24 months' of work, migrants may apply for permanent residency status. Drawing from a series of research projects, I found that participation in the LCP produces a significant rupture in women's identities and lives. Coming to Canada with the hopes of creating a better life for their families back home and for offering opportunities for those destined to join them, informants continue to recount their experiences in the LCP in the manner of a trauma narrative which anchors their post-LCP identity formation and social relations. While working under the LCP, women's lives are informed by their physical and social isolation, precarious immigration status, lack of control over work and home environment, loss of intimate familial roles, vulnerability to abuse and exploitation and loss of occupational status. After the LCP, they confront occupational, economic and social marginalisation resulting in dreams deferred or denied. Often alienated from family and ethnic community members who have not undergone the program and have little understanding of the ordeal, women's participation in local LCP worker

organisations enhances social support, facilitates access to support services and benefits health and well-being. Importantly, the presence of the LCP continues to loom large in their lives and continues to reconfigure personal and social identity.

Social Mobility and Personhood among Caribbean Migrants

Karen Fog Olwig, University of Copenhagen (karen.fog.olwig@anthro.ku.dk)

Migration is usually associated with the desire to achieve positive changes by travelling to another place. Based on the assumption that migrants move in order to settle and start a new life in the receiving society, migration researchers have focused on the social and economic changes experienced by migrants in the migration destination, as measured by "objective" national indicators such as occupation, income, housing and education. In recent years, it has been suggested that many migrants, disappointed with their ability to achieve these objectives, reject becoming part of the receiving society in favour of maintaining and further developing transnational ties to their country of origin. On the basis of interviews with members of a Caribbean migrant family, this paper argues that the improvement migrants seek may differ from notions of social mobility in the migration destination. When examined from the vantage point of individuals' life trajectories, migration is associated with improvement largely because it opens up for a broader spectrum of social contexts wherein individuals may gain social recognition and thus sustain their visions of themselves as successful social actors. This suggests, therefore, that the maintenance of transnational ties may not so much be a question of disappointment with not attaining "objective" goals of improvement, as defined by the receiving society, but is rather an expression of the migrants' desire to achieve personhood within the framework of their lived experiences from their early years in their place of origin to their later lives in the migration destination.

The Work of Memory among African Immigrants in Lisbon

José Sobral, Universidade de Lisboa (jose.sobral@ics.ul.pt)

After the demise of its colonial empire in 1975, Portugal became the home of migrants from its colonies of Africa, trying to escape from extreme poverty.
Among them were citizens of the new country of S. Tomé e Príncipe (St. Thomas and Prince Islands). Most live in the Lisbon area and work in poorly paid jobs. This paper focuses on the memories and hopes of adults of S. Tomé e Príncipe, among whom the author has been conducting research for some years. Both at their homes and at their Association, he has been an observer of a continuous conversation where past and present, memory and dreaming, trauma, nostalgia and hopes are closely interweaved. This conversation, in conjunction with commemoration and rituals, keeps their collective (national) identity alive and empowers them individually with a sense of belonging, mutuality and wellbeing in a society where the majority of them feel marginalised and excluded. Most of them dream of returning, and hope that some "miraculous" event - such as the recent discovery of oil in its territorial waters - will improve the living conditions of the country. The realistic possibility of settling permanently and be buried in Portugal is never evoked.
Focusing on the memories and dreams of the immigrants, my paper takes in due consideration how the identity of the agents, particularly in terms of class and gender, and their relative feelings of inclusion and exclusion, the presence of the (Portuguese) ethnographer and the circumstances of the conversations affect the contents of their discourses.

W029

African Christianities in Europe: The Politics of Religious Recognition

Convenors: **Simon Coleman, Sussex University (s.m.coleman@sussex.ac.uk)**
Ramon Sarró, University of Lisbon (ramonsarro@gmail.com)
Chairs: **Simon Coleman and Ramon Sarró**
Discussants: **Simon Coleman and Ramon Sarró**

28 August 2008, 14:00
Room: 209B

The diffusion of Christianity in Africa has been a focus of anthropological research for more than half a century now, and it has proved a promising area in which to develop anthropological theory. Today, the input of African Christianities into anthropology continues and has been augmented with an increasing body of research on how African churches fare in European contexts. Through an ethnographic analysis of local "politics of recognition", of how some migrant churches seek recognition within and interact with other forms of Christianity, this panel invites researchers to explore the capacity of African Christian Diasporas to reconfigure the European religious heritage, influence national and regional identities within the continent, and establish connections both across Europe and between Europe and Africa. Some of the questions that could frame our panel are:
1. Does religion serve as a resource for social and spiritual empowerment of African Christian migrants in European societies, for instance in relation to civil participation and social action?
2. How do African migrants and hosts, in particular "European" churches, interact with each other in terms of a "politics of recognition" and "culture politics"? More generally, how useful is the concept of "recognition" in understanding both the aspirations and the "reception" of such migrant churches?
3. What is the place of religion in the interplay between African migration and gender politics?

Pure Cosmopolitans? Keeping Community in an International Pentecostal Student Church

Mary Ann Adams, University of Kent (maa33@kent.ac.uk)

It is often noted that ethnic or diasporic churches and forms of religiosity comprise both part of the historical processes that compose migrant or minority distinctions and part of the social and cultural effects of such identity politics. An "International Church", it might be assumed, would furnish alternative grounds for migrant and minority recognition beyond ethnic or home-focused orientations.
This paper discusses some first observations from an ongoing ethnography of student Christian movements. The focus is the internationalist orientation of one university campus-based Pentecostal church in South-East England that includes African leaders and congregants. In this church the interplay between notions of cultural distinction and religious commonality raises questions for anthropologies of the "politics of recognition". Most immediately, "internationalism" offers a charter for church distinction and expressions of community within a flourishing marketplace of student Christianities. Also, the tenants of congregational leadership can furnish opportunities for the articulation of complex political identities for African as well as for other student minorities. However, particularly when inevitable tensions between

liturgy and lifestyle surface a view of the church as "ethnic mosaic" is evoked. At such times the hardening of views on cultural distinction between congregants allows some softening of the demands of moral separatism anticipated by this interpretive community.

Letters from the Azores: Building an African Church in the Diaspora

Ruy Blanes, University of Lisbon (ruy.blanes@ics.ul.pt, ruy.blanes@gmail.com)

In contemporary, multi-religious Angola, one church stands today as a cornerstone of "Angolan Christianity": the Igreja de Nosso Senhor Jesus Cristo no Mundo Relembrada por Simão Toco (Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ on Earth, Remembered by Simão Toco), or "tokoist church", a Baptist-inspired prophetic AIC. This status - backed by the fact that, along with the Catholic Church, it is the only one with a nation-wide implantation - was not a given, but was painstakingly built on its members' persecution, accusation, exile and murder, both by colonial and postcolonial governments. Simão Toko, the prophet and founder, of the movement, was himself deported by the Portuguese colonial administration to the remote islands of the Azores. But interestingly enough, it was in this insular exile that the foundations of the church were set. And today, the Azores play an important role in the church's imagination of a "sacred place".
This paper intends to explore, through the Tokoist case, the idea that contemporary African Christianity is inevitably a transnational phenomenon, discussing the ambiguities behind the senses of Africa-ness and European-ness recognised in the Diaspora and the importance of "place" in the construction and definition of those senses.

The Second Adam's Generation: On Doing and Undoing Boundaries in an African Based Christian Fellowship in Germany

Susanne Kröhnert-Othman, University of Bielefeld (sukroehnert@compuserve.de)

The proposed paper tries to deepen the perception of the role of a Charismatic Fellowship in the process of boundary blurring for African immigrants to Germany. It suggests that it is only the specific conjunction of non-worldly rhetoric with this-worldly glocalised networking practices that works towards successful boundary blurring in the context of immigrant incorporation. Anti-hegemonic religious discourse paves the way for distancing from the society of origin as well as from the host society. The struggle for recognition as such is indeed circumvented if recognition is not sought after in the host society but is only granted by divine authority. In this context belonging to Jesus as the true spiritual man - the second Adam - as compared to the first mere physical Adam found in contemporary societies was offered as a role model to the Church audience by the Head Pastor of the Charismatic Fellowship. The project of belonging to the Second Adam's Generation transformed the position of (African) Christians in a divine history of mankind and altered symbolic hierarchies of societal advancement. However, only the glocalised organisational and personal networking that is set up at the Church builds the opportunity structure that members need to eventually gain social mobility. But there are risks as well, of: bounded individualism, a monopolised distribution of opportunities as gifts, an ambivalent attitude towards inequality grounded in difference and a limited interest in acting on civil society issues outside the Christian realm.

African Pentecostalism in Brussels: Reconfiguration of Gender Relation and Sexuality in Diasporas

Maïté Maskens, Université Libre de Bruxelles (mmaskens@ulb.ac.be)

This paper explores the complex link between Pentecostal membership and believers' sexual experience in some churches in Brussels. The ideal of society conveyed by Pentecostal religious groups is one of return to a life of sanctification rooted into an idealised past, that presumed of the first Christians. In this perspective, most contemporary expressions of sexuality are seen by the adepts as the result of the progressive moral decline of European societies. Local discourses emphasise the necessity to return to sexual practices characterised by their "purity" and rooted in the divine order. In this paper, I shall describe the normative devices that structure gender relationships and sexual practices in Pentecostal Churches. In particular, I will look at these situations of "liminality" within heterosexuality, such as divorce, mixed marriage, "fornication", abortion, homosexuality, infertility, infidelity, etc, and describe concrete experiences through which believers learn to use gender and sexual norms in the flow of their tumultuous lives.

Contrasted Public Recognitions of the "Celestial Church of Christ" and the "Nouvelle Jérusalem" in Brussels

Joel Noret, Université Libre de Bruxelles (jnoret@ulb.ac.be)

The quests for recognition of "African" Churches in Brussels prove to be quite diverse depending on the Church's position in the landscape of "migrant" churches. In fact, their centrality or marginality in this environment can position those Churches as either interlocutors with politicians or administrations, thus progressively increasing their political capital, or leave them at the extreme margins of the religious field. This paper will draw on research conducted in the Celestial Church of Christ, which has only one small parish in Brussels frequented mostly by Nigerians, and in the Nouvelle Jérusalem, which is the most important "African" Church in Brussels, attended mostly by Congolese (DRC), some of whom have high levels of formal education. By comparing the two profiles, I will show that their unequal success in obtaining public recognition in the Belgian context can be explained, in particular, (a) by their size, (b) by the importance of the ethno-national population that forms the majority of their faithful (persons of Congolese origin being much more numerous in Belgium than persons of Nigerian origin), and (c) by the style of Christianity they profess. Actually, Pentecostalism (as is the case in the Nouvelle Jérusalem) is probably a more classical and "efficient" theological base to join a religious network and to escape full marginality, than the African prophetic origin of the Celestial Church of Christ.

Closer to Africa or to Rome? Syncretism and Religious Practice in Portuguese Umbanda and Candomblé

Clara Saraiva, IICT/CRIA/CEAS Lisbon (clarasaraiva@fcsh.unl.pt)

The Afro-Brazilian religions that entered Portugal in the last 20 years are becoming more and more popular. The temples are full with Portuguese followers that, after going through the initiation processes, become important in the organisation of the religious community and, with time, may themselves become priests. Most of them previously believers of the Catholic Church, their turn to the Afro-Brazilian cults most of the time does not keep them from sustaining their regular church going practices. As such, many prefer Umbanda, closer to the catholic matrix, while others turn to

Candomblé and to African performances, rather new to them. Drawing on fieldwork work conducted in Lisbon in temples and with followers of these cults, this paper will explore some of the aspects of this new syncretism and the hermeneutical process of influences coming from Brazil to Portugal and returning back to their roots again. Drawing on A. Frijerio´s notions of secondary religious Diasporas, the processes of re-africanisation of such religions in Portugal and the tension between such tendency and the wish to cling to the Christian side will be analysed.

W031

Children, Youth and Religion: Visions of Mutuality and Diversity across Generations

Convenors: **Sally Anderson, Århus University (saan@dpu.dk)**
Amy Stambach, University of Wisconsin, Madison (aestambach@wisc.edu)

28 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 345

A wealth of research has recently examined how children and youth embody ideations of the future, and how changing conceptions of youth and generationality reflect historically shifting understandings of communities' conceptual (spatial, geographic, temporal) scope. Building on recent works (e.g. Cole and Durham and collaborators), this panel focuses on moral ideations commonly expressed as "religion and belief" that are visited upon younger generations, and embodied and expressed through what an older anthropological literature variously termed enculturation, socialisation and habituation. Presentations in this workshop will draw on ethnographic research to re-conceptualise a framework for theorising religion and children's moral education; and conversely, papers will use and refine standard-classical theorisations of religion and moral education (on which see Stambach and contributors, Social Analysis 2006) to analyse ethnographic and historical evidence. We invite papers that address the subject of religion and young people in relation to a myriad of social forms, among them: nation-state schooling, global nationalisms, religious communities and nationalisms, experiential practices, and institutional organisations.

Children and Youth as Diversity Managers: Religion, Ethnicity and Gender in Swiss Schools

Brigit Allenbach, University of Fribourg, CH (Brigit.Allenbach@unifr.ch)
Pascale Herzig, University of Fribourg (pascale.herzig@unifr.ch)
Monika Müller, Universität Fribourg, CH (monika.mueller@unifr.ch)

Experiencing diversity and mutuality is the normal course of life in Swiss schools. In focus group discussions, nine to sixteen year-old schoolchildren employ a wide spectrum of constructions of insiders and outsiders. This is best illustrated by the participants' own questions: Who is ascribed as a foreigner in Switzerland? Do only people from the Balkans conform to this category, while an Italian classmate does not? Would it be easier to just call oneself a human being or a European instead of specifying one's nationality or religious belonging? What is there about gender stereotypes within the category of Muslims: are all boys violent and all girls victims? And who is a "true" Muslim anyway? Is it different to live as a Hindu in urban and rural areas? The heterogeneity of focus groups regarding religion, ethnicity or gender seems to be crucial for the participants' categorisations of mutuality and diversity, as well as

for their strategies of alliance building and dealing with dominance or subordination. To demonstrate how children and youth embody religion and belief in schools, we propose to put the intersections of religion with other categories of difference into context. Given the increasing significance of identity politics in the public domain, it should be the task of social science research to highlight the multiple dimensions of belonging employed by children and youth. This perspective may help to prevent hasty policies that consider only one notion of difference such as religion, ethnicity or gender.

Moral Upbringing by the State: The 'Orthodox Culture' Concept in Russian Public Schools

Alexandra Antohin, University of Alaska (fsasa1@uaf.edu)

Since the break-up of the Soviet Union, there has been a concerted effort by both the Russian state and the Russian Orthodox Church to institute K-12 classes such as the Foundations of New Orthodox Culture, which familiarises students with religious themes found in Russian history and culture. This trend in Russian education, centred on proper moral upbringing of Russia's youth, simultaneously serves the state's interest of increasing civic engagement and solidifying Orthodox hegemony. Rather than interpreting this trend as "secularising religion", the Church Patriarchy would insist that they are correctly reapplying humanism back into education and argue against drawing a rigid line between the secular and religious. Opponents to this view are in a precarious position of being charged of continuing the Soviet tradition of scientific atheism, a pedagogical approach that has been presented as inciting an "anti-culture", "a culture in opposition to God, becoming anti-religious and anti-humane" (Willems 2007). Understanding the repercussions and potential conflicts of Orthodoxy's increased presence in education is essential, particularly in a country of multiethnic and multi-denominational populations. Public schools are becoming an emerging arena for building and articulating national conceptions of morality as well as a place to emphasise the role of communities in a child's upbringing, no longer seen as a private family affair. The objective of this paper is to examine how various educational approaches tackle this national concern over the weakening civil society, with the "Orthodox culture" concept serving as bridge between secular and religious spheres.

Striving for Survival: Children of Jehovah's Witnesses in Eastern Germany

Małgorzata Rajtar, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (rajtar@eth.mpg.de)

This paper addresses a vital problem for many religious movements: to keep conversion rates growing and to retain member's children. This issue is analysed in a rather unusual setting of the former German Democratic Republic, which is considered the most secularised country in Europe. For forty years of the socialist regime, many religious groups were banned and their members suffered surveillance and prosecutions. Jehovah's Witnesses, banned from 1950-1990, managed to retain the numbers of its members during the GDR. After 1990, the number of members significantly increased. I would argue that the socialisation model of the Society certainly contributed to the survival of the movement during the socialist regime.
In the GDR, Witness children were caught up in an educational discourse that perceived the educational process not only as an instrument of transmitting knowledge but first and foremost, the instrument of socialist upbringing. One of the goals of this ideological

education was the morality of the "new socialist personality", a mixture of patriotism, humanism, collectivism and responsibility to the Party. Owing their primarily loyalty to God, Witness children did not participate in any mass organisations. Therefore, they were considered by the state authorities as unable to develop a "socialist character" and were deprived of educational and professional chances. In the same process, however, their religious identity has been formed.

Remembering "Tribal Lessons" in Church Today: Mutuality and Diversity on Mount Kilimanjaro

Amy Stambach, University of Wisconsin, Madison (aestambach@wisc.edu)

In 1932, German missionary-anthropologist Bruno Gutmann published Die Stammeslehren der Dschagga, Tribal Lessons of the Chagga. The collection includes teachings from Chagga rituals of initiation, which themselves embed moral ideations of mutuality and diversity across generations. This presentation will describe and analyse Die Stammeslehren from three angles: that of Gutmann's missiological frame at a time when Tanganyika was transitioning form German to British colonial administration; that of Chagga conceptions of pedagogy and generationality at the time of the text's creation; and that of Chagga youth and elders living on Mount Kilimanjaro as conveyed through a local denominational Christian frame at the turn of the twenty-first century. I will use discussion of this last perspective as an occasion to reflect and comment on the articulation of intergenerational visions of mutuality/ diversity with historical changes over time; and I will link these changes to ideations about the future that children and youth from Kilimanjaro express in connection with the global reaches of schooling and religion today.

Fomba Children: Schooling, Christianity and Cultural Tradition in Contemporary Highland Madagascar

Valentina Mutti, University of Milan-Bicocca (valentina.mutti@yahoo.it)

Drawing on reflections from my fieldwork in central Madagascar among Betsileo and Vakinakaratra people, my paper explores the role of schooling and Christianity in shaping new generations' identities and life-project orientations. I carried out my research among school migrants in the city of Antsirabe, conducting class observations in a missionary Catholic school and collecting pupils' and teachers' points of view about education, morality and religious belonging. Fomba (in Malagasy language) literally means "the way of doing things" but it usually refers to ancestral knowledge and traditional customs. By analysing practices and representations of everyday life in a school, I describe how the notion of "cultural tradition" is negotiated through inter-generational shifts and educational policies. Indeed, I focus on curricula, literacy practices, language politics, bodily techniques and discipline as well as the control of schoolgirls' sexuality in order to show the process of construction of a new fomba, which is strategically used by subjects of power (such as institutions) and embodied creatively by new generations. Children's and youth's identities are thus engaging in new forms of transition and modern syncretism in which the encounter between Western models, Catholic rhetoric and local knowledge is re-conceptualised.

"Letters to the Editor": Youth, Islam, and Media in Turkey

Sam Kaplan (skaplan@bgu.ac.il)

What is the relationship between sexual identities and religious consciousness among

Turkish youth? The case I study—"letters to the editor" that religious and secular youth send to national newspapers — explores the writing strategies and interpretative conventions that enter into discussions about sex.
Once exclusively associated with adult society, newspapers, organs of information and public debate, have become a forum in which Turkish teenagers critically reflect upon collective identities. Two newspapers, one religious, the other secular, publish a weekly section "Letters to the editor," exclusively geared to the youth. The letters, which straddle several genres - the confessional conversation, the social critique, and the didactic homily, provide an outlet for young men and women to explore and discuss intimate topics. Most letters centre on contemporary forms of sexuality and sexual relations and their compatibility - or lack of - with Islamic ways of life. My discussion of these letters will draw out three interrelated issues: newspapers as an environment of situated learning; letter-writing as a socially mediated textual performance which provide Turkish youth agency, especially participation in public debates; and the ongoing centrality of religion in personal issues. All three issues open up a series of crucial questions for investigating how young people perceive themselves as active creators and subjects of society.

Socialising Islam among Young British Muslim Women across Various Contexts

Fazila Bhimji, University of Central Lancashire (fbhimji@uclan.ac.uk)

This paper examines the ways in which young, British-born South Asian Muslim women engage with Islam in various sites such as on-line discussion threads, study circles, conferences, workshops, and nasheed concerts. I show how young women acquire knowledge of Islam in their everyday actions as participants in virtual and religious spaces and in social networks formed through these social arenas. Contrary to mainstream views that Islam is exclusively socialised within domestic spheres, I argue that these social spaces afford young women much knowledge of Islam, as they collectively search to comprehend Islam in Britain.
While traditional anthropology has given much attention to the ways in which religion and religious rituals are passed across generations through family and kin ties, the young women in my study actively sought to engage with Islam in various spaces away from their homes and outside the bounds of family relations. Here, they influenced each others' interpretations of Islam. Examining some of these religious and virtual spaces, the paper demonstrates that these are not simply sites where young women perform religious rituals. Rather, they are sites where young women both discover and establish their own ways of interpreting Islam within contemporary British society. The paper is based on virtual fieldwork in an on-line discussion thread as well as participant observation and interviews with twenty-five young British Muslim women in mosques in two cities in Northern England.

Learning to Be Jewish: Moralities of Intergenerational Exchange and Regeneration in a Pluralistic Jewish Day School

Sally Anderson, Århus University (saan@dpu.dk)

Parents often enrol their children in faith-based schools to ensure a desired inculcation of religious teachings and traditions, thought to facilitate the child's personal religious stance and affiliation with a religious community. Many studies of religious socialisation reproduce this linear logic by focusing on processes and practices of religious enculturation and embodiment aimed at placing and keeping children

"within the folds" of their parents' moral and religious communities. Such studies tend to represent faith-based communities as monolithic agents of social reproduction working to ensure cultural continuity, social replacement and group survival.
Drawing on the ethnography of a day school run by the Jewish Community in Denmark, this paper explores the multifaceted intergenerational modalities and moralities of remembrance that children encounter in this setting. It argues that the school's pedagogical effort to "regenerate" a Jewish affiliation among pupils is tempered by a plurality of intergenerational exchanges and diverse claims to acceptable Jewish identity by various segments of the community. Thus, although the moral education of Jewish children involves cultivating institutionalised exchanges with a deity, forefathers, religious prescriptions and traditions, it also involves learning to distinguish subtle, yet forceful categorical differences in religiosity. Keeping children "within the fold" of this small faith-based community entails inculcating the moral capacity to engage as cultural intimates across conflicting factions and diverse identities.

Armies of Children: Catholic Children and Adults in the US, 1925-1975

Robert Orsi, Northwestern University (r-orsi@northwestern.edu)

Scholars of childhood have focused over the past several decades on the things that children themselves do and make in their worlds, a correction of earlier tendencies to view children through the lens of adult practice. But children and adults together make the world that together they inhabit. Relationships between adults and children take many forms, in various settings, with different consequences; the precise shape of these bonds is a matter for cultural analysis.
This paper examines relationships among children, their adult kin, and vowed adult religious (priests, nuns, and brothers) in U.S. Catholicism, from 1925 (when immigration from Europe ended by law) and 1975 (the close of the period of reform associated with Vatican II). There were three overlapping generations of children in these years (the immigrant generation, 1925-1940; the children of the war years; and the children of the 1960s and 1970s, in the changing church and nation). Each was faced with distinct challenges; in each, relational patterns were established that had great consequences for the shape of American Catholicism broadly. Catholic adults and children together worked through the religious and civic challenges that arose on shifting social grounds; together Catholic children and adults made their way into the American public sphere, in years that saw several outbursts of anti-Catholicism in the United States, amid the steady movement of the immigrants' children and grandchildren into the middle class. Children and adults together evolved new religious forms for changing times. 20th century U.S. Catholicism is the product of these relationships.

W032

Processing Trauma in (Post-)Conflict Societies

Convenors: **Goran Dokić, University of Victoria, British Columbia (gorandok@uvic.ca)**
Markus Hoehne, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle (mhoehne@eth.mpg.de)
Discussants: **Susie Kilshaw and Peter Loizos**

29 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 102

"Trauma" is increasingly used to capture experiences of violence in (post-)conflict societies. Victims, survivors and perpetrators are most often diagnosed as suffering from "post-traumatic stress disorder" (PTSD), but also Gulf War Syndrome (GWS) and other local manifestations. However, if science is viewed as rooted in a particular cultural tradition, the generalised applicability of its criteria becomes debatable. Against this backdrop, our workshop confronts trauma in its medical, social and cultural facets in two sessions.

The first session "medicalisations of trauma" addresses the relationships between local efforts of medical practitioners, health systems, and (inter-)national governing structures. In this dynamic, various actors negotiate experiences and discourses of trauma. Several stakeholders and discourses are involved in diagnosis and categorisation of illness, all of which exert influence on the newly emerging conceptualisations and formal systems of support. National health care systems, international aid organisations, branches of the international medical community as well as the local political landscape are all part of this interplay.

The second session investigates how actors handle traumatic experiences within different "cultures of trauma". This notion emphasises that cultural variations are likely regarding the ways of dealing with events categorised as "traumatic" and that the social factor of massive traumatisation will additionally impinge on the processing of such experiences. The focus here is on expressions which are collectively accepted to form the basis of specific trauma narratives, but also on individuals whose accounts do not concur with dominant trauma discourses and who face marginalisation.

"Slouching towards Bethlehem": Processing Trauma through the Site of Trauma

Fiona Murphy, National University of Ireland (fionaeileenmurphy@gmail.com)

Returning to the site of trauma has been deemed a powerful enabler of healing for many survivors of trauma. Revisiting and confronting the site of suffering and pain allows survivors to speak to traumatic experience, carving out of the force of trauma a more coherent narrative about survival, hope, and healing. Much of the writing about trauma points to the difficulties for survivors of trauma of mediating between the extreme and the everyday, and in so doing unpacks the complexity of the temporal dimensions of traumatic experience. Very little of the literature speaks to the spatial and emplaced nature of traumatic experience. Trauma is often inscribed in the physical place, and survivors of trauma frequently see a particular site as embodying their traumatic experiences. This paper begins with the recognition of how spatially anchored traumatic experience can be, and speaks to the potency of the "return" to the site of former institutions, which are "wounded spaces" (Deborah Bird Rose 2004) for members of Australia's Stolen Generations. Accompanying a group of Aboriginal women to the site of the institution in which they lived for most of their lives after being removed from their parents and communities, allowed insight into how difficult the negotiation between the individual and collective experience of trauma is. This paper concludes that revisiting the site of trauma anchors the story of trauma to a place and materialises what is also an emotional and psychological struggle, allowing the survivor's narrative of trauma to become inscribed in a tangible space.

Recognition in Remembrance: The Role of Acknowledgement in the Healing of Trauma among Survivors of the Industrial School System in Ireland

Ruth McLoughlin, Brunel University (ruth_mcLoughlin@yahoo.co.uk)

Scattered all over the countryside of Ireland, are the sites of the former industrial school system (orphanages, industrial schools, reformatories and Magdalen laundries). To varying degrees, their past roles as formidable institutions of incarceration are acknowledged or denied by the people living in the surrounding hinterlands, and among former residents and the broader public. This paper describes an attempt made by the local people of Letterfrack, at Connemara in the West of Ireland, former site of St Joseph's Industrial School and one of the more notorious reformatories within this system, to come to terms with the physical dominance of this institution in their midst. Examining the nexus of awareness and complicity in sustaining, dismantling and ultimately reconstituting this site of remembrance, I look at ways in which the local people negotiate the unspeakable in conjunction with former inmates who self-identify as victims and survivors, in an attempt to acknowledge the past and aim at reconstituting it in a manner that is positively productive for all concerned. The role of the concept of "recognition" as part of a process of accommodation and assimilation is the analytic point of departure as I describe a memorial event held in Letterfrack in 2002.

Visualising the Unseen Scars and Silent Narratives of Torture

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How telling are scars? Can photographs support the evidence of torture? In the restrictive socio-political context of Fortress Europe, Amnesty International (Netherlands) organised since 1978 volunteering medical clinicians to give affidavits, when asylum was denied to victims by the immigration authority and extradition threatened. One salient stipulation of Dutch procedure is that medical expertise is to play no role. The looking away from torture can only be explained by denial. This paper reviews cooperation between Human Rights and Medical NGO's, collecting photographs for an "Atlas". The rationale of client oriented photography is described and the visualisation as a tool of documentation for medical purposes is analysed.
Scars are body memory and signifiers of pain and suffering, impossible to understand without context. The medical clinical practice meets difficulties in representing victims confronting asylum procedures. Some tortures leave physical evidence, but many do not, and all victims have significant mental and emotional scars, they want to forget and avoid speaking about. In procuring safety and healing, however, their story is all they have. We want an appropriate medical setting linking visual ethnography with a medical and anthropological approach. What perspectives can be applied towards the narrative; what photograph is a striking one; how does one get to the point; how should the photograph be made and described with the assistance of victims? The social and ethical aspect of retraumatisation and misrepresentation is important. Why are pictures interesting in relation to torture? How are they politicised?

Silencing Distressed Children in the Context of the War in Gulu: An Analysis of its Cause and its Health Consequences

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This study analysed why children exposed to extreme war-related events were reluctant to discuss their emotional suffering or only shared it through somatic complaints. A survey and qualitative ethnographic methods were employed to assess perspectives of children aged 9-16 years in 2004-2005 about common illnesses they experienced and their quests for therapy. Key informants included 2 psychiatrists, 5 nurses, 5 clinical officers, 2 paediatricians, 15 counsellors, 28 primary school teachers, and 13 clinic owners. They were regularly interviewed to assess medicines commonly used for complaints symptomatic of psychological suffering.

Children and adult interviewees were reluctant to share their suffering. This could be because they were silenced through downplaying/trivialising their experiences. People we counselled by telling people in distress about the others' or counsellor's own comparatively worse experiences, which they had managed to "work through". Complaints symptomatic of emotional suffering were diagnosed as, malaria and hysteria. Victims of gender based violence were blamed for what happened instead of holding perpetrators accountable. People who did not share their mental distress were rewarded with praise. Sufferers of emotional distress therefore only narrated experiences with somatic complaints, including stomach aches, sleeplessness, disturbances by cen (evil spirits), and nightmares. They used ready to access pharmaceuticals called medicines of sleep, analgesics and atika plants (Labiate species) to minimise their suffering.

Professional and indigenous approaches in dealing with emotional suffering contributed to the silencing of this suffering and its subsequent presentation in legitimised somatic idioms. Presenting emotional suffering as aches and pains led to over-use of pharmaceuticals, medicalising psychosocial problems.

Engendering Suffering in the Occupied Palestinian Territories: An Anthropological Investigation of the Construction of Categories of Gender and Suffering in Psychosocial Practice in the West Bank

Lotte Buch, University of Copenhagen (lotte.buch@anthro.ku.dk)

Since the Occupied Palestinian Territories oscillate between being a pre-, post-, or simply a regular war zone it hosts a vast number of institutions, local and international organisations that work to ameliorate the suffering brought about by the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians. The number and relative size of these institutions have expanded significantly since the 1990s. The so-called psychosocial services of counselling, individual and group therapy have become integral to the approaches of a vast array of such institutions. The majority of these institutions are either funded or co-funded by international donor agencies within the area of humanitarian aid.

These institutionalised attempts of amelioration provide an interesting site for the anthropological inquiry into cultural constructions of suffering since they are produced and negotiated in a dynamic interaction between local practice and global discourses of healing, suffering and victimhood.

Conceptualising psychosocial services as social practice, the paper argues that this form of social practice constructs suffering as a gendered category/phenomenon. The paper suggests that gender as a social category is constructed in the particular

therapeutic encounters. This, the paper proposes, is due to the dynamic relation between a national narrative around the suffering of wives of the national heroes and on the other hand a therapeutic discourse that conceptualise the very same women as only secondary victims of torture or as secondary victims of the traumatisation perceived to occur after the imprisonment or event of torture of their husbands has taken place.
The questions this paper seeks to address are:
Which categories of gender and of suffering are constructed in the therapeutic encounter, and,
How do the afflicted women themselves experience, negotiate and ameliorate their suffering in a complex context consisting of a meta-narrative of collective, Palestinian affliction and local and internationally constructed narratives of psychological suffering or traumatisation?

War Trauma and Aftermath: PTSD in Croatian Psychiatry

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In recent years Croatian psychiatrists have been faced with a significant increase in the number of reported cases of various types of war-related disorders. PTSD, in particular, is spreading among the population of veterans from Croatia's Homeland War that lasted from 1991 to 1995. Currently, there are over 32,000 individuals diagnosed with the disorder. As a relatively new addition to the post-socialist discourse of Croatian psychiatry, PTSD is a clear example of the process whereby emotional distress is converted into a politicised biomedical entity. Starting with the diagnosis and categorisation of the disorder, several stakeholders and discourses are involved, all of which exert influence on the newly emerging conceptualisation and formal systems of support. In the process of reification of emotional suffering individual bodies are given a victimised identity that is now dependent on state provisioning. To explore the effects of this process I am raising the following questions: 1. how is the need for institutional treatment of psychological trauma introduced; 2. how are Croatian war veterans encouraged to communicate their traumatic experiences through the institutional framework of PTSD; 3. how is the conventional narrative about the effective treatment of PTSD reproduced, transformed, and resisted by individual practitioners; and 4. how do post-socialist political and economic conditions and the introduction of the specific classification of PTSD influence the institutional treatment of psychological trauma?

Eloquent Bodies: Responses to Violence in Northern Sri Lanka

Jane Derges, University College, London (jane.derges@gmail.com)

This paper examines how youths - many of whom were imprisoned and tortured during the war - have transformed a well-known ritual that has seen a dramatic increase since occupation of the northern Jaffna peninsula, by Sri Lankan government troops in 1996. The ritual, previously exclusively an act of religious devotion to a popular Tamil Hindu God: Murugan, has been transformed into a demonstration of strength and youthful challenge within an unstable atmosphere of "no war, but no peace" that exists throughout the north of Sri Lanka. In this instance, toleration of ritual pain is contrasted with the externally imposed pain and suffering of war, which is articulated not only for the self, but also the entire village community.
This diverges with the work of the international aid agencies operating across the northern peninsula, where concepts and notions of "trauma" conflict with local

interests in relation to efficacy as well as safety. This is posited against a backdrop of silence and fear where open articulation of traumatic experience incurs huge risk; problematic in the practice of counselling and other talking therapies as the continuing mainstay of many international assistance programmes.

Trauma into Triumphalism: Affective Registers of Serbian Orthodox Monastics

Alice Forbess, Goldsmiths College, University of London (a.forbess@gold.ac.uk)

In Kosovo and Montenegro, it is not uncommon for Orthodox monasteries to have been sites of violence for generations, and some of this continues into the present. Such landmarks "store" and "exude" traumatic experiences and (in the case of Kosovo) attempts to erase the memories they evoke by destroying them create further trauma. This paper looks at the affective registers through which Serbian Orthodox Monastics living under siege in such monasteries "tame" what might be described as traumatic events. Rather than taking an epistemological view of trauma, viewing it as a category of experience that can only be fully made sense of through verbalisation and conversion into coherent representations, I take an ontological view, looking at "trauma" as an attribute of "things" (be it mental, physical or geographical) whose simple presence is capable of creating and reproducing certain structures of affect and thought. The informants of this paper often take traumatic things as self-referential, simply "things to think with", in the context of an ontology that accords a central role to suffering and triumph.

Violence, Trauma and Identity in Somaliland: A Biographical Approach

Markus Hoehne, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle (mhoehne@eth.mpg.de)

Individual experiences of violence in the wake of state repression and civil war inform processes of collective identity formation. This point is demonstrated in an in-depth biographical case study set in Somaliland, the breakaway republic in northern Somalia. The case study shows how a person may both exploit and suffer from past experiences of violence. Having been a guerrilla and having lived through a difficult period when no effective government was in place provided my informant with a treasury of experiences and social capital that have served him well in the streets and offices in the capital city of Hargeysa. At the same time, a part of his memories remains "unspeakable" and - from a Western perspective - can be assumed to form a body of "traumatic memories." This corresponds to the wider social and political processes at work in Somaliland, where narratives of violent oppression and resistance in the past inform social reconstruction and the building of a national identity in the present. Experiences of violence both catalyse and legitimate social and political change. Yet, after decades of civil war, during which it was often difficult to distinguish between "perpetrators" and "victims," it is clear that unspeakable aspects of past encounters with violence continue to affect social relations. Identity in such contexts is located between narration and silence.

W033

Anthropology of Policies and Ideology of Capitalism in the EU: Exploring Citizenship, Diversity and Production of Common Values in the Social, Urban and Market Post-welfare State Context

Convenors: **Corine Vedrine, University of Saint-Etienne (corine.vedrine@neuf.fr)**
Emmanouil Spyridakis, University of Peloponnese (spyrman@ath.forthnet.gr)
Chairs: **Manos Spyridakis and Corine Vedrine**

28 August 2008, 09:00
Room: R1A

In the recent period there has been a critique and a strong concern about the way EU citizens are becoming alienated from an augmented distancing and commercialised policy-making procedure in social and economic terms. It seems that a "new spirit of capitalism" as described by L. Boltanski and E. Chiapello, developed from the 1980s onwards, produces new professional, social and urban effects and practices entailing the creation of new employment forms, new social ethics and new urban practices but also increasing precariousness. The hallmarks of these trends concern flexibility, mobility, network, risk, civil society, new entrepreneurialism and a great deal of competitiveness leading to a debatable social cohesion and creating new divisions among the privileged and the non privileged. In this framework welcomed papers include aspects concerning the following: the analysis on ideology justifying the narratives of the myth of prosperity and of sharing common values and identities, the research towards the notion of welfare state, mutuality, diversity, ecology, authenticity and heritage as political technologies of the capitalistic system of governance, the question of how anthropologists work with capitalism as a system producing marginal life levels and as a discourse creating norms and charter for social actors' consent as well as a new urban order, articulating the notions of capitalism in the urban space.

Frames: Toward an Ethnography of the EU Policies on Protecting and Valorising Cultural Heritage

Letizia Bindi, Università degli Studi del Molise (letizia.bindi@unimol.it)

Focussing on European Programmes on research, protection and valorisation of Cultural Heritage the paper starts from an analysis of the key-words used in the official documents, in the programmes guidelines, in the already evaluated and financed projects. An "institutional thinking" on immaterial cultural heritage emerges: ritual expressions, traditional practices and ceremonial systems are important elements of local development, but also of interaction among different cultural contexts in the EU space. Many documents and programmes, for example, concern cooperative research, dissemination projects and trans-national training and education on these topics. A "discourse" on common European identity has been elaborated in these institutional processes, especially concerning traditions and ritualised relations to territories. At the same time a "discourse" on European pre-Christian common roots begins to be developed as a way of cross-cultural dialogue and of internal cohesion besides religious, political, ethnical diversities.

Heritage, Ecology and Authenticity in the Catalan Pyrenees

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Camila del Mármol, Barcelona University (camiladelmarmol@gmail.com)

The aim of this paper is to discuss the production of discourses of heritage, ecology and authenticity in the Catalan Pyrenees, which has undergone deep changes in the last decades. It will focus more specifically on a valley that has recently seen a progressive substitution of former agricultural and livestock production sectors by service economies including tourism, property development and public service. The emergence of this new economy implied a reorganisation of the social structure, as well as of forms and styles of life within this valley. It was accompanied by a process of societal crisis and depopulation.

We will argue that discourses of heritage, ecology and authenticity can be thought of as technologies of the capitalistic system of governance that has accompanied the development of a new productive system. In this sense, the creation of a natural park, museums, the revalorisation of heritage, etc. is preceded by the production of such discourses. These elements allowed the implementation of a new economic system based on tourism and the construction of second residences in the villages. The cultural production is in the core of this new economy. But it's not just about economy, but of political economy.

We will explore how these discourses were developed, taking into account not just the official production of its meanings but also how they have been adopted, contested and rejected by the local population.

A Proper Viewpoint for a Valued Landscape: Analysis of the Urbanisation of Heritage in the Neoliberal City

Marc Morell, Universitat de les Illes Balears and Institut Català d'Antropologia (marc.morell@uib.es)

In this paper I analyse the entrepreneurial ideology that values heritage as a key hegemonic asset in the neoliberal urban policy agenda of EU cities. The "new spirit of capitalism" entails the commoditisation of the urban; such as in development and marketing of property through the logic of the visualisation of heritage (thus landscaped heritages). Far from being just images, heritage and landscape become very material "hegemonic devices" since not only they anchor on particular places (and space them out by setting their population adrift) but also erode whatever contentious reactions take place with regards to the dominant values of land use.

I focus on this problem at a theoretical level by bringing up ethnographic data collected through a research centred on the re-urbanizsation process on public land at Tigné, in the Maltese local council of Sliema and opposite the World Heritage Site of Valletta. By drawing attention on this case, I pop the assumption that takes for granted that heritage and landscape are mere "cultural" givens beyond their everyday political-economic framing. Moreover, and taking into account the specificity of Malta in the EU, I argue that alongside the interested construction of these "hegemonic devices", there has to be a slackening of "hard-core civil society", either by eradicating it or by making it "environmentally friendly". Hand in hand with this process there is a propelling of property marketing as a view-point for the few, which can only be achieved by taming the territory through neoliberal urban policies that pave the way for the privatisation of public land.

The New Berlin: The Contribution of the Spirit of Capitalism in the Reshaping of the City

Marie Hocquet, Université Jean Monnet (marladjadja@yahoo.fr)

Since the reunification, the territory of Berlin is the object of a plural staging. This staging comes with the transformation of Berlin into a centre of economic and political power. It also takes place in order to increase the attractive character of the city, in terms of tourism and demography. Manipulation of urban landscape in the east part of Berlin also aims at making the enforcement of a liberal and democratic order as well as making visible the transition to a capitalist system after the reunification.
In this context, ex-citizens of GDR are supposed to adopt the ways of thinking and the ways of doing inherent to capitalism. This conversion is commonly expressed in terms of change of mentality and hardly leaves place to the recognition of an East German identity.
In this paper, I will consider the urban space as a support on which the capitalist model establishes itself. With the example of Berlin, I show how the reorganisation of the urban space (constructions ex nihilo, rehabilitation, removal of traces of the past, etc.) contributes to convey values and standards particular to capitalism. Then, I will explain how the East Berliners react, answer and adapt themselves to the changes generated by the disappearance of GDR and the imposition of a capitalist way of life through the development of the "new Berlin".

Ideology and the Citizen: An Ethnography of Concepts and Praxis in Socialist and Post-Socialist/Capitalist Albania

Olsi Lelaj, Universitas Faberfacta Optime' University, Tirana (olel001@yahoo.com)

Ideology is an important tool not only for groups' and governments' political action but also for individual behaviour. It is difficult to see how individuals can live without some adherence to values and beliefs which make up their own ideological system and define their actions. The role of ideology in the lives of individuals, groups and nations may well be inconsistent but it can also be quite significant and dramatic at times, especially in defining the citizen ought to be related to the state and the way round. For the Albanian collectivity, the crumbling down of Berlin Wall signified, in one hand, the end of the communist project of citizenship, based on collective justice, and the triumph, in the other hand, of market-economy democracy project of citizenship, based on materialist freedoms. Though, both projects, were, in overall, part of the big Western project of citizenship and interdependent on each other, they differentiated, in content, from the way political ideologies make use of the public space as a mode in which signification is corporate as part and parcel of what one does in daily life as a citizen. Therefore, the "Ideal type" of citizen is manifested and imposed on the individuals through the primary obligatory public socialising institutions i.e. elementary schools and secondary educations, aiming that from the ideological realm to produce in the public space the "new man".

W034

Anthropologies of University Reform: Restructuring of Higher Education - Anthropological Perspectives

Convenors: **Annika Rabo, University of Stockholm (annika.rabo@ceifo.su.se)**
Susan Wright, Århus University (suwr@dpu.dk)
Discussants: **Robert Gibb and Andrew Dawson**

28 August 2008, 14:00
Room: 415

Universities have been placed centre-stage in the strategies of governments and inter-governmental agencies to develop a global knowledge economy. Universities are pressed to become more business-like, efficient in producing employable students, successful in turning ideas into invoices, and to score ever-higher in international rankings.

This session will use the strengths of our own discipline to examine these changes to universities as an idea, in the ways they operate as institutions, and as places of work and study. The aims are both to explore the nature of the changes underway, and to interrogate the ways that anthropologists can study them. Important issues are, for example:

Through ethnographies of globalisation, can we trace the conduits and mechanisms through which ideas about the governance of universities are moving like wildfire across sectors and between countries? How migrating concepts and technologies change as they lose their moorings in one context and become embedded in a new one?

Still-prevalent in policy literature is an assumption that government reforms "trickle down" through organisations to employees and clients "on the ground". Instead, can we study ethnographically how governments, managers, academics and students are all actors in processes of transformation?

How does the re-conceptualisation of universities, e.g. as corporations, relate to every-day practices of academics and students? Do academics still engage in "scholarship" when their work is broken into "teaching" and "research", each defined by measurable outputs? When students are hailed as "consumers" of "learning" for "employability", what happens to the notion and practice of education?

Anthropologies of University Reform: An Introduction

Susan Wright, Århus University (suwr@dpu.dk)

The first half of the paper provides a context for the session. It sketches out the emergence of the notion of a global knowledge economy and the ways it has been used to propose major changes to universities. The paper then provides some facts and figures to capture the speed and extent of the current wildfire of reforms, often originating in New Zealand and Australia, sweeping into and across Europe and then moving onward to other parts of the globe, now, importantly, including many emerging and poor economies. In this section the paper draws on an "anthropology of policy" to explore how policies and their associated technologies travel.

The second half of the paper briefly introduces the other papers in the session by highlighting some of the ways they draw on anthropology to explore how students, academics, managers and other actors participate in different aspects of these reforms. Here the focus widens out to consider how to study the language, symbols and power in often localised contests and struggles over large scale processes of transformation.

Reforming New Zealand's Universities: Reflections on the Production of Academic Subjects

Cris Shore, University of Auckland (c.shore@auckland.ac.nz)

The restructuring of education in New Zealand is often proclaimed as a paradigm case of neoliberal governance and New Public Management. In New Zealand, as in Europe, universities have become central to government's vision of the future, one increasingly shaped to meet the demands of the global knowledge economy. However, that vision contains contradictory agendas. While government calls on universities to drive its "economic transformation agenda" and promote greater internationalisation and commercialisation of university research, it also expects universities to play a key role in nation-building, social cohesion and "national identity" - as well as upholding the mantle of "critic and conscience of society".

Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork, this paper explores the consequences of these often contradictory agendas. It asks: how are universities reconciling the multiple purposes they have been ascribed? How do staff and students experience these reforms, and how are they impacting on academic culture and practice? What new kinds of political subjects and subjectivities are being created as a result of these changes?

Architects of the EU's "Bologna Process" have noted that university reforms can only take effect if they are "owned" by academics and incorporated into their everyday thinking and practice. Focusing on recent examples of conflict and tension within New Zealand's universities, the paper explores the extent to which academics and students have embraced and internalised management's vision for its universities, and the technologies and pressures that have been brought to bear to make them do so.

"Indigenising" or "Interculturalising" Universities in Mexico: An Ethnography of the Local Appropriation of Globalised Diversity Discourses inside the "Universidad Veracruzana Intercultural"

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Multicultural discourse has reached Latin American higher education as a set of policies targeting indigenous peoples, which are strongly influenced by the transfer of European notions of "interculturality". In Mexico, innovative and often polemical "intercultural universities or colleges" are being created either by governments, by NGOs or by pre-existing universities. Paradoxically, this trend towards "diversifying" both ethno-cultural profiles and curricular contents, coincides with a broader tendency to force institutions of higher education to become more "efficient", "corporate" and "outcome-oriented". Accordingly, these still very recent "intercultural universities" are often criticised as part of a common policy of "privatisation", "neoliberalisation" and "particularisation" which weakens the universalist and comprehensive nature of Latin American public macro-universities. Indigenous leaders, on the contrary, frequently claim and celebrate the appearance of these new higher education opportunities as part of a strategy of empowering ethnic actors of indigenous or afro-descendant origin.

Going beyond this polemic, this paper proposes an ethnographically based case study of the ways political and educational networks are being configured around the actors participating in the configuration of the Universidad Veracruzana Intercultural (UVI), located at the Mexican gulf coast. On the basis of fieldwork conducted in the

four indigenous regions where the UVI offers a B.A. in "intercultural management for development", the appropriation of as well as the resistance against the discourse of interculturality is studied by comparing the actors' teaching and learning practices, which are strongly shaped by an innovative and hybrid mixture of conventional university teaching, community-oriented research and "employability"-driven development projects.

Excellence in Stupidity

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Italian historian Carlo Cipolla noticed that stupidity is as prevalent in the university as in any other social institution. Thus, anthropologists dealing with the university "reform" should not underestimate that inconsistent practices and discourses disturb widespread assumptions that institutions are nurtured by Reason.
"Bologna" advocates argue that it represents a unique opportunity to bring "excellence" to Portuguese universities. At the same time, the compression of degrees has been presented as a chance for students with inadequate skills to get higher qualifications, argument university managers and key opinion-makers reiterate. For the authorities, as "science" and "technology" are central to the rhetoric of "modernisation" and "Europeanisation" of the country, the stress on performance measurements and comparative rankings as essential tools of the universal desire to reform the University creates new ground for political appropriation of academic work. University isn't expected to produce meaning but to be a rationally managed enterprise.
This raises troubling questions about the changing concept of the University. Given that most scholars in Portugal failed to address them, instead adopting a submissive attitude towards the undergoing changes, could it be that a plot to enhance "competence", "quality", and "excellence" in higher education is hastening the end of the University as a place where (moderately) creative thought is encouraged? If yes, aren't we dealing with a state of affairs requiring an approach to social institutions in which illogicality is taken into account not as a mere derivative of overpowering Reason but as a central feature of human collective existence?

Trials and Tribulations of Reformation: Prologue to the Futures of Turkish University Education

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Reformation of Turkish university system has occupied a prominent place in the political agenda of the Republic since 1960s. At every turn in political regime, every ten years, there have been attempts to re-form universities, both in form and content. Constitutional changes of the 1960s envisioned the university as a semi-autonomous entity. 1960s witnessed the foundation of new universities with American style campuses, and a multitude of private universities. Approaching the 1970s, against the backdrop of student protests, private and foreign universities were nationalised and 1970 military intervention ended university autonomy with a constitutional change. In the following decade, reform was again on the agenda, particularly the question of autonomy, content, and legal framework of university education. With the 1980 coup, came the Council of Higher Education, and centralisation and standardisation of education, both administratively and in terms of curricula. Starting with 1990s,

new state and foundation universities have sprung up over a wide landscape of the Republic, making Turkey a country with one of the highest number of university students in the world. Against this historical backdrop, I will attempt to develop a framework for analysing university reform in Turkey and make projections for the prospects of Turkish university education under the under the duress of neoliberal economies, importation of liberal arts model, and prospects of Bologna process. Of particular interest is the experience of foundation universities, and university-business cooperation, in the process of privatisation and democratisation of university education.

Disentangling Power and Discourse: The Case of "Master" and "Servant" in Serbian Higher Education Reform

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An incident arose in 2006 concerning the question of whether students who had graduated from Serbian universities should, in accordance with the European Credit Transfer System, be awarded the title of Masters, since their previous education matched the master requirements. This argument encountered a decisive opposition from higher education bodies, whose representatives feared that granting graduates the title of master would turn them away from pursuing MA degrees, which would represent a great loss of money for higher education institutions. Months of fierce debates and public protests by student bodies ensued, while the media and students themselves increasingly sought to portray their struggle for the recognition of titles as the struggle against neoliberalisation and globalisation of education. The debates came to abrupt end in December 2006, just prior to elections, when the Republic Parliament - to much surprise and opposition from public education institutions - passed a bill stating that students can be awarded the title of Masters.
My analysis concentrates on "disentangling" this incident and pointing to "vested" interests in the field of educational reform in Serbia. I claim that, despite the seemingly empowering discourse of the students, their voices were actually appropriated by a number of Serbian political parties and used as an asset in the electoral struggle. The key lesson to be drawn from this example is that anthropologists should strive for precise understanding of the cultural context and social forces that shape the field, in order to fully apprehend the reproduction of power structures in higher education.

Student Struggles at a Struggling Institution: The Case of University of Limpopo, South Africa

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The post-apartheid tertiary sector has seen a difficult transition from the racially segregated system under the former regime to an open and free-market, competitive system since 1994. The new system brought with it new and less favourable funding regimes and increased competition over students, and in this setup the former black universities have been particularly prone to funding shortages and decreasing levels of students, since black students (and the best qualified black academics) have now been allowed entrance into the well-funded, former white universities in the urban metropolises of Johannesburg, Cape Town and Pretoria.
After the turn of the Millennium the ANC led government has pushed through merger reforms in an attempt to turn the tertiary education sector around and make universities more responsive to public service needs; i.e. the broadening of higher education beyond teaching and research to include engagement in civil and industrial society.

The policy frameworks are very ambitious, but they seem to be somehow out of tune with the reality on the ground. Given the funding shortages, University of Limpopo keeps increasing the tuition fees and costs related to on-campus accommodation, which means that students from poor backgrounds find themselves in jeopardy during the annual registration in January, while students of the black upper or middle-class will often have drifted to former white institutions. This is one of the reasons why the students at University of Limpopo engage in riots and demonstrations styled with reference to the former struggle against the apartheid regime.

International Students, Consumption and Marketing in Higher Education: Student Responses in the UK

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The Bologna Process in Europe has created a climate of greater academic mobility for students. While providing short and long term benefits to students, institutions are engaged in complete administrative restructuring which aims to capitalise on student mobility by attracting international students. Such reforms include curricular adaptation to perceived international student demands and the development of focused marketing campaigns to attract desirable international students. This paper will use the anthropology of tourism to interrogate institutional reforms debated at the University of Sussex which explicitly sought to increase international student enrolment and a counter movement organised by students, Sussex Not 4 Sale, which sought greater input into these reforms. At the centre of this controversy were the marketisation of higher education and the growing interpretation of students as consumers. By conceptualising student mobility as a form of educational tourism, institutions hope to maximise the opportunity to increase their sources of funding. Educational tourism is shown to be a key marketing goal of the reforms at the University of Sussex, where international students pay the full cost of their education and may have different academic needs or goals from British students. This ethnography allows for a close examination of how institutional reform is overtly undertaken in order to maximise student enrolment, how student and faculty consultation can be incorporated into the reform process, and how the goals of institutional reform within the UK context will transform higher education.

University Reform Made Liveable

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My lecture refers to a letter circulating lately at my university. The management was planning changes to the hurriedly designed BA-MA programmes. "To make liveable", the positive-sounding phrase used, stood in stark contrast to the catalogue of strict regulations according to which the new programmes had to be re-designed. These demands were flatly rejected by the faculty; in their eyes the central administration had overstepped its bounds. At bottom, however, the potential resistance against reforms has declined. Since the seventies, German universities have been caught in an ongoing reform that has worn them down and resulted finally in the introduction of the Bologna Process in the absence of any serious protests. The policy that devised an advertised competition for the title of "University of Excellence" has met with little opposition. It plans to transform a few universities into elite institutions on the model of Harvard. Most German universities took part in the competition for the sake of the attached research funds, which have otherwise become scarce. The farewell to Humboldtian principles of higher education, truth and freedom of research

proceeded without further ado.
In my autoethnography, I describe the transition of the German university from the status of a public corporation to that of an economic enterprise. The discipline of Social Anthropology has been particularly affected by this development, for it has little to offer by the standards of cost analyses. In many anthropology departments positions have been cut, courses of study dropped and colleagues were forced into interdisciplinary departments.

Of Markets, Management and Universities: An Anthropological Study of the Neoliberal Economisation of Austrian Universities Focusing on the Institute of Anthropology at the University of Vienna

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From the 1990s onwards Austrian universities were submitted to global neoliberal processes of transformation, due to legal preconditions made by the state as well as to decisions of their own administration/management. The university law of 2002 granted universities an ambivalent kind of "autonomy" tied with a new mode of state regulation through strategic target-setting ("Globalziele") and the introduction of new means of audit. New Public Management has become the new credo of the university reform with its economic understanding of quality and the move from centralised bureaucratic structures to decentralised, management oriented systems.
These developments are analysed based on the theoretical concepts of neoliberal governmentality, managerialism and audit cultures. After presenting an outline of the current Austrian university reform the paper proceeds to explore consequences of this neoliberal/managerial reconceptualisation of universities for the learning and teaching of anthropology at the University of Vienna. How do economic values enter anthropology as a university discipline? Where do tendencies towards a standardisation of the "commodity" university studies and the "service" of teaching and research emerge? How are students, teachers and researchers being transformed into neoliberal subjects? With the focus of my inquiries resting on the teaching of anthropology, the reorganisation of the institute's structure, a new curriculum based on the Bologna-architecture and more oriented towards the job market, precarious working contracts (for teachers as well as for researchers) and new forms of (teaching) audit can all be regarded as aspects of the neoliberal economisation of our discipline.

Snowball Effect: The Consequences of the Introduction of the University Reform for the Undergraduate Anthropology Courses at the University of Rome "La Sapienza"

Angelo Romano, La Sapienza Università degli Studi di Roma (angelo.romano@uniroma1.it)

My paper focuses on the changes produced by the introduction of the University Reform in the Anthropology Department at the University of Rome "La Sapienza."
The introduction of the new educational system, with its Learning Agreements, its Program Descriptions (which set out the professional qualifications and employment outcomes which each program aims to provide), its ministerial charts, has resulted in various transformations:
- Teaching and research have been tightly bound to the ministerial grids, and to the logic of credits. The scientific pursuit of knowledge has been squeezed between

academic/bureaucratic and economic levels;
- Teachers have been forced to confront new challenges: organisation of degree programs and duties of management and monitoring;
- The new courses have permitted the students to feel much earlier on that they belong to a scholarly community, to see themselves as participants in a common endeavour, to critically engage with theoretical and research-related developments in their field, and also to ask questions about future employment.
The reform has broken the old academic organisational scheme and has opened this space to new subjects and new interests: teachers, students, companies, NGOs, social cooperatives, and government agencies.
By closely observing the practices of teachers and students, by listening to and analysing the narratives they produce, which make sense of the university experience and render it objective, I attempt to grasp how the University Reform has been negotiated with local traditions and how the idea of Anthropology has changed in accordance with its configurations, both academic and non-academic.

The Location of Innovation: Webs of Academic Relationships and Web-Based Learning

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The paper takes as its starting point the institution of two new courses delivered to second year university students. After reorganisation into a "school" system, within which one intention was to soften subject boundaries, all students in the school are now required to do generic theory and research methods courses in their second years if they are studying social or political science. Using the two new courses as an ethnographic case study, the wider contexts within and beyond the university are explored discursively. Thus the courses emerge in a complex and contested arena where the very function of university teaching, production and reproduction of knowledge and new academic generations can be examined.
Despite apparent transparency of sectoral and institutional reforms through strategic planning, committee structures and national policy reforms, this paper seeks to address the inherent cultural particularities and peculiarities of this HE institution which have a significant part to play in the process of change, and not least in the delivery of academic knowledge.

W035

Indigenous, Autochthonous and National Identities? Strategic Representations, Political Struggles and Epistemological Issues (atelier bilingue - Anglais et Français)

Convenors: **Robert Gibb, Glasgow University (r.gibb@socsci.gla.ac.uk)**
Quentin Gausset, University of Copenhagen (quentin.gausset@anthro.ku.dk)
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27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 302

FR: Sous quelles conditions locales, de quelle manière, par quels acteurs, et avec quels effets symboliques et matériels les discours d'« identité » - « indigène », « autochtone », ou « nationale » - se déploient-ils actuellement dans le cadre plus

général du néo-libéralisme et d'une intensification de l'exploitation capitaliste? A partir d'enquêtes de terrain dans des pays divers, cet atelier s'efforcera d'apporter quelques éléments de réponse à cette question, et s'interrogera également sur le rôle des anthropologues dans la déconstruction et la reproduction des discours identitaires et des contextes dans lesquels ils prennent leur source.
EN: Under which local conditions, in what ways, by whom, and with what symbolic and material effects are discourses of "identity" - "indigenous", "autochthonous" or "national" - currently being deployed in the general context of neoliberalism and an intensification of capitalist exploitation? What are the similarities, differences, and potential (and real) articulations and tensions between these discourses? How do they relate to issues such as minority rights, decentralisation, legal pluralism, self-determination, anti-racism and the (de-)legitimisation of state power? What epistemological and political issues do these discourses raise for social anthropologists who are attempting to analyse the wider social processes in which they are embedded? When do they open up - and when do they close down - the space for critical scrutiny of these processes? This panel invites case studies from throughout Europe and the world to explore not only the diverse, contradictory and complementary ways in which such notions are currently being used but also the role played by social anthropologists in de-constructing and reproducing both these notions and the wider contexts which give rise to them.

Identités indigènes, autochtones et nationales? Représentations stratégiques, luttes politiques et enjeux épistémologiques

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Cette contribution n'a pour ambition que de développer brièvement une série de réflexions introductives sur la problématique de l'atelier et les questions soulevées dans l'appel à communications. Dans un premier temps, elle passera rapidement en revue quelques débats (francophone et anglophone) récents autour des notions d' « indigenousness », d' « autochtonie » et d' « identité nationale », s'efforçant de mettre en lumière les enjeux théoriques, politiques et épistémologiques de ces controverses. Dans un deuxième temps, elle rappellera la mise en garde de R. Brubaker et F. Cooper, dans leur critique de l'utilisation de la notion d' « identité » par des spécialistes en sciences sociales, contre la transformation de « catégories de pratique » élaborées par les acteurs sociaux dans la vie quotidienne en « catégories d'analyse » par les scientifiques, avant de s'interroger sur la pertinence de cette analyse pour d'autres termes comme « indigenous », « autochtone » ou « identité nationale ». Enfin, elle se conclura par quelques brèves remarques sur le rôle des anthropologues dans la déconstruction et la reproduction des discours identitaires et des contextes dans lesquels ils prennent leur source.

Emergent Indigeneity in the First World: The Case of Catalonia

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The proposed article is a re-reading of Catalonia's struggle for recognition within the Spanish state, the European Union, and globally in terms of emergent indigeneity, a framework which, to date, has been used neither by anthropologists writing about Catalonia nor by Catalan political leaders. In our collective imaginary, "indigenous" peoples are usually tribal (or tribalised) and poor, and "emergent" identities are

"new" phenomena. Catalonia is neither, and this will require us to rethink what we mean by both "indigenous" and "emergent". Catalonia's modern "emergence" has taken place in several phases since the early 19th century, an unfinished process that continues in different ways as circumstances change. My argument is that the concept of "indigeneity" should be constructed broadly enough to encompass groups like the Catalans, who are often represented in Spain and internationally as either "ethnic" or "regional"; and that indigenous "emergence" is not necessarily a new or recent phenomenon, but may be approached instead as a long and essentially open-ended historical process. The indigenous rights now being contested in Catalonia include rights of self-government and cultural sovereignty, which includes language rights and cultural property rights, many of which have to do with historical memory and its deliberate erasure during the Spanish transition to democracy following the death of General Franco in 1975. Specific issues to be examined include Catalonia's global image as refracted through the publishing industry's major yearly event: the Frankfurt Book Fair, at which Catalan culture was the guest of honour in 2007.

Boundary Crossing and Ethnic Passing: The Negotiation of Fulbe Identities in Northern Cameroon

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L'anthropologie africaniste s'intéresse depuis longtemps aux questions de changements d'identités, et ce à différents niveaux. D'une part, les études sur l'esclavage ont démonté les mécanismes qui empêchent ou permettent aux anciens esclaves d'être progressivement intégrés au lignage de leurs maîtres. D'autre part, les études sur l'ethnicité ont mis en évidence les processus artificiels de création d'ethnies ainsi que la flexibilité (ou parfois l'intransigeance) caractérisant l'accès à ces identités. Enfin, l'étude des phénomènes migratoires s'est penchée sur la signification et sur l'importance de la nationalité. Plus récemment, plusieurs anthropologues ont remis la citoyenneté à l'honneur dans un débat sur les excès des mouvements autochtones qui bourgeonnent en Afrique depuis l'introduction du multipartisme.
En adoptant une approche fractale de l'anthropologie et en prenant comme sujet d'étude la manière dont les Fulbe négocient leur identité vis-à-vis de leurs anciens esclaves, de leurs anciens alliés, et de l'identité nationale Camerounaise, cet article entend montrer la similarité des mécanismes, des stratégies et des enjeux identitaires présents, que ce soit au niveau interfamilial, interethnique ou international.

From "The Europe of the Regions" to the European Champion League: The Electoral Appeal of Populist Autochthony Discourses in Flanders

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Where once a radical rightwing Flemish-nationalist discourse on the cultural unity and integrity of "the" Flemish people was associated with a small minority, Vlaams Belang (previously Vlaams Blok) has managed to broaden its appeal by transforming it into an autochthony discourse that wants to restricts the benefits of the social welfare state to those who are said to be really belong, at the exclusion of an ever-changing set of "others", from Francophones to "Eurocrats", from Muslim labour immigrants and their descendants to asylum-seekers and East-European "gangs". As such, this rhetoric is no longer limited to the extreme rightwing fringe of the Flemish Movement but has

truly become mainstream, straddling the traditional boundaries between right and left. This paper argues that this transformation is largely due to the widespread appeal of a neoliberal ideology that is more concerned with economic competition than with cultural specificity and integrity.

Struggles over Indigeneity in Kerala

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Since the early 1990s indigeneity has become a notion that is central to ongoing political struggles over land and livelihood in the Indian state of Kerala. The legal category of the adivasi in India developed out of colonial racial theories about tribality as a necessary sign of belonging to an "aboriginal" race marginalised by the arrival of other groups. Essentialising and unrealistic imaginaries, still dominant in present-day notions of indigenism, moreover continue to work against, and perversely impact, subaltern politics. On the other hand, they are invoked by adivasi and dalit activists themselves, who are often aware of the "dark side" of indigeity but nevertheless try to both use and renegotiate the meaning of indigenous identity to best balance different political necessities — of claiming political and economic rights, challenging entrenched political interests, assuring internal solidarity, and gaining external political support. Under circumstances of general economic and political stagnation under the impact of neoliberalism in Kerala, these activists' connecting of different subaltern political currents and aspirations under the banner of indigeneity therefore starkly displays both the limits and possibilities of progressive politics in the present.

La reformulation d'une contestation identitaire à l'épreuve de la globalisation: l'exemple kabyle.

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Enraciné dans le nationalisme de décolonisation, le mouvement kabyle aujourd'hui revendique une spécificité culturelle et linguistique au sein d'un État nation, l'Algérie, qui se reformule économiquement et politiquement car rentée de plein pied dans l'économie néolibérale. Ayant jusque là contesté dans un stricte cadre stato-national, le mouvement revendicatif kabyle doit réajuster sa lutte pour s'adapter aux changements structuraux de l'État. Les thématiques culturalistes de sa lutte sont à présent élargies à une lutte berbère qui concernerait tout le Maghreb. Cette ouverture politique remet en cause une grande partie des travaux effectués du fait que les mouvements berbéristes aient été envisagés jusqu'à présent dans un contexte local. Les conceptions théoriques de cette lutte s'ancraient au sein des problématiques locales de territoires tribaux, de mémoires transmises de la guerre de libération nationale, considérée comme fondement de la nation algérienne. La lutte kabyle qui se conçoit présentement comme transnationale bénéficie de la porosité des frontières, aussi bien théorique que pragmatique, pour redéfinir son champ d'action politique. Élargissant ainsi sa revendication, les effets locaux sont maintenant démultipliés, laissant un champ d'investigation ouvert. Cette « ouverture » culturelle pousse par ailleurs à repenser cette identité politiquement construite du fait que le local et le global sont à présent liés.

Terre Mère: territorialité et identité indigène à Kuna Yala (Panama)

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Dans cette communication je me propose de réfléchir sur les processus sociaux et politiques contemporains qui ont transformé la réalité locale et globale du peuple kuna du Panama. Parmi ces processus, je vais porter mon regard sur l'émergence des Organisations Non Gouvernementales (ONG) kunas et leur participation dans les espaces de médiation transnationaux. Liée à ces nouvelles interactions avec l'extérieur je vais fixer mon regard sur l'écologie, car la relation matérielle et symbolique qu'un groupe humain entretient avec son environnement a engendré la construction d'une nouvelle conception du territoire et de l'identité kuna. Une nouvelle conception qui est très liée aux effets de la mobilisation de l'écologie dans les argumentations indigènes qui sont utilisées dans la lutte globale pour les droits indigènes. Enfin, il s'agit de cerner pourquoi, dernièrement, les Kunas évoquent constamment la relation à la terre, la Terre Mère, pour légitimer et renforcer leurs revendications territoriales face à l'Etat et les organismes internationaux et d'analyser les conséquences qu'ont pu avoir ces nouvelles déclarations sur la territorialité et la construction de l'identité kuna.

Australian Indigenous Identity between Self-Determination, Integration and Reconciliation

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The Indigenous population of Australia is composed of two groups, the Aboriginal people who traditionally inhabited the mainland, and the Torres Strait Islander people who represented a "cultural bridge" between the continent and the island of New Guinea. Today, "Indigenous person/people" is considered the least offensive term of reference and used by insiders and outsiders alike in official public rhetoric. "Homogenisation" here, however, is "politically correct" on various grounds - not least because many political and social organisations offer their services to "all" Indigenous people irrespective of their distinctive cultural and social background. Their increasing visibility and importance at local, regional but also at national levels have substantially contributed to the formation of an overarching Indigenous identity or (perhaps rather) identities. One of the shared markers of Indigenous identity is the place-time frame: the connection to the land, to a particular area, as well as the depth of ancestry - both of which underlining the uniqueness and legitimacy of Australian Indigeneity and its distinction from the mainstream society and other minorities.
"Indigenous affairs" have regularly been on the agenda of Australian national politics. Prime Minister Rudd's long due apology to the "Stolen Generations" and their families in February this year was a symbolic act of great importance and urgently needed for an advancement on the "road towards reconciliation". Starting from this recent "historical moment", the paper will explore and discuss the notions of Australian Indigenous identity and Indigeneity in public discourses related to other concepts like self-determination and integration.

Autochtonie et décentralisation: perspective comparative dans des villes moyennes d'Afrique de l'Ouest

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Dans certaines villes moyennes d'Afrique de l'Ouest, la progression du processus

de décentralisation stimule les discours liés à l'autochtonie. Les opérations foncières et l'organisation d'élections municipales renforcent le poids de certains groupes qui revendiquent le statut d'autochtone et ses privilèges. Parce qu'ils jouissent du statut lié à l'antériorité dans l'histoire du peuplement et qu'ils constituent une masse électorale appréciable, certains de ces groupes exercent une influence sur le nouveau pouvoir politique local. Toutefois l'autochtonie ne peut être réduite au produit d'une manipulation politique : elle prend tout son sens dans un profond sentiment d'appartenance. Cette appartenance se joue sur plusieurs niveaux : elle renvoie à l'ensemble de la collectivité urbaine, au groupe qui l'aurait fondée, ou à ceux qui ont contribué à son développement. L'antériorité dans l'histoire du peuplement et son prestige, la pénurie artificielle de terres engendrée par les opérations de lotissement, le nouveau poids politique des familles qui revendiquent le statut de primo arrivants stimulent des polémiques qui affectent aussi la production de l'histoire orale . Les discours et conflits liés à l'autochtonie montrent comment les transformations relatives à l'urbanisation et aux changements politiques contribuent à la reformulation des appartenances locales. Pour étudier, cette relation entre autochtonie et décentralisation, ma communication articulera les résultats de mon travail de terrain mené à une synthèse des recherches conduites dans d'autres pays d'Afrique.

"Today, I am no Mutwa Anymore": Local Reverberations of National Unity Discourse in Present-Day Rwanda

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Only 14 years after the Genocide, Rwanda presents herself as a fast growing and reconciled country. The Government of National Unity pursues an extensive unification policy aiming at all population strata. One pillar of this policy is a changed interpretation of Rwandan national history: Where once the population structure of the country was described as composed of three distinct ethnic groups (Bahutu, Batutsi and Batwa), connected to successive waves of migration into the country, the new official narrative of Rwandan history considers ethnic identities as results of colonial invention.

Public discourse so far underlines very dominantly the historical unity of all Rwandans to promote a national identity. On local level and in case of the Batwa, however, the picture is less clear. Contrary to the public narrative of unity, the Batwa have been the subject of exclusion by other groups, visible in everyday interactions on markets or schools. Traditionally hunters and gatherers, the Batwa now live from pottery and day labour. They experience themselves not only as marginalised but also as the autochthonous population of the country. Within the strict public framework of unity, claims for autochthony can cause conflict with the authorities. For other Batwa the identity of being autochthonous is no longer important. They consider themselves as Banyarwanda, Rwandans.

The questions this paper tries to discuss are: Which elements of the public discourse on national unity have found their way into local practice? What different meanings are given to the rather flexible notion "autochthony"?

(Auto)essentialisation des différences culturelles ou comment peuples et Etat jouent à cache-cache

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Dans un contexte d'internationalisation des mouvements autochtones et d'articulation politique entre des peuples très divers durant les vingt dernières années, de nouveaux discours et acteurs sont apparus sur la scène internationale pour y revendiquer des droits particuliers au nom des différences culturelles. Dans la foulée, on assiste aujourd'hui, en Argentine, à la (ré)apparition de peuples qui avaient jusque alors été considérées comme disparus (Huarpe, Ona, Quilmes) ou en voie de disparition, après près d'un siècle durant lequel l'idéologie républicaine avait tenté d'occulter la présence autochtone sur le territoire national. Sur la base de l'exemple mapuche de Patagonie, je montrerai qu'il est cependant frappant de constater que les communautés rurales sont présentées comme correspondant au « vrai » mode de vie « authentiquement » mapuche alors même que le 70% de la population mapuche vit à l'extérieur des communautés. Cette représentation très partielle de la réalité mapuche contribue à la formation et à la diffusion d'une image idéalisée et romantique de la vie communautaire. Image qui fut d'abord diffusée par les autorités étatiques pour témoigner de la rusticité et des différences culturelles d'un peuple qu'il fallait impérativement « civiliser » mais qui est aussi reprise actuellement par les leaders du mouvement mapuche pour revendiquer des droits particuliers dans un processus d'auto-essentialisation auquel les anthropologues ne peuvent rester insensibles.

The Revolutionary State, its Opponents and the Dilemmas of Indigenous Identities: Dominant Discourses and Their Consequences in Venezuela

Ernst Halbmayer, University of Vienna (ernst.halbmayer@univie.ac.at)

This paper interprets the current contradictions and dilemmas of indigenous politics and struggles for indigenous rights within the dominant national Venezuelan discourse which either promotes and defends or criticises and opposes the state-led Bolivarian revolution.
This discourse reproduces itself in different forms and in reference to different levels (international, national and regional). The paper will identify central cultural semantics underlying it and specify the different roles of the indigenous population within them. Based on recent field research in the federal state of Zulia at the border to Colombia the paper will 1) ask how this discourse and the resulting practices influence (expand and limit) the political opportunities for indigenous peoples 2) identify the most important strategies applied by the indigenous Yukpa to deal with that situation and 3) outline their consequences for Yukpa identity.

Legitimacy on Stage: Discourse and Knowledge in Environmental Review Processes in Northern Canada

Thea Luig, Free University Berlin (thealuig@yahoo.de)

Based on ethnographic fieldwork, this paper investigates the interplay of discourse and knowledge within a context of structural power during public hearings for the environmental review of a proposed pipeline project in Canada.
Despite much improved provisions for Aboriginal participation in political and economic decision-making, negotiations between the Canadian government and northern Aboriginal people are often described as frustrating and unsatisfying by

individuals involved in them. Analysing formal procedures of the hearing process as well as interview data, I argue that legal adaptations and participatory processes are wrapped in a discourse conforming with international demands to respect indigenous rights, but, in fact, are orchestrated in a way that favours the alliance of the state, corporations, and administrative professionals; thus, ruling out effective influence of local indigenous people. Northern Aboriginal groups face those challenges by utilising discourses from international human rights and environmental movements as a tool to legitimise land-claim and self-determination demands, therewith attempt to transform articulations of identity into political and economic capital. As I will show, although the public discourse of the different agents involved is framed in symbolism that suggests mutual understanding and aims to generate support from the wider public, modes of knowledge production anchored in science/technology versus primary experience continue to de-legitimise one another, therefore precluding an efficient dialogue. Uncovering these mechanisms, anthropological work might add to the means for indigenous groups to lessen their structural disadvantage in their efforts for self-determination within processes that are designed to perpetuate existing hierarchies.

L'identité ethnique "examinée": le cas des expertises anthropologiques sur les terres indigènes en Brésil.

Filippo Lenzi Grillini, Università degli studi di Siena (lenzigrillini@yahoo.it)

Au Brésil le droit de vivre de façon autonome dans une réserve indigène est garanti aux indios par la Constitution de 1988. A partir d'une enquête de terrain conduite parmi les indios Xacriabà de l'Etat de Minas Gerais, l'on pourra sonder en profondeur, d'un coté les stratégies suivies par les indios pour revendiquer leur propre identité ethnique différentiée indispensable pour obtenir le droit à vivre dans une réserve et, de l'autre, les méthodologies utilisées par les anthropologues brésiliens appelés à réaliser des expertises sur le territoires indiens. Après avoir analysé ce que les indios s'attendent pour ce qui se rapporte à obtenir la terre, réel enjeu fondamental dans l'arène politique du monde rural brésilien, l'on se concentrera sur le rôle des anthropologues à l'intérieur de ce processus. On aura donc l'occasion d'analyser le défi complexe engagé par ces derniers. Les chercheurs sont appelés à prendre position face aux processus de revendication ethnique conduits par les indios du pays ou ils vivent. Du point de vue, soit théorique, soit méthodologique, l'on se concentrera sur une question entre toutes : avec quels instruments l'anthropologie, qui depuis la fin des années 60 a taché de perfectionner de façon critique l'analyse et l'élaboration de la conception d'ethnie, peut elle assumer la responsabilité sociale et politique de prendre une position face aux mouvements de revendication ethnique en cours ?

Europe and the Epistemological Bias behind Discourses of Indigeneity

Dimitrios Theodossopoulos, Bristol University
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Most European nationalisms heavily depend upon claims of indigeneity and autochthony. Despite the fact that most specialists on nationalism would agree with this statement, European anthropology has not taken the notion of indigeneity seriously. This surprising neglect, I argue, represents a crypto-evolutionist paradigm, according to which "indigenous" and "aboriginal" people are found only in far away lands, characterised as "the people without history". In contrast, European societies are depicted as having history and "civilisations" with a level of complexity

extending beyond simple connections to land and territory. By using the case of Greek nationalism as an example I will attempt to expose this evolutionist fallacy. The historical connections claimed by Greek nationalist narratives naturalise the relationship between European cultures and academic scholarship and overlook the possibility that Greek and other European identities can be seen as indigenous. As this example can help us understand, the privileged treatment of classical Greece in Western academic discourse stops us from seeing the modern Greek (nationalist) claims to European civilisation. It is the very same bias, rooted in the assumed superiority of Western academic thought that stops anthropologists from coming to terms with their own indigenous identity, while at the same time they distance themselves from the indigenous identities of other, non-western, cultures. Furthermore, the same bias has lead to an unproductive confusion of Western models of nationalism (within which the use of the notion of indigeneity remains un-deconstructed) with the struggles of disenfranchised minorities in non-Western contexts.

W036

Moralities of Nature

Convenors: **Carles Salazar, Lleida (salazar@hahs.udl.cat)**
Enric Porqueres, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (enric.porqueres@ehess.fr)

28 August 2008, 11:00
Room: 115

For a very long time, religious and scientific truths have been seen as antagonistic perspectives upon reality - one of them based on moral values, the other on empirical facts - accommodation between the two being a matter of recognising their incommensurability (SJ Gould's notion of Non Overlapping Magisteria). But religious and scientific views do actually overlap in many different ways and, especially, in relation to the value that both of them place upon the idea of nature as the bedrock from which both morality and truth originate. We welcome theoretical or ethnographic papers that deal with the different ways in which notions about nature, natural order (or disorder), natural facts, human and non-human nature, etc. become relevant as sources of value, knowledge and truth in religion, science and other cultural forms.

"Every Human Has Two Births": Understanding Procreation and Anatomy in South Asia

Kusum Gopal, United Nations (khrig1@gmail.com)

This paper draws from my ethnographic work on pregnancies and childbirth practices within the pluralistic traditions of the Indian subcontinent where bodies as sites for "western" medical practice encounter difficult dialogues between what is perceived as scientific, rational, technologically advanced and progressive. and the much more accepted than acknowledged, pluralistic values and beliefs that oppose such exclusive renditions. By making separate the body and the mind, symbolic and real and illness and disease, western biomedicine is an antithesis to south Asian aetiologies where holistic explanations are integral to being. The body is common understood to have five primordial elements – earth, wind, fire, air and ether. There exist a number of indigenous procreation beliefs and anatomical theories that involve ideas about gender substances and subjectivities - from which theories of personhood, self identity and gender are produced and reproduced through such engagements: a person

remains in permanent relationship with other persons and with aspects of the natural world in a way in which human and non human elements are constitutive of the person.
Whilst it is inappropriate to think of "western" biomedicine as a monolithic enterprise; it is not standardised and remains open to contestation both from within the profession and from outside. However, its dominance and its complex roots within the Judaeo Christian tradition is often taken for granted. Denying other ways of cognition in policy making, in studying any aspect of the human condition, such boundaries that exclude other moralities need to be re-examined and questioned within a global context.

"Love from the Roots": The Natural Laws of Family in Family Constellation Therapy

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What is the nature of family? Why is ritual therapeutically effective when one goes against such "nature" and suffers?
Family Constellation Therapy, a systemic approach addressing individual suffering through rituals, offers answers to such questions. Bert Hellinger, a former missionary who founded the method, says he drew inspiration upon observing Zulu healing rituals involving ancestors, in a sort of reverse ethnopsychiatry. FTC therapy is cherished by many European psychologists: attuning to the nature and the laws of families, as Hellinger's theory goes, seems healing to both therapists and patients.
In this paper I draw on ethnography of FCT performances both in international and all-Italian groups in order to underline what can be considered as a lack of ancestorship generating suffering in "western" industrialised countries. The starting point of this research being the Osho Meditation Resort in Pune (India) and the FCT I observed there, in a specific devotional (albeit unintentionally so) context, I will focus on the relationship between ancestorship, local history and divinity as it is theorised by both participants and therapists. FTC ethnography questions the anthropological literature about "ethnic" persons observed to be irretrievably rooted in kin and local relationships. It points to an urge for anthropologists to study what their dominant discourses consider as a "naturally" structured person and how the national politics and the religious imprint intertwine in anchoring conflicting patterns into individuals' intimacy. Thus, a form of psychotherapy becomes a legitimate anthropological field of observation.

"Social Darwinism": Examining the Anthropological Foundations of Peter Singer's Ethics

Agnieszka Ryczek, Poznan University of Medical Sciences (agnieszkaryczek@yahoo.com)

Evolutionary theory and Darwin's theory of natural selection is an influential paradigm within biology but yet it has no proponents within the theological field.
An important factor in 21st century anthropology and philosophy is "Social Darwinism" which has its foundations in Utilitarian theory. Social Darwinism underpins Peter Singer's work on ethics and the study of bioethics of the western world. Natural selection in human society has led to a continuous conflict between religion and science for instance over topics such as abortion or euthanasia.
These western bioethical questions require a novel form of morality and truth and a new vision of the individual in order to answer them.

From the Traditional Woman to Feminism

Roxana Deca, Museum of Oltenia (roxanadeca@gmail.com)

Through time, as a result of the patriarchal definition of woman and also following some feminist motions that imposed some themes of analysis and reflection referring to the position and role of woman inside the family and the society, it was a fact that differences between the social status of woman and man, starting from their biophysiological nature, did not explained entirely the becoming and persistence of the mentality referring to the inequality between sexes and woman inferiority in front of man. With all this, all over the world, the pattern of woman being a subordinate human was perpetuated and she always assumed this status in the name of her natural condition. Her inferiority was transmitted through the power of tradition. In our days, through tradition, relationships and behaviour between Romanian members of the family are maintained at the level of rural families and also in the families living in cities, excepting those with a high intellectual level. Creation of an identity of woman always being obedient to masculine identity was perpetuated because of political, cultural, philosophical models that worked for building such an opinion and also for configuring the mentality of an époque. Starting from general background of history we analyse here the status of Romanian woman inside traditional society and family.

Imagining Society: Some Issues in Contemporary Norwegian Bio-Politics

Melhuus Marit, University of Oslo (marit.melhuus@sai.uio)

As biosciences are reshaping the concepts and definitions of life and death (Franklin and Lock), biotechnologies have become the subject of politics, power and knowledge worldwide, often converging in contested sites where fundamental, yet contradictory, values are exposed. These values are variously grounded, gaining their legitimacy from different orders of truth. Addressing contemporary Norwegian bio-politics, this paper explores one such contested site through a current discursive phenomenon particular to Norway: the notion of a "sorting society". The term is evocative, suggesting selection, discrimination, even eugenics. It is also negative. Carrying with it an underlying morality, this phenomenon works at the interface between science, religion and the state creating an ethical publicity. The notion of a sorting society articulates a fundamental tension between individual and society.

International Adoption and the Construction of a "Good" Kinship: Ethics, Justice and Truth

Anne Cadoret, CNRS (anne.cadoret@grass.cnrs.fr)

With international adoption growing, contracting states try to find rules that will regulate child circulation within frames defined by the Hague Convention and by the International Convention for the Rights of Children. Both these conventions are based on the children's rights to have a family, to be raised by some parents, by a father and a mother. Countries then try to establish criteria to define first an ethic transaction between contracting countries and second what would be good parents to replace those the children could have kept from their birth.

I will put the emphasis on this second issue and I will present here a draft analyse of the discussions heard on this subject among the different actors of an important French agency for adoption.

After describing to you the "objective" rules that this agency follows to choose

candidates to adoption whom it will accompany until they become parents, I would like to launch a reflection on the arguments used to refuse those same candidates who have already passed the "objective" rules' barrier. A real effort of coherence is required in the selection of future parents so that they are selected on the same criteria, but then what should be the logic behind the criteria? At what level? What certainties should be kept to reduce the risks attached to this so openly social kinship?

Interpenetrations of Nature and Morality: The Case of Nocturnal Seminal Emissions in Medieval Theological Thought

Núria Montserrat Farré Barril, University of Lleida (nmfb@historia.udl.cat)

In my study, I attempt to analyse the relationships between bodily nature and human will in the male body. Researchers have very often focused the analysis upon the ideas related to the naturally incontrollable and lascivious female body, source of all evil. Where did this fear of the female body and its physiology come from? Can we find its origins in the very same ideas related to the male body? By using sources from John Cassian and Augustine up to Thomas Aquinas, I wish to examine how the male body was conceptualised in its particular struggle between nature and morality. To this effect, I shall take as a central phenomenon nocturnal seminal emissions. This is a privileged location from which to observe how that battle was fought and how a balance was searched between body and ascetic will. In this connection, I will also look at the meaning of dreams and illusions in general in medieval imaginary. The effort to keep the movements of the flesh under control constitutes a privileged observatory from which to consider the mind-body interface in medieval man. Morality, physiology and psychological implications appear intertwined in a complex nexus that allows us to trace the ways in which men perceived their own nature (and to see what relationships, and in what terms, were established between body and mind).

Moralities of Nature: Kinship, Religion and Sciences of Reproduction

Joan Bestard, Universitat de Barcelona (bestard@ub.edu)

Nature has had a changing meaning though history and across cultures. A minimal definition of nature is what is exterior to human conscience - from human nature itself to physical nature. From this perspective nature has been a good tool to assemble different moralities to a minimum of basic norms. Nature had a basic rationality to be described by scientific laws or to be applied to human behaviour through norms. However, this perspective on nature is pre-Darwinian. Nature nowadays is not rational and it stops being an order. Is bio-ethics a good tool to assemble biology and ethics? How can be assembled norms and facts of nature? Is kinship a tool to assemble facts of "nature" with facts of "culture"? How are religious moralities assembled with artefacts of nature? In this paper I'll examine how moralities of kinship and moralities of religion are related or opposed in the context of reproductive technologies. In the context of an ethnography of Reproductive Technologies in Barcelona I will analyse the difference between what is said and represented and what is done and is unrepresented. This distinction applies to see differences between the dogmatic discourse of religion and what is done by a community of believers or non-believers in relation to what it can be done or not in relation to the manipulation of human life. How are assembled norms and facts of nature in the context of moralities of kinship and religion?

Nature, Technology, and Morality

Dorijan Keržan (dorijan.kerzan@gmail.com)

New reproductive technologies and biotechnology challenge many common facts about nature. Different forms of the assisted conception can change the understanding of a family, a parenthood, a personhood as well as a personal identity.
Based on the interviews with the physicians and other professionals at the fertility clinic, the peculiar understanding of "natural technologies" will be discussed. The idea of "natural technology" or technology that imitates nature was a powerful argument when family and parenthood were debated some years ago in Slovenia when the new legislation on assisted reproduction was adopted.
In this paper, I would like to show that nature and culture can no longer be defined in the separate discourses. The cultural and natural facts are increasingly becoming fluid and even a matter of negotiation. Therefore, it is perhaps necessary to abandon those concepts as the separate entities and observe them as a single concept seen from the different viewpoints.

Regulating Assisted Procreation: The Italian Case

Giulia Zanini, European University Institute (Giulia.Zanini@eui.eu)

The diffusion of assisted reproductive technologies strongly challenges the notion of nature, especially in the field of human reproduction. As a result, the re-formulation of the concept of nature is a matter of concern to religious and scientific actors. However, as these technologies deal with the reproduction and maintenance of society (affecting kinship-relations and notions of body, substance, and sexuality), they also enter the sphere of competence of political actors, such as politicians and law-makers. The choices national and regional legislators make in the regulation of assisted reproduction can be seen as the expression of local, morally oriented answers to a globally available science.
This paper focuses on Italy, one of the most restrictive countries in Europe with regard to the legislation on assisted procreation. Following an anthropological approach, the paper seeks to analyse the actual Italian legislation on medically assisted procreation (Law 40 - February 19, 2004) in relation to the respective public debate. The objective of the analysis is to highlight the moral values legislators want to convey, the role they attribute to the law as a means of influencing social practices, and the type of society they try to shape. The paper concentrates especially on the meanings that concepts like nature, reproduction and family acquire in the context of this law and provides an overview of the legal, political and moral framework in which this law is conceived.
This paper builds on the master thesis I defended at the EHESS in June 2007, and forms part of my current PhD research at the EUI.

Science and Religion in Traditional Indian Medicine

Laura Silvestri, Università degli Studi di Torino (silvestrilau@yahoo.it)

Traditional medicine (ayurveda) was taken by Indian nationalism as a synecdoche for traditional culture. In the face of European claims for scientific and technologic pre-eminence, Indian thinkers such as Aurobindo, Vivekananda, Radakrishnan, accepted European representations of Indian thinking as mystic, intuitive, visionary, in order to define it as a way to know reality distinctive of Indian identity, as much effective as Western scientific discourse and complementary to it.

Ayurvedic medicine was regarded by some scholars as the leading field in which Indian ability to produce scientifically effective knowledge expressed itself.
Reinterpretations of traditional medical concepts by means of biomedical theories helped to ground in natural, instead that in social rules, prescriptions given by ayurvedic texts. This accounts for the increasing interest that ayurvedic medicine arouses in Western countries, especially among those who wish values to be reintroduced in biomedical theory.
I argue, by the results of an inquiry among ayurvedic practicians in Turin that reinterpretations of ayurvedic medicine introduce in a pre-modern cosmology a romantic, expressive conception of the human nature, as defined by Charles Taylor.

Some Specificity in the Observation of Nature: Folk Traditions in Weather Forecast

Viatcheslav Rudnev, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology (roudnev@mail.ru)

Folk experience in observing Nature gives some important data for understanding the role of cultural diversity in the process of cognition. Folk meteorology is a sphere of human activity organically connected specifically with the life support activity and modes of life. The Folk meteorology of Russian peasants (19th century) can illustrate this. Russian peasants created a unique system of life support activity in difficult natural environments, specifically the climate conditions of the European part Russia. The special role of emotional factors in the process of the observation of Nature and fixing of facts and data is evident.
In my paper, I will focus attention on testing the role of "wide" views in the process of observing and assimilating Nature and the meaning and impact of cultural diversity in the process of cognitive activity with regard to this particular activity.

W037

Medical Anthropological Fieldwork: Ethical and Methodological Issues

Convenors: **Doreen Montag, Oxford University (doreen.montag@anthro.ox.ac.uk)**
Claire Beaudevin, Paul Cezanne University (claire@beaudevin.net)
Discussant: **Deanna Trakas**

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 345

Medical anthropology is challenged methodologically and ethically by its own nature. Research students and young professionals often receive insufficient training in how to deal with international review boards, ethical committees and ethical dilemmas linked to the roles played by researchers in the field. Additionally, first-time fieldworkers often feel overwhelmed by the field complexity and the necessity of writing and organising fieldnotes and diary entries.
The workshop will cover these aspects over the course of one day. In the first half of the day we will address methodological issues of medical anthropological fieldwork. Here the focus will lie on writing fieldnotes and diary entries. We will discuss training experiences, strategies for taking notes in different settings and circumstances, and strategies for writing diary entries. In addition, we will discuss whether medical

knowledge is a "necessary" background tool for anthropological research. This will lead us to the special status of "double labelled" anthropologists.
The second half of the workshop will focus on ethical issues of fieldwork and discuss differences between biomedical ethics and anthropologists' ethics. We will also bring up the issue of ethical code implementation for anthropologists, its potential pros and cons. In addition, we will discuss differences of "epistemological climate" between European countries. Then we will turn to experiences facing different committees around the world and look especially at differences between biomedically oriented committees and others. At the end of this second session, we will discuss ethical dilemmas linked to the roles played by researchers in the field.

Observing or Curing: Therapeutic Quests to the Researcher in Medical Pluralism

Athena Peglidou, University of Thessaly (peglidou@hotmail.com)

After eighties and the reflexive turn in anthropology, it is common concern among anthropologists that their endeavour does not consist of revealing the beliefs and practices of the Other rather of exploring, at least taking into consideration, a context of communication, a meeting point between him/her and his/her informants in the specific time and space (Clifford & Marcus 1986, Marcus & Fischer 1986). This paper using ethnographic data from an urban context in north-western Greece explores the ambivalent role of anthropologist in a multiple therapeutic field where female patients, diagnosed as depressive in the local Mental Health Centre, alternate various healing practices, medical, religious, paramedical and parareligious, institutional, private or illegitimate. Either in the Centre of Mental Health, using the consulting room of psychiatrist or in the church, sitting in its pews, there was a constant demand to the interviewer to evaluate the efficacy of such and such treatment. This way, as I will argue, patients integrated researcher in their therapeutic itineraries and attributed to her a therapeutic task. Reciprocally, researcher could not have an access to the therapeutic web and conceive its complexity unless she had been implicated in or 'affected' in Favret-Saada's term (1990) and attributed the obligation to express explicitly an opinion about the cause and the cure of suffering.

Investigate the Informal Market of Pharmaceuticals in Cotonou (Benin): Between Suspicion of Treachery and Fears of Witchcraft

Carine Baxerres, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales/UAC/IRD (carinebax@hotmail.com)

Through this talk, I will present the fussy field of research that was the wholesale centre of informal drugs in Cotonou, located in the big international market of Dantokpa. After a brief presentation of the informal market of drugs in Benin and its issue for the sellers towards which I was investigated and for those who struggle against it, I will explain how I negotiated my entrance and stay in this specific research field. Then, I will describe tow steps of this participative observation: the time of the "euphoric empathy" and this of the "generalised mistrust". Afterwards, I will try to analyse this field from reflexions around the research method of the participative observation: question of length, of the lack of background of the anthropologist learner, of the frenzy to ask always more question - even disturbing ones - to be sure of the research results, of the required empathy and the lack of reciprocity of the interest… I will finish this presentation relating the "final crisis" which leads to the "exit" from the field and I

will conclude by telling that this study, to my point of view, is scientifically a good one but that it brings affective consequences for the researcher learner.

Filling the Methodological Gaps in Assessing the Burden of Disease: An Experience of People Living with Epilepsy in the Manguissa Community in Cameroon

Tatah Peter Ntaimah, University of Yaounde (pntaimah@yahoo.co.uk)

This article focuses on Intimacy among people living with epilepsy in the Manguissa community in Cameroon. Intimacy here deals with one's relation with people of the opposite sex. It measures the frequency of sexual intercourse or mere cordial relationship and the extent to which it has been affected by epilepsy. These are the relationships that determine patients' subjective quality of life. This quality of life is one of the components of the burden of disease. The study is drawn from the background where over the years; the Disability Adjusted Life Years (DALY) emerged as a new metric for the assessment of burden of disease. This methodology results in treating like outcomes as like regardless of the setting in which they arise or of the individual concerned. The burden of disease has to vary according to variations in healthcare systems. We think that the DALY obscures a lot as a methodology in measuring the burden of diseases and should be complemented with basic anthropological methods such as (participant observation, life histories, in-depth interviews, focus group discussion etc…) in revealing what patients and relatives go through. It was found out that intimacy as a determinant of quality of life is influenced by sex, marital status, and the type of milieu (urban or rural) where patients reside. Therefore, the burden of epilepsy varies with the socio-cultural context where the disease occurs.

"Shipibo-Konibo Traditional Medicine": The Impact of Anthropologist's (Stupid) Questions on an Indigenous Group's Self-Perception

Bernd Brabec de Mori (boshirashki@gmx.at)

Fieldworking in medical anthropology is a delicate process. There are researchers who feed like vampires on their informants, as well as informants who likewise feed on researchers. From the very beginning, the fieldworker is challenged by own prejudices, projections from his culture of origin and from the host cultural complex. Conscious of his own biases, the researcher will still have to understand informant's expectations on both his project and personality before understanding anything else. The author has lived for five years inside his own fieldwork in western Amazonia.

In Shipibo-Konibo society (indigenous group in Peru), semi-professional experts in responding anthropological questions have evolved after a relative oversaturation with anthropologists during the 20th century. They know how to seduce researchers with interesting knowledge regarding medical practices, which may be completely eclectic, improvised or even constructed in purpose of impressing the visitor and obtaining economic favours.

The impact of western scientific research in general and of ethnomedical fieldwork in particular on the representation of "Shipibo-Konibo cosmology" will be elaborated. It shall be mentioned that the Shipibo-Konibo ethnic compound is a 20th century's construction as well as the assumption that there exists a representative cosmology; not to skip the fact that ayawaska usage has been considered the fundamental (and millennium) experience for this "cosmology" by most authors. Today's Shipibo-Konibo self-perception is greatly influenced if not almost entirely constructed by former

ethnographer's expectations. If you ask a question and get an answer, this should sometimes be considered more worrying than getting no response.

From Medical Research to Anthropological Research: The Case of Participants' Consent in Rural West Africa

Mary-Ashley Ouvrier, University of Provence (ashleyouvrier@yahoo.fr)

Informed consent is generally recommended to insure subjects' autonomy when participating to a research regarding health. Historically linked to medical bioethics, the concept is intrinsically linked to medical knowledge and institutions. But do biomedical ethics cover ethics in medical anthropology? This communication intends to answer this question by presenting a comparative approach of consent processes in medical research and anthropological research. This communication is based on a study that took place in Senegal between 2006 and 2008 using an anthropological approach to analyse medical research. Observations of medical research activities and qualitative interviews with participants, investigators and promoters provide data on the consent process in medical research. Field notes as well as personal methodological tools and reflexive analysis are used to describe participant's consent in anthropological research. Analysis of the consent process in medical research shows that it varies according to external factors such as time management, social, economic and epidemiological factors. Even though consent is discussed and organised far before the trial starts, results show that participants' autonomy is not consequently guaranteed. Analysis of the consent process from an anthropological perspective show that the biomedical "informed consent" is hardly usable regarded epistemological, technical as well as local factors related to anthropological methods. An individual approach and a reflexive analysis of interactions were used to collect consent during the research. Implications for ethical review of anthropological projects by committees whose decisions rely on bioethics will be discussed.

Anthropology of Pain and Suffering: Ethical Issues

Alice Péters, Université Libre de Bruxelles (alicepeters2@hotmail.com)

This paper approaches different ethical problems and methodological adjustments related to my ethnographical work on the social construction of therapeutic pain in the everyday interactions with healers, patients and their relatives. To begin with, I shall develop on the obstacles encountered when starting my two different field experiences, first in a Belgian hospital and then in a British one. Ethical conditions leading to the acceptance of my presence in these settings by bio-ethic Committees were strikingly different and have clearly influenced further fieldwork, in particular, the relationships with my interlocutors. In the second part of my paper, I will discuss epistemological and ethical questions of neutrality and transparency when doing ethnography of such delicate topics: how did my informants perceived my presence as an anthropologist in the hospital? And how did such perception influence my work? Also, how to put into words what I have observed without disclosing my interlocutors' intimacy? Above all, what does imply doing research with people in such a state of suffering?

Rapports entre anthropologie et médecine au Sénégal: problèmes éthiques et contraintes déontologiques

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L'anthropologie de la santé reste une discipline relativement méconnue en Afrique de l'Ouest, au Sénégal notamment. L'étude que nous avons réalisée dans le cadre de notre thèse de doctorat sur les reconfigurations professionnelles autour de la prise en charge de la tuberculose au Sénégal a ainsi suscité de notre part une réflexion sur les images de l'anthropologie dans le milieu médical. Du fait de sa démarche et des perceptions de la discipline par les acteurs de santé, le chercheur est souvent obligé de négocier et de justifier sa place et son statut dans les différents services de santé. En effet, notre démarche étant souvent incompréhensible par les professionnels de santé, notre méthodologie [qualitative] est souvent remise en cause. Cette contestation de la méthode s'accompagne souvent de la contestation de la légitimité du chercheur et de sa discipline. Tantôt instrumentalisé, tantôt qualifié de « voyeur » ou d'espion, l'anthropologue par ses méthodes (l'observation participante notamment) est confronté à des problèmes d'ordre éthique et déontologique dans des contextes où il y a des enjeux de vie et de mort. Dans cette perspective, notre propos portera sur les contraintes auxquelles nous confronte notre implication dans des terrains dits « sensibles » tels que les structures de santé au Sénégal et face à de nouveaux objets [la santé] communs à plusieurs disciplines.

Responsibility, Mutuality and Participation in the Field: Conducting Research with Undocumented Migrants in Berlin

Susann Huschke, Free University Berlin (susann.huschke@gmail.com)

This paper discusses ethical issues that occurred during my ongoing anthropological fieldwork on health and sickness of undocumented Latin American migrants in Berlin. For undocumented migrants, fear of being discovered and deported is a substantial part of every day life. Therefore, any data gathered by the anthropologist is potentially dangerous to the informant, if given to certain institutions. In this research setting, accessing the field involved to a number of practical ethical issues.

In order to get involved with the Latino community in Berlin, I worked as a volunteer for migrant organisations. When participating in informal communication situations, it had to be decided how to disclose myself as a researcher. Furthermore, talking about sickness experiences in the particular context of irregular migration may cause great emotional distress for the interlocutors. Hence, ethical responsibilities of the researcher may demand to defer interviews in order to avoid negative emotional experiences for the informants.

Once informants were found, further questions of responsibility and participation arose. This doctoral study is based on the idea of field research as a process of mutual exchange of services. On the other hand, anthropological participant observation, especially in this highly political and sensitive research setting, could easily turn into mere participation and emotional involvement. Thus, in a continuous process of self-reflection, it must be decided which services are adequate or even mandatory from an ethical point of view, and with which intensity they can be performed without relinquishing the role as a professional scientist.

Ethical Implications of an Anthropological Approach of Suicide

Michela Canevascini (michela.canevascini@unil.ch)

Which ethical position should a researcher assume in studying suicide in Switzerland? It does not concern the freedom to kill oneself (which is rather a moral issue), although it is about bringing into question the neutrality often defended in researchers about suicide (in a psychological or anthropological approach). Does the point of view chosen to study suicide, determinate the ethical position regarding suicide? Adopting a critical approach which point out the social (related to the economical and political conditions) and cultural dimensions (related to the individualistic values lauding the individual responsibility and autonomy) characterising suicides, does it imply to call into question the individual freedom and the social responsibility? Finally, how to justify an implicated approach encouraging the suicide prevention, if this prevention is most of the time psychological oriented and if the researchers in social sciences have no or not so much consideration in public health programs?
In the ambit of an ethnological research studying the taking into care of persons who did suicide attempts, I interrogate health professionals about their work and their ethical position in suicide. My interest in applied anthropology makes me consider, in a reflexive aim, the ethical implications of my own approach.

Facing the Opposition between PEPFAR's (President's Emergency Plan For AIDS Relief) Aims and the EOC's (Ethiopian Orthodox Church) Followers Living with HIV/AIDS Aspires

Judith Hermann, Université de Provence (yodit_her@yahoo.fr)

In this presentation, I would like to share some of the difficulties I faced with the Ethiopian and the American institutions involved in the fight against HIV/AIDS. My research concerns the EOC's commitment in the fight against HIV/AIDS with a special emphasis on the holy water treatment taken by PLHA, aiming to be cured from HIV/AIDS miraculously. Difficulties did not concern ethical issues towards PLHA. It was simple to meet PLHA on holy water location. Indeed, people present themselves easily as person living with HIV/AIDS and anonymisation process of interviews was respected. In 2007, PEPFAR opened an ART (Antiretroviral treatment) centre nearby a holy water location to distribute treatment to PLHA living over there. Whatsoever, considering religious dogma, holy water is incompatible with any other kind of treatment (holy water is a spiritual cure, which can not be mixed with a worldly one). I have met PEPFAR, HAPCO (HIV/AIDS Prevention and Control Office) and EOC's leaders. I highlighted the issue from the perspective of all parties, which was already, regarding my relationship with PLHA living on holy water location, a sort of betrayal. Alas, my information contradicted their plans and their data; finally, they discredited my work, but used a part of it, to create a programme to make PLHA return home and work; a programme that could be relevant but was established without consideration for its social and cultural cost and at least experiences and representations of PLHA. Acknowledging global consequences and ethical issue in this situation, this topic seems important to be addressed.

W038

Twenty Years of Teaching Visual Anthropology: Where Are We and How Did We Get There?

Convenors: **Peter I. Crawford, University of Tromsø (peterc@sv.uit.no)**
Petia Mankova, University of Tromsø (petia.mankova@sv.uit.no)

29 August 2008, 11:00
Room: 4

In 1989, Paolo Chiozzi edited a book called "Teaching Visual Anthropology", the first publication dealing specifically with an assessment of teaching a rapidly growing sub-discipline. Since then, the sub-discipline has undergone extensive institutionalisation, been affected by the advent of first analogue and then digital video technology, and increasingly has access to completely new teaching and learning methods through, for example, Internet-based visual ethnography packages. What have the implications of all this been for visual anthropology? Has it radically changed our notion of the sub-discipline, including its theoretical foundations? Are there major differences (or similarities) between the ways in which visual anthropology is taught at the growing number of programmes across Europe and on other continents? How can the Internet and other web-based platforms open up new ways of teaching and learning and what are the characteristics of current projects in this field? Finally, how has this period enabled us to re-think the whole sub-discipline? While there was, initially, a strong focus on ethnographic film, there may be other forms of audio-visual expression emerging, which may force us to reconsider the subject, while one form older than the medium of cinema, the still photograph, now in its digital form, may be entering a stage of renaissance.
The workshop invites both theorists and practitioners of teaching visual anthropology to submit proposals for papers and presentations while in particular looking for new and innovative ways of teaching.

EIDOS: Ways of Knowing

Andrew Irving, Manchester University (irving2000@gmail.com)

This paper addresses a series of questions, currently being explored in the Granada Centre for Visual Anthropology at the University of Manchester, concerning the relationship between current anthropological understandings of the world, visual and sensory perception, art and aesthetics. It suggests that if different sensory experiences embody different kinds of knowledge, then we need to develop new practices, methods and forms of representation that are not simply based in image, text, writing or correspondence theories of truth but creatively combine their properties. Visual Anthropology has always been a misnomer insofar as sound and other properties have long been recognised as fundamental to the films that have defined the Granada Centre since its inception in 1987. With the formation of a new research centre EIDOS, dedicated to research based around ethnography, images, documentary, objects and the senses, the Granada Centre seeks to usher in a critical development in our ways of knowing , that we argue must take place not merely at the level of theory and representation but also through innovative fieldwork methods and media practices. By employing such an approach, contemporary theoretical, critical and philosophical questions might usefully be transformed into anthropological questions and developed ethnographically. How might, for example, we combine image and sound, object and text, body and voice, during fieldwork and representation to better

understand the corporeal dimensions of social life or explore the relationship between the interiority of a person's experience and its exteriority that is present to the eye, the ear and other sense organs that make it "open" to anthropological documentation, theorisation and representation?

Spatial Montage, Mutuality and Diversity: New Possibilities for Ethnographic Film-Making

Judith Aston, University of the West of England (judith.aston@uwe.ac.uk)

The proposition here is that computers afford new possibilities for ethnographic film-making, enabling non-linear associational works to be created which generate a different relationship between authors and viewers. The experience created is more akin to reading a book, in that it is one-to-one, enabling viewers to interact with the materials presented at their own pace. With reference to Vertov's concept of Kino-Pravda and Manovich's work on database narrative, this presentation will discuss work produced to date through an ongoing collaboration between the author and the anthropologist, Wendy James. The aim of this collaboration is to explore ways in which audiovisual recordings spanning over four decades of ethnographic fieldwork among the Uduk-speaking peoples of the Sudan/Ethiopian borderlands can be incorporated into an interactive multimedia presentation to convey ideas about mutuality and diversity. The presentational techniques being developed, privilege spatial montage over sequential montage, enabling viewers to interact with on-screen juxtapositions. At the heart of this work is the idea that the medium offers new possibilities for the creation of polyphonic narratives, in which the narrator's voice begins to merge with the multiplicity of voices and points of view of those being represented. It is this very multiplicity that offers such rich possibilities for engaging with complex relationships between mutuality and diversity. Whilst not replacing books or films, the argument will be made that the potential is here for an equally valid form of communication to co-exist alongside other forms, thereby extending the narrative possibilities of ethnographic film.

Teaching "the Visual" in an Undergraduate Course of Words

Humberto Martins, CEAS (humbmsm@yahoo.com)

This paper will reflect on a 4-year experience of teaching visual anthropology as an "non-compulsory" subject in an undergraduate course of Anthropology at a Portuguese University. It gives particular attention to a structural difficulty presented by students switching into a different knowledge/learning relation. Basically, not all students are available to agree with forms of knowledge and "evaluation" not exclusively based on texts and the conventional ways of evaluating. Along with this main argument I also want to reflect on the dialoguing borders in which anthropology may (now or ever) relay in order to grasp more complex understandings of its conventional subjects (humans). Haptic forms of knowledge are made possible in an inevitable conjunction of science, art, common sense and other (former) competitive discourses. Is it possible to create a film as a single PhD final product in an anthropological course? Is it possible to have (in anthropology) a full professional artist as a supervisor of a masterpiece of an artistic work that may also be submitted as a "scientific" representation?

The New Generation of Visual Anthropologists

Elhum Shakerifar (elhumshakerifar@hotmail.com)
Edward Owles (ed_owles@hotmail.com)

In our paper we will focus on the "new generation" of visual anthropologists and the methods we need to develop in order to engage young people in anthropology's concerns.
We will also explore the empowerment offered by digital media to this generation, as well as its proliferation (through the Internet for instance) and how this can impact upon the production of visual anthropology.
Participatory methods have continued to develop steadily since the Kayapo started employing their cameras as political tools - today, cameras are ubiquitous and lie in the hands of an already media-savvy group. How does this impact upon a new generation of filmmakers' assumptions? And what is the understanding amongst young people of auto-ethnography in an urban environment?
Indeed, ours is also a media saturated generation where the relationship between responsibility and representation is increasingly fractured, with a concomitant widespread failure to grasp that visual media is a representation of reality, rather than reality itself.
We will use our recent "South East Ethnography" project, a six week-long series of theoretical and practical visual anthropology workshops (conducted with 15-19 year olds from Greenwich Community College, in association with the Royal Anthropological Institute) to explore these issues, including a screening of the films to motivate discussion.
Finally, we will discuss the effects and outcomes of the project on the community they were centred around, and how the relationship between the participants, filmmakers and audience conspired around the films to create an enduring expression of cultural collision.

Visual Ethnography Basics (VEBweb): A Web-Based Teaching Package

Peter I. Crawford, University of Tromsø (peterc@sv.uit.no)
Petia Mankova, University of Tromsø (petia.mankova@sv.uit.no)

Visual Ethnography Basics (VEBweb) is a web-based teaching package being developed by Visual Cultural Studies at the University of Tromsø. Combining a database with text, film clips, films, photos and a history of ethnographic film timeline, the package attempts to provide access to ways of understanding and analysing ethnographic films. The system is ready for testing in the Autumn term 2008 and the EASA workshop will be an opportunity to present a kind of pilot test. This presentation will thus take you through the ideas behind, and the structure and the design of the teaching package and discuss some of the compromises one has had to accept in developing it.

W039

Violence Expressed

Convenors: **Nerina Weiss, University of Oslo (Nerina.weiss@sai.uio.no)**
Maria Six-Hohenbalken, Austrian Academy of Sciences (maria.six-hohenbalken@oeaw.ac.at)

28 August 2008, 11:00
Rooms: 2 and ZDR

This workshop will contribute to the study of violence by focusing on narratives of violence and discussing different ethnographic examples and analytical perspectives on "violent expressions". Living in a continuous state of violence, how do people publicly (re)construct, redefine and remember traumatic events? What forms of narratives do they use or refrain from using, what are the political motivations behind? How can we decipher these narratives?

The workshop invites empirically driven as well as theoretically informed papers which discuss the anthropological approaches to violence (e.g. Das 2007; Whitehead (ed.) 2004; Schmidt and Schröder 2003, Malkki 1995; Feldman 1991). Proposals may include narratives of individuals, victims of domestic violence and state terror, structural and political violence in recent and historical fields.

We are interested in community studies: how do post-war violence and trauma inflict a society, how does a community deal with violence and violent memories (community suffering, public acts of witnessing and confessing, ritualisation and renarration)? How are violent actions of one's own community and those of the enemy constructed and represented?

We also strongly encourage contributions that look at how perpetrators express and comment on their own violent actions.

Contributions which address the following themes are especially welcome:

- Gendered violence and gendered differences in coping with violent experiences and how they affect everyday life and "folds itself into the recesses of the ordinary" (Das 2007)
- Relation between violence, pain and language
- Violence and somaticised symptoms
- Researching in emotionally distressful fields - (in)sufficiency of anthropological methods.

Discursive Strategies: How Israeli Soldiers Explain What They Do and Why They Do It

Erella Grassiani, VU University (e.grassiani@fsw.vu.nl)

This paper will focus on the dominant discursive strategies that Israeli soldiers use when giving account of their daily tasks and operational activities in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT). The occupation itself and the presence of the soldiers in the OPT require soldiers to carry out nightly arrests, to man checkpoints and to patrol Palestinian towns and villages. During these constabulary tasks, they are constantly confronted with the "other": the Palestinian. These meetings have a high potential to lead to violent interactions, either verbal or physical. This paper deals with the way soldiers give account of such "violent meetings" and their military practises in general. I will try to show what discursive strategies soldiers use to explain, legitimise or justify their behaviour and thus how they make sense of their actions. Dominant themes in the discourse of soldiers, such as a focus on professionalism or ideology, will be

filtered out and discussed in more detail. Furthermore, I will show how these strategies can be traced back to Israeli society and the way it perceives its soldiers and the military in general, as such strategies are socially constructed and not individual. This paper is based on fieldwork conducted within a project concerning moral issues and dilemmas Israeli soldiers deal with within the OPT.

Interpreting Political Violence in Post-Civil War Lebanon, 1989-2007

Are Knudsen, Christian Michelsen Institute (are.knudsen@cmi.no)

This paper analyses political violence in post-civil war Lebanon (1989-2007). The paper addresses two main questions: how prevalent was political violence in post-civil war Lebanon; and what made Lebanon vulnerable to new outbreaks of political violence? While the Lebanese civil war (1975-90) has been country did not escape new outbreaks of violence. Political violence ("the use or threat of violence for political ends") did not end but continued in different forms throughout the post-war period. Overt violence against civilians was low, but political leaders and journalists were killed with impunity. Targeted assassinations intensified during the transitional period from war to peace (1989-91), and peaked after the murder of former Prime Minister Rafik Hariri in February 2005. From 1989 to the present, about 30 attacks killed and maimed politicians and journalists in addition to innocent bystanders. This confirms the assumption that post-war states are indeed vulnerable to continued or new violence. However, there is no consensus as to why this is the case: institutional failure ("weak state"), socio-cultural traits ("culture of violence") and the "legacies of war and peace" are all used to account for continued violence in "post-war states". The paper concludes by examining these perspectives against findings from Lebanon for a more nuanced understanding of "post-war violence".

Talks of Refugees: African Asylum Claimants in Israel

Hadas Yaron, The Academic College Tel Aviv Yafo (hadasyaron1@hotmail.com)

The paper focuses on the narration of refuge and uprooting in the context of the discourses surrounding African asylum claimants staying in Israel. Since 2006 an increasing number of African asylum claimants crossed the southern border of Israel with Egypt and entered Israel. Many of the refugees who arrived in Israel originate from Sudan, including the region of Darfur, but also from other African countries such as Eritrea. In the absence of domestic legislation concerning asylum, the African refugees meet the authorities (including the military and the municipalities), as well as the public confused and indecisive. On the one hand, while human rights organisations and the refugees themselves draw on the Holocaust as the fundamental reason for Israel's moral obligation towards refugees, especially in light of violent events such as genocide and mass murder, the Palestinian right to return and experience of uprooting remains a disturbing unresolved issue in the moral discourse concerning refugees.

In the paper I describe the different voices which participate and operate within the discourses regarding refugees, discussing how one narrative of violence interacts with another. I explore this interaction both as a political construction but also as an element which construe individual narratives. The paper is based on my research which is currently in progress, and includes activist research in human rights organisations, shelters in Tel Aviv, as well as observations of public events and material available through the media.

Thinking through Violence and Impunity: Trauma, Memory and Silence among Yup'ik Peoples of Western Alaska

Linda Green, University of Arizona (lbgreen@email.arizona.edu)

Perhaps nowhere have the effects of tuberculosis been more dramatically felt than among the indigenous peoples of rural Alaska. Although tuberculosis had been endemic during the 19th century, by mid-20th century, during the second wave of Americanisation (Oswalt 1990), it had reached such epidemic proportions that one out of every three Alaskan natives was dying of tuberculosis, with Yup'ik people having some of the highest rates of tuberculosis anywhere in the world. By the 1950s one out of every thirty Alaskan natives was in a tuberculosis sanatorium remaining there for two years or more, mostly outside of Alaska's borders. The epidemic was over by the late 1960s, yet by century's end Yup'ik's had some of the highest suicide rates of anywhere in the United States.
This paper explores the complexity of events and the contradictions that arose in a radically changing social, cultural and political-economic order in rural Alaska from the 1930s to the 1990s to understand how the forces and structures of western scientific knowledge and public health policy contributed to a transfromation of the ways that Yup'ik people have lived and died. Conceptually, the paper examines the intricate relationship between structural violence and cultural death viewed through the lens of impunity to explore how traumatic processes are often understood and enacted upon as though inevitable by the dominant society and among its victims.

City of Fear: Everyday Life Strategies and Tactics for Coping with Street Violence in Recife

Konrad Miciukiewicz, Adam Mickiewicz University (kmiciukiewicz@poczta.onet.pl)

Greater Recife is recognised as the most dangerous urban area in Brazil. The capital of Pernambuco which has the highest murder and favelisation rates in the country has been often described as the city of violence and fear. The middle classes in Recife with the support from the public authorities embedded in willingness to compromise vitality and diversity of urban life for a greater sense of security from crime turn the whole districts into gated areas. As a consequence Recife consists of the two separated cities - the violent favelas and the militarised gated settlements.
The aim of this paper is not, however, to research the phenomenon of gated communities. The areas of organising space, such as walling the land will be regarded here only as one of the strategies of coping with fear of violence in urban space. This study focuses on the discursive conjunctions of space, violence, fear and insecurity. The paper comments on the problems of living with violence in Recife with regard to Michel de Certeau´s theory of everyday life. The author brings the view on various strategies and tactics of coping with the fear of violence employed by the inhabitants of Recife - both middle classes and favela dwellers. The study reports on the results of the analysis of 30 in-depth interviews conducted in Recife with three groups of interviewees: inhabitants of gated settlements, favela dwellers and institutional experts. The research was aimed at reconstructing individual narratives of insecurity, the private conceptualisations of the threats, and the practices of counteracting violence in everyday life.

The Cultural Production of Violence among Mafiosi

Peter Schneider, Fordham University (schneider@fordham.edu)

Calderone (in Arlacchi 1993: 159-160) reports that capomafia Stefano Bontade showed up late for an important meeting. Stepping out of his Porsche Carrera, he asked the others to forgive him for his lateness saying, "I had to change a flat tire, and I had to strangle (inchiaccare) Stefano Giaconia". Michele Greco, present at the meeting, approved, saying that Bontade had done well to get rid of this scum, after which Bontade added, "that cornuto (cuckold) gave me trouble right up to the end. After I killed him, we set his clothes on fire, and while they were burning there was an explosion. It was the bullet in a pen-pistol, calibre 22, that Giaconia carried with him." Someone present made the ironic comment that Giaconia was quite a man of honour, still able to shoot from the grave!

The apparent banality of mafia-related violence is the subject of this proposed paper. Based on ethnographic fieldwork in Sicily, trial proceedings in Palermo and New York, and "justice collaborator" (pentito) depositions, I will explore a range of motivations for acts of violence associated with organised crime, taking into account the collective dynamics of fraternal sodalities such as the mafia cosca, the exclusive "moral hothouse" that insulates and promotes criminal/deviant cultural practices, and the role of emotions - among them, excitement and self-actualisation - argued by Katz (1988) and others to play an under-appreciated role in crime.

On Secrecy, Myth and Violence in Eastern Turkey

Nerina Weiss, University of Oslo (Nerina.weiss@sai.uio.no)

For more than two decades there has been an armed conflict between the Kurdish Workers' Party PKK and the Turkish military in Eastern Turkey. After the guerrilla (PKK) announced a one-sided ceasefire in 1999 (which it renounced in 2001), the community I will describe here returned to a post-war "normality". The area is still highly militarised, but contrary to several other towns in the area, the situation has been very calm with hardly any violent incidents between the warring parties since 1999.

This paper will focus on the few occasions, where violence occurred: On one hand, the (accidental) assassination of a Kurdish guard, and the capture and torture of several PKK sympathisers by Turkish military forces, and the assassination of two village guards by the guerrilla on the other hand.

Depending on the perpetrator, i.e. the military forces or the guerrilla, these events are recounted in very different forms. Violence committed by the military is mentioned within a public discourse. The violent event is retold in extreme detail and positioned in space, thus proving the accuracy of the tale. Violence supposedly conducted by the guerrilla is mystified, retold and reinterpreted. Such narratives are mostly covered with an aura of myth and adopt the form of folk tales. There is no similar public discourse, rather a public silence, and detailed knowledge of such an event is highly restricted and openly disguised.

Speaking Blood: Expressions of Sexual Violence in Guadeloupe

Janine Klungel, Radboud University, Nijmegen (J.Klungel@maw.ru.nl)

Women in the French Caribbean island of Guadeloupe frequently narrate their experiences with sexual violence in a metaphoric language in which blood is a key symbol. They explain that they could not verbalise their painful rape experiences at first, but that they spoke blood instead, which they threw up like big balls or trickled

from the corner of their mouths as a narrating voice.
In the local idiom, blood vomiting is commonly perceived as a sign of bewitchment. This allows Guadeloupian women to speak publicly about sexual violence, because they accuse other women of witchcraft - usually women who are part of the family but are not blood related - to have manipulated the spirits of dead men by speaking a curse over their bloodstained sanitary towel. At night, these manipulated spirits of dead men penetrate their houses and rape them repeatedly, just as during slavery, when European men haunted African women as they "invisibly" forced entrance in their cabins to rape them.
It is the substance of blood and its metaphorical power to express sexual violence that is at the heart of this paper. Based on longitudinal multi-sited fieldwork in one extended Guadeloupian family, it aims at listening attentively to this metaphoric language which is often called "silence", because it is considered too general and metaphoric to describe the actual experience (Das 1997). In contrast, I argue that anthropologists lack an adequate research apparatus to investigate these metaphoric expressions rather than that the women raped are unable to express themselves adequately.

Impunity and the Lexicon of Victim Precipitation in "Peacetime" Guatemala

Victoria Sanford, CUNY (victoria.sanford@lehman.cuny.edu)

Since the signing of the peace accords in 1996 ended 36 years of internal armed conflict ultimately recognised as genocide, the Guatemalan judicial system has been forced to confront and at least partially prosecute some significant human rights cases including the army-ordered assassinations of anthropologist Myrna Mack and Bishop Juan Gerardi. While material authors of each murder have been prosecuted, the intellectual authors remain unnamed and at-large. Add to these incomplete cases, the hundreds of rural massacres from the early 1980s that have now been filed in the courts with forensic evidence as well as recent high profile cases of corruption, organised crime, drug-trafficking and thousands of homicides, the end result is an overwhelmed judicial system still in the process of adapting to new laws and procedures promulgated in the 1990s to move Guatemala away from a vertical system of secretive justice. One might suggest that the culture of terror that produced genocide in Guatemala in the 1980s has become a culture of impunity in "peacetime." Impunity is grounded in a lexicon of victim precipitation and reinforced by the inefficiency of the judicial system that has failed to overcome the formalism of past authoritarian regimes that privileged procedures over the facts of the case. This paper explores contemporary human rights violations through the prism of language. I compare and contrast the narratives of victims, survivors, prosecutors, police, forensic investigators, politicians, and human rights activists with the written representation of their experiences in the popular press, investigative reports and legal proceedings.

Three Years after the Terrorist Attack: Emotions, Memory and Politics in Beslan

Erika Fatland, University of Oslo (efa@nupi.no)

On September 1, 2004 a group of (mainly) Chechen and Ingush terrorists seized School no. 1 in the small town of Beslan in the Russian republic of North Ossetia-Alanya. More than 1200 schoolchildren, teachers and parents were kept as hostages in the hot, crowded gym for three days. When a bomb exploded in the gym on September 3, Russian Special Forces stormed the building. Over 330 people, including 186 children, were killed during the siege.

In the paper, which is based on a three month long fieldwork in Beslan, I discuss the long term consequences of the terrorist attack. Naturally, individuals were affected psychologically and physically, but the community as a whole was affected as well. As one former hostage put it: "Instead of becoming like a big family, which indeed we should have become after something like this, people grew further apart from each other and became more hostile and evil". Using the meaning and works of words as an analytical tool, I examine the social life of grief and anger among former hostages and non-hostages in Beslan.
I will also devout some time to discuss the reputation and motivation of the political groups (Mothers of Beslan, Voice of Beslan) that were formed in the aftermath of the tragedy. These groups openly criticise the government and demand objective investigation of the terrorist act. This is quite unique in Putin's Russia, where open political protest is becoming an increasingly rare phenomenon.

Narratives of Violence: Temporality, Corporality and Justice

Nazan Üstündağ, Bogazici University (nazanust@hotmail.com)

The ongoing war between the Turkish Army and the Kurdish guerrilla group PKK has drastic affects on the geography and identity of people living in the South East Turkey. While displacement, murders and torture are the more visible aspects of this war, impoverishment and the difficulty of cultural reproduction are its less debated consequences. This paper argues that for people who live in the region the criteria used to differentiate violence from non-violence is not the use of guns as much as how events can be given meaning within different temporalities.
Based on narrative accounts, this paper explores the different temporalities employed to explain the experience of conflict. I argue that in the narratives of Kurdish people two different temporalities are at work. On the one hand, a mythic temporality constructs PKK and the state as the good and evil fighting an ahistorical battle. In such a temporality PKK is closely linked to communal identity and yet, is also alienated from daily temporality, hence from intervention and politics. Stories of resistance and heroism mystify violence yet, also make it intelligible and acceptable. On the other hand, the temporality of everyday reveals both Kurdish organisations and the state as accountable actors. Here, discourses of poverty, interest and conspiracy are employed and a space is opened up from which violence can be narrated as an embodied experience. I claim that a careful attention to narratives of violence question our basic assumptions about politics, ethics and justice and forces us to critically engage with the liberal underpinnings of social science thinking.

Ordinary Daily Social Violence in Africa: An Offspring of Urban Anomy and Normative Confusion

Jacky Bouju, University of Provence (bouju@mmsh.univ-aix.fr)

This paper is focusing on narratives of daily ordinary social violence collected in recent ethnographic fieldworks undertaken in African capital cities (Bamako, Ouagadougou, Kinshasa, Bangui). Although the construction of violence as a recognised social fact was studied from three points of view : the victim (as the narrator of his suffer), the perpetrator (as a commentator of his violent action) and the witnesses (as legitimators of the qualification of the act as being "violence"), the complex relationship between its rational side (an efficient way to obtain something from somebody) its cultural side (a traditional, legitimate or honourable way to behave in such a situation) and its irrational side (a spontaneous way to react) blurred the representations of what

local people consider as "violence". Moreover, according to witnesses testimonies violence may bear several meanings: it does express the will to neglect community's norms at the cost of physical or mental suffering of those who are thus wronged, but at the same time it also expresses the will to reorganise assigned reciprocal expectations in the opposite directions of strengthening submissiveness or responsibility on one side of the relationship or emancipating and escaping duty on the other side of it. Therefore, I suggest that to analyse routine situations of ordinary social violence is a very good observation post of the social changes at work. In many cases, violence appears to be a way to stress an identity neglected by the economic, educational and social change taking place. In such a case, it expresses the wish to modify a personal situation perceived as becoming intolerable. And as such it speaks for a kind of conflictuality which find, right or not, no other way to express itself.
In a contemporary African urban context marked by life uncertainties, situations of urban anomy and generalised normative confusion which endanger personal and collective identities, perpetrators of violent actions calls very much for being recognised as the subject and author of one's own life, to be recognised also in one's reciprocal expectations, in one's representations of social life and finally in one's identity. Ordinary daily violence then appears to be a practical mean to satisfy needs as well as to promote claims. But it also operates as a symbolic way to dramatise basic elements of social experience able to attract the so desired social recognition.

Anfal and Halabja Expressed in Diaspora: Narrations of Violence Twenty Years after Genocidal Processes against Kurds in Iraq

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During the "Operation Anfal" in Iraq in 1887/1988 about 180 000 Kurds were murdered, 4500 villages destroyed and masses deported. This campaign started already in 1983 when 8000 male members of the Barzani tribe were deported and "disappeared". In the last years excavation of mass graves bear out that these men were murdered in mass camps in the South of Iraq. In 1987 genocidal priming was enforced and the Iraqi government started to use poison gas against Kurds. In March 1988 the region around Halabja was attacked with conventional and chemical weapons killing 5000 civilians of Halabja and injuring 7000 persons in one day. Until today, families are confronted with mass murder and "unquiet death" of family members who were deported and never returned. This paper tries to examine the long term consequences of these genocidal processes on the narrations in Diaspora communities. How is the following generation narrating Anfal? How far have these discourses enforced the creation of Kurdish Diaspora identities? How are individuals dealing with these different forms of violence, e.g. when they are informed about the fate of "disappeared" family members? How are refugees still affected psychologically and physically dealing with their experiences? What forms of violence are excluded from these diasporic national narrations, e.g. the role of jash (Kurdish collaborators with the Iraqi regime)? Focusing on violence against women during Anfal, it will be discussed why crimes against women and resulting mental illnesses are taboo topics even in Diaspora.

W040

Anthropological Perspectives on the Establishment of New Medical Technologies

Convenors: **Bernhard Hadolt, Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna (hadolt@ihs.ac.at)**
Viola Hörbst, Ludwig-Maximilians University, München (hoerbst@lrz.uni-muenchen.de)

29 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 05

New medical technologies are regarded as a central factor in transforming the ways of understanding and dealing with health and illness. The worldwide establishment of technologies such as those associated with assisted reproduction, genetic diagnostics, intensive care, plastic surgery and tissue engineering in clinical practice may lead to new forms of medical knowledge and technical interventions, the formation and/ or re-formation of diagnostic and therapeutic procedures and medical professions, or the re-organisation of whole medical fields. The introduction of new medical technologies may also entail public debates about the ethical limits of medical feasibility and the appropriateness of regulations thus affecting understandings of life and regimes of living.
This workshop invites discussion of issues around the establishment of new medical technologies both from empirical and theoretical perspectives. What are the discourses and medical practices involving these technologies to be found in today's local moral worlds? What are the conditions and processes of their establishment and how do resulting changes contribute to a globalising medical world? How do professionals and users appropriate - and are appropriated by - these technologies and what effects does this have on their lives? And how should these questions best be approached methodologically, conceptually and theoretically?

Aesthetic Triage: Cosmetic Surgery as an Experimental Medical Technology in Brazil

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Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork in Brazil's plastic surgery clinics and public hospitals, this paper shows how new medical technologies get incorporated into consumer, sexual, and aesthetic modes of self-governance. Brazil has become a global leader in plastic surgery, a prime destination for medical tourism and an innovator in surgical technique. Brazil is also unusual in providing practical training in cosmetic procedures to residents and free operations to what surgeons call the "popular classes." I track how plastic surgery - known simply as plástica - is emerging as an experimental and didactic practice in this environment. Surgeons in residence from Brazil, Latin America, and beyond get invaluable training and develop new techniques in the "messy conditions" of Brazil's busy public hospitals with long patient lines. And patients also absorb through their interactions in clinics and via the enormous media coverage of plástica a particular way of working on the self-body. In a context of scarcity, patients practice "aesthetic triage," re-prioritising their preferences for particular procedures in response to pedagogical needs of the clinic. Much literature on biopolitics emphasises the use of notions of normal and pathological to control populations, discipline bodies, and enforce various norms of class, race, and gender. But I argue that the positive, analogical, encompassing notion of "aesthetic health" here involves

a process of self-care that transcends the boundaries of medical institutions, and is infused with the desires and anxieties of Brazil's neoliberal economy and sophisticated culture industries.

Surplus Materials from Humans as a Commodity in Research

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Modern biotechnology and informatics have opened up a new world in which a multitude of information can be isolated and exploited for various purposes. This paper will examine how tissue collections are used in research in Iceland and how they become commodities in research. Various institutes in Iceland and elsewhere collect and record tissue samples and information derived from them. These bio-banks are often stored in connections to pathological laboratories but today we are starting to focus on other surplus materials from humans. Modern societies with increased focus on medical research most of our bodily materials have gained value, for example materials that used to be categorised as waste like materials from breast reduction are seen as potential research materials. How surplus materials from humans are becoming more and more important in research and are becoming commodities. How do we see these transactions from materials that used to be waste over to something of value in medical research and how do we benefit from it?

Anthropological Assessment on Prevention of Mother-To-Child Transmission of HIV/AIDS in Lesotho

Lena Kroeker, Bayreuth University (Lenakroeker@web.de)

From a biomedical point of view prevention of mother to child transmission of HIV (PMTCT) requests behavioural changes regarding birthing, breastfeeding and weaning. As a technological intervention PMTCT affects processes closely connected to traditional ideas about proper childcare, since attitudes towards early childcare imply both social and biological dimensions, which influence behaviour of health care providers and health care consumers.

The Lesotho PMTCT guidelines follow the WHO Guidelines for resource-constrained countries, which in most cases provide women with a short course ART-regimen. HIV exposed infants are treated additionally with a post partum short course exposition prophylaxis and mothers are advised to opt for either bottle-feeding or a short period of exclusive breast-feeding followed by fast weaning. In Lesotho, however, most HIV-positive women opt for the latter without any additional food or liquid given to the child, although long term mixed feeding with additional nutriments is culturally normative.

Apparently, technological interventions and advices given to the women during counselling sessions clash with cultural norms of early childcare and a high number of mothers lack compliance due to economic and socio-cultural conditions. My presentation looks on conflicting demands of providers and consumers of health care and how cultural implications impact on a clinical trial. The trial suggests a licensed regimen, which indicates comparable safety and efficacy to other PMTCT regimen and better adaptation to traditional concepts in Lesotho.

A Cancer Vaccine for Girls: HPV Vaccination in Comparison

Andrea Stockl, University of East Anglia (a.stockl@uea.ac.uk)

In this paper I compare the introduction of HPV vaccine to three diverse European

settings. These settings are the United Kingdom, German-speaking countries such as Germany and Austria, and an example from the Mediterranean cultural background, Italy. The choice of these countries is not deliberate: they have been amongst the first countries in the EU to legalise HPV vaccines such as Gardasil in 2006, they have been the first to take up the recommendations of public health advisory bodies (UK and Germany) to provide the public with free or subsidised HPV vaccination; they have been amongst the first to use public funds for the implementation of vaccinating the female population against HPV infection (Italy, UK, Germany). Despite this common ground, a comparison of public response and debates (such as newspapers and patient-centred websites), official information (such as governmentally sponsored websites, for instance National Health Service in UK, Ministero della Salute, Italy) and charitable research organisation (Cancer Research UK, DKFZ, Österreichische Krebshilfe, italiasalute.it) shows that there are wide ranging differences that can only be attributed to cultural diversity and differences the distribution and acceptance of new medical technologies. This comparison has made clear that, despite the arguments for an evidence-based internationalised medicine, cultural background plays a huge role in how medicine is practiced. An analysis of the above mentioned material shows 3 tropes:

1. Arguments for implementation of vaccination: Who should pay for it? Who benefits?
2. Lifestyle: Young girls/women and their sexuality
3. Gender: Why no vaccination for boys?

The Implementation of Pre-Symptomatic Genetic Testing in Austrian Genetic Counselling Services

Bernhard Hadolt, Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna (hadolt@ihs.ac.at)

While genetic reasoning has a long tradition in biomedical research and clinical practices, the development of so called "predictive" or "pre-symptomatic" genetic tests, which became available for clinical diagnostics from the early 1990s onwards in increasing numbers gave it a new turn. For the first time gene mutations which were held as causal factors for the development of "late onset diseases" such as Corea Huntington or familiar breast cancer became diagnosable long in advance of any manifest disease symptoms. Amongst other consequences these new prognostic possibilities transformed the ways of how genetic counselling services are institutionalised and practiced. In Austria the availability of genetic tests e.g. led to the establishment of a new type of genetic counselling which is characterised by a specialisation on particular hereditary diseases and the incorporation of genetic counselling in broader programmes of medical care. This paper examines how this development took place in Austria and shows its impact on the institutional landscape of genetic counselling and on ideas about "good counselling".

W042

Relations That Money Can Buy: Negotiating Mutualities and Asymmetries in Local and Translocal Social Fields

Convenors: **Heike Drotbohm, Albert-Ludwigs University, Freiburg (heike.drotbohm@ethno.uni-freiburg.de)**
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29 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 345

Money can be understood as an object, a means of exchange, a commodity, a symbol or a fetish. It can serve as a way for expressing social asymmetries and dependencies, but also for communicating solidarity or care. Money can be a source of vulnerability, undermining long-term relations between persons, and at the same time it can express trust within a given society.
In recent decades, the role of money in specific exchange systems has been increasingly discussed. In particular, Bloch and Parry's (1989) distinction of long-term, "moral" exchange and short-term exchange has been recognised as an important step in understanding the various uses of money.
What is less discussed is the risky interface between contrasting ways money is used and interpreted, and its effects on the relations between individuals or groups. How do different local or global conceptions of money clash? How are social relations depending on money conceived and worked out when different parties assign money to diverging values and moralities in the same social moment? Which kinds of moral conundrums arise when the indefinite obligations of close relations are confronted with the definite obligations of monetary economies? These questions for instance can be applied in the context of transnational migrant communities, where dependencies, pressures and moral asymmetries can be articulated by means of money (or the lack of it).
Another field is the (comparatively well-funded) anthropologist's desire to express mutuality and equality in relation to people from comparatively poor backgrounds.

A Caring Monarch's Fruitful Business: Strategic Gifts, Welfare and Forms of Gift-Produced Loyalty in the Islamic Monarchy of Brunei Darussalam

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In Brunei Darussalam, an oil-rich absolutist Islamic monarchy governed by a Sultan, who is Prime Minister, Minister of Finance, Defence and head of Islam at the same time, staged symbolic expressions and real acts of generalised reciprocity and their well-organised media-coverage are fundamental pillars of the legitimisation of a ruler and system that is not legitimised by popular elections. By carefully working upon his image of a "Caring Monarch", the Sultan continues to successfully preserve large-scale loyalty and diminish public expressions of dissent or political opposition. The strategically communicated generosity towards "his" people works to continuously (re-)negotiate his status and reputation, which is essential for political stability and "national harmony". Strategic gifts and welfare are constitutive elements of a reciprocal Bruneian patron-client relationship that money can buy, while sophisticated PR efforts and tight political control contribute to the Caring Monarch's effective strategy of carrot and stick. Gifts of the "caring monarch", like gifts of "caring", "socially responsible" corporations, could not produce the intended effects without their message being made widely known - or advertised, and thus presented in

a certain, following the strategy, but to necessarily the effect, value-adding way. But whether audiences adopt, reject, ignore or otherwise transform such inputs of information-flows is not at all per se given.
Staged, mass-mediated gifts are furthermore essential elements of major national events like the Sultan's Birthdays, which are annually accompanied by three weeks of anti-structural enthusiastic celebrations, and event-specific reciprocally interconnected gifts of the Sultan, corporations and citizens.

Relations Men Can Buy through Bride-Price Payment: An Example from the Island Pura in the Alor-Pantar-Archipelago (Eastern Indonesia)

Susanne Rodemeier, University of Passau (rodemeier@web.de)

In the first half of the 20th century the Dutch colonialists invented monetarism in the Alor-Pantar-Archipelago. Therefore, they destroyed the traditional currency, the kettledrums. Some drums survived as currency, as bride-price payment. Interestingly enough, the custom was forgotten for several decades. Now it is revitalised mainly by Christians, whereas many of their Muslim relatives try to avoid the payment.
To understand why this habit was reinvented, it is important to take a closer look at the male as well as the female discourse on marriage-rules. This has to be compared to cases in point. And of course, Christian and Muslim discourse and examples have to be compared, too. Nevertheless, these comparisons cannot offer a final answer. To understand why the reinvention of bride-price payment has taken place, the discourse on the whole marriage complex has to be compared with other cases where payment initiates an alliance between families, nearby villages, and sometimes even between villages on neighbouring islands.
After the Dutch pacification of the area these peace-building customs lost their importance. Nowadays, the situation is changing again. The mobility of young people is high and often they find a partner outside their village of origin. Many fathers react by following the traditional rules hypercorrectly, and therefore, they try to pay whatever is demanded for the bride.
Bringing all named research-foci together, it might be possible to understand the changes which lead to the revitalisation of these payments when a marriage-alliance is started.

Wedding "GIFTS": Entrance-Fee or Generosity? Interests, Sentiments and Mutuality

Orit Abuhav, Beit Berl College (abuhav@beitberl.ac.il)

Transformations in gift-giving practices at Israeli secular middle-class weddings can throw light on both contemporary Israeli society and on the known paradox embodied in the "gift". Within anthropological literature material gift-objects negate money-gifts, and are related to exchange patterns, barter, the market economy, capitalism etc. Transformation of the gift pattern from object to money is affected by processes that are moving Israeli society toward privatisation, individualism and materialism. While thirty years ago, wedding gifts were material objects, today most gifts are cash money or checks, whose value is calculated in correspondence to the status of both guests and hosts: the type of relationship and degree of closeness to the married couple; the history of mutual gift-exchange between them in the past; but mostly in respect to the wedding venue, timing, and the number of guests who share a gift. Objects contain the spirit, social identity, cultural capital and taste of the giver. Money nullifies the object's social identity.

In that sense, wedding gifts can be seen as a mere entrance fee to an obligatory celebration, whose timing, menu, aesthetic character and ceremonial form is dictated by the host, but wedding gifts obey to the general moral obligation to give and to specific and precise exchange values in the past of the giver and the receiver. Nevertheless, money gifts display generosity by forfeiting the power of the giver's taste and enabling the receiver to exercise liberty of choice.

The Meaning of Money for Ukrainian Migrant Women

Francesca Vianello, University of Padua (f.vianello@unipd.it)

In this paper, I investigate the meaning of money for Ukrainian migrant women, who work in the domestic and care sector in Italy. The analysis is based on a broad doctoral research on Ukrainian migratory practices realised from 2004 to 2007.
The main analytical issues that I discuss are the processes of commodification and de-commodification of social relations. In particular, I discuss two phenomena characterising the migration process and concerning this specific issue: some forms of social exchange monetisation and the remittances earmarking.
During this migration process, it is possible to observe the monetisation of some kinds of social exchange previously based on a reciprocity system, named the "blat" in Russian. Thus, solidarity is replaced by individual interest and money: and money acquire a more and more important role in migrants' daily life.
Furthermore, for migrants money acquire different meanings at the material, relational, emotional and social level. Money is the reason for the departure. Indeed, the majority of migrants interviewed are breadwinner mothers, who need money in order to support their children. This is also the justification of their permanence abroad for a long time, in front of a society that blames them for betrayal. At the same time, their families get accustomed to live with a high standard life, guaranteed by remittances. Moreover, remittances are the medium through which these breadwinners mothers voice their love to their children. Finally, money is the medium to improve migrants social status, which has been eroded by the process of proletarianisation embedded in migration.

"They are Ungrateful!" Cape Verdean Notions of Transnational Obligations

Lisa Åkesson, University of Gothenburg (lisa.akesson@globalstudies.gu.se)

This paper explores the transnational flow of money, gifts and services from the perspective of Cape Verdean non-migrants. In Cape Verde, remittances have become an institutionalised part of livelihood strategies. Nearly everyone has a close relative abroad, and between one third and two third of households receive remittances. In general, relations between migrants and non-migrants are characterised by an inherent asymmetry. The migrants and the non-migrants experience the relation in different ways, and this relation is often a source of frustration for both sides. Non-migrants in many parts of the world experience vulnerability and a need to make claims on the migrants. The character of these moral claims varies between different social contexts. In Cape Verdean transnational social space, the migrants are expected to prove that they are not ingrôt (ungrateful) to those they have left behind. The use of the concept "ungrateful" shows that ideas concerning reciprocity play an important role. In a moral discourse, those who have left are seen as owing a debt to those who have stayed. This idea builds on the notion that close relatives are supposed to make sacrifices for each other. When somebody migrates this demand is transformed into an asymmetrical relation, in which the migrant is the giver and the non-migrant the receiver.

"Give Them Money to Sustain Me": Ambiguities of Cameroonian Male Redistribution

Moira Luraschi, University of Turin (moira.luraschi@unito.it)

In Cameroon, men's social duty is to provide for the extended family by redistributing money: people have the right to ask, and the redistribution leader has the duty to give. Money shows emotional commitment with people, especially within the families, and in the relationships between men and women. Moreover, a large redistributive network shows a higher social status of the redistributor.
Nevertheless, giving money also involves a power relation. Money redistribution can be asymmetrical and, through this mechanism, leaders can submit some members of their family. On the other hand, there are many redistributors who are stressed by the continuous requests for money coming from their relatives.
These tensions are linked to different expectations of the parts involved in the money redistribution. They are also symbolically expressed through witchcraft. As Geschiere has shown, witches' networks are conceived as a sort of redistributional networks where a greedy witch-leader redistributor submits other people mostly members of his/her own family. The most common conception is about a witch that forces members of his own family to share a meal of human flesh, and to kill other people to repay that first meal. This brings to an endless number of murders; likewise, giving and taking, involved into money redistribution, are endless.
This conception of witchcraft is rooted into an unequal economical redistribution within the family and shows clearly the ambiguous link between money and the emotional dimension.

Shaping Money and Socialities in the Realm of Encounters between Foreign Tourists and Cubans/Jineteros

Valerio Simoni, Leeds Metropolitan University (vals_sim@yahoo.com)

This paper follows the heterogeneous deployments of money in the realm of encounters between foreign tourist, the ethnographer, and members of the local population in Cuba, showing how these deployments become entangled and contribute to shape various kinds of socialities, agencies and moralities.
In the course of encounters between tourists and Cubans/jineteros ("tourist-riders"), money intervenes in multiple and contrasting ways in the processes that lead people to qualify their relationships as, for instance, "economic", "friendly", "sexual", or "charitable". In this respect, money and its deployments can help the protagonists of encounters discriminate between different kinds of socialities, agencies and moralities. But far from being always clearly defined and taken for granted, money's roles in the shaping of these relations are often contested and controversial. The value of the currencies circulating in Cuba can itself become a subject of negotiations, leading to different qualifications of money. Tensions between discourses and practices are also likely to emerge, and the ways Cubans/jineteros and tourists manage and/or manipulate these tensions, contribute to silence or foster controversies on money's roles and uses. All these various negotiations provide fertile ground for the proliferation of discourses and ideas on money, which become entangled in lively debates on the moralities of such encounters, and their characterisation as mutual, asymmetrical and/or exploitative.
Following money(s) entanglements and disentanglements with, and contribution to, the qualification of different socialities, agencies and moralities, this paper highlights how relations and money constitute each other in the course of touristic encounters in this Caribbean island.

Domestic Workers and the Morality of Money and Family Care

Eulalia Torra Borras, Universitat de Barcelona (eulaliatorra@hotmail.com)

The economic dimension of domestic work has been largely explored and discussed over the last decades, arising how difficult can be to detach its economic value from the moral universe of love and reciprocity within the domestic group.
The wages earned by domestic workers give us the opportunity to explore the division between money and love that sustains the work of household reproduction. Moreover, focusing in the case of live-in domestic workers we can analyse how money is embedded in the moral universe of the family and how money constructs relations of reciprocity or exploitation. By the other side, beyond the contractual relation between the domestic workers and the family for whom they work, the wages are usually one of the main ways to hold the relation of love and care with their own families abroad – which depend of their remittances in most of the cases.
Based on a fieldwork about domestic service in Barcelona (Spain) and Montréal (Canada), together with some significant ethnographic examples, the aim of the paper is to explore the moral universe in which the monetary payment is embedded.

W043

Alien Confinement in Europe: Field Perspectives

Convenors: **Carolina Kobelinsky, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (carokobe@yahoo.com)**
Chowra Makaremi, Université de Montréal (chowra.makaremi@gmail.com)
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Chair: **Mariella Pandolfi**

28 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 024

In the last decades, European countries have been involved in a restriction of migratory flows. A common practice has been to confine aliens in specific places assigned for their temporary residency. Detention centres, retention areas at the airports, reception centres for asylum seekers are a few examples among different forms of administrative confinement for assistance and/or security purposes. These places shape ambiguous control apparatuses, but at the same time, they are spaces for living, raising issues of management, everyday living conditions, disciplinary practices and day-to-day relationships between managers and residents or detainees. In Europe, places and structures of confinement are specific to each national context and administrative, socio-political and legal traditions. However, being somehow involved in the delimitation of European borders and implying several regional processes, be they formal (Schengen convention, SIS and Eurodac files) or informal (migration flows), such apparatuses and practices also involve transnational logics, global issues and new forms of political life.
What practices are implemented in order to deal with "unwanted" aliens? Which physical, moral, symbolical frontiers are at stake? What is the "real life" of these places that are both spaces of separation and transitory places of circulation? Concerning ethnography, what happens when doing fieldwork implies working for/with NGOs, humanitarian associations or even the State? How is the "ethnographic relationship" built? This panel examines different ethnographic studies focusing on confinement apparatuses, floating populations and the difficulties of doing fieldwork in spaces closed or partially closed to observation.

"Hotel House": Ethnography of a Multiethnic Place

Adriano Cancellieri, University of Padova (adriano.cancellieri@unipd.it)

A multiethnic place is a territory of meeting and conflict in which different languages, times, costumes and traditions cohabit. This paper analyses the dialectic relationship between social actors and spatial dimensions in a specific multiethnic place called "Hotel House". This is an enormous building constituted by 480 flats distributed in 16 floors and inhabited by almost 2000 people (91% migrants coming from 40 different countries). My goal is to highlight how social boundaries, identities and spatial meanings are daily negotiated, defined and produced through social interaction and social conflicts.
On the one hand, in my paper I draw attention on ambivalence relationships among different individual or collective social actors (civil inattention, joking relationships, misunderstandings, forms of cooperation, territorial struggles) and on everyday (re) construction of different social boundaries. On the other hand I highlight the role played by power relationships and contextual factors (e.g. local government, housing market) in the evolution of this process and in the building of a particular sense of place.

Abjects into Subjects: Games of Control and Resistance in a Retention Centre for Deported Foreigners in Contemporary France

Fischer Nicolas, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (fischer_n@hotmail.com)

Based on a series of observations conducted in French "Retention centre" where expelled foreigners await their removal, this presentation will emphasise the tension between two contradictory dynamics. First, retention centres are repressive places, where the "deportability" of foreigners is continuously materialised by the direct and physical grip of state force. However, those centres simultaneously remain places where both confinement and deportation can be contested through official or informal canals, thus enabling "abject" detainees to claim for themselves alternative forms of political subjectivity.
The contribution will first focus on the specific regime of "government of the detainees" inside the retention centre, and the way it daily reproduces the "deportable" condition of the inmates through coercive and non-coercive techniques. It will then address the ways in which detained foreigners may challenge those forms of control, by adapting their strategies of subversion to the centre's organisation. We shall focus on their use of the ambiguous status of NGO representatives - officially included in the "retention staff", but who remain non-state actors giving an opportunity of contact with the media or Human Rights advocates outside. But contentious detainees may as well create "sanctuarised" spaces inside the centre itself, by making their own body "undeportable" through self-inflicted violence, or even trying to create a public space for collective protest. The conclusion shall seek to evaluate the impact of this turning of "abject" individuals into real "subjects".

An Ethnography of the Migrants' Landing: The Case of Lampedusa (Italy)

Gianluca Gatta, University of Naples L'Orientale (glugat@tin.it)

Based on a fieldwork in the island of Lampedusa, the main place of arrival of unwanted migrants from Africa to Italy, the paper deals with the issue of what happens before the confinement of the migrants in the centre dedicated to their administrative

detention. This is a "space of exception" closed even to human rights organisations and, very often, to Members of the Italian and European Parliament. This restriction has induced me to focus my observation on the treatment of the immigrants' bodies at the landing quay, where Médecins Sans Frontières and Border Guard aid and discipline the newly arrived migrants in order to transfer them to the camp.
Working "under the shadow" of the inaccessible space of the camp permits us to discover a grey zone, open to a mediatic eye, where a "spectacle of the border" takes place in which the salvage of desperate people and the arrest of dangerous illegal aliens are somehow indistinct. Such an ambivalence has great consequences in providing material to the illegal immigration discourse, producing the immigrant as bare life and obscuring the legal production of illegality and the political instance of the border crossing.
Finally, the paper analyses the representation of the phenomenon produced by the population of Lampedusa, an island with a tourist-based economy. It is shown how the presence of an institutional "machine" physically separating the boat-people from the public places has become a strategic object against whom is possible to articulate some political claims on local issues.

Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Portugal: Field Perspectives Concerning Psychical and Mental Health

Cristina Santinho, ISCTE (cristina.santinho@gmail.com)

The CPR is the Portuguese NGO that shelters asylum seekers from several countries, and provides juridical, social and economical support, and also provides the link to the national system of health.
The research presented here is based on several interviews with doctors, psychiatrics, nurses, as well as the life stories of refugees (both genders) and details of their medical consultations at the hospital or in health centres.
If the place of residence is stable (the shelter), the residents (asylum seekers) are not, as they only stay there for few months and their experiences are very heterogeneous. In the words of an asylum seeker "the only thing that is common to all of us here is suffering". In this "non-community", several issues, which this presentation will address, relating to physical and mental health, arise:
- How do they access National Health Care?
- Is there any kind of support regarding mental health?
- How does national health system faces health refugees, trauma and stress disorder? Is there any specialised and oriented support?
- How do asylum seekers and refugees express their feelings and their state of health?
- What kind of symptoms do they present?
- Who "listens" the suffering of the trauma?
- How the medical system faces the problem of language between asylum seekers and the doctor?
- Is the "performance" of telling suffering in the border decisive, to get the statute?
In other words: is there in Portugal, any approach regarding the "psychotraumatologie de l'exil" a la Didier Fassin?

Border Zones and Alien Detention in France

Chowra Makaremi, Université de Montréal (chowra.makaremi@gmail.com)

Practices of border control in Western democracies have led the European Union

in the past two decades to build its frontiers in terms of camps and to literally detain people within the borders. The will of states to control movement of people have thus created contested spaces of sovereignty at the borders, populated by a "floating population" of asylum seekers and undocumented migrants to be deported. The paper will focus on these extra-territorial zones of detention - the "waiting zones", which involve national political devices for the administration of alien populations as well as security constructions around the notions of citizenship and frontier. While dislocating the topology of the border, practices of border detention have emerged and solidified along two axes: firstly, technical adjustment in the law and the legalisation of administrative practices; secondly, the management of alien populations within an hybrid confinement system co-administrated by the police, private companies and humanitarian care.
Facing the new modalities and changing spaces of movement, how do states work out their borders and "thicken" them into spaces where people live, are confined, selected, displaced? What do these ambivalent processes of deprivation teach about evolving regimes of government in the liberal rule of law?
Analyses are based on a field study in the "waiting zone" of Charles de Gaulle airport (Paris), and interviews with detainees who were admitted on the territory after facing several attempts of deportation.

Control, Pity and Illicitness: Seeking Asylum in Czech Refugee Camps

Alice Szczepanikova, Department of Sociology, University of Warwick (alice.szczepanikova@gmail.com)

Refugee camps embody the present European ambivalence towards refugees: are they true suffering subjects of human rights in need of protection or rather threatening needy immigrants who try to abuse the European welfare system? Following Didier Fassin, I conceptualise refugee camps in Europe as materialised combination of policies of order and politics of suffering, oscillation between sentiments control and pity. Based on an ethnographic fieldwork carried out in the Czech Republic between 2004 and 2007, I discuss how the institution of a refugee camp shapes the concept of "a refugee" at a more general level and how it influences actual "being a refugee" through everyday practices of confinement. I argue that, among other things, camps socialise asylum seekers into particular perceptions of law and rules that more or less directly nourish illicit practices. While refugee camps can certainly be perceived as territories of exception (Agamben), they also constitute highly heterogeneous spaces that allow for multiple uses of the refugee label by refugee migrants and various forms of resistance to the system of migration control.

Fieldwork Behind Bars: Researching Alien Confinement in French Prisons

Carolina Boe, URMIS - Université Paris 7 (carolina@sagajazz.com)

Little research has been carried out on alien confinement in penal institutions. France is no exception despite the fact that as many as 22% of the country's prison population are non-citizen inmates. Part of the explanation may lie in the practical difficulties researchers often face when they try to gain access to prisons, and those they may meet if they attempt to approach incarcerated non-citizens, who are often among the most isolated and distrustful inmates. For more than three years, I carried out ethnographic fieldwork while providing incarcerated non-citizens with legal counselling and helping them file motions against deportation orders. "Taking a stand" while carrying out fieldwork instead of staying "neutral" or "objective" is

often highly criticised in anthropology. In this paper, I will discuss some of the ethical implications of this approach, and its consequences on data-collection.
Maintaining relationships with inmates over months and years allows one to observe their socialisation to the prison institution and question the relationship between the lives they led before their incarceration and the resources they are able to mobilise in prison.
Being trusted because one is identified as someone who is "on our side" gives valuable insight into power relations. For instance, while some inmates openly resist against prison discipline or deportation orders, other inmates seem to be model prisoners, as they are both calm and cooperative when they face representatives from the administration and from the penal institution. A relationship built on mutual trust often allows the researcher to see beyond these inmates' "public transcripts" and observe some of the "hidden transcripts" (Scott 1985, 1990), such as the trafficking of goods and information, rumours, and gossip. This knowledge, of course, poses certain ethical questions.
Finally, and maybe most importantly, the importance of reciprocity cannot be underestimated when one conducts fieldwork among highly marginalised and vulnerable populations. Working for an organisation makes it possible to "give something back" to the very individuals whose situations one studies.

Laughter and Subversion in "Retention Place"

Stefan Le Courant, LESC Nanterre Paris-X (stefanlecourant@yahoo.fr)

Based on fieldwork in a "Local de Retention" where aliens are detained before their deportation, this paper explores the role of humour in confinement places. First of all, I will examine the relevance of these matters, trying to understand why this kind of research informs the people's experiences and power relationships in confinement place.
I would like to raise here a set of related questions: what do people laugh for? Why do aliens laugh in retention? To laugh when the situation is not amusing can be perceived as a way of making acceptable the deportation threat, which is lived as unfair and perceived as an injustice. But laugh can also be perceived as a way of subverting the repressive context. I will analyse how humour can be considered as a "weapon of the weak" which permits to impose another perspective and to reverse, at least in a symbolic way, the power games of the retention centre. Eventually I would make the hypothesis that humour may be considered an expression (among others) of contributing to political consciousness.

The Hanging Status of Asylum Seekers: The Limbo of Temporary Residence

Filippo Furri, University of Montreal (furrifilippo@hotmail.com)

The migration policies in Europe proceed from an integrative and cooperative organization apparatus of border control to shaping differential micro-politics of management and conditional integration.
Locally, the applications of European directives overlap, criss-cross and confront the national politics and the practical organisation of control by the local government.
In this paper, I wish to interrogate these local articulations of politics on refugees and asylum seekers, based on fieldwork done in the city of Venice (Italy), in a local centre dedicated to the temporary reception of asylum seekers.
In particular, I will be considering the intersection of these different levels of the institution's competences in the urban context, which will lead to a better

understanding of the local government margin of autonomy concerning these processes of reception and integration.
Through this case study, a more general reflexion on the practical implications of governmental politics, in relation to the political and juridical gap between the right of residence and the right of citizenship in the European democratic system, can be instigated.

Trapped in the Asylum Space, Lost in the Waiting Time: Everyday Experiences of Asylum Seekers in French Reception Centres

Carolina Kobelinsky, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (carokobe@yahoo.com)

French reception centres, supported by the state and manage by NGOs, constitute a rare resource as most of the asylum seekers cannot reach it. Asylum seekers are taken in charge by reception centres for the duration of the claims procedure. Living in these shelters constitutes a period of precarious stability as basic living needs are guaranteed. However, this is not without consequences, as the centre is a space of ambiguity and confinement where practices swing between control and compassion. But the shelter is also a waiting place: waiting may be considered the "activity" of those who seek refuge in France. The asylum seekers I met have been waiting between six months and four years for their claims to be evaluated. During this period they cannot work and their legal status is, at best, precarious. I would like to raise here a set of related questions: what does it mean to be waiting in the shelters? What kind of waiting do they experience? What happens while waiting? Based on a long-lasting ethnographic study in centres for asylum seekers in the Parisian suburb, the aim of this paper is to explore what happens when waiting becomes normalizsed. Eventually, this contribution invites to think about the intimate bond between waiting and confinement.

Troubling Identities: Locating the Detainee in the Immigration Removal Centre

Alex Hall, Department of Geography (a.e.j.hall@durham.ac.uk)

The so-called "war on terror" has invigorated multiple forms of governance that increasingly place emphasis on pre-emption, risk, and technologically administered distinctions between norm and anomaly. The detention of legally anomalous populations of "failed" asylum seekers and "deportable" immigrants crystallises the overlapping oscillations which increasingly characterise contemporary international immigration regimes - between safety and risk, mobility and containment, scrutiny and surveillance, suspicion and humanitarianism. Identity is increasingly at issue within border controls, and emerges as a locus of particular concern in the detention centre, where "unidentifiable" and "unverifiable" people are held under secure conditions pending their integration or removal. Anthropological and ethnographic approaches that focus on the everyday creation and overcoming of difference have much to offer in the analysis of "identity trouble" in immigration systems. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork among staff in a British Immigration Removal Centre (IRC), the paper explores the ways in which detainees' identities, bodies and sense of self align and misalign within an environment that is broadly characterised by hypervigilance and mistrust. Relationships in the IRC involve the constant reading and misreading of detainees' actions, interactions and bodily comportment in ways that seek to settle identity (in order to "keep the initiative") while constantly discounting self-definition. The

paper will explore the broader conclusions that may be drawn about contemporary securitisation from the difficulties of identity within the IRC. The discussion will also raise some problems of conducting ethnographic research in a secure environment that is shaped by "body watching" and the suspension of trust.

W044

Anthropology and Engagement

Convenors: **Judith Okely, Oxford University/University of Hull (J.M.Okely@hull.ac.uk)**
Alenka Janko Spreizer, University of Primorska (alenka.janko-spreizer@guest.arnes.si)

27 August 2008, 14:00
Rooms: 15 and R2

Traditionally, the anthropologist and the discipline have been presented as ideally detached from the political implications of fieldwork. Yet the notion of the researcher as disengaged observer is a positivist legacy. Research and its very process have consequences. As participant observer, the anthropologist is confronted by choices. S/he cannot always remain disengaged, especially when confronted by suffering, hardship and injustice. Anthropologists have inevitably become involved. They have been asked to act as intermediary. Anthropologists have been engaged as expert witness in land claims and in prosecutions for discrimination and as policy advisors. They have used their privileged skills for change, e.g. negotiating with the authorities for the provision of a well. This is a means of giving back something, albeit small, to their hosts for hospitality and priceless knowledge. In some cases, the anthropologist has become activist. In others, the anthropologist may have to study conflict, while necessarily refraining from factional allegiances and participatory violence. In virtually all cases, the anthropologist has to engage with the topics which concern the people themselves. Thus engagement can also be interpreted as actively responding to the encounter thereby transforming the initial research focus. Preconceptions and desk bound plans may have to be jettisoned, once the anthropologist engages with the people and specific, unpredicted field contexts. Presentations in this session will explore a full range of cross-cultural engagements.

Norwegian Academic Anthropologists in Public Places

Signe Howell, University of Oslo (signe.howell@sai.uio.no)

Since the 1960s many Norwegian university employed social anthropologists who have, from time to time, stepped down from the ivory towers of academia in order to participate in public debates about current social, cultural and political issues. As a result, the discipline of anthropology is relatively well known in society at large. In this presentation I wish to examine some of the background to why anthropologists have chosen to play this role of public debaters and consider some of the practical, professional as well as ethical aspects of "engaged anthropology". I shall also consider why the Norwegian public is so open to anthropological comments. A few topics attract the most anthropological contribution and I shall concentrate on these. These are issues to do with development aid, politics regarding the minority population of the Sami, and questions pertaining to the "multicultural society" that has come into being following a recent influx of immigrants and asylum seekers from countries outside Western Europe and North America. These topics are all highly

sensitive - or have been so at various times - and they all challenge what one may call a Norwegian sense of identity as well as the strong feeling of moral responsibility of ethnic Norwegians to others less fortunate than themselves - whether these live inside or outside the national boundaries. In order to throw some light on the current situation, I undertook a small investigation amongst those anthropologists who have been most active in public debates in recent years to get their point of view about their experience of being "engaged anthropologists".

Challenging Romology as Anthropological Engagement

Alenka Janko Spreizer, University of Primorska (alenka.janko-spreizer@guest.arnes.si)

Many scholars who had been studying Roma were more or less involved in challenging differing knowledge and misrepresentations of Romologists. This commitment was not the case in Slovenia until recently. During her fieldwork, the author confronted the misrepresentative knowledge of Slovenian Romology. It is the fact that Romani studies as a newly developing field of academic knowledge is still marginal. On the one hand, only a few scholars have started to challenge stereotypical images of Romanies recently and have explored the critical texts. On the other hand, scholars were less informed about contemporary ethnographic studies of Roma. The author argues that the marginalisation of this field made possible the re-invention of archaic theorisation by scholars on Roma, and the vigorous reproduction of the chauvinist and racist discourses on e.g. Romani "race", culture and religion on the other. The author shows the consequences for Romologists themselves. They are vulnerable to reproducing pseudo-scientific discourses of Roma peoples. Furthermore, the anthropologist reveals how this state of the art is reflected in the legal and governance system which regulates the minority policy. This paper describes and analyses the author's engagement in presenting informed and accurate contemporary anthropological studies of and with Roma to different publics in Slovenia. Ethnography is urgently needed which is focused on events and engagement with accurate and informed transmission of anthropological knowledge. If not, scholars risk reproducing or at least contributing to current scientific racism in social science and the humanities.

Doing Ethnography and Getting Involved: Reflections from Researching Immigration, Exclusion and Resistance

Davide Però, Nottingham University (davide.pero@nottingham.ac.uk, davidepero@hotmail.com)

This paper discusses issues of engagement in social research in the contentious context of migration. This discussion is done by drawing reflexively on my experience of conducting engaged ethnographic fieldwork with migrant workers in Britain, Italy and Spain on issues of justice, exploitation and engagement. The paper offers an analytical description of the rationale, practices and dilemmas that have characterised my ethnographic engagement, for instance when combining participant observation and participatory action research, becoming involved in transformative initiatives while doing fieldwork or witnessing oppressive institutional practices. This account will outline the specificities of engaged ethnography and set this approach in contrast not only to models of "detached", "neutral" and "objective" research (including those that seem to be tacitly subscribed and promoted in the recent surge of institutional regulatory concerns with "ethical research") but also to models that conceive theorisation as the ethnographer's only possibility of engagement.

Ethnography as Engagement: Synergies of Academic Knowledge and Advocacy in an Indigenous Land Claim (Tupinambá of Olivença, Brazil)

Susana Viegas, University of Lisbon (smviegas@ics.ul.pt)

In this paper I will discuss the possibilities of conceiving contemporary ethnography as engaged knowledge, following the general argument of this panel that engagement in anthropology should be understood in a wide sense, in order to encompass both the strictly academic attitude of engaging with the topics which concern the people themselves, and pure advocacy. The debate is sustained by the experience of conducting an anthropological research (2003-2005) for the Tupinambá of Olivença, and the department of the Brazilian Ministry of Justice that deals with indigenous affairs (FUNAI), following an indigenous land claim, sustained by the ethnographical arguments previously developed under the scope of a academic PhD thesis.
The role of anthropology in indigenous land claims in Brazil is substantially different from, for instance, indigenous land claims in Canada where the anthropologist is considered more as an expert witness in the juridical process than as an expert fieldworker and ethnographer. In Brazil academic anthropologists became engaged in indigenous land claims mainly because of their expertise in fieldwork experience with a particular people and region. I will thus present one of the ethnographic arguments, concerning the justification of a small area of the Atlantic sea boarder as indigenous land for the Tupinambá of Olivença, in order to argue that academic and political processes are mutually constituted in contemporary ways of doing and conceiving ethnography in anthropology.

Excerpt from the Diary of a Circumstantial Activist: Engagements and Predicaments in Studying Global Migration

Karsten Paerregaard, University of Copenhagen (karsten.paerregaard@anthro.ku.dk)

Anthropology has conventionally been associated with engagement and activism in favour of marginalised people. However, in so far as processes of globalisation connect the people we study with the rest of the world the conditions of such a position have altered and today social and political advocacy often change meaning and scope as social tensions and cultural strives evolve from local to regional, national or global issues. As Marcus suggests, in a globalised world the fieldworker often becomes a circumstantial activist which implies not one but many and sometimes divergent engagements and therefore places the anthropologists in ambivalent roles in relation to the people they study. This paper explores this predicament in my own study of Peruvians who work as sheepherders in the United States. It examines a conflict between two groups of herders: one that struggles to improve their rights as transnational migrants and another that stays loyal to their US employers. Moreover, the paper discusses how this conflict over time became a national and international issue that involved Peru's consul in Los Angeles and migrant communities in the United States and, eventually, the Peruvian government. Most important, the paper scrutinises the difficulties I faced as a fieldworker when asked to take position in the escalating conflict. It concludes that as a circumstantial activist the anthropologist must consider the global complexity of the local issue they study and recognise that this implies to take not one but several often divergent positions in the field.

First and Foremost We Must Understand: Research among the Roma in the Czech Republic

Lenka Budilová, University of West Bohemia (budlenka@hotmail.com)
Marek Jakoubek, University of West Bohemia (jakoubek@ksa.zcu.cz)

Our contribution will concentrate on a specific position of anthropologists dealing with the Roma/Gypsies, particularly in the Czech and the Slovak Republics. Roma, being often marginalised, discriminated and unemployed are supposed to be the people who need our help. There is a strong pressure form the part of public opinion, policy-makers, NGO-employees, and especially European structures on anthropologists working in Roma/Gypsy groups that their work should contribute in a way to developmental projects that are aimed at improving the living conditions of the Roma/Gypsies. We assert that the anthropologists have not only the right to do "just anthropology" without any further (practical) consequences, but that this stage of the "anthropology itself" is a necessary precondition for realising any other projects; or, in another words: that what we have to do first and foremost, is to understand.

Practicing Sufism among the Bedouin in Sinai: Engagement of a Muslim Anthropologist in a Different form of Islam

Hesham Issa, IR Worldwide (hham2000@yahoo.com)

It becomes difficult to analyse a specific religion if the anthropologist is a member of and believer in that religion or cult. In specific contexts, this analysis and questioning is often perceived as disbelief or even as blasphemy.
An interest in Arab culture, particularly that of the Bedouin Arabs, cannot ignore this aspect of faith and religion in their lives as it forces itself and dominates people's actions and relationships with the entire universe. Religion at the same time is a personal and individual cognitive phenomenon. This, however, brings about a predicament in the understanding of Islam. Is Islam a personal faith or a social organisation/system, or both? There is a distinction here between the private and the public domain or between the esoteric and the exoteric expressions of the religion.
My ethnographic fieldwork among Sufi Bedouin in the Sinai desert in Egypt during 2002-2003 brought me in direct contact with the doctrine, rituals and ceremonials of a specific Sufi Order called Al-Tariqa al-Gaririyah al-Ahmadiyah. I found the doctrine and method of this Sufi order full of symbolism and complex spirituality. I became engaged with them and my involvement in the method has affected my perception and practice of Islam.

The Ethics and Costs of Anthropological Engagement: Confronting the New Imperialism and the Global War on Terror

Jeremy Keenan, Bristol University (jeremykeenan@hotmail.com)

Deepak Lal, special advisor to the World Bank, IMF and US administration, has argued that "the war on terror [is] merely an extension of [defending the capitalist market]." USEUCOM's commander in Africa argued that the abduction of 32 hostages by Islamist terrorists in 2003 (an action fabricated by the US and Algerian intelligence services) "was a blessing" in that it legitimised the launch of US troops into the Sahel and the subsequent militarisation of the continent. Such "false flag" and state terrorism in "defence of the capitalist market" is at the heart of much of the suffering and injustice faced by anthropological societies. This paper reveals how anthropological engagement has provided the victims of suffering and injustice in the Sahara-Sahel

with an international voice, enabling them to be heard at the UN, other transnational agencies and by governmental policy makers world-wide. Anthropological research and engagement is changing the course of the war on terror, but at a price, both to the anthropologist and anthropology. While the paper argues that a strict observance of Anthropology's codes of conduct reduces the privileged nature of participant observation to subservience, it also reveals a more shameful form of subservience: the way social scientists, including anthropologists, have allowed their research councils, universities and learned scholarly societies to bow to government pressure and turn blind eyes to ethical standards. The onus on anthropologists is to ensure the immediate cessation of this trend, before the subject becomes branded by its shameful practice.

W046

The Power of Identities and Differences in Latin America

Convenors: **Cristian Alvarado Leyton (cristian.alvarado@uni-hamburg.de)**
Eliane Fernandes Ferreira, University of Bremen (elianefer@gmail.com)

28 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 532

Identity and alterity are constantly important but ever changing topics in the anthropology of Latin America as well as for native intellectuals since the Conquista. While anthropological studies have been traditionally limited to indigenous and peasant groups, they have more recently experienced a great widening of studied groups and themes, including the study of: nationalist ideologies and their transformations by indigenous groups, dominant groups and statuses as being white, Afro-Latin and other groups, media, violence, memory, neoliberal transformations and transnational connections. Though the field prospered in many ways, it seems to us that all these differentiating studies still make vital reference to identity and difference. This leads to a better understanding of its plural power-ridden forms within any group, transcending situationally any social boundaries.

In this workshop we want to reflect on the relationship of power, identities and differences, particularly in their interdependence with idealist-discursive and materialist practices. Due to formerly polarised interpretive and political economy approaches, both were commonly investigated as disconnected or uneven domains of life, respectively determining the other. These, however, have increasingly been combined in the last decades, taking into account anthropologists' own self-positioning processes.

This workshop invites contributions that explore subjective and collective experiences of identities/differences in relation to power, the manifold arenas of interaction and relationships in which they unfold from empirical, methodological and theoretical perspectives.

(Re)Creation of the Gaucho: Regional Identity in Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil

Luciano Bornholdt, Manchester University (luciano.cb@gmail.com)

Gaucho identity is widely associated to the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul. Every person born in the state self-identifies as a gaucho, and the rest of the country identifies the Riograndians as gauchos, a regional identity based on an imagined rural past. In its use as definer of a regional identity that stands in opposition to the identities of the rest of Brazil, gaucho identity developed historically with the participation

of different sectors of the state's elite on the creation of a mythological gaucho, promoting a certain image of the state and supporting both the elite's project of opposing the centralising forces in Brazilian politics and economy, and of preventing possible resistance posed by the rural population, in the last case by promoting a view of the rural ranch hands - whom could be called the "real" gauchos - as loyal to their patrons and hard working men. This paper will discuss the appropriation of regional history by the State in the creation of a regional identity. Furthermore, how this new gaucho regional identity came to be accepted by the state's population varied in different areas of Rio Grande do Sul. Through ethnographic data, the paper will analyse some factors that contribute to the success of the myth in the ranching region of Rio Grande do Sul, were the ranch hands that served as inspiration for the region's identity appear in sharper contrast to its mythological counterpart.

Emerging Identity Formations in Economic and Ritual Activities in Cusco, Peru

Astrid Stensrud, University of Oslo (astrid.stensrud@sai.uio.no)

In this paper I will use ethnographic material from my fieldwork in the city of Cusco, Peru, among first and second generation of bilingual rural urban migrants, to discuss how life is negotiated through economic and ritual activities. By focusing on the cultural and ritual practices that take place in a precarious urban economy, in households and in the pilgrimage of Qoyllur Rit'i, I will explore how they interplay with economic and power relations. Through the case study of a beauty salon, I intend to pin down the ways in which everyday practices in the margins of the state and the neoliberal economy, can show us how people negotiate with powers of different spheres - economic competition, state demands, the banks, social obligations, moral values and a powerful animated landscape - in order to make a living. By focusing on how life is lived, I will try to overcome the dichotomising classifications and the essentialising identity discourses which exist in Peruvian society. Economy, religion (rituals) and language (Quechua - Spanish) are three aspects of the negotiation of emerging identity formations in Cusco. The Catholic Church and the Spanish language still have hegemonic power in the Peruvian society. In the Andean popular Catholicism, however, indigenous animistic beliefs and rituals are blended in or are practiced in addition to catholic rituals. This is not just remnants from an ancient past, it is an active process of constant recreation, and the meanings are constantly changing according to gender, class, cultural background and generation.

Identity Formation among Afro-Brazilian Capoeira Teachers in a Transnational Context

Theodora Lefkaditou, University of Barcelona (lefkaditi23@yahoo.gr)

To fully understand the questions of identity formation in Brazil we have to reflect on the processes that take place outside the national borders, in new public spheres and more transnational contexts. Based on fieldwork research among Capoeira groups in Barcelona, I argue that the rediscovery and re -invention of the Afro Brazilian culture in Europe is not only interrelated with the processes of a "new black identity" formation in Bahía but also emerges as a new field where these processes can be carried on and reassessed.

Afro Brazilian Capoeiras carry along an important cultural baggage. It consists of practices and ideas that serve as means of empowerment and help them reaffirm their collective identities.

I focus on the narratives concerning the art's past and on the materiality and power of self representation through performance. Both are at the core of Capoeira and are related to struggles over ethnic and national identities in Brazil. In Barcelona they are also related to the expectations and the imagery of the European apprentices. As the art reaches wider cultural arenas it receives new meanings that affect the ways it is remembered, passed on and re invented.
By reflecting on "who embodies the essence of Capoeira", on the reappraisal of the black body and the use of aesthetic elements that are related to the African Diaspora or have strong Afro Brazilian connotations and can be at the same time "modern" and "traditional", I explore how essentialist discourses interplay with more cosmopolitan ones forging in the formation of more multifaceted and ambiguous identities.

Indigenous Identity in Times of Globalisation

Eliane Fernandes Ferreira, University of Bremen (elianefer@gmail.com)

In order to exist under the growing pressure of the dominant society indigenous groups in Brazil increasingly adopt western cultural means and strategies as courses of action, and modern communication technologies to empower and protect their groups and cultures. This often leads to critical reaction from the non-indigenous society, which objects to cultural variations, and questions or observes these changes with irony. My research on the utilisation of the Internet by the Brazilian indigenous peoples is strongly linked to the subject of "indigenous identity". In my paper I will discuss the cultural processes that the indigenous societies in Brazil are experiencing, the difficulty of the Brazilian indigenous peoples to stand up to the dominant society and their endeavour to be accepted within the realities of their own lives and within their own identity. The debate around the discourse of "authenticity" will also be brought up for discussion.

Kuben's (Foreigners') Goods and the Production of Prestige and Difference within the Mebengokré-Xikrin of Bakajá River in Amazon

Paride Bollettin (paride_bollettin@msn.com)

This project tries to analyse to the flows of non-indigenous goods which enter the material and symbolic life of the Mebengokré-Xikrin community that lives in the area of the Bakajá river in the Amazon basin. The anthropological literacy on the ethnographic region highlighted the importance of the incorporation of external elements, especially from nature and others indigenous groups, for the production of internal differences. This is true for the Mebengokré, which incorporate some elements from the natural environment to produce a difference of status and prestige based on the distinctive distribution of mei, which is possible to translate with "beauty", "truth", "tradition". Based on a three years fieldwork, the reflection focuses on the process of reinterpretation of non-indigenous goods. For this purpose I want to expand the discourse by verifying the hypothesis that the reinterpretation of the non-indigenous goods by this indigenous group is oriented to a process of construction of different levels of prestige that are vehiculated through the difference in "beauty". In my fieldwork I have underlined the importance of the flow of discourse and practices about goods, so I want to put the accent on the process of re-symbolisation of the external goods, that takes place in the ritual moment as the most visible, and that permit them to incorporate the new goods into the category of distinctive goods, kukradja, that influence the individual prestige and power.

On the Significance of German Identity and Whiteness for Argentineans of German Descent in Buenos Aires

Cristian Alvarado Leyton (cristian.alvarado@uni-hamburg.de)

The paper addresses the significance of "German" identity and being "white" for descendants of German-speaking immigrants in contemporary Buenos Aires. In my fieldwork, designed as an "ethnography of the particular" by a native anthropologist, I am concentrating on three individuals who were born in Argentina. Living in a deeply racialised society, being white hints at a superior social position. The historically reified cultural equation of being German and white and its contemporary ambiguous significance for Argentineans of German descent is analysed interpretatively. The contradictory social interplay of identifying and differentiating practices of Argentineans of German descent is discussed in discursive as well as materialist realms of their life-worlds. Within the context of porteño culture in the aftermath of the economic and societal crisis of 2001, special reference will be given to terms designating both physical appearance and a person's class position.

Quais Brasis? National Identity Constructions and Othering in Brazil

Jens Schneider, Universiteit van Amsterdam (sfager@gmx.de)

The paper analyses national identity constructions among "discursive elites" in Brazil. It particularly looks at the ways, in which the heterogeneity of the Brazilian National Self is transformed in notions of Otherness and social exclusion. The paper is based on field research in Brazil and interviews with "opinion makers" from media, politics and social movements in several cities.

The Making of Political Discourses and Practices in an Argentinean Slum

Cédric Masse, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris/ University of Barcelona (cedricmasse@yahoo.fr)

Based on ethnographic fieldwork realised in an Argentinean slum located in Buenos Aires - among its inhabitants, their organisations and social movements in 2005 - this paper analyses the local and ideological representations, the concrete actions of everyday life, their links with the formation of specific identities and differences, and their interactions with power like the State, international NGOs and the capitalist system in general. So, it studies both real and ideal experiences and their association with identities, differences and power.

The development of the slums in Argentina was the result of a fast process of urbanisation and industrialisation which started for this country in the 1930s. The capital, Buenos Aires, was converted in the surroundings as the main focus of concentration of the new factories and consequently attracted several waves of migrants from the interior who installed themselves close to them in the abandoned countryside to form the slums. Throughout their history until now, the Argentinean slums were a typical space of alterity. They and their inhabitants were continuously in confrontation against power and excluded from the rest of the Argentinean society. They were the scenery of the constant formation of alternative identities and differences throughout the local discourses and the real practices. I propose to examine these issues in more detail in my paper.

W047

The New Europe: The Politics of Recognition, Inclusion and Exclusion

Convenors: **Ilka Thiessen, Vancouver Island University (ilka.thiessen@viu.ca)**
Ljupčo Risteski, Sts. Cyril and Methodius University (risteski@iunona.pmf.ukim.edu.mk)
Michaela Schäuble, Martin-Luther University, Halle (michaela.schaeuble@ethnologie.uni-halle.de)
Nataša Gregorič Bon, Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (ngregoric@zrc-sazu.si)
Discussants: **Peter Loizos and Stef Jansen**

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 343

This panel will explore how the processes of Europeanisation, change and the "nation-state" on the geographical peripheries of Europe - particularly its Eastern boundaries - are envisioned and how they shape local notions of the "nation-state" as well as regional belonging. Some papers in this workshop will centre specifically around the Republic of Macedonia's struggle of "belonging" to Europe, others will deal more generally with processes of envisioning place, change and the "nation-state". Together we will explore how Europe constructs itself and how this experience is lived out in its borderlands. We welcome contributions that address the fluidity and ambiguity of European borders and that attend to territorial boundaries as liminal (and often contested) sites of globalisation and transnational processes that can separate but also connect people and places. How are these different-level discourses of exclusion/inclusion, sameness/difference lived out in the daily lives; in the city and the country-side; in the life of the Diaspora, and, how are these discourses reflected in policy-making? How do people locate and represent themselves in view of geographically, politically and historically shifting frontiers? In what sense do geo-political maps shape peoples' practices and perceptions of place? Based on the observation that radical changes often precipitate a disambiguation of the past, the workshop seeks to explore how these tendencies are related to the negotiation of national and/or regional identities and influences visions of the future.

The Poet on the Bridge in the "Biblical Land": Art, Ideology and Borders in the Republic of Macedonia

Rozita Dimova, Institute for Eastern European Studies (rozita@zedat.fu-berlin.de)

By following Adorno's (1970) argument that art is always contingent and rooted in the social conditions of the system where it emerges, this paper foregrounds the art's critical role in producing and disseminating the ideologies of "multiculturalism" and "national archaism" in contemporary Macedonia. While arguing that these are mutually constitutive processes, I examine the two most important art festivals in the country: the Ohrid Summer Festival and the Struga Poetry Evenings. Staged for the first time in 1961, the Ohrid Summer Festival has become one of the most prominent high art festivals featuring best artists from the world. This year's 46th edition of the Ohrid Summer Festival stressed the "biblical" and the Christian character of Ohrid and Macedonia by drawing primarily on its Christian legacy representing it as "a town of

365 churches," thus silencing the presence of Islam in the town and the country. The Struga Poetry Festival (considered as one of the most important poetry festivals in the world recognised by UNESCO) in 2007 was marked by a visible presence of Albanian politicians who stressed the numerical dominance of Albanians in Struga by opening the festival first in Albanian language. By analysing these two festivals, I maintain that art is not only rooted in the social conditions but it becomes the battleground where the ideologies of inclusion and exclusion are produced and disseminated in the wider political and popular discourses of the Macedonia.

"Public" Diplomacy and the Politics of Carrots and Sticks: "International Community" Press Conferences in Post-Conflict Macedonia

Andrew Graan, University of Chicago (apgraan@uchicago.edu)

After the 2001 conflict that had threatened the Republic of Macedonia with civil war, political discourse in the country quickly re-oriented toward the goals of Euro-Atlantic integration with hopes of eventual NATO and EU membership. By 2003, the concern over "Eurointegration" had come to permeate the Macedonian public sphere, and the figure of "Europe" acted as an authorising centre for much political oratory, media commentary, and everyday criticism of politics. However, a relic of conflict-time diplomacy — the bi-weekly, joint press conference of the embassies of the EU, the USA, NATO and the OSCE — institutionalised a very different "European" voice within the Macedonian public sphere. Through these press conferences, the spokespersons of these organisations variously commented on and evaluated current events and political initiatives in Macedonia, espousing such platitudes of Eurointegration as the need for more reform, more transparency, and more accountability, to the frequent chagrin of domestic actors. Indeed, the very salience of the discourse of Eurointegration allowed the spokespersons to engage the publicity of the press conferences as a political tool to send explicit and implicit messages to political factions in Macedonia. Focusing on these complex, multiply-addressed messages and their uptake by Macedonian politicians and media commentators, this paper examines how such regular "international interventions" into the Macedonian public sphere affected domestic constructions and contestations of political authority.

Mobilising East and West: Strategic Positionings among Women Activists in Bosnia-Herzegovina

Elissa Helms, Central European University (helmse@ceu.hu)

The rupture of the war and subsequent international intervention Bosnia-Herzegovina has brought about intense concern with Bosnia's place in the world, particularly in relation to Europe and "the west." In nearly every realm of social and political life, Bosnians debate their place between imagined poles of east and west, while foreigners engaged in post-war reconstruction similarly evaluate Bosnia's progress in reference to "western" models. Such positionings are frequently gendered, especially in interactions between women's activists and donors, foreign activists, or members of local communities. This paper explores the ways in which evocations of geo-cultural belonging (to east/west, Balkans/Europe, Islam/Christianity or secularism) are mobilised in support of activists' agendas for social change and representations of gender relations. I scrutinise such generalisations put forth by Bosnians (activists, politicians) as well as foreigners active in Bosnia (donors, activists), paying special attention to (positive and negative) depictions of "Bosnian culture," discourses of exceptionalism, and contestations over the public/private boundary and the role of

the state. My approach is not to point to the "inaccuracies" of these claims but to ask what discursive roles they play: what is enabled or foreclosed and what strategies of positioning are marshalled in support of various agendas? This paper is based on over a decade of ethnographic research, most intensively over two years in 1999-2000, with women's non-governmental organisations in the Muslim dominated parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Inclusion of the Diaspora from Macedonia: Potential Factor to the Development and EU Integration of Macedonian Society

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With globalisation, the flow of citizens is higher than ever, increasing the size of the migrant population in many countries. Consequently, the potential of the Diaspora as a development resource increased and many governments developed range of approaches to take advantage of it.
Emigration from Macedonia has a history of over hundred years. The size of the Diaspora is significant compared to its overall population and is often referred to as the "fourth Macedonia". The Diaspora communities have shown determination to preserve and promote their culture, and many express interests in the future developments of their homeland. The role of the Diaspora is increasing with possible changes in the electoral laws in Macedonia allowing Diaspora to vote with three guaranteed seats in the Parliament. This could potentially positively influence the development and EU integration processes by facilitating economic growth and international relations. The paper closely examines these opportunities but also argues that very careful approach is needed in order to prevent possible negative effects from the inclusion of the Diaspora. Namely, the ethnic Macedonian and Albanian Diaspora live in parallel worlds with separate social networks. Many are strongly related to the history and culture of their ethnicities and are concerned mostly with the "national interests" of their ethnic groups. Consequently, unless carefully planned a strategy for integrating the Diaspora can stir up the nationalistic agendas and have negative influence on the cohabitation between the ethnic groups in Macedonia and the national interests of the country for EU integration.

Ethnography on "Socially Marginalised Groups": A Community-Based Study on Most-At-Risk Adolescents in Regards to HIV/Aids/STI in Macedonia

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The main target group in the research are the most at-risk adolescents (MARA) to HIV/AIDS and STIs in Macedonia at the age of 13 to 18. Having in mind the specifics of the target group which belongs in the so-called hard-to-reach target groups, in our case due to the social and cultural context that the research took place in R. Macedonia.
In the mapping and the community based research study, the following sub-categories of MARA to HIV/AIDS/STIs in Macedonia were involved:
1. adolescent males that have sex with men (MSM), with a special emphasis in the research to those adolescents who have unprotected sex with men;
2. adolescent males and females who sell sex (AWSS);
3. adolescents injecting drug users (AID).

The basic aims of the mapping and the community based research study for MARA to HIV/AIDS/STIs in Macedonia are:
1. To discover information of existence of MARA and describe their locations, behaviours, social context and the problems they face.
2. To locate different MARA sub-groups and collect information for their experiences at individual level, at community level and structural level with information from the community itself.
3. To design more case studies that will show how the legal regulation, police activities or current social context hinder the optimal use of the services for MARA.
4. To analyse the information gathered from MARA that reflect all the factors influencing their individual risky behaviour, as well as the risky behaviour at a community level, related to the structural factors.

From Identity to "No-Identity": Theorising Transnational Liminality

Ilka Thiessen, Vancouver Island University (ilka.thiessen@viu.ca)

The paper discusses an ethnographic account of a world without borders; both in image and popular imagination; and theoretically exploring the notion of territoriality and inter-ethnic, inter-state relationships. How are nationhood and citizenship negotiated? These queries resolve themselves by posing the specific question, why is Macedonia not part of the European Union? Amongst the popular imagination of my informants in Skopje, this issue hinges on two major points: Macedonia has to demonstrate its non-violence, that is, demonstrating that it is not "Bosnia". Secondly, Macedonians have to come up with an identity that is acceptable to the Greek state, and therefore Europe. According to popular history Macedonia is an ancient land that has no place in modern Europe. It is classified as the Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia - a classification young Macedonians in Skopje strongly object to. It transforms them to a past they feel they do not belong to. How then should Macedonia classify itself? Is the "new" Macedonian identity an ethnic identity or a state identity, and does it include Albanians? The paper will touch on issues of identity, borders and liminality. Is identity given, created or taken and by whom? What is the relationship between borders, nation-states and identities? Can "no-identity" be a satisfactory identity as in the case of "stateless" identity commonly assigned to the uprooted people of Europe after the Second World War?

Envisioning Place, Change and the "Nation-State" on the Peripheries of Europe

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In the introduction to the second sessions of this panel we will explore how processes of Europeanisation and the implications of European integration are envisioned from different local perspectives and how they shape localised notions of the "nation-state" as well as regional belonging. Periods of political transformation in the post-socialist countries are often initiated or accompanied by re-naming and/or removal of symbols of the previous era, such as the re-naming of public places as well as dismantling of statues, memorials or walls (Verdery 1999). On the one hand such commemorative impositions on people's lived-in surroundings involve monuments,

memorials and naming of public spaces. On the other hand they also entail previously silenced narratives from the socialist past and/or salient accounts of an ancient past. Drawing on extensive fieldwork in post-war rural Croatia and in Himarë/Himara in Southern Albania, we observe that the fall of socialist systems is marked by a general reversion to an ancient past in which the country's nationalist ideals are believed to be grounded. This reversion, however, can take various shapes and its influence on notions of regional belonging ranges from eager aspiration towards Europe to severe Euroscepticism. We will address the following questions: how do people locate and represent themselves in the view of geographically, politically and historically shifting frontiers? In what sense do geo-political maps shape people's practices and perceptions of "their" place? What are the implications of supra-regional and supra-national changes for local discourses of nostalgia and (be)longing? What kind of power struggles are involved in the rethinking of notions of European-ness? What role do mobility and economic change play in these processes?

The High Wall and the Narrow Gate: Albanian Borders at the Margins of Europe

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Based on data collected on the Greek-Albanian border, my paper addresses the issue of the transformation of Albanian borders since 1991. After a long period of confinement within their nation state, Albanians have experienced the "opening" of Albania's borders and started to migrate towards Greece and Italy. It however soon became clear that European borders were not "open" and that, on the contrary, they imposed limitations on crossings by Albanians.

In the borderlands of Southern Albania, from where people attempt to go to Greece, other processes of boundary making have occurred, in relation with Greek migration policy. Albanian citizens belonging to the Greek minority in Albania enjoy a privileged access to Greek labour market, welfare and citizenship, while Muslims are faced with difficulties to get visas and cross the border, and, once in Greece, with racism and discrimination. Between those two extreme categories other groups are locally known in relation with the border, which, from a "wall" preventing people from escaping during communist times, has now become a "filter", allowing only certain categories of people to cross on the other side.

By looking at daily life and individual practices in the borderland, my paper is an attempt to understand how local inhabitants react to the transformation of the border. It also seeks to understand in what way this transformation calls for the mobilisation of new resources and representations. It emphasises the plurality of practices of the border as well as the different levels at which people experience the border.

Re-Defining Markers and Re-Conceptualisation of the Lithuanianness

Jolanta Kuznecoviene, University of Vytautas Magnus (j.kuznecoviene@smf.vdu.lt)

The presentation will deal with the problem of the changing local/global dimensions of Lithuanian identity under the conditions of globalisation, after the country's accession to the European Union and in particular vis-à-vis nation-wide emigration pattern.

It is based on findings of the national research project on national identity under conditions of globalisation, conducted in 2005-2007 in Lithuania.

The theoretical framework of the report is based on theoretical assumptions which criticise the dichotomy ethnic/civic as providing reliable platform for defining of

the markers of national identity. It proposes instead to focus on the description of the dimensions of openness/closeness which could be identified via analysis of the narratives on "we-ness"/ "foreign-ness" and legal possibilities for "becoming local".
Two types of narratives on globalised vs. local (Lithuanian) culture revealed by the research are explored in the paper: narratives that make clean-cut distinction between local/native and global/foreign culture and narratives that vindicate incorporation of global life styles to Lithuanian one. In the narratives of the first type the assessment of cultural phenomena as either local/native or global/foreign was made with the help of elements of Lithuanian ethnic culture as the main criterion. Narratives of the second type are those that "legitimise" the incorporation of global culture and life styles into Lithuanian culture. Two versions of such "legitimising" narratives were revealed: The first is based on an expanded understanding of the concept of "local". "Local" includes "global", because "global" does not mean "foreign", but just something that exists everywhere. "Global" is understood as global/native or just as native. The second version of the "legitimisation" of cultural globalisation focuses upon the "Lithuanianisation" of ways of consumption by ascribing to them a spiritual, intangible Lithuanianness. The most important criterion now becomes "how" (in a Lithuanian or non-Lithuanian way of doing or consuming something) instead of "what" (is being consumed).
Changing social and cultural experiences and every day life practices of Lithuanian people do change meanings of "we-ness"/ "foreign-ness" which imply re-definition of markers and re-conceptualisation of the Lithuanianness. Although "taken for granted" nation-ness in ethno-nationalist terms remains the main marker of Lithuanianness, positive attitudes and emotions as well as extended loyalty towards the state plays a very important role as well. It reduces the importance of ethnic ties and in-acts the dimensions of closeness and openness onto shaping of the national identity.

"Excluding Europe": National(ist) Politics and Narratives of (Dis)Placement in Greater Belgrade after Kosovo's Independence

William Pavlovich, State University of New York
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This paper analyses how displaced persons in Serbia affect local, national, and international politics through narratives of displacement, and how this plays a significant role in reinvigorating nationalist politics that presents challenges to European integration. It explores how displacement opens up spaces for interpretation and contestation at individual, local, and national levels of society, and measures how Serbian politics are shaped by the interaction between displaced persons with local citizens, particularly members of the ultranationalist Serbian Radical Party. Specifically, the paper addresses how "Europe" is envisioned and constructed in greater Belgrade through the prism of changed borders, thousands of displaced persons, and an independent Kosovo. Moreover it asks how do displaced and non-displaced persons situate and represent themselves vis-à-vis these changes?
Because the political and social crisis facing Serbia today "reflects a long history of conflict and ambiguity about its place in Europe" (Emmert 2003: 177), this paper explores how displaced persons negotiate the dialectics of border zones between the local and the translocal and how they interact in their new settings to influence politics and shape society. Although the former Yugoslav republic was based on a concept of ideological uniformity and national inclusion, the successor states were based largely on ethno-national exclusion with their corollary borders. In Serbia, geo-political maps and borders have always profoundly shaped people's practices and

their perceptions of place; this then is a key area for rethinking European integration, the nation-state, nationalism, refugees, and the significance of the politics of inclusion and exclusion in everyday life.

The Iconography of Memories in Contemporary Estonia and Slovenia

Meike Wulf, University College, London (meike_wulf@yahoo.com)

This research aims to develop a comparative perspective on the legacy of war and post-war memories in post-Soviet Estonia and post-socialist Slovenia. Concentrating on urban sites of contested memory, the research aims 1. to establish the differences in the historical cultures of a post-socialist and post-Soviet country at the example of Slovenia and Estonia; 2. to shed light on the dynamic interrelation between city and identity and to explore how specific urban experiences sustain a sense of identity through times of social-political rupture; 3. to illustrate whose version of the past is represented and pronounced in the city architecture and whose sites of memory were displaced or erased after 1945/1991. As most recently illustrated by the social riots surrounding the removal of the Bronze Solder in Tallinn, urban sites of memory can become contested terrain for different societal groups. These competing groups use the public space to rally for the official recognition of their specific interpretation of the past and different identity narratives deriving from them. The Bronze Soldier serves as a focal point at which different interpretative frameworks of understanding WWII clash. I contextualise the recent course of events surrounding the relocation of the Bronze Solider by considering the spatial context of this Soviet era lieux de memoire in Tallinn's cityscape and by discussing it in relation to various important landmarks of contemporary Estonian historical culture. Concentrating on urban cultural practices I pay attention to the significance that each of the competing group memories attribute to the site.

W048

A Matter of Trust: Anthropological Explorations into an Old Concept

Convenors: **Małgorzata Rajtar, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (rajtar@eth.mpg.de)**
Anika Keinz, Humboldt University (anika.keinz@web.de)

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 426

In the last two decades the concept of trust has become one of the major themes in sociology. A considerable amount of sociological theories have been formulated and numerous research studies have been conducted, all dealing with the issue of trust.

While sociologists' approaches to trust tend to be increasingly culture-oriented, in anthropology, the concept is still rather neglected. Although trust is literally at the core of ethnographic fieldwork being the first relationship an ethnographer has to build with his/her informants, it tends to be taken for granted. Correspondingly, a more detailed anthropological elaboration of the term is one aim of this workshop.

Another aim of the panel is to direct our anthropological gaze at the notion of trust, primarily its place and meaning in contemporary non-homogeneous cultures. In the diverse and changing world the rhetoric of trust is used by different political, religious and social actors to suit their often contradictory goals. This is particularly the case in

post-socialist countries in Central and Eastern Europe. Ideologies of trust are produced by institutions, but are also appealing to people in order to redefine social relations, economic goals and political bonds.
We invite papers that approach the concept of trust from a variety of perspectives. These include but are not limited to those that problematise notions and discourses of trust in regard to their religious, ethical or political ideologies; those that examine notions of trust in the restructuring of the economy in post-socialist societies; and those that problematise notions of trust methodologically.

Distrust: Negotiating Women's Agency within a Fundamentalist Catholic Milieu in Poland

Agnieszka Kościańska, Warsaw University (akoscianska@uw.edu.pl)

In Poland, older religious Catholic women often meet informally to pray, to chat and to help each other. They have visions of the Virgin Mary or experience the presence of the Holy Spirit. They have healing skills and believe in the power of prayers to affect change. At the same time, they share a deep distrust of various modern institutions, such as those associated with the public health system, the welfare system, mass media, and organisations associated with feminism and the women's rights movement. They see these institutions as promoting liberal and individualistic models of agency, which they see as a threat to Polish national community and the Roman Catholic Church.
The paper discuses the ways in which my informants deal with those fears. I focus on alternative healing practices and channels of communication, and anti-abortion mobilisation to analyse models of agency and personhood developed due to this distrust. These models of agency and personhood are reflected in the personal narratives of the elder religious women I interviewed, and parallel developments in political and public domains, such as the Catholic fundamentalist radio station Radio Maryja.

Informal Relations and Trust: The Case of Polish Migrant Women in Italy

Elena Sischarenco (elena.siska@libero.it)

The purpose of the research is to analyse in depth the relations established by Polish women both in Italy and in Poland, both before and during their experience of migration, with the aim of understanding the importance of these relations and of trust. A survey and qualitative ethnographic methods were employed.
With regard to the importance of trust in the post-socialist societies it is important to observe that the informal relations created to search for a job in Italy are first established in Poland. Only in few exceptional cases do Polish women arrive in Italy without a job.
The situation of instability already present in their original society and due to the post-socialist period added to another situation of instability: the migratory experience increases the general level of mistrust of these women. This mistrust cannot lead to an absence of social relations, especially considering their situation of need. In fact it brings to a particular attention to the relationships they establish and an increase of the importance of the role of trust in every aspect of their life.
There is an extensive use of informal relations in every aspect of the migrants' working and social experience in Italy, even as far as their approaches to the Italian Institutions are concerned.

Can We Trust Them? Schengen Enlargement and Security Discourse

Alexandra Schwell, European University, Viadrina (alexandra.schwell@web.de)

Trust and confidence are the basis of all functioning social relationships. It is one of the foremost tasks of the EU to foster mutual trust across its borders, in order to develop a European feeling of belonging (identity) and thus strengthen legitimacy. Trust is always reciprocal: it depends on mutual confidence and the expectancy that the leap of faith will be rewarded. This trust, on which the European Union to a large degree is built, is still rather fragile between Western and Eastern Europe.
The enlargement of the Schengen area by the end of 2007 has once again emphasised not only the importance and meaning of trust/mistrust, but also of the ways these concepts can be instrumentalised and securitised. Mistrust always entails fear, insecurity and thus a negative image of the "Other", who cannot be trusted. Hence while some actors promote freedom of movement and a united Europe, others stoke fears of organised crime and consider the new member states not trustworthy.
Drawing on German and Austrian media coverage and political discourse I will scrutinise, how trust/mistrust towards Eastern Europe is exploited by different actors, which aims actors pursue when invoking images related to trust/mistrust, and finally how this discourse effects the idea of Europe as the "ever closer Union".

Fieldwork Experiences of Trust and Distrust in Croatia

Lynette Šikić-Mičanović, Ivo Pilar Institute of Social Sciences (lyn@pilar.hr)

Accessing research participants, developing relationships of trust with them and acquiring quality data that reflect "truths" are major issues for field researchers. Undeniably, trust is the foundation for acquiring the fullest, most accurate disclosure while distrust has damaging implications in any research project. Drawing on fieldwork among the Roma populations in Croatia, this paper explores different experiences of trust and distrust. Specifically, in this paper, I pay attention to how I attempted to gain participants' trust and how my identity in many instances provided a basis for trust and openness during fieldwork. In addition, the experience of particular issues and dilemmas while attempting to balance the trust relationship with research participants are discussed. These include issues of informed consent, privacy, harm, exploitation, power relations, confidentiality, and deception.

W049

Audio-Visual Representation and Cultural Diversity

Convenors: **Beate Engelbrecht, IWF Knowledge and Media (beate.engelbrecht@iwf.de)**
Susanne Hammacher, Royal Anthropological Institute (film@therai.org.uk)
Catarina Alves Costa, Universidade Nova de Lisboa (catcostacatarina@gmail.com)
Chair: **Catarina Alves Costa**

28 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 030

Diversity can be seen in cultural expressions of different areas. Diversity can be a consequence of differences in religions, ethnicities or other sub-cultural

groupings. Diversity arises from the creative expression of individuals or groups.
The richness and varieties of culture can be represented by audio-visual means. The processes of imaging cultural diversity, of recording cultural expression, might be quite different depending on who is doing it (authorship), for what purpose and which audience. The production of images itself can be conceived as a cultural process. Questions of diversity of representation strategies enface a globalisation of communication means arise.
There are various ways for using the recordings. Anthropologist analyse them, they integrate them into their teaching or use them in order to communicate their findings/ research results (for communicating their findings). Others use them also in quite diverse contexts.
The work with audio-visuals implies manifold forms of collaboration and processes of transformation. As a consequence, new theoretical, methodological and practical concepts are developed.

The Making of "Hearing and Touching Leuven": Blindness and Multi-Sensorial Experience in Cities

Patrick Devlieger, University of Leuven (patrick.devlieger@soc.kuleuven.be)

In this paper, I trace the making of "Leuven Horen en Voelen" (a multi-sensorial book of historic sites in the City of Leuven, Belgium, published in 2007). The book consists of a multi-sensorial text, photographs, tactile plates, and an audio-guide. Its use is intended for everyone, including people who are not visually impaired. First, I discuss how the project emerged from an idea that followed a European initiative, namely the 2003 European Year of Disabled Persons, with its emphasis on collaboration between able-bodied and disabled people and on accessibility, as it was being translated to the local level of a city and its applicability in the promotion of its historical resources. In particular, I retrace the organic nature of collaboration and mutuality. Second, I discuss some misunderstandings and miscalculations by city guides and participants in the city tour. These "misunderstandings" could be seen as the response of a critique on the dominance of visual experience and attempts to reincorporate the project into existing discourses and practices, which then again requires new steps in an ongoing dialogue. In this context, I also discuss the awarding of the Hugo De Keyser price to the project. Thirdly, I offer some thoughts on the limits and expansions of the book-as-medium and the dominance of the visual. Finally, I evaluate to what extent visual impairment serves as an expansion of existing diversity and mutuality in cities, but also acknowledging existing borders and different worlds that cannot be easily transgressed.

Collaborating on the Production and Trade of Images of Cultural Diversity of the Rift Valley

Ricardo Leizaola, Goldsmiths College, University of London (ans01rl@gold.ac.uk)
Nico Lewis, Goldsmiths College, University of London (nicolewis@mac.com)

The Southern region (SNNPR) is the most ethnically diverse area of Ethiopia. For five years now the Thousand Stars Festival has been showcasing this diversity in Arba Minch. The festival features most of the SNNPR's 56 recognised ethnic groups. The aim of the festival is the celebration of cultural diversity. The festival also aims to be a platform for cultural exchange and understanding for all the different ethnic groups involved

as well as a display for city people. This year the event attracted around 50,000 visitors including many outsiders keen to photograph the event and record the music.
In addition to organising the festival Gughe Indigenous Art and Music Association in collaboration with researchers from the Centre for Visual Anthropology is attempting to document this cultural diversity. While the event attracts an array of image-makers (professional and amateur, local and foreign...) many groups of the performers themselves are recording their own culture and contribution.
This paper reviews this collaboration against the backdrop of these multiple and sometimes competing interests. It argues that visual anthropology is distinctive from the other records primarily because it tries to put the performances in complex context and to understand and portray these cultural expressions and exchanges as processes rather than catching them as fixed isolated products. In this light, attention should also be given to the production and trade in visual representations of cultural diversity (including by the researchers) that is taking place because of the Festival.

Capturing Public Space: Context and Consequence in Visual Practices

Chrisanna Gustafson, California State University, Chico (cgustafson@mail.csuchico.edu)

Contemplating and categorising the richness and ultimately valuable aspects of cultural diversity has been made infinitely more possible with the rise of new worldwide media, including the Internet, live real-time televisions broadcasts, and international documentary films. Moreover, citizens and scholars alike have access to tools with which to produce audio-visual images, and are using them increasingly, yet with different aims.
This paper will explore three current classes of audio-visual recording: First, that of recording explicitly for public consumption, most especially on the part of news media and broadcasting agencies. Second, the practice of recording for scholarly examination, including anthropological data obtained from ethnographic fieldwork. Finally, the growing trend of self-recording and broadcasting as an international movement, evidenced by Internet video and networking sites.
In each of these instances issues of context come into play. In some cases, authorship determines what contextual information is ultimately included in distributed audio-visual recordings, giving rise to ethical questions concerning dual cultural realities, aesthetics versus academic data, and privacy rights. Understanding the potential consequences of utilising audio-visual means as tools of communication with and by an international public sphere requires a new formulation of methodology and theory in the realm of visual practices.

Landscapes of Terror in between Hope and Memory

Catalina Cortes Severino, Università di Siena (severino@email.unc.edu)

In this paper, I want to raise the following questions: in what ways can the practices, politics and ethics of memory be understood, traced and represented in performative writing and documentary practices? If it is true that as a form of representation documentary practice can be seen as a strategy of transaction and negotiation of meaning across different spaces, domains, discourses, actions, politics and subject positions, how does this conception fare when dealing with the politics and ethics of memory in contexts of violence? Here, I want to preview and give an example of a collaborative documentary project realised with the Process of Black Communities (PCN) of the Pacific Coast in Colombia. The network of the PCN has been promoting

alternative practices of resistance to survive in the middle of the Colombian conflict when a veritable "landscape of terror" has been produced in the Pacific by the complex armed conflict. This said, the documentary proposes a political witnessing that seeks to explore the different articulations between remembering practices, identity politics and political mobilisation against the grain of the cultural anaesthesia.

Narration of Triumph or Narration for Triumph: Morteza Avini's War Documentary Film

Pedram Khosronejad, St. Andrews University (pk18@St-andrews.ac.uk)
Nader Gholi Talebzadeh Ordoubadi (n.t_messiah@yahoo.com)

When images of war form shocking reminders of what actually occurred they become references for the future generations. Carefully preserved in folklore and enthroned as tradition, these images can be invoked for political purposes that transcend party and class factionalism, and serve to unite the nation in a supreme sacrifice in the national interest.
The inception of Iranian war cinema occurred after the beginning of the war in Iran. However, it took many years - and can still be considered to be trying today - to find its own language, manner, and identity.
Iranian war films, like most war films in the world, mainly concentrate on the home fronts, rather than on the conflict at the military war-fronts, and are often paired with other genres such as tragedy, epic, and comedy. Their subject matter includes the effects of war on society, the heartbreak of war, the situation of Iranian society during the post-war period and profound explorations of moral and human issues. However, few of them provide decisive criticism of senseless warfare, with frequently acknowledged and explored themes including the bravery of soldiers and tales of heroic sacrifice and struggle.
In the voluntary absence of the international media at the Iranian war-fronts, a few Iranians tried to capture the real images of the fronts. The most important work in this regard was carried out by Seyed Morteza Avini and his crew, not only during the war but also after its end.

The Interactive Village: A Re-Configurable Digital Ethnography

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The rationale behind the "Interactive Village" is represented by reference to historical and contemporary ethnographic film and the different narrative strategies used by documentary filmmakers. For example, J. Hoberman, film critic for New York's "The Village Voice", has referred to ethnographic film as "documentary's avant-garde". With this sentiment in mind, the paper maintains that visual ethnography should play a central role in exploring and redefining documentary practice in relation to the new media technologies.
While the theoretical basis for The Interactive Village production is firmly situated within the discipline of visual anthropology, it makes reference to documentary film and feature film (e.g. the Czech New Wave of the 1960s). In addition the use of new media technologies aims to question the dividing lines applied to the existing genres of news, documentary and ethnography. At one end, the production can be viewed as a "soft" news human interest story; at the other, it can provide an in-depth study of human life with scholarly sophistication. Indeed the three central approaches traditionally provided by the visual ethnographer: Observational - Didactic - Journalistic are now subject to the viewer's choice. Respectively the viewer can decide whether

to: watch and listen; hear the anthropologist's commentary explaining, guiding, informing; or access a particular point of view on a subject or issue e.g. threat to rural transport issues - viability of train service, village communication. The ethnography was produced as part of the NM2 (New Media for a New Millennium) research project.

Ways of Seeing, Ways of Filming: Theory and Practice in Visual Anthropology

Roger Canals, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales/University of Barcelona (rocanals@gmail.com)

In order to use the camera as a research tool on cultural diversity, the visual anthropologist always needs to take into account the investigated community' s conception on concepts such as "image", "view", "gaze", "reflection". The meaning of those cinematic terms in the context of this study will determine, partly, the ethnographic methodology to be followed throughout the fieldwork. Nevertheless, how can one find out the significance of those concepts in a different cultural ground? By introducing the camera during the ethnographic investigation. In short, the theoretical knowledge about the image conditions the cinematic methodology whereas the latter offers ethnographic data on notions such as vision and representation that can be of great value for the conceptual debate.

I realised this interdependence between theory and practice in visual anthropology during my fieldwork conducted in Venezuela concerning the worship of Maria Lionza. The believers of Maria Lionza, for example, explained to me that while filming the rituals, and in order to avoid "hurting" - or even "killing"- the possessed medium or spirit that "was incarnated" there, I had to be aware of certain factors. These prohibitions derived from a very certain notion of the followers regarding the image, the gaze or the reflection.

In conclusion, by this paper I aim to demonstrate the existing tight relationship between theory and practice in ethnographic cinema; furthermore, I wish to demonstrate that the filming techniques and the cinematic language used are subjected to the cultural characteristics of the community being studied.

W050

Studying Anthropologists in War and Conflict Zones: Spies and Freedom Fighters, Scholars and Advocates

Convenors: **Herta Nöbauer, University of Vienna (herta.noebauer@univie.ac.at)**
Esther Hertzog, Beit Berl College (estherhertzog@yahoo.com)

28 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 309

This workshop addresses the relation between anthropology, politics and ethics and their spaces of mutuality. From a perspective of a critical anthropology of anthropology we wish to ask questions on the ethics and power(lessness) of anthropologists around the world by way of focusing on their positions and practices in war and conflict zones both in the past and the present. Not only are anthropologists' professional, political, socio-cultural, (trans)national and moral positions and commitments and practices to be seen as diverse, multiple, heterogeneous, ambiguous but also contested, hegemonic and not "innocent" any longer. More specifically, looking at studies on

the history of anthropologies and at current anthropologies around the world, we argue that it is especially in times of war and violent conflicts - be they international wars or regional armed conflicts - that anthropologists' positions and practices are most conflicted and compromised.
We invite papers that deal with the ideas, interests, positions and strategies of anthropologists labouring under such severe conditions. We are particularly interested in the various and distinct ways and circumstances of how women and men anthropologists may become victims or perpetrators and oppressors, spies or freedom fighters, bystanders or mediators and advocates in war and conflict zones. We welcome socio-historical analyses of extant anthropological studies and anthropologists' careers, as well as personal accounts of work under such testing conditions.

"War in Particular Offers Exceptionally Favorable Opportunities for Surveying Foreign Racial Material" (Otto Reche (1879-1966), 1944)

Katja Geisenhainer (kgeis@rz.uni-leipzig.de)

During the First World War, social anthropologists, physical anthropologists, linguists and musicologists in Germany and Austria took advantage of a unique situation: they had the opportunity to study and measure people of foreign countries without having to travel long distances. On their expeditions overseas most of the social and physical anthropologists behaved in a manner as if they were superior to the inhabitants. Now, in the prisoners-of-war camps the balance of power was clearly defined and without ambiguity. In the Third Reich scientists in both countries examined not only people in prisoner-of-war camps, but also people in occupied areas or of their own state who were persecuted.
The paper will focus on Otto Reche, director of the institute of ethnology and racial studies in Leipzig from 1927 until 1945, for whom race or racial affiliation was the base of all his explanations and his ethnological theories. He was one of the anthropologists who studied prisoners of war during the First World War. Later on he concentrated on the Slavs in particular - mainly for political reasons. When the Second World War began, he regreted that he could not fight as a soldier - he celebrated his 60th birthday in 1939. He therefore offered his services as an expert in the racial question in "settlement and resettlement of the former Polish East". Furthermore Reche tried to use the situation for his own research: he instructed students and former students to scrutinise Jews and other people who were sentenced to die.

The Suspicious Anthropologist: Elaborating on my Mother's Holocaust

Esther Hertzog, Beit Berl College (estherhertzog@yahoo.com)

My paper examines the anthropologist's role in studying wars as a "post-factum" ethnographer. It will focus on Holocaust survivors' narratives, using documented conversations with my mother. I shall discuss some of the dilemmas with which the anthropologist is concerned in the context of the Holocaust, as a "survivors memories' witness". It will be argued that both, these dilemmas and the use of Holocaust survivors' narratives may have implications for the anthropological study of wars at large.
Documenting and analysing survivors' recollections, the anthropologist often wonders about the connection between "historical facts" and survivors' narratives. She might also feel reservation in relation to some "forgiving" attitudes that the survivors express toward their oppressors.
Talking and listening to my mother, while documenting her fading memories, made

me a companion to her emotional and intellectual narrative of the Holocaust. My puzzled reaction, or rather my latent suspicion, regarding my mother's descriptions and views about people and events that were part of her past, are the focus of my paper.
I suggest that doubting my mother's story and interpretations is a reaction to the fact that her account departs from conventional thinking about the Holocaust. When I go beyond this "natural" skepticism, and accept what she says as true, valid and sincere, while colored by the present, I know that I am on the track of significant insights.

Rethinking Somalia and the Role of Anthropologists

Martina Isabella Steiner, University of Vienna (martina.steiner@univie.ac.at)

Colonial intervention in Somalia began at the time of the Berlin Conference 1884-1885. Since that time anthropologists have acted as consultants for colonial governments to enhance imperialistic interests. That is why local realities could be exploited to recruit cheap labour and soldiers for the colonial army. Subversive Somali middlemen of the traditional socio-political system were used to superimpose national imperialistic structures in the area in order to gain control, power and to define hegemonies.
During the UN-trusteeship by Italy from 1950 to 1960 anthropological knowledge was again the background to conceptualising an independent Somali nation state based on a western pattern. During the time of scientific socialism between 1968 and 1989 anthropologists were frequently hired to develop strategies to realise a "modern" nation state neglecting traditional societal structures and values. It became at the very least a violent totalitarian regime and a society with numerous implicit conflicts.
In 1989 the civil war in Somalia began. International organisations commissioned research to a western anthropologist to develop an applicable model to re-build a Somali nation state. The proposal had no positive outcome. Somalia has still not developed a consolidated political system, which guarantees security.
Several peace conferences have been organised by the EU, peace studies have been complied, and "anthropological" ways of conflict resolution have been researched.
I will share my own experience working as an anthropologist in Somalia, where I completed my thesis and did a research project on women's role in the peace process on behalf of the EU and UN.

Cycles of Success and Failure in Advocacy

Emanuel Marx, Tel Aviv University (marx@post.tau.ac.il)

The paper examines my advocacy work in connection with a 1980 government scheme to resettle Negev Bedouin and expropriate their land. The advocacy was only partially successful. As long as the advocates opposed the State's intentions and offered alternative plans, they made good headway. But when the State negotiated a deal with the team of advocates, they became dependent on the agents of the State, rapidly lost power, and the resettlement project stalled. I argue that these cycles of success and failure are inevitable, and try to explain them.

The "Microcosm" of a Refugee Project in Syria on the Brink of the Iraq War

Brigitte Vettori (brigitte.vettori@gmx.at)

In 2003, the whole world watched what would happen in Iraq. But five years later even the most compassionate readers had lost their interest in this humanitarian disaster; reports about war and conflict between the differing fighting groups were starting to

go largely unnoticed. Recently there has been renewed interest in the (outcomes of) the persisting Iraq war though, not least because of the upcoming US-presidential elections and the collateral press release regarding the fifth anniversary of the war as well.
On the brink of this conflict zone in Syria and nearly unnoticed by the public, a project for Iraqi refugees was implemented under the guidance of international Caritas organisations. Manifold project actors negotiated needs and requirements for their target groups as well as for themselves. I was part of the project as team leader and researcher in 2003, and did participant observation during a restudy in 2007.
In my paper, I will reflect on the conflicting interests and synergies that arose out of my double role. I will particularly focus on the challenges and chances experienced during the implementation of this project. I will discuss ethical questions raised by Syrian staff as well as reports about Iraqis steering the activities of the NGO by acting and reacting to the "help" given to them.
The analysis of the "microcosm" of this NGO project touches the fields of refugee studies and the anthropology of organisations. Moreover, the results of this analysis may be of interest for the practical NGO work in general.

Anthropology, Governmentality and the Peace Process in Ireland

Andrew Finlay, Trinity College, Dublin (arfinlay@tcd.ie)

This paper is concerned with the contribution of anthropologists and of anthropological work in the development of the peace process in Ireland. It is animated by a concern about the manner in which anthropological ideas of culture, particularly the "old" idea of culture as the way of life of a distinct people, have been used in the development of technologies of government in the period before and after the signing of the Good Friday Agreement (GFA) in 1998. The paper traces the provenance of the notions of culture and identity implicit in the GFA. While people trained in anthropology have been involved in implementing community relations policy, other disciplines - notably law, history and political science - are found to have been more influential in their conception, though frequent reference is made to anthropological work for legitimation. Paradoxically, the influence of the old anthropological concept of culture is probably a sign of the relative weakness of anthropological influence in government circles. Ultimately though anthropological circumspection in this regard might be preferable to the hasty and vainglorious claims of other academic disciplines.

W051

Migrants' Pathways to Health Care: Access Barriers and Patterns of Resilience and Mutuality

Convenors: **Brigit Obrist van Eeuwijk, University of Basel (brigit.obrist@unibas.ch)**
Christiane Falge, University of Bremen (falge@zerp.uni-bremen.de)
Roos Willems, Catholic University, Leuven (rooswillems_2000@yahoo.com)
Chairs: **Brigit Obrist van Eeuwijk (University of Basel), Christiane Falge (University of Bremen) and Roos Willems (Catholic University, Leuven)**
Discussants: **Andrea Kuckert (Amsterdam School of Health Professions), Juan Muela Ribera (Independent University of Barcelona), Alexander Rödlach (Creighton University) and Piet van Eeuwijk (University of Zurich)**

29 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 6

The increasing heterogeneity of contemporary societies as a result of transnational migration comes with increasing structural inequality. Several studies indicate that migrants' inclusion into the host society and their access to health care is often constrained, which exposes them to various health risks. Research further indicates that, even though the first generation of migrants often succeeds in overcoming barriers to health care, second-generation migrants remain more vulnerable than other members of the host society.

As part of their resilience against marginalisation and social disenfranchisement migrants develop creative mechanisms in addressing their health needs. They draw on and creatively adapt to different cultural systems and develop support networks and alternative health care structures aiming to overcome access barriers. Ironically, the successful use of multiple cultural systems by migrants, contrasts with the problematic use of "culture" and "ethnicity" in explanatory models of health institutions, which often reduce a lack of access to health care to a single cause, cultural difference. The emphasis on the latter blames the migrant and thereby veils actual constraints to access such as structural inequality and discrimination.

Research has shown that institutionalized efforts and access models are more likely to result in improved access to health care and a better overall health of migrants when they focus on mutuality, i.e. bringing together health care providers, migrants, and their support networks.

We invite paper submissions that address health issues faced by transnational migrants considering aspects such as resilience, mutuality between individuals and health care providers, and mutuality between state health institutions and non-state actors.

No Hope for Healing at Home: AIDS, Emigration, and the Search for Health

Alexander Rödlach, Creighton University (rodlach@creighton.edu)

Zimbabwe's health care system is desperately under-funded resulting in a low morale among health care professionals, massive emigration of physicians and nurses, and a crumbling infrastructure. The high HIV infection rate in the country further exacerbates this situation with AIDS patients inundating the already overburdened health sector. Subsequently, most AIDS sufferers are looked after at home. However, due to the rising costs of living even the most basic care cannot be provided. This problematic health situation motivates some individuals to emigrate in order to raise funds for relatives

suffering from AIDS.
A yearlong research in an urban township in Bulawayo, the second largest city in Zimbabwe, documents some motifs of individuals for emigrating. Particularly the young ponder leaving the country in order to make money that will enable them to purchase antiretroviral (ARV) medication for their ailing relatives. Stories about émigrés who succeeded in providing such support became a master narrative encouraging migration and provide hope for AIDS sufferers and their households. Other stories of migrants' economic failure and inability to send ARV drugs are blended out. These would have destroyed the last hope of AIDS sufferers and their households. They have already given up expecting support from the governmental health sector or from non-governmental health organizations.
My paper interprets this master narrative as an aspect in migrant's resilience to access health care even across barriers such as national borders. Migrating is seen as a minor barrier compared with the precarious and desperate health care situation in Zimbabwe.

Stress Resulting from Cultural Dissonance as an Underlying Cause of Out-Migration from Senegal to Europe

Roos Willems, Catholic University, Leuven (rooswillems_2000@yahoo.com)

The widely media covered waves of out-migration from West Africa, in particular Senegal, to the Canary Islands in 2006, which took place in small pirogues carrying sometimes up to 100 men and women, have given rise to the image of destitute and desperate clandestine migrants. Recent research among repatriated Senegalese clandestine migrants by the author has shown however that the reality is more complex and that there exist under- researched socio-cultural causes underlying the unstoppable stream of African out-migration to Europe.
The cultural dissonance experienced by many Senegalese individuals results from the incongruity between the demands imposed upon them by the traditional social systems of support (that continue to exist even in urbanized setting), and the increasing scarcity of economic opportunities to fulfil one's obligations to one's relatives. The socio-cultural and economic effects of a system of gerontocracy and a widespread kleptocracy add further to the stress experienced by the average individual, and may in some cases lead to the onset of depression.
In a society fraught with economic problems and increasing levels of poverty, there is little attention for or interest in stress and depression, let alone enough material and human resources for clinical facilities to treat these types of afflictions. This paper documents the resilience of the men and women undergoing the effects of cultural dissonance in looking pro-actively for solutions to their situation rather than passively undergoing it.

"I will Kill Myself if They Deport Me": Negotiating Citizenship at a Mental Health Consultation in Canada

Alessandra Miklavcic, McGill University (amiklavcic@gmail.com)

Modern multicultural societies are confronted with the challenge of providing health care for their diverse populations. Taking on this social and political challenge means examining how access is granted, how political decisions shape services, and weighing different ideological claims about patients. These can range from a universalistic vision of the patient as a citizen, as an immigrant, as a specific "minority" other, as a refugee in need of legal protection, and as an "illegal" to question. In Canada, the

illegal immigrant population is comprised mainly of non-status immigrants who enter legally but stay after their legal status expires. Because of their "non-status," they avoid institutional encounters and have no rights to the health care system. What happens, then, if they get sick?
Drawing on current research among medical institutions in Montreal, this paper looks at how non-status immigrants and health practitioners construct and negotiate, through use of strategies, networks, and discursive practices, a tenuous field of health/ care. In particular, it examines how the discourses and regimes of the hospital and of citizenship intersect at a particular mental health facility offering cultural consultations in the treatment of immigrant and refugee patients. The case of a patient referred for consultation in virtue of her being a "cultural other" offers a starting point from which to explore the dissonances between policy and practice. Such an investigation brings to the forefront illegal immigrants' resilience in negotiating their visibility and invisibility, and the political, institutional, and ethical roles of psychiatrists in treating politically vulnerable patients.

Caught in the Multicultural Riddle: Discursive Frames of Turkish/Kurdish-Speaking Psychotherapists in Germany

Christiane Falge, University of Bremen (falge@zerp.uni-bremen.de)

The German health care system is currently experiencing a debate about the accomodation of cultural diversity. Claims of health professionals for an intercultural aperture of the health system are the salient voices in this debate. This paper analyses discursive frames of a group of mental health experts with a migrant background in their process of transformation from a loose network to an institutionalized, claim-making group of professionals. During its annual meetings, this group which largely identifies with a Turkish/ Kurdish background offers as much a space for professional exchange as well as for the practicing and signalling of their cultural identities.
Confronted with immigrant's severe access barriers to mental health care, high access barriers for experts and patients with migrant backgrounds and a fierce competition within the German health market, members of the association began to formalise the association and develop strategies that legitimize them as "culturally sensitive migrant experts". The paper analyses the multiculturalist discourse that emerges in this process and the strategic ways with which members of this group shift between the reification and relativisation of their cultural identities. This includes an analysis of their: 1. multidimensional roles as cultural watch dogs over their culture as an exclusive club; 2. own alienation from aspects of 'their culture' and 3. role as psychotherapists. Their shift between these two poles will be discussed and abstracted as a central aspect of multicultural societies in Europe.

Badanti: Immigrant Women as Caregivers to Italian Elderly

Sjaak van der Geest, University of Amsterdam (s.vandergeest@uva.nl)

East-European women leave their families and become caregivers to children and elderly in West-European countries. Their responsibilities at home are sacrificed for work in other people's households in order to earn money to secure a better future for those at home. Silvana Rugolotto carried out fieldwork in her hometown Verona, Northern Italy, among Badanti, migrant women taking care of Italian frail elderly people. Badanti, Italian families and elderly people find themselves locked in an uneasy contract; Badanti because they are exploited and unable to find better, formal employment; Italian families because they are aware that they fail to render

their moral duty to their old parents and grandparents; and elderly people because they feel neglected and maltreated by their children and often do not accept the services of an unrelated migrant woman. The three parties also need each other, however. With the help of the others each party manages to make the best out of an almost impossible situation.
Both authors worked together to analyse the Badanti case in the light of critical medical anthropology. The situation of the Badanti and the Italian elderly shows how the internal contradictions of European macro and Italian domestic politics affect morality and care of individuals at the household level. The study illustrates the whimsical character of inclusion and exclusion of marginal groups in today's Europe.

Flexibility and Friction: Conflicts in UK/Spanish Health Tourism and Medical Migration

Susana Carro-Ripalda, Durham University (susana.carro-ripalda@durham.ac.uk)
Megan Warin, Durham University (megan.warin@durham.ac.uk)

Recent European Union normatives to open up cross-border health care have sparked a political debate in the media which highlight the tensions between the transnational flow of people and their use of health care services in multiple EU states. This paper specifically examines the use of local public health services in Spain by UK "health tourists" and migrants, and the conflict that has arisen between those using and providing health services. We examine how these tensions are strategically played out in both the Spanish and UK media, arguing that discourses of "health tourism" (and "retirement migration") speak directly to ideological conflicts at the heart of health mobility. UK migrants who have lost entitlements to access the NHS because of their changed status are represented as "outside users" who burden the Spanish health system. Alternatively, those who seek specific and short term health services in Spain are encouraged to do so by the UK government under the EU policy on access to health care across EU states. These competing discourses of health care use, provision, and entitlement can be seen as metaphorically referring to wider issues concerning the permeability (or impermeability) of state borders, the endurance of national identities, and resulting difficulties in the construction of a European identity and citizenship.

Teaching and Experiencing Diversity: The Minor Programme Global Nursing as Part of the Nursing Studies at the Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences, Faculty of Nursing

Andrea Kuckert, Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences (a.u.kuckert-pander@hva.nl)

The last two decades there has been a discussion in Europe on successful training of nurses with regard to an increasing diversification of their patients. Transcultural Nursing, Intercultural Communication among other theories and models were discussed and implemented to increase the sensitivity and professionalism of nursing staff towards ethnic minority patients. Reacting to this condition the Faculty of Nursing developed and implemented a programme, called Global Nursing that aims at teaching nursing students how to work with heterogeneous patient populations in Amsterdam as well as in other countries. The programme is based on a definition of heterogeneity beyond culture including differences such as gender, sexual orientation, age, socio-

economic status, educational level.
In the programme Global Nursing English is the teaching language, and hence the interest of international students increases. Therefore, learning communities develop, enhancing the learning process, in which students and teachers have a diversity of backgrounds, not only in the point of view of the country of origin but others as well. In the different modules nursing students experience diversity by participating rather than only reading, writing and talking over diversity. Through discussions, organization of an exhibition, project work, internships their task is to research, practice and take responsibility on all kinds of diversity issues.
The aim of this paper is the presentation of the programme Global Nursing, its challenges and the difficulty in measuring the learning outcomes - are nursing students really prepared for their work in heterogeneous societies?

What is the Link between Health and Ethnicity?

Gabriele Alex, University of Heidelberg (alex@uni-heidelberg.de)

What is the relationship between ethnicity and health? Anthropologist have shown how cultural notions of health, disease and the body differ between different ethnic groups, and further ethnicity has been seen as a major factor shaping the health status, access to health care settings as well as health seeking behaviour and health explanatory models of individuals and groups. But whereas the causal link between class and morbidity is clear, anthropologists so far have not been able to establish a causal link between ethnicity and morbidity. Inequalities in health do exist, but ethnicity is not the key to understanding them, instead health itself becomes a means through which ethnic categories are reified. Perhaps the "causal links" work in the other direction. Perhaps what is important is not so much that ethnicity causes morbidity (or affects health status), but rather how health systems reify ethnic categories. The following paper suggest to take such a view by asking how within pluralistic medical systems specific healing systems or practices re-enforce notions of ethnicity against the dominance of biomedicine. I further suggest that these causal links are more complex in a way that ethnicity and health are linked through other categories that account for diversity within the different levels of the society, such as caste, class, education and further that health itself becomes a factor in creating new diversities.

W052

World(s) of Bureaucrats

Convenors: **Karin Geuijen, Utrecht University/VU University Amsterdam (c.h.m.geuijen@uu.nl)**
Renita Thedvall, Stockholm University (Renita.Thedvall@score.su.se)
Chairs: **Karin Geuijen and Renita Thedvall**
Discussant: **Cris Shore**

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 116

Bureaucrats working within various organisations, such as national governments, the European Union (EU), the World Bank and the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) are among the most ubiquitous and important players in global governance. Within, for example, the formal EU structures, they are involved in a myriad of expert groups, working parties and committees. In these various groups, their roles vary from preparing decisions and giving advice to approving proposals on behalf of their

political superiors and implementing decisions. In the popular view, bureaucrats are often seen as the epitome of what Herzfeld (1992: 71) identifies as the stereotype of a bureaucrat, namely a rigid, inflexible, boring person working for his bureau rather than its clients or society at large. However, the bureaucratic stereotype only goes so far in describing the real world of bureaucrats in policymaking processes. Overwhelmingly, bureaucratic players in policy processes are, of necessity, flexible people. They do not just apply rules. They take part in complex policymaking and organisational games. Despite the importance of bureaucrats, relatively little is known about who they are and what they do. Their role in the process tends to remain black boxed. This workshop invites a wide range of papers that shed light on these cultures of bureaucracy. Who are these people? What do they do? How does power enter into their work? What challenges/opportunities do their networks pose? How does their work contribute to, for example, Europeanisation processes?

Transparency/Visibility and Dissimulation/Opacity in a Street Level Bureaucracy, the Portuguese Police

Susana Durão, CEAS/ISCTE (ssbdurao@gmail.com)

Reflecting global dynamics and EU logic, transparency is being introduced as an organizational principle in Portuguese public institutions. In police urban force this process has been thoroughly discussed. By refusing "repression", which characterized this organization during the dictatorship period (1933-1974), the police have been gradually undertaking a policy of demilitarization, opening up to women and proximity to the citizens. At the same time, much energy has been put into the development of non-uniformed units, specialized in criminal and judiciary investigation.
Police work is very much based in corporal and verbal dissimulation and disguise. The police deal with a dilemma that affects the core of their work: as a street level bureaucracy, it has a great level of discretionary power and is structured in some sort of secrecy and opacity matrix; at the same time, it has to respond legally and in an accountable way in a democratic, "Europeanised", "urbanised", and multicultural society. Control of the information about the police that circulates in the media is one of the major concerns of those who run and govern the force. In this organizational context, the concept of "transparency" can be analytically useful as long as we combine it with the concept of "visibility". From a situational perspective combined with interviews, I propose to find out: 1. how police officers interpret the organizational transparency/opacity in their daily practices; and 2. how police officers as well as the police force deal with the public visibility that comes with the job.

Police Agents Face Prostitutes: A Singular Case of Bureaucratic Relationship? From Registers of Interaction to the Exercise of Police Power

Gwénaëlle Mainsant, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (gwenaelle.mainsant@ens.fr)

My presentation is based on ethnographic fieldwork of the French police in a judiciary service in charge of the struggle against procuration. I focus on the relationships between police agents and their clienteles and on the registers of interaction they employ.
The interactions between bureaucrats and their clienteles I have observed through police agents´ actions and discourses empirically materialize this bureaucratic relationship.
Whereas the Weberian ideal type pictures the bureaucratic relationship as

dispassionate, the interactions I observed appear to be familiar, friendly, or on the contrary conflictuous, even violent. In the light of this, I pretend neither to falsify nor to propose any ideal type of bureaucratic relationship.
I analyse how registers of interaction are produced, negotiated or imposed through different factors. We thus point out the crossing influences of the institutional aims of the relationships (e.g. to collect some piece of information, complaints, evidences, confessions of guilt or complicity), the institutional frames (not only material inside and outside the police station but also during custodies or informal meetings with an informant), and the actors conditioned by their individual dispositions (class, race, gender, role in the interaction: police agent or citizen).
Finally we aim at understanding how such registers of interaction, which are personally, emotionally or theatrically invested by the protagonists, become not only probable but also a necessary condition of the action of the police.

Doing the State, *En Attendant*: Ethnographic Explorations among Primary School Teachers

Thomas Bierschenk, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz (biersche@uni-mainz.de)

Despite the importance attributed to schools and teachers for nation-building and development in Africa, little is known about them -which is part of a larger ignorance of the routinized, day-to-day functioning of states in Africa. In the sparse anthropological literature existing, the relationship between the state and schools as well as teachers has primarily been seen from perspective of the "state-idea": Schools as sites for the production of important categories on which this idea is based like territory, history, language, nation. My paper is interested in the way teachers, in their everyday practices, "do" the state, and the internal professional culture of teachers. The paper builds an argument around the notions of professional binds, the production of insecurity within bureaucracies, compensation strategies and the sedimentation of historical experiences in unstable configurations. The internal professional culture of Beninese teachers is marked by a strong tension between a high official professional ideal, and a practical reluctance to commit to the job, as well as a high degree of environmental insecurity and unpredictability. This insecurity is not only an expression of general procedural failings of African states, but also a result of the stop-and-go policies which have marked the educational sector, and which are compounded by intensive donor intervention. The instability of bureaucratic environments in which teachers work is a result of institutional sedimentation: ideas, institutions, practices and actors stemming from different historical areas have sedimented into only partly coherent assemblages.

Dislocating the State from the Border Post: Reflections of Doing Ethnography with Bureaucrats on the Romanian-Serbian border

Cosmin Radu, Manchester University (cosmin.radu@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk)

Herzfeld's groundbreaking considerations of bureaucracy have been widely developed in ethnographic research. As a reflection of a general cultural turn in social sciences, by now there is a growing and very diverse anthropological literature, which tries to avoid ideal typical and fixist definitions of the state. How much can we objectify the state and to what extent can we argue its disappearance, as anthropologists? My paper addresses this kind of questions from a very particular

case of border-making process: Romania-Serbia border in the aftermath of the last EU enlargement. My paper looks for the state at alternative places, as embodied and represented in the interactions and, more generally, social relations between border guards and border crossers. Following several ethnographic vignettes collected from my last years' fieldtrips on the everyday life of border's bureaucrats, I examine how a the state and state-like abstractions such as EU are produced and reproduced in the locality of a very particular field site: the border post. Furthermore, my paper wants to interrogate and leave open the question of how these processes change scale and positionality of the borderland I inquire into.

Innovative Bureaucrats: Analyzing the Working Practices of Bureaucrats

Morten Krogh Petersen, Copenhagen Business School (mkp.ikl@cbs.dk)

For governmental organizations it has become crucial to be able to calculate the effects of the communicative solutions employed. This is due mainly to two broad tendencies: New Public Management (NPM) and the so-called soft governance.
The PhD project I am working on investigates ethnographically how five governmental organizations within the Danish Central Administration calculate communication. This is done with analytical inspiration from the research field STS. Not surprisingly, it is difficult to calculate communication. Communication is a slippery phenomenon and therefore there are no easy answers to questions about what and how to calculate. To calculate demands an innovative bureaucrat. At the same time the traditional bureaucratic hierarchy has not disappeared. How to be innovative and obey hierarchy at the same time?
In the paper proposed here I wish to discuss concepts that can grasp the often conflicting content of bureaucrats' working practices, in this case practices of calculating communication. These concepts include the co-existence of management models (Olsen 2006) in the working practices of the communications units of the governmental organizations, calculations of communication as boundary objects (Star & Bowker 1999), and the communications units of the governmental organizations as centres of calculation (Latour 1986). These three concepts all highlight the many, heterogeneous actants (colleges, citizens, documents, working environments, etc.) bureaucrats relate to in their working practices. Thereby, they prevent an analysis that creates too unambiguous understandings of bureaucrats and their work.
The paper will draw extensively on the empirical material generated in the fieldwork.

Training Bureaucrats, Practicing for Europe: Constitutive Bureaucratic Imaginaries in Turkey

Elif Babul, Stanford University (embabul@stanford.edu)

Turkey's EU membership is commonly discussed in terms of the country's compliance with the "Copenhagen Criteria". Complying with these norms is seen as a pathway for the country's governing apparatus to adopt a higher standard of government, with respect to human rights and civil liberties.
According to the general accession framework, keeping up with European standards of "good governance" requires the development of state institutions via "capacity building" projects enabled by EU funds in Turkey. These projects mainly take the form of in-service trainings directed towards the bureaucrats on rights based issues (such as domestic violence, refugee law, juvenile justice etc.) for which they are held accountable. Training projects, co-run by national and international human

rights NGOs, constitute significant sites of state-NGO interaction. These unusual assemblages serve as forums where two groups of actors - bureaucrats and activists - typically considered as each others' constitutive outside, meet to rehearse their long held convictions about each other as they discuss sensitive subjects related to the country's governance. These mutual convictions allude to a repertoire shaped by histories and imaginaries about who bureaucrats are and what bureaucracy in Turkey corresponds to.
This paper attends to rights based trainings of bureaucrats as sites where terms of the governmental - seen as distinct from the political - is reiterated and discussed by the current political and governmental actors. It analyzes how ideas and imaginaries of bureaucrats, bureaucracy and governing map out the meaning of the political in post-1980 Turkey.

Instances of Bureaucracy: The Meeting Format as a Shaper of the Decision Making Process

Renita Thedvall, Stockholm University (Renita.Thedvall@score.su.se)

The paper examines how the meeting format shapes the decision making process in international committees, working groups and councils in the European Union. Here, particular focus is placed on an EU committee meeting, where bureaucrats from the member states and the European Commission meet to negotiate on EU employment policy. In international organisations meetings and decision-making are intimately connected. Members may be dispersed all over the world and the only times they meet face-to-face are often in pre-scheduled meetings. In this sense the meetings I have studied may be seen as "instances of bureaucracy". Instances, since the representatives of the member states and the Commission only meet at specific times during the year to make policies and form decisions. The focus here is on formal, scheduled meetings with formal rules for making decisions. It is bureaucracy in the weberian sense with meetings governed by explicit rules, participants regarded as experts, and written documents as the product of the meetings. The empirical material in the study is mainly based on following the decision-making process in different EU committees, working groups and council meetings. To study this I have followed the work of different EU committee, working group and council meetings through a trainee position at the European Commission and then by following the Swedish delegation to the EU committee meetings.

Playing it Safe or Going All Out in Brussels: How National Bureaucrats do European Business

Karin Geuijen, Utrecht University/VU University Amsterdam (c.h.m.geuijen@uu.nl)

Doing business on European police cooperation is not an easy thing for Dutch Eurocrats. A cogent policy framework and attendant set of institutions is yet to evolve. Moreover, those Eurocrats are more often than not left without political direction in preparing for encounters with their colleagues from other member states. For departmental civil servants, acting without a clear sense of political direction amounts to "flying blind". What coping mechanisms have they developed for dealing with this normatively anomalous situation? And what does this mean - for the shaping of public policy and for the nature of the politics/administration nexus within the executive branch?
To grasp the logic of how civil servants in this setting piece together an understanding of the situation and of possible courses of action we turn to Levi-Strauss' concept of

"bricolage". Eurocrats can be thought of as bricoleurs in the sense that they work with instruments and resources from the national setting and adopt them to a Europeanized setting. In this process they piece together several resources. Amongst those are: 1. (inter)departmental bargains among civil servants; 2. meetings with experts from the field; 3. policy documents on related subjects; 4. decisions taken earlier in several forums; and 5. political positions taken on related subjects (by a minister, or sometimes opposing positions taken by a majority in parliament). In this new setting "professional bricolage" seems to replace "professional responsiveness to political direction" as the main principle of civil service practices.
Dutch Eurocrats who operate in areas without (sufficient) political steering identify themselves as national representatives, not as experts, nor as supranationals. The problem for them in the field of European police cooperation is that there is no given political position to represent. At the national as well as on the European level there is no political will to develop a coherent perspective on greater cooperation. Working in a setting, which requires them to act as national representatives they themselves construct the national position that they subsequently go on to represent. In this way their dominant identity of being a national civil servant can be maintained.

"Pioneers of Integration"? "Old" and "New" Europe in the European Commission's Bureaucracy

Pawel Lewicki, Humboldt University (lpawel@hotmail.com)

The European Commission civil servants constitute, within the apparatus of the European Union, a large group that enjoys the reputation of a bureaucratic elite. However, it is not a homogeneous group. Alongside old national identifications, the fall of the "iron curtain" and the European Union's new member-states have led to new stratifications among the EC civil servants themselves.
In this paper I will describe the strategies of symbolical performance among EU-Commission civil servants. Drawing on theories from postcolonial studies and Bourdieu's concept of habitus I will explore how the categories of "east" and "west", "new" and "old", "backward" and "modern", "emotional" and "rational", are symbolically evoked by Commission bureaucrats. How do "old" and "new" perceive themselves and how are they perceived and what practices are linked to this (self) perception? How do the practices of the EU functionaries - not only in the political culture of the EU Commission, but also in the everyday life of *fonctionnaires* in Brussels - reveal distinctions between the old and the new? What meanings does "Europeanness" receive in the field of the EC bureaucracy?
I will illustrate the relations between civil servants from old EU member states (Germany and France) and Polish nationals within the Commission. I will explore the inner structure of Polish groups, their dynamics and relations with other groups of "old" *fonctionnaires* in order to sketch power relations between old and new EC civil servants.
The paper is based on nine months of fieldwork carried out in Brussels between October 2007 and May 2008.

Turkish Europeanization and the Cultures of EU Lobbying in Brussels

Bilge Firat, State University of New York (fbilge@hotmail.com)

Turkey is often touted as a prospective member of the European Union (EU) whose application is sure to fail, due to its perceived differences in socio-economic structure/"too poor", demographic profile/"too large", and cultural values/"too Muslim". Yet, there are many forces at work in Turkey and across the EU-27 countries to

see Turkey through to accession or to bar it from membership. Anthropological studies of the EU and Europeanization have shown that European integration reconfigures forms of belonging and governance practices as a result of negotiations between actors and agents from supranational, national, and sub-state levels. Turkey's European integration is increasingly facilitated by groups who lobby European publics and governments, and EU institutions in Brussels for public and private interests of various Turkish and European constituencies. This paper presents preliminary findings of an ongoing ethnographic study of how Turkish lobbying and governmental groups and their target audience negotiate issues of identity and sovereignty within the techno-bureaucratic environment of policy-making at the European supranational level in Brussels. It seeks to attain an account of Turkish Europeanization, a contested field of power within which "a common European interest" is articulated from a historically-contingent and culturally-informed perspective. It provides a partial assessment of lobbyists' expertise in convincing European/Turkish publics that Turkey's European integration will bring economic prosperity and cultural enrichment without threatening existing lifeworlds. This paper also investigates ways in which Turkish Europeanisation is moulded by the transnational communities of Turks and Europeans of Turkish background who are resident in Brussels.

Officials' Ordering Patterns: Superior Law, Divine Morality, and Truthful Fact

Jilles van Gastel, Wageningen University (jilles.vangastel@wur.nl)

Studies on officials working in bureaucratic organisation often portray them as rule-abiding, docile civil servants. This view on officials is too simple. First of all, it does not account for the messy policy process and its unintended outcomes. Secondly, it views the subject as a unity and not -in post-modern tradition- as fragmented.
It is in the daily work practice that officials order the world around them. Based on a case study of negotiations around a development project I distinguish three patterns of ordering (see Law 1996): 1. bureaucracy; 2. mission; 3. profession. Bureaucracy is based on the superiority of the law, mission is based on the divineness of morality, and profession is based on the truthfulness of facts. These patterns of ordering are not predefined. On the contrary, they take shape in the actual practices of policy making such as negotiation and argumentation. The three patterns of ordering are not mutually exclusive, nor totally compatible. For action to be possible a context needs to be created in which the patterns of ordering are made to fit. This is where politics comes into the picture.
The material that is used in this paper comes from my PhD-research on how changes in development policy have effected the organisation of aid. Following the policy idea of "partnership", I am "studying through" (Shore and Wright 1997) the policy process.

W053

Fragile Transitions: From Coexistence to the Emergence of Hatred, a Comparative Approach between Southeast Asia and Southeast Europe

Convenors: **Alexander Horstmann, Westphalian University, Münster (alexander.horstmann@uni-muenster.de)**
Katerina Seraïdari, LISST, Toulouse (k.seraidari@infonie.fr)
Discussant: **Maja Povrzanović Frykman**

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 029G

In many parts of the world, inter-ethnic relations change dramatically after propaganda and violence from outside forces, e.g. from states or under the influence of violent ideological groups. In times of conflict and war, people are often forced to choose between two conflict parties, otherwise they are in trouble themselves. What kind of exchange existed between the communities before the conflict? Was the relationship characterised by peaceful coexistence with only positive interaction or by resentments and hatred? Combining structural and agency-centred approaches, we wish to compare how local societies cope with or subject themselves to violence and how civilians in multi-ethnic settings behave toward their neighbours in times of intensive propaganda and violence. Special attention will be given to settings where two or more communities live side by side in neighbourhood relations for hundreds of years: how are the beginnings of violence defined and which kind of communication is established between these communities just before and after violence: the crucial question is if there is any local concept or mechanism which could be mobilised to protect communities from violence, to end the violence, to repair broken ties, to counter propaganda or to put a term to trauma. This panel will adopt a comparative approach in order to analyse these transitions. Papers that are engaged in long-term ethnographies of coexistence and/or violence in multi-ethnic and multi-confessional settings and that link those settings to global ideologies and networks are particularly welcome.

Confessional Communities in Greece and Violence: Analysing the "Anti-Catholic Syndrome" during Yugoslavia's Crisis

Katerina Seraïdari, LISST (Toulouse) (k.seraidari@infonie.fr)

What makes the specificity of the Greek islands of Tinos and Syros, is the large community of Catholics (a quarter or a half of the local population, according to different estimations and point of view) who claim a Greek origin. Their coexistence with the Orthodox community has been peaceful, with only one period of crisis in the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, during the period that the Greeks started the War of Independence against the Ottoman Empire. But during the Balkan wars in the 1990s and the conflict between Serbians and Croats, the crisis also affected the relations between these two confessional communities: violence was only verbal however, not physical. The Greek Catholic community was attacked in the media by a large segment of the Greek Orthodox majority. The cause for these (ecclesiastic as well as political) attacks was the supposed intervention of the Vatican in favour of the dismemberment of Yugoslavia. During this troubled period, the traditional "anti-Catholic syndrome" that characterizes some conservative and older

segments of Greek society found opportunities to reemerge. My aim is to present how a conflict, localized in a neighbouring country, can affect the peaceful coexistence of two confessional communities in two small islands. I will also analyze, through ethnographic data, press articles and accounts of Greek Catholic intellectuals, how members of these local communities managed to conciliate the opposite parties and to re-establish harmony inside the community.

From Coexistence to Violence: Towards a Typology of Exchange Processes in South Thailand

Alexander Horstmann, Westphalian University, Münster (alexander.horstmann@uni-muenster.de)

In numerous communities of Southern Thailand, peaceful coexistence was transformed into hatred and violence in only a couple of years or even months. The outbreak of hostility and violence requires answers to the relation of Buddhists and Muslims in the respective localities and the factors of change. In this paper, I would like to explain that the local cosmology and ritual system served as an encompassing value-idea in which Buddhism and Islam could be incorporated and localized. This value-idea enabled neighbourhood and exchanges between Buddhists and Muslims at different levels, most importantly marriage. However, the intrusion of the Thai state, the military and police and the emergence of Malay insurgent groups changed the hierarchical relationship between local and national/global systems and brought exchange to a dead end. The state was involved in a systematic program of Thaiization in which it was impossible to be Melayu. The Buddhist *sangha* began to replace local institutions with centralized *Sangha* institutions. On the other hand, *Dawa* missionary movements established a new presence and visibility in the Muslim communities. Finally, young angry insurgents began to kill Buddhists and Muslims who do not support their struggle. Competition of resources threatens the encompassing system of ancestor veneration, based on Buddhist-Muslim kinship systems. Comparing three case studies, and distinguishing integration, mere coexistence and hostility, the paper examines the transformation from peace to violence and the willingness of villagers to defend social institutions inside the communities in the face of sweeping transformations from outside.

Greek Orthodox and Muslim Communities: From Coexistence to the Exchange of Populations

Lisa Montmayeur-Deheurles, PACTE, IEP Grenoble (lisamontmayeur@hotmail.com)

Greek and Turkish authorities agreed after the Greek-Turkish war that the Greek-Orthodox populations of Turkey and the Muslim populations of Greece have to be integrally exchanged between 1923 and 1925, with the only exceptions of the Greek-Orthodox inhabitants of Istanbul and the Muslim residents of Western Thrace. Have the eligible populations, who were compelled to follow this decision, willingly accepted it? How did these communities experience the gradual transition from coexistence to defiance, or resentment and hatred in various cases, to a final complete rupture of their relationships?

The nowadays reconciliation initiatives between the refugees of both countries have dramatically developed since the 1980's. A comparative approach of the reconciliation process undertaken by the descendants of refugees informs us

retrospectively on the different ways the communities may have experienced the Greek-Turkish conflicts. For instance, the Greek-Orthodox populations originating from Cappadocia, and more precisely from Gelveri (today Güzelyurt) have undertaken a wide range of ambitious initiatives with the local populations of their "hometown". As they have not directly experienced the horrors of war and as they could leave relatively quietly from Anatolia in 1924, the Greek-Orthodox Cappadocians experienced the troubled period of the war rather differently from the Greek-Orthodox populations located on the Aegean coasts of Anatolia. This specific situation led to a paradox: Muslim native populations of Gelveri, affected by the departure of their Christian counterparts, rejected for more than fifty years the Muslim exchanged populations from Greek Macedonia, who had been reinstalled in the deserted neighborhoods of Gelveri.

Staging Difference: Dynamics of Religious Othering among Catholics and Muslims in West Flores, Eastern Indonesia

Sabine Zurschmitten, Karman Center for Advanced Studies in the Humanities (zurschmitten@kc.unibe.ch)

The common characterization of the island of Flores as the Catholic enclave of Indonesia, ignores the minority of local Muslims and Muslim migrants who have been living peacefully with their Christian neighbours for a long time. Flores stands "on the margins of conflicts" and has not been affected by the vast eruption of so-called "religious" and "ethnic" violence, the country suffered after the fall of President Soeharto in 1998. Presently, political discourse in the Indonesian public sphere is conducted on moral-religious terms, and the politics of decentralization causes the renegotiation of political and religious authority on a local scale. Religiously motivated violence is mediated through images, narratives and conspiracy theories, which are circulating through various, formal and informal, channels such as different media, religious movements, and networks of religious activists. The question I am primarily concerned with is, how rural mixed Christian-Muslim societies in Western Flores are maintaining cohesive forces that are challenged by influences from outside. The situation is ambivalent: On the one hand, local Catholics and Muslims are bonded together closely through a system of kinship and marriage alliances as well as the shared *adat*, a complex system of cultural traditions. These bonds have averted and overcome religious differences. On the other hand, local people have started to stress their religious identification and thereby have given rise to a shift of hierarchy amongst collective identity references. These new dynamics of religious othering create a distance between the religious groups, and frequently result in mutual distrust, uncertainty, and fear.

Afraid of the Minaret? Ethnographic Elaborations on the Semiology of Illustrated Arguments

Dimitris Antoniou, Harvard University (antoniou@fas.harvard.edu)

This paper draws on an account of a highly mediated debate over the establishment of a Muslim complex in the Greek capital city. This was a governmental initiative which never materialized in fear of strong reactions such a project might trigger in the small suburban town of P where the mosque and its cultural center were supposed to be built. But was there really such a possibility? For some of the locals, a mosque in P would stand as a symbol of peaceful future coexistence and true European integration, while others thought of it as a possible shelter for terrorists and a painful

reminiscent of Greece's Ottoman past. In an attempt to visually define the mosque as an uneasy site of fantasy at the level of ethnographic praxis, some of the informants are asked to draw one. This activity, which mainly took place in bars, cafes and restaurants, was generally considered bizarre, yet joyful enough enabling people to manifest their artistic dispositions. Nevertheless, for the ethnographer documenting the drawing process and its outcome, the material collected not only offers a semiology of illustrated arguments but also suggests that such a research method could well bring to the level of consciousness deep interconnections of romantic orientalism, nationalism, and male anatomy.

Questions of Scale: Violence, Insecurity and Community in Kei (Eastern Indonesia)

Timo Kaartinen, University of Helsinki (timo.kaartinen@helsinki.fi)

The potential interpretations and consequences of social violence revolve around the question of its scale. In their attempts to maintain security, state machineries tend to focus on conflicts as local events and to project social order as an outcome of global values. The idea of security as something guaranteed by state order is constructed upon global images of insecurity and categories, which define an encompassing mechanism for their control. The paper discusses the long-term effects of such categorizations on inter-group relations and government interventions in East Indonesia, beginning from effective colonization from the 1860s onwards. Whereas the political management of security has emphasized the boundaries of political communities and institutional domains, local security concerns tend to be focused on politically unpredictable events such as sorcery accusations, marriage disputes and conflicts over land rights and ritual prestige. The sense in which violence and mediation are framed as operating inside the community rather than in inter-group relations conjures up different images of insecurity and order than those used to rationalize police actions and state control. The interpretation of violent events in terms of different ontological perspectives raises the question of how, in what conditions, and at what scale, specific ontological concerns over security become politicized as broader ideological issues.

From Conflict to Coexistence through the Establishment of Multicultural Education in Cyprus: A Means of Reconciliation?

Manto Papadopoulos, Université de Mirail (manto_pap@yahoo.fr)

This paper will examine the ways cultural diversity and the hatred of the past have been negotiated in a mixed elementary school in Limassol.
From the inter-ethnic conflict between the Greek-Cypriot Orthodox and the minority of Turkish-Cypriot Muslims, resulted the separation of Cyprus in two parts in 1974. As anthropologists argued, the educational system of the island tended to perpetuate this conflict, by defining one's identity as opposed to the "Other", who was characterized as the Enemy and not as a fellow-citizen. After entering the European Union and the initiative that followed, which allowed a controlled circulation between the two parts of the island, the re-examination of the relationship with the "Other" became necessary. Theories and actions for a possible peaceful coexistence between the two communities emerge today in Cyprus. I will explore the trajectory from hatred towards coexistence, cooperation and mutuality, as it takes place in an elementary school, attended by Greek-Cypriot, Turkish-Cypriot and children from other ethnic groups.

Violence, Empathy, and the Ethnography of Fakes

Nils Bubandt, Århus University (bubandt@hum.au.dk)

This paper is a dip into what might become an anthropology of propaganda. It looks at a special kind of instigation, namely the fake pamphlets and counterfeit letters that often appear in the context of communal violence. These pamphlets and letters provoke to violent attacks by revealing a hidden conspiracy or devilish machination of the part of 'the communal other', in the process constructing the symbolic contours of this other. Based on an analysis of a series of fake letters that appeared in the lead-up to violent conflict in Indonesia, I explore the dynamics of empathy and intimacy that are necessary for the production and validation of fake documents and letters during conflict, and suggest that these fakes reveal how empathy may be closely associated with the eruption of violence. This suggestion goes against received wisdom in accepted theories of violence, which holds that empathy and violence are opposed, even antithetical. It also points towards the possibility of exploring empathy ethnographically as a political and historical phenomenon.

W054

Neoliberalism and Diasporas (Roundtable)

Convenors: **Nicholas Harney, University of Western Australia (nharney@cyllene.uwa.edu.au)**
Daphne Winland, University of York (winland@yorku.ca)
Chair: **Andrew Dawson**
Discussant: **Pnina Werbner**

28 August 2008, 14:00
Room: 343

This rountable examines the tensions between two much studied phenomena in the past twenty years that have rarely been explicitly conjoined: 1. the dramatic increase and politicisation in diasporic, solidaristic transnational forms of belonging; and 2. the colonisation of life by neoliberal forms of governance and discourse about the self. How might an investigation of their intersection enable us to think about alternative forms of social organisation and possibilities for varieties of mutuality? The emergence of intensive diasporic practices accompanied by the circulation and production of ideas, images and goods on a global scale through technological innovation has transformed international migration. This new intensity has coincided with the individualising demands of neoliberal economic and governance models that pervade sending, transit and receiving societies. What effect do the specific features of neoliberal transformations such as the socialisation of the self with an emphasis on flexible skills, self-management and individualisation have on collective practices for mutuality? Anthropologists have been attentive to the affective attachments intensified by new technologies in the post Cold War period but have paid less attention to how those attachments might be influenced, constituted, undermined or refracted by neoliberalism's many forms attached for example, to trade agreements, development models or the demands of European integration. What are the processes involved in the making of new mutualities and fissures? How do these concurrent forms of neoliberalism intersect with processes such as racialisation, commodification and aestheticisation? How might we consider the coincident emergence of diasporic connections and neoliberalism? The rountable participants include Vered Amit, Andrew Dawson, Nicholas Harney, Pnina Werbner and Daphne Winland.

W055

Critical Perspectives on the Persistence of "Culture Talk" in the Making of Europe

Convenors: **Mary Taylor, CUNY (loditaylor@mindspring.com)**
Jane Schneider, CUNY (jschneider@gc.cuny.edu)
Chris Hann, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (hann@eth.mpg.de)
Chair: **Verena Stolcke**
Discussant: **Levent Soysal**

28 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 426

This workshop aims to explore why culture has emerged and persisted as a central category of discussions of European integration. As the European Union has been conflated with the notion of Europe as a civilisational entity, we will analyse the rise of a culturalist paradigm that permeates the ubiquitous controversies regarding immigration and EU enlargement in a Europe increasingly characterised by liberal market expansion.

We invite anthropological interventions and case studies that elucidate what "culture talk" (Mamdani 2004) obscures. Drawing on theoretical approaches that highlight the contingencies in the historical formation of "Europe" as well as critiques of the mutual "turn to culture" in both scholarship and policy, this workshop intends to address the following questions:

How can we explain that cultural diversity is at once related to economic, social and political particularities that produce inequality, e.g. with respect to citizenship rights, as well as a tool to challenge this inequality?

Why are some cultural differences seen to form a legitimate basis for "diversity" while others are designated to form the object of "culture talk"? How can we explain such differentiation not in terms of (conflicting) cultural differences, but e.g. in relation to processes of European integration that shape social landscapes and experiences?

In light of current slogans of "unity in diversity" in EU-Europe, can we discuss diversity without at the same time reinscribing "culture talk"? Does the concept of mutuality offer the possibility of a non-culturalist paradigm of analysis - and politics - that would nevertheless be sensitive to diversity?

A Cosmopolitan Europe? On the Politics of Culture Talk in the Rescaling of Governance in the EU

Katharina Bodirsky, CUNY (kbodirsky@hotmail.com)

Recent years brought a flurry of publications on the 'cosmopolitan' or 'postnational' character of the European Union (EU) (see Beck 2004, Beck & Grande 2004, Delanty 2005, Habermas 2001, Rumford 2005, 2007). Cosmopolitan approaches to the EU characteristically argue that Europe is already cosmopolitan in some respects and propose ways through which Europe should become (more) cosmopolitan. The recognition of (cultural) difference is described as a defining element of such a cosmopolitan Europe. However, in public and political debates around Turkey's possible membership in the EU as well as the position of Islam in Europe more generally, "Culture Talk" (Mamdani 2004) rather than "toleration of the other" appears as the characteristic feature of the politics of the moment. How do such, apparently diverging,

talks about culture articulate with processes of changing governance relations in EU-Europe? This paper examines cosmopolitan theories in light of the increasing concern with "cultural diversity" in political philosophy on the one hand and the transformation or "rescaling" of governance structures in EU-Europe on the other hand. How are normative visions of Europe constructed through talk about culture? What do such normativities accomplish in struggles around the expansion and transformation of governance structures in an increasingly neoliberal EU-Europe? The paper broaches these questions through the lens of Turkey's accession process to the EU.

Entangled Cultural Hegemonies in Central Europe and Beyond

Maja Breznik, University of Ljubljana (maja.breznik@guest.arnes.si)

The presentation will investigate processes in the field of culture in Slovenia, and with a comparative scanning of the situations and transformations in three neighbouring states - Italy, Austria and Croatia. The topic will be presented in the perspective of general global and particularly European processes, in the view to analyse the chances they have under their present cultural policies. The cultural sphere, as it was constituted in the early modern Europe, is presently undergoing dramatic transformations under the impact of contradictory processes. Both its internal articulations and the ways in which cultural practices connect with other social practices are rapidly changing within the global social restructuring. If, in the early modern Europe, the emergence of "culture" was a non-capitalist condition of the triumph of capitalist economy - its present "dissolution" may well indicate the irruption of cultural practices into the heart of capitalist economy as a condition of its next cyclical transformation. What may seem as a mere extension of market economy towards the domains that have traditionally been withdrawn from it, may well be their affirmation as the key factor of the new capitalist economy. What seem to be mere conflicts over the distribution of profits (intellectual property rights, cultural entrepreneurship…) may well be aspects of a major global struggle over the most propulsive resources of production. Under these particular tensions and conflicts, a new geopolitical map of the world is being created.

Governance of or through Culture: Cultural Policy and the Making of Europe

Banu Karaca, CUNY (bkaraca@gmx.net)

In the framework of the European Union, culture has been identified both as an obstacle to European integration and as a means to transcend this very obstacle. Recent arts and culture funding initiatives that have the professed goal of fostering cultural co-operation and exchange speak to conceptualizations in which cultural production is presented as vital for Europeanization. However, the formation of a European cultural policy has proven difficult, partly because of the Union's proclaimed principle to grant its member states cultural sovereignty, and because "cultural dialogue" and "artistic exchange" programs tend to reproduce power differentials within the EU and beyond, intentions to the contrary.

This paper interrogates the emergence of European cultural policy against the backdrop of the democratic deficit frequently diagnosed within the EU, and the sharpening economic disparities within and between member states - and proposes that the turn to culture is neither a mere veiling of the pursuit of economic gains from cultural goods nor a solely discursive feat. Instead current EU cultural policy represents a shift in governance; one that increasingly deflects pressing political issues such as immigration and integration into the realm of culture, rather than that of social justice

for instance.
Based on ethnographic observations in the arts worlds of Berlin and Istanbul this paper aims to elucidate the parameters of this nascent European cultural policy and the type of governance that appears to emerge out of the conjoining of an array of divergent efforts from artist, cultural producers, policy makers and nongovernmental institutions.

Culture across Cultures: Social Boundaries and Mutuality in a Western Macedonian Village

Marcin Lubaś, Jagiellonian University (amw.lubas@pro.onet.pl)

One of the preconditions for the Republic of Macedonia's accession to the European Union is the significant progress of the implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement. The Accord, signed by the leaders of Macedonian and Albanian parties in the town of Ohrid in August 2001, put an end to the six-month military conflict between the Albanian paramilitary forces and the Macedonian government's army. The main objective of the Framework Agreement has been an equitable representation of the two dominant ethnic communities living in Macedonia (mainly Macedonian Albanians and Macedonians) in the public institutions of the state through provisions concerning more proportional power sharing and political decentralization in the country. From the outset the Accord itself, as well as its implementation, have been criticized for the defacto strengthening political segmentation of Macedonia along ethnic and religious lines. Paradoxically enough, the Framework Agreement, which is supposed to convey a spirit of common European values, seems to diffuse an idea of cultural separateness. Drawing on my fieldwork research in a western Macedonian village, I will show how the practical logic of ethnic compartmentalization, which has resulted from the specific implementation of the Framework Agreement, has been reflected on the local level in a mixed Muslim and Christian Orthodox local community. More specifically, I will focus on actions undertaken by some local leaders to recast the religious boundary in a village as an ethnic boundary. Looking at my fieldwork materials through the prism of the distributive conception of culture, I will analyze variation in the local responses to ethnification of religious difference. Rejecting the dogma of the necessary overlap between religion, ethnicity, and culture, I will examine various ways of religious boundary making and maintainance, and also the cross - boundary bonds of mutuality, which the social boundaries actually entail.

Religion as Legal Culture: Secularism and Religious Minorities in the EU and Turkey

Ceren Özgül, CUNY (ceren.ozgul@gmail.com)

One of the most controversial aspects of Turkey's candidacy for the European Union has been the status of religious minorities in this "Muslim" country. Europe's accession requirements on the improvement of the rights of the non-religious minorities have been regarded by some a breach of Turkey's sovereignty over her subjects. In Turkey, this has been perceived as a continuation of the "imperialist" mentality of the "Great Powers of Europe" dating back to the 19th century and the partition of the Ottoman Empire.
From a European perspective, Turkey as a "Muslim" country has to be supervised in the treatment of her (especially Christian) religious minorities. Among other things, by this perception of Turkey's (mis)treatment of her religious minorities on the basis of Islam, rather than understanding it as a nation-state's sovereignty claim over its

subjects, Europe establishes "religion" -rather than secularism- as the basis of inequality in rights.
Trying to go beyond this dichotomous understanding of "European imperialism" vs. "religion as the cultural basis of rights" this paper aims to problematize secularist policies both in Turkey and in Europe as the main source of inequality in the status of religious minorities.

Intangible Hertitage Governance, Cultural Diversity, Ethnonationalism

Mary Taylor, CUNY (loditaylor@mindspring.com)

This paper examines the development of the concept of intangible (or cultural) heritage and its governance over the last twenty years in relation to the ascendance of diversity as a central value of Western societies. Culminating with the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage, which entered into effect in April 2006, intangible heritage governance emphasizes the awareness of a common human heritage and the preservation of cultural diversity through the focus on the reproduction of the practices of particular bounded groups. Arguing that intangible heritage efforts may contribute to the deployment of language that stresses mutual exclusivity and incommensurability, this paper examines difficulties which projects in post socialist Europe focused on intangible heritage have faced due to tensions between the universal and particular and bounded and processual notions of culture. I then draw upon my own research on Hungarian folk revival in Hungary and Romania, where efforts at the reproduction of intangible heritage can be said to intersect with ethnonational movements. Rather than regarding cultural fundamentalism and ethonational movements as the "reverse side" of intercultural dialogue, I suggest the paradoxical predicament that notions of diversity and ethnonational sentiment are coproduced by a number of processes in post socialist late capitalism, most notably connected to "civil society" focused projects and changing relations of property.

Old Toxic Wine in New Bottles or New Poison? Migrants Hostile Discourses in The Netherlands in the Light of Ethnicity and Diversity

Hans Siebers, Tilburg University, (h.g.siebers@uvt.nl) and Nuray Tümer, Tilburg University (nuray.tumer@wur.nl)

Substantive concepts of ethnicity have guided many studies of migrants in The Netherlands and elsewhere. Critique has come from transnationalism and super-diversity perspectives. All these approaches need to account for dominant discourses of exclusion towards migrants. Here critical race theory comes into view. However, the conceptualisation of the current Dutch dominant discourse of exclusion towards migrants in terms of racism is far from self-evident. The question is raised whether critical race theory sheds light on this discourse or whether this discourse is qualitatively new and unprecedented.
Based on a critical discussion of critical race theory, of this migrants hostile discourse in The Netherlands dominant since 2000, and of the ways in which it works out for migrants in work settings (based on fieldwork), several conclusions are made. First, this discourse differs from critical race theory in several ways. It differs in its classifications and it draws on different ideological sources. It mirrors the mutual ethnisation processes that relational approaches of ethnicity and group formation (Barth, Simmel) point to. Second, also the ways in which it works out for migrants are different. Cultural submission leads to a combination of limited border crossing plus positioning in

subordinated positions in society.
The current migrants hostile discourse in The Netherlands cannot completely be understood by substantive conceptions of ethnicity, by super-diversity notions, nor by critical race theory. Ethnic group formation is not self-evident, but may be the outcome of exclusionary discourses, countering super-diversity. This discourse needs to be understood in its own terms.

W057

Flexible Capitalism: New Forms of Mutuality and Diversity at Work?

Convenors: **Jens Kjaerulff (jk@socant.net)**
Jakob Krause-Jensen, Danish University of Education (jakj@dpu.dk)
Discussants: **Daniel Miller and Susan Wright**

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 415

"Work" as distinctive from other domains of exchange and reciprocity is a recent phenomenon of "Western" origin. As such work (employment) remains an important part of social life, where relationships of mutuality and diversity are continuously at issue. The emergence of novel visions, conditions and practices of work, e.g. in terms of "new" or "flexible" capitalism over the past decades, provides impetus for new inquiries and theoretical engagements.
Under New Capitalism, stable forms of work organization are superseded by more volatile environments, at once pregnant with opportunity and fraught with insecurity: less clearly bounded "networks" are promoted, as are engagements framed as short-term projects and teamwork. New dimensions to work practice are sought, measured or rendered auditable, while more personalized and mutual relations between management and employees are also pursued.
The workshop aims at exploring the potentials of ethnographic research and anthropological imagination in examining experiences of, and changes in, work under such contemporary circumstances.

"The Corrosion of Character" Revisited: Flexible Work in Practice

Jens Kjaerulff (jk@socant.net)

Ten years ago, in his famous book *The Corrosion of Character* (1998), Richard Sennett suggested that "the new, flexible capitalism" was undermining important social aspects of work, such as relations of mutual commitment, and work as a source of identity. Based on fieldwork among people practising a form of flexible work known as "telework" (working from home via Internet), this paper argues that Sennett was wrong, but that aspects of his argument ressonate with shifts in so-called "hidden" dimensions of working life. Where Sennett suggested that habits and routines in contexts of work were "dying", albeit of "primary value in social practice and selfunderstanding", this paper instead suggests that habits and routines, and their social significances, are being reinvented through the practice of flexible work. The paper proposes a comparative perspective where work is seen as a dynamic cultural tradition, from which the material under consideration may be approached as situated processes of cultural reproduction and incremental change.

And Who is Ever Going to Break a Lance for Freelancers?

Radharani Pernarčič (radharanip@hotmail.com)

In the first part I would like to illuminate the rising phenomenon of freelancing from the perspective of how this kind of work is perceived by freelancers themselves. I speak about the complexity of idea-processing, product-making, product-selling, advertising, private life, networking etc., all coming together in a 24/7 working zone performed by a one-man-band. Such total connectedness with all the stages of production finally results in a total personal identification with work as well. Although freelancing may at first glance sound like a dreamland: mostly attractive for its "flexibility" and "freedom of being your own boss", there are many traps and misunderstandings, which lately lead into more and more hidden abusive situations. In the second part I therefore focus on how freelance artists are integrated in the society from the perspective of increasing exploitation by other leading and established sectors. Often their position is so vaguely understood that it is no longer clear who provides work and who sets the price. Since freelancers are not joined to each other, they remain weak in fighting for better conditions and often turn to professionally unethical tactics of exploiting even each other's weaknesses. Is their "freedom" in fact their biggest "prison": not at all flexible?

Corporate Social Responsibility and Employees in Ireland

Elise McCarthy, Rice University (elisemc@rice.edu)

The purported goal of CSR oscillates between "doing the right thing" and "mere company lip service". Companies certainly use CSR to make the most of their brands and reputations for competitive edge and most are striving to make it measurable so that its value can be shown.

However, CSR also draws attention to a complex web of relationships that the company is involved in between a range of so-called stakeholders (Freeman 1984). Internet communication and the rapid communication of negative corporate behaviour means that the concerns of employees among many other stakeholders—for example, NGOs, community groups, neighbours, shareholders, media and others—are now carefully attended to. In my ethnographic research among CSR practitioners in Ireland, it seems that old divides—between ethics and life in the company and those outside it, as described by Adam Smith and Karl Marx for instance—are being complicated. Now an employee's personal ethic also seems to belong at work potentially changing what a company is and what an employee is.

This paper will explore these questions in Ireland where CSR is engaging with a range of concerns prompted by the perceived condition of moral decline accompanying Ireland's Celtic Tiger wealth.

Discourses on Diversity and Identity Produced by Leading London Companies

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Linda Clarke (clarkel@wmin.ac.uk)
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The aim of this paper is to discuss various discourses around diversity and identity. In 2007 Centre for Employment Research at the University of Westminster conducted a study on experiences of leading London companies in implementing diversity

strategies. As the study showed, diversity has been given various meanings from equal opportunities to managing diversity and from moral to business case-related.
United Kingdom has been a point of immigration for centuries, and therefore is characterized by a culturally diverse population. However, discrimination on ethnicity grounds is still prevalent in the UK workplaces despite of equal opportunities legislation having been implemented in the 1970s.
In the 1990s equal opportunities approach started to be replaced by diversity management approach. Although, diversity management approach calls for a need to recognize and value cultural differences between employees, there is a risk that it may encourage essentialist perception of ethnic identities as "fixed" (Wrench 2005) and it may lead to employers not accounting for practices of mutuality. Furthermore, it may result in employers perceiving employees through socially constructed stereotypes (and for example as not being able to "fit in" a company's culture), as there is no mechanism in diversity management approach to challenge prejudices (Kirton and Greene 2000). However, contemporary writers on identity in the multicultural context such as Bhabha or Hall, perceive identity as a process, which is constantly being negotiated and according to this approach belonging in a multicultural society is a complex phenomenon. However, this may not always be taken under consideration in managing diversity.

From "Mutuality" to "Precariousness": A Case Study in the Portuguese Call-Centre Industry

Patrícia Matos, Goldsmiths College, University of London (patricia.r.m.a.matos@googlemail.com)

Precarious forms of employment characterized by insecure short-term jobs increasingly mark modern forms of work. Many aspects characterize precariousness in labour relationships. They include the fragile contractual relation between employer and employee; the vulnerability associated with possibilities of work in the future; the low wage salaries tied to activities with an inferior status; and by the loss, felt by such workers, of the social rights which were once connected to a stable and long term job (Paugam 2000).
A very large portion of Portuguese call-centres is associated with temporary work firms, and represent at this moment one of the most rapidly growing forms of work in Portugal. In April 2004, a Portuguese economic journal indicated that between 0.7% and 1% of the active national population was currently working in call-centres, and they estimated that Portugal would be the country of fifth largest growth of this labour activity among countries of Europe, Africa and the Middle East. The picture is also similar in Great Britain and France.
Based on ethnographic research, currently in progress, in a telecommunications call-centre it will be argued that call-centre work represents a paradigmatic case in order to understand how "labour precariousness" is continuously produced and reproduced through the practices and representations attached to the labour process. It will be argued that in order to develop an operational concept of "labour precariousness" firstly one needs to understand the processes through which "precarious workers" are distinguished and opposed to "stable workers" in specific labour settings.

From Employed to "Employable": An Ethnographic Case Study of "Conceptual Inflation" in HR Policies and Practices

Pernille Hohnen, National Research Centre for the Working Environment (pho@arbejdsmiljoforskning.dk)

The present paper examines prevailing new demands on "employability" in a global labour market by analyzing different understandings of "competency development", recruitment policies and employment practices in a Danish industrial network. Based on empirical analysis, the paper illuminates the concrete processes through which dominant political discourses on "employability" are contextualized and practiced at the workplace. The paper focuses on changing connotations of "employability" and on "conceptual inflation" (Shore and Wright 2000) in policies and practices of competency development as the "concept" "moves" from EU discourse to becoming a specific HR policy within a specific Danish industrial workplace. Furthermore, the paper highlights a series of discrepancies between HR discourse and practice, reproducing as well as creating new diversities at the workplace. In doing so, existing (Foucault-inspired) theories on changing work identity and loss of personal integrity associated with modern forms of work are critically reviewed. The analysis of low skilled workers' responses to HR policies and their reflections regarding their future employability suggests a lack of mutuality with management ideas as well as a lack of commensurability with prevailing theory.

Lean Management as a Cultural System: Ideology as Common Sense

Jakob Krause-Jensen, Danish University of Education (jakj@dpu.dk)

Flexible capitalism does not only concern companies selling commodities on the global market. Under the banner of New Public Management, public sector organisations are transformed in the image of the private sector. Consequently the public sector is open to new ideas of management from the private sector. At the moment, one very prominent such concept is "Lean", which originated as the "Toyota-model", and which is now applied as an important part of the public sector reform in Denmark to enhance performance and quality and overcome stress.
Normally it is easy to identify common sense and ideology as two distinct cultural systems (Geertz 1973). However, "Lean management" is part of an ideology that comes across as common sense. It is explicitly not about new strategies. It is not about what you should do, but how you do what you already do more efficiently— It is about optimizing, not revolutionizing. But how is the Lean concept transposed and made relevant to social work? And how do the social workers negotiate and apply these new ideas? In this paper based on non-participant observation and interviews with Danish social workers and lean consultants, I argue that Lean and NPM changes fundamentally the way employees should look at themselves and their work.

Mutuality and Flexibility at Work

Grete Brorholt, Danish School of Education (greb@dpu.dk)

"Mutuality" and "flexibility" have turned into a favourite refrain for employees, management, policy and consultants, when they approach the concept of psychological working environment. "If they (the managers) do not do something for me, I will merely do the indispensable." I have heard this phrase expressed in various manners by individual employees during my fieldwork. It is a vague expression of sentiments towards the new forms of management (audit, npm, accountability,

etc.) in the hospital. Few years ago the debate and practice regarding working environment was approached by organisations and institutions (unions, NGOs, fellowship, rules, law). Now it seems that the responsibility of working environment is internalised and perceived as an individual responsibility (healthy life style, be happy at work, meditation, brain neurones, etc.).
Right through the material, I have gained by a multisided fieldwork by doing participant observation on a hospital ward, reading policy documents about working environment, observe public debates and interviewing employees and managers, the concept of mutuality is a premise practised and obliged by employees and management, which also calls for new social practices.
The presentation, which is based on my research regarding working environment at a public hospital argues, that the perception of "mutuality" among employees and management is one indication (among others) of strongly individualised and capitalized forms of management, policy, change, practise and obligations concerning "working environment" in a public hospital.

Stress-Management in the Flexible Work-Ethic

Kirsten Marie Bovbjerg, Århus University (kibo@dpu.dk)

A variety of techniques that are rooted in organizational psychology, psychotherapy and New Age philosophy have been applied in private and public organizations. Personal development shows an increasing interest in other aspects of an employee's competence than the professional qualifications. Courses in personal development often have a therapeutic dimension, deliberately intended to change people's behaviour or self-perception by a particular method. From studies in stress-coping techniques the idea of 'personal development' is suggested by consultants as a way to overcome modern employee's experience of stress. Still the experience of stress is increasing among all kinds of workers in most parts of the Western world in spite of access to stress coping techniques in companies.
From a Foucault inspired critical perspective I have examined the use of personal development courses and stress coping in work life. How does the relation between employee and employer develop under flexible capitalism and how does it influence modern employees. Along with the increasing interest in the cultivation of the Self, stress coping and personal development build on ideas of personal growth that go very well with the ideas of flexible organizations and the neoliberal idea of economic growth. My aim in this paper is to elucidate the consequences of the emergence of a new ethic of sensitivity through courses in personal development and what it means for ideas about stress coping and how it is practiced in working life.

Training for Flexibility: Discourses and Practices of International Student Travel

Vered Amit, Concordia University (vamit@alcor.concordia.ca)

As in many other Western countries, across a variety of Canadian sectors and institutions, including those of government, tourism, and academia, an increasingly expansive set of rhetorical claims portray international student and youth mobility as a crucial tool of training and international exchange. An extended sojourn abroad is often represented as inculcating a capacity for flexibility because students learn new ways of doing things while working or studying outside their own country. And the capacity for flexibility supposedly denoted by a stay abroad is seen as providing students with marketable career credentials while also enhancing Canada's national

competitiveness in the global economy. Yet there is little substantiating evidence either that students learn new skills relevant to their future careers or that their stays abroad will have any impact on their attractiveness to future employers. In this paper I will argue that the identification of international experience with flexibility functions more as a canon of ideological faith than a simple description of training practices. But is this faith in internationalism legitimized by reference to flexibility or faith in flexibility legitimized by reference to internationalism? This paper thus seeks to work through the ideological impetuses for a particular institutional invocation of flexibility.

Work, Reciprocity and Migration: Rebuilding Biographies in the Changing Realm of Work

Sveta Roberman, Hebrew University (rober@mscc.huji.ac.il)

The venue of work has always been an influential factor in constructing immigrants' individual projects and civic identities in a new place. This paper is based on the ethnographic study of post-Soviet Jewish immigrants in contemporary Germany. The group of newcomers studied here face difficult realities: they are expected to rebuild their biographies and civic identities through the venue of work, even as the latter is undergoing drastic transformations. The paper inquires into the way that individuals experience and cope with changing realities of work in rebuilding their life projects following migration.

Focusing on a particular case, the paper shows that the field of work remains crucial in shaping relationships of social reciprocity in general and between immigrant subjects and the host country in particular. The immigrant's ability to give - in the form of work - and the state's ability to receive the immigrant as equal worker, symbolize this mutual recognition. The violation of this reciprocal cycle - either because of the state's inability to provide the immigrant with work or, in some cases, because of the migrant's unwillingness to engage in work and create a "working biography" - stands at the core of unrealised individual projects, problematic civic identities, and the perpetuation of the migrant's social marginality and exclusion.

W058

New Trends in Regional Visual Ethnography

Convenors: **Naško Križnar, ZRC SAZU (nasko@zrc-sazu.si)**
Slobodan Naumović, University of Belgrade (naumari@eunet.yu, naumovi@eunet.yu, snaumovi@f.bg.ac.yu)

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 02A

The workshop will display, discuss and analyse the circumstances in which visual researchers in South-Eastern Europe develop their work, meeting with new technological, methodological and social and political changes. Are we ready to understand and accept a new discourse in the time of so-called new reality also in the field of visual ethnography? Are we able to analyse a whole new visual issue with an analitical apparatus from the past? Do social and political changes influence the image of visual ethnography? Which new contents are presenting the focus of visual research today? These are some of the questions, which will be exposed during the workshop.

The speakers from Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Slovenia and Romania will be invited to reveal their

experience. Many different ways of presentation will be welcome: papers, posters, films, videos, and multimedia.

Visual Ethnography as an Emancipatory Act

Naško Križnar, ZRC SAZU (nasko@zrc-sazu.si)

The visual record is an important act of identification of the person and of the cultural situation, which reveals a sensual experience of reality. In anthropology the senses were not regarded as a scientific facts for a long time. This is perhaps the reason why the academia was often neglecting endavours in the field of visual anthropology.
The paper will ask the question of the role of visual ethnography in the post-socialist period in Eastern Europe. The hypothesis is that the development of (digital) visual technology helped to resist and prevail. There is a vast field of using visual technology in family production, in public broadcating, in the sophisticated use in scientific research and in the video art movement. All these fields of intensive use of visual technology enhanced creativity of individuals and of groups, especially of young people. Democracy of visual production is expanding the sphere of so called open society and enabled many marginal groups to express themselves.
The challenge is in a further inquiry of the hypothesis: did (digital) visual technology help to win the war for democracy? However there are collateral effects in the whole issue like the radical change of esthetic in visual media and the erosion of ethic principals. What are we witnessing today is a chaotic and perhaps epoch-making transformation in the field of the visual, which we have to reconsider.

Twenty Years of Filming in Southern Banat: So What?

Slobodan Naumović, University of Belgrade (naumari@eunet.yu, naumovi@eunet.yu, snaumovi@f.bg.ac.yu)

What can be gained by twenty years of continuous filming, apart from a heap of videocassettes? This paper discusses different forms of knowledge and experience gained by applying a specific, regionally characteristic type of fieldwork practice - the short-term, event-focused approach - in a multi-cultural rural region of Vojvodina during an extended time frame of twenty years. Can the length of contact with the local communities compensate the shortcomings of not being a "true" participant observer? Which cultural and media expectations of the local communities should be satisfied, and what are the research-related "costs" of such exchanges? What are the consequences of introducing TV crews and local public screenings? Does a community change if it can continually observe its behaviour, and can feedback from the community mold the "lonely videographer" in any research-significant way? What are the visual expressions of attitudinal changes in the communities concerning global, regional and local political transformations? What happens if students are introduced, and become "initiated" by local actors into the filmed events and practices? Can what has been filmed contain all the necessary information in order to be intelligible to an "innocent spectator"? Can new technologies bridge the informational gap between the visual and the theoretical? By opening such questions, I will try to juxtapose one rather particular experience with some of the central dilemmas that have been fuelling debates in visual anthropology in the last two decades.

On Some Problems of Shooting Films with Multiethnic Communities

Saša Srečković, Ethnographic Museum, Belgrade (sasasreckovic@yahoo.com)

Sharing experience where visual recording and anthropological/social engineering are being done simultaneously. The film *Skopje, and everything is possible* is edited on the base of the footage made within diverse multiethnic environments in the city of Skopje, the capital of Macedonia. Since interethnic relationships have been quite a delicate issue for years now in the Balkans, two ethnographers, from Macedonia and Serbia, wish to challenge the widely accepted mass media and public perception of the problem, as well as assumptions rendering that problem rather unsolvable. Researchers deliberately do not avoid the approach possibly leading to a consequent lack of objectivity. For one, through various interventions the obtained data are victimized as far as objectivity of results is considered. On the other hand, this approach enabled relatively fast gaining of mutual trust between researchers and their informants in the field.

The issue of spontaneity became also an important part of the visual strategy of ethnographers in this endeavour.

Visual Research of Lullabies and Soothing Rituals in Slovenia

Vesna Moličnik, University of Ljubljana (move2me@gmail.com)

The paper discusses video ethnography techniques used in research of intimate spaces of early childhood. The subject of the study are routines parents create for their children and lullabies they sing during bedtime, and the role of such rituals in human interaction, communication and socialization were the subject of the study.

Various techniques and approaches were developed and used to collect visual data and special text, context and textuality based form to enable analysis and comparison of thus gained visually recorded data. Video ethnography included video recordings made by researcher during participant observation, visual recording made by parents and video-elicitation interviews.

The paper discusses possibilities for visual ethnography of intimate spaces. It examines specific circumstances that demand adaptation and creative use of visual technology and development of specific-field accommodated visual research methods. In addition, it addresses the possibilities of visual penetration into intimate spaces, the role of informants and more specifically the problem of analysis of thus gained visual information.

Functionality, Accessibility and Communicativeness as Essential Specifics of Ethnographic Film in SEM

Nadja Valentinčič Furlan, Slovene Ethnographic Museum (nadja.valentincic@etno-muzej.si)

Professional activities of the Department of Ethnographic Film (established in 2000) in The Slovene Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana, Slovenia, have three essential specifics. Recently the museum has been orientated into production of visual ethnographic contents for the permanent exhibition of SEM, where several parameters are considered: the concept of the exhibition, the exhibition's author guidance, references of ethnographic film and the medium itself, audience, and user-friendly integration of the media into the exhibition. The second characteristic of the ethnographic film and audiovisual media in SEM is accessibility to the visitors

at the exhibitions, at film presentations, as a part of workshops, and through a review of Slovene ethnographic films *Ethno video Marathon*, which transformed into an international festival *Days of Ethnographic Film* in 2007. The Department supports the accessibility of the audiovisuals, as well as of data and reflections on them with DVD publications, on the web page of the museum, with lectures in the museum and outside it, and with participation at conferences and festivals. The third challenge is to establish the two-way communication with the visitors at the exhibition. This can be achieved at several levels: at the level of the contents of audiovisuals, with the mode of screening and accessing them, at the level of encouraging (self)reflection of the visitors, and finally, by inviting the visitors to actively participate.

Trends in Macedonian Visual Anthropology

Vladimir Bocev, Museum of Macedonia (bocmuseu@freemail.com.mk)

The first organized filming of ethnological documentaries in Macedonia with active participation of ethnologists, above all, from the Museum of Macedonia, began in 1952. A major role among the first ethnological filmmakers was played by Vera Kličkova, the doyen of Macedonian ethnography. She used to choose the themes, localities for filming, wrote the screenplay and book of shooting, organized the filming, made reconstructions, directed, etc. The films based on her scenarios and directed by her were filmed according to strictly elaborated books of shooting. There were none, or, in rare cases, very slight changes in the script.

Their main characteristics were clear and complete information contained in the picture, narration explaining specific points in the film and traditional music performed by a symphonic orchestra.

Nowadays the actual Macedonian ethnological film is distinguished by different approaches defined by the personal standpoints, the approach to certain themes and the temper of the ethnologist. They carry out their researches with the camera, do the shooting themselves or hire professional cameramen. In preparing the film they never use previously written scripts, but merely set a general framework to run the shooting, whereas the script is most frequently being shaped up during the editing.

Macedonian ethnologists follow up continually the world trends in producing ethnological documentary films always managing to preserve and point out the specific points and emphasize their viewpoints. All these features allow them to be original and recognizable filmmakers.

From "Staged Folklore" to Ethnographic Filmmaking

Radoslava Ganeva, University St. Kliment Ohridski (radoslava.ganeva@gmail.com)

Due to the noticeable absence of interest in Bulgaria for many years, the canon of official ideology, and the lack of possibilities, this topic was neglected by scholars. As we entered a new age in the early 1990s, it became more important to recognize the means by which socialism manifested itself visually in particular cultural forms. It helps to better understand the contemporary attempts to strengthen the ethnographic filmmaking in Bulgaria, free of censorship and/or directed folkloristic demonstrations.

Currently a few types of ethnographic filmmaking are observed: filmmaking as a research tool, a part of student education in observation and documenting of events, as interviews, and videos; next, are the works of a famous visual anthropologist with Bulgarian origins, who has made several films in the country, introducing anthropological methods of ethnographic filmmaking. Another shared stylistic dimension of Bulgarian

ethnographic cinema is in the respect to films made by journalists for TV with strong ethnographic influences.
Thanks to the new forms of audio-visual expression, people manage to maintain freedom by avoiding the demands of feature financing. As a result, documentary/ ethnographic filmmaking is burgeoning popular, particularly among the younger generation who make use of digital video. The ethnographic output of Bulgaria, however, is seen considerably less internationally. Occasional glimpses of remarkable films can be caught at specialized documentary and visual anthropology festivals.

A Brief Overview of the New Ethnological Film in Macedonia

Elizabeta Koneska, Museum of Macedonia (ekoneska@freemail.org.mk, elizabeta.koneska@yahoo.de)

The contemporary output of the authors of ethnological films in Macedonia started in the first half of the 1990s of the 20th century; again, it is more widely practiced at the beginning of the new millennium. The emergence of such trends is not random, and there are several reasons thereof.
Despite such successful development of the ethnographic film in the country, an organized professional treatment of this field, such as education, production, and presentation, has been missing, as well as information and popularization of the created works of art.
With the exception of the film as the final product, treated as an ethnological exhibit, the entire footage has no special treatment as something that should be preserved and stored safely. The funding, that usually plays an important part in the entire endeavour, that is, the realization and the final product, varies from movie to movie and can come from the institution the author works for, the Ministry of Culture, the radio and TV license, or foreign and domestic foundations and donations. The education the authors gain for making this kind of film is entirely individual, by way of personal experience or through following festivals and other places where ethnological films are presented.

A Local Community and a Photographer - a Photographer and a Local Community

Helena Beránková, Moravian Museum (hberankova@mzm.cz, knihovna@uhostroh.cz)

Antonin Koukal led his studio in a small Eastern Moravian locality, Czech republic, in the period from 1920 to 1956. His biography and also his work reflect some common regularities in interregional and even in international comparison: disabled ex-serviceman and originally not educated in photography; his work was more good handicraft then art. He focused on turning points of human life, as other dozens of local studio photographers did, such as confirmation, recruitment, weddings, funerals, and apart from that, portraits of family generations. But he paid special attention to an individual portrait, partly in civil dress, partly in national costume, that is considered to be one of the basic sign of local specificity.
Using old research methods like field research and interviews, and combining the ethnological and folkloristic point of view, I followed how the local community likes its own portrait built by the photographer´s production, what are opinions concerning life in the past and the life cycle, how strong the vertical and horizontal nets connecting local inhabitants still are and what are inside and outside effects of photographs in the local community life.

W059

Experiencing Borders and Boundaries in the Post-Socialist Southeastern Europe (SEE)

Convenors: **Ioannis Manos, University of Western Macedonia (imanos@uowm.gr)**
Vassilis Nitsiakos, University of Ioannina (vnitsiak@cc.uoi.gr)
Aliki Angelidou, Panteion University (alangel@panteion.gr)

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 309

Southeastern Europe's past and present have been marked by claims, struggles and wars over the meaning, possession and use of objects, persons, territories and symbols. In the post-socialist era, the region has been experiencing continuous transformations which have resulted in the increase of cross-border communication and a high level of socio-economic change. Yet, the effort to define the national soil, geopolitical borders, cultures and identities seems to be repeating itself in each dispute over economic, political and cultural issues. These include change of national borders, conflicts between states and other polities over their supposed sovereign territory, cross-border movement of refugees, immigrants and workers, regional clashes over self-determination and nationhood, minority discourses and identity politics.
This workshop wishes to invite papers with ethnographic material on boundary making and boundary breaking processes from various sites of SEE. Focusing comparatively on borderlands, political and symbolic boundaries, we intend to contribute to the study of politics, culture, power and the state in SEE. Moreover, we want to offer perspectives on the interconnection between local, regional, national and supranational institutions and organisations and their role in determining the current social situation in the area.

"We Don't Sell Our Country!" Property Restitution and Identity Politics in Post-socialist Romania

Damiana Oțoiu, Bucharest University (dotoiu@ulb.ac.be)

Like most of the Central and Eastern European countries, Romania put in place restitution policies after the collapse of the communist regime. However, the first restitution laws privileged certain categories, while excluding the non-citizens (emigrants who had lost or renounced their citizenship), the non-residents (citizens of a state who reside abroad), the former owners dispossessed before 1945, and the so-called "religious and ethnic minorities".
While most political leaders have justified the legal cut-offs by a necessary limitation of restitution due to budget constraints, others have explained this agenda by using "national" (or nationalist) arguments. Their arguments are often built around the idea of "Romanianess": they claim that the government should have implemented "ethnos"-based restitution policies. "A country is a living organism. If we cut it into pieces, in concert with the foreigners, we will offend God…" said a member of the nationalist Great Romania Party.
My research aims to give an answer to the following questions: how the process of reprivatisation intersects with "ethno-national" political discourses and projects? Is this "ethnification" of restitution policies (Offe 1997) seen as legitimate not only by some of the politicians, but also by their potential voters?

My research is based on a fieldwork conducted in Bucharest, Romania (2004 - 2007), in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, Israel (2006, 2008) and on research in archives.

Elections in Sarajevo: Images of Boundaries, Borders and Walls

Zaira Tiziana Lofranco, Università degli Studi di Napoli l'"Orientale" (z_lofranco@yahoo.com)

The paper will consider the last political elections as a symptomatic event revealing:
1. Ethnocultural boundaries between the main national groups created and marked by the ethno-nationalist parties manipulating cultural elements (such as alphabets) used in electoral jumbos and pamphlets. Cultural boundaries, in this case, try to turn the administrative boundaries drawn by the Dayton peace agreement into a line of cleavage. According to this strict monoethnic logic citizens choose with their vote which national, political and territorial side they are on.
2. (Geo)political borders perceived and held between Bosnia-Herzegovina and the EU.
Inclusion of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the political and economic space of the EU is linked to the successful transition to democratisation. In the electoral period, the use of the right to vote is presented by the international organizations such as OSCE as the key to this process. Through the use of an evolutionist rhetoric, the political propaganda directed by foreigners, presents the high rate of abstensionism as a proof of Bosnian political backwardness on the way towards Europeanisation.
3. Socio-economic borders highlighted by civilian movements such as DOSTA! (Enough!), who denounce material discrimination following transethnic criteria.
Ethnonationalist arguments are here seen as a political trick to obscure the division line between a corrupted political and economic elite and the Bosnian society at large - the social victims of the wartime and of the collapse of the socialist political system (unemployed people, women, displaced persons, Roma etc.).

Experiencing the Thrill of the Borders of Mount Athos: A "No Woman's Land"

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This paper focuses on the existent borders of Mount Athos, which separate the self-governed and autonomous monastic state from the rest of the Greek state. It refers to the borders that are found within Greece, which separate the sacred from the secular and men from women, since the peninsula is entirely forbidden to the latter. The borders are located within the village of Ouranoupolis, which acts as a threshold to the sacred monastic peninsula of Mount Athos and is defined as the physical and symbolic border between the "internal" world of the monks and the "external" profane world. This paper examines the women's liminal situation during their floating pilgrimage which takes place at 500 meters from the coast of Mount Athos, yet another border mark. One of the main subjects of conversation on the boat is that of the thrill of the existence of the borders and the analysis of this paper is focused on the narrations of its potential transgression. It refers to the ways in which the interdiction and the inaccessibility is experienced by women, the ways in which women want to come closer to the monks' world.
The ethnographic material on the imaginary boundary breaking process is drawn from long-term fieldwork and participation in numerous floating pilgrimages during the period 1997-2000 in the village of Ouranoupolis. The paper also points out the difficulties, which the anthropologist - because of her female identity - had to confront during fieldwork, due to the existence of the borders.

Locality and Identity in a Frontier Region in Northern Greece: The Cross-Border Journey of a Song

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The local populations have been trying, through various ways and over time, to maintain and demonstrate what they consider part of their music repertoire. Especially since the 1980s local brass bands started to record and export Edessa's traditional music in an attempt to earn a place in Greek traditional discography and also, among the famous Balkan Brass bands.
Although this is supposed to be an old music tradition that contains songs well known even during the Ottoman period, it seems that a process of importation of songs has occurred throughout the 20th century from the neighboring states, Bulgaria and FYROM, with multiple effects on the region's music expression and sense of locality. In addition, one can find songs from Edessa being performed in the neighboring countries, which are thought to belong to their own traditional repertoire. Who is right and who is wrong? Where do these songs belong?
Music, as has been shown in many ethnographic examples, can travel freely between different regions, borders and states, even in cases when people are not allowed to. On the other hand, this cultural exchange seems to be problematic and strongly influenced by state boarders, in cases when political issues and national and other beliefs take part in the formation of a region's or country's identity through music.
Based on ethnographic fieldwork and using the song "Odvori Leno vratnicka" as an example, this paper explores the journey of a song, its transformations and the way people consider it as local or national.

Newborn Citizens in a Post-Soviet Landscape

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As in many other languages, the Georgian word for "citizenship" refers to the city as a place and to bourgeois values as the underlying class culture. What kind of meaning does it convey, then, to members of the Georgian nation state living in remote rural regions? How do memories of the programmatically anti-bourgeois Soviet state shape present-day notions and practices of citizenship? How do these notions and practices relate to contemporary political realities and social movements in other parts of the world?
Addressing these questions, my paper investigates the cognitions and experiences of citizenship among the Tushetians, a transhumant ethnic group traditionally settled in the Georgian Highlands on the borderland to Chechnya and Dagestan. By analyzing cognitive data obtained from rankings and pile sortings, I reflect on the way the state is inscribed in landscape. In a historical excursus, I address transmitted experiences of the state or proto-states during two periods: the feudal 18th century, and the Soviet 20th century. The Soviet period is evoked by the results of questionnaire interviews conducted during my fieldwork in 2007.
The findings point at transnational forms of citizenship and call for a nuanced and differentiated conceptualization of notions like state, nation, citizenship and their respective relations. They also question a myth reiterated by Western political scientists and Georgian social analysts alike, according to which, the Georgians were alienated from the state for almost 200 years, due to Russian, later Soviet colonialism.

Spies, Fugitives and Illegal Immigrants: Defining the Limits of Legitimacy at the Greek-Albanian Border

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The aim of this paper is to attempt to understand how the movement of people through a political border, a dictated cultural divide, defines a space where questions of "legitimate/illegitimate existence" are posed, manipulated and fought upon. By focusing at the ways the inhabitants of both sides of the Greek-Albanian border and the corresponding state apparatuses have dealt with those that have been crossing the state lines outside the official paths, I intend to bring forward the transformations of discourses on legitimacy/illegitimacy; transformations that ultimately point at the complex relations between the presumed marginality of the border zone and the equally presumed ubiquity of the (nation)-state. Furthermore, besides the afore mentioned relations, or rather on the side of it, it is important to attempt to reassess the role of anthropologists in creating yet another border zone, that of the ethnographic fieldwork, which also has to come to terms with the same basic questions -where the border is, or rather where the border stops.

Studying Migration in the Greek-Albanian Border Region: Theoretical and Methodological Issues

Vassilis Nitsiakos, University of Ioannina (vnitsiak@cc.uoi.gr)

The fall of the Albanian regime in 1991 also led to the violent fall of the national border between Albania and Greece. The massive exodus of Albanians to Greece created by the time a transnational space, which on a local scale presents a special interest due to the continuous movement of people and goods between the two sides of the border. The mobility in a space that crosses today the national border but in the past constituted a unity, poses serious problems in the study of migration, which call for a reflection on established theoretical, as well as methodological tools used in this context. This paper aims to present a "problematique" on doing ethnographic research in such an area.

The "Hidden Stories" of Lussìn Families: Emotions and the Transmission of Discourses of Identity among the Italian Minority of Lošinj/Lussino, Croatia

Enrico Milič, Queen's University, Belfast (em.milic@gmail.com)

This paper analyses the Italian minority community living on the island of Lošinj, Croatia. I analyse how emotions are relevant in the private story-telling of past memories and how, in a context where Croatian nationalism is quite relevant, these hidden identity discourses rarely become public outside of the realms of the family and the minority community.

The theoretical framework of the research is drawn on complementary fields, including emotion studies, studies of identity formation and political conflict and studies on memory and rhetoric. My focus on emotions is based on three levels of analysis: emotions as discourses, embodied experience and performative acts.

The island of Lošinj is part of the Kvarner Region, an area barely studied by anthropologists. In 1922 the Italian fascist government took power and ruled for almost twenty years, violently oppressing the Croatian population. At the end of April 1945, these places were incorporated into communist Yugoslavia. From 1945 to 1955, in a context of violent ethnic revenge, 80-90% of the Italians decided or were forced to leave, mainly to Italy, but also to the United States and Australia. Since then, both

in communist Yugoslavia and the more recent Croatian state, the remaining Italians have often been discriminated against.
Ethnographic fieldwork has investigated the stories that are transmitted through members of families across the generations. The stories, although they can be about tiny episodes of everyday life, are symbolic of past and current attempts, failures and successes of coexistence between the Croatian and Italian ethnic groups.

W062

Challenges of Local and Regional Cultural Politics in Southeast Asia

Convenors: **Birgit Bräuchler, University of Frankfurt (birgitbraeuchler@gmx.net)**
Kari Telle, Christian Michelsen Institute (kari.telle@cmi.no)

28 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 06

There are two trends in the study of cultural politics in anthropology of SEA, which this workshop aims to bring together: the analysis of: 1. national cultural politics; and 2. the objects of these politics, e.g. local (cultural) groups.
On the state level, culture/identity politics are often an important means to foster nation-building processes in multi-ethnic societies, but also as part of tourism, minority, development and religion policies or in order to differentiate the nation from the "outside world". Due to recent democratisation processes in the area local cultural politics are on the rise and increasingly influence regional politics as well as the cultural and political constitution of nation-states. Local and national cultural politics are not always characterised by mutuality, but by opposition and competition. On the local level (the revival of) culture and traditions can serve different purposes, like achieving self-determination, resistance against the state, access to natural resources, as tourism resource and to solve local conflicts the state is not entitled or able to solve.
The workshop aims to explore cultural concepts underlying these politics from an anthropological angle and to analyse the problems emerging between the different levels of cultural politics and the interest groups involved in them. Besides the local and the national level, the inter-/transnational level might play a role as well; be it, for instance, the global discourse on human rights influencing national and/or local politics, or transnational networks that emerge with reference to a common culture/ religion and that can challenge the nation-state.

A Tale of Two Celebrations: The Kadazan Harvest Festival (Sabah, East Malaysia) as a Site of Struggle

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This paper presents an anthropological analysis of the annual Harvest Festival (Pesta Kaamatan) of the Bornean State of Sabah, Malaysia, focussing on two main celebrations, one organised by the Malaysian federal authorities and one by the most important local cultural association, both of which took place in May 2006.
The paper argues that the celebrations, and the ethnic symbolic markers they display, most of which can be considered "invented traditions" elaborated from the selection of objectified traditional elements, constitute a primary site of struggle between the central state and members of a minority ethnic group, the Kadazan, over the

definition of the role the ethnic culture should play in the national culture.
While the central state used the celebration, and its televised broadcast, to advance its project of creating a national culture and identity going beyond ethnic differences, the ethnic elites used the celebration to re-affirm the centrality of certain ethnic cultural traits and the right of the minority to their own cultural specificity, following an established tradition of "ethno-nationalism". Many ordinary Kadazan rejected the appropriation and instrumentalisation of their ethnic culture by both elites, and of its commodification by commercial sponsors, contrapposing a "lived culture", constituted by the festive and everyday practices carried out within their villages.
The analysis of these events constitute an essential step in the attempt to clarify how identities emerge from the crystallisation of both essential symbols used in collective mobilisation and of lived experience constituted by practices shared within certain groups.

The Revival of the Community House (Guol) among the Katu of Central Vietnam: Empowerment or Impoverishment?

Kaj Arhem, Göteborg University (kajarhem@yahoo.se)

Since the mid 1990s, in the wake of Vietnam's doi moi (economic renovation) policy, selective manifestations of culture among Vietnam's numerous ethnic minority groups have been promoted by the state. This paper deals with the social and cultural implications of this policy for the Katu people in the Annamite (Truong Son) mountains of central Vietnam. As it happens, the traditional guol (communal-house) institution among the Katu is strongly promoted by the state as a vehicle for strengthening community solidarity and a venue for the dissemination of national development policies. At the same time, practices related to funerals and the building of elaborate tomb houses for the dead - traditionally a significant cultural practice - is actively opposed. Both institutions are central to Katu collective identity. In particular, the paper discusses the transformation of the guol institution from a social and cultural centre-piece of Katu identity-construction, materialised in the magnificent and elaborately decorated communal house, into a political arena in the service of the state - a stage for promulgating the state's vision of cultural development and progress.

Ethnic Minorities in Vietnam in Official Discourse: The Case of the Vietnam Museum of Ethnology

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In the paper I would like to consider the matter how ethnic groups living in Vietnam are conceptualized and presented in official discourse, focusing on the case of the Vietnam Museum of Ethnology.
Analyses of museum exhibitions as materialisation of colonial discourse of power and dominance were popularized by such ethnographers as James Clifford and Moira Simpson. It is worth considering to what extent this conception is accurate in case of countries such as Vietnam, itself once being a colonised country, but simultaneously involved in relations of dominance and submission with non-Vietnamese ethnic groups, populating the country.
The museum was meant to be an example of modern exhibition, following contemporary trends in museology. However, analyzing the content of presented exhibition we can observe contradictory tendencies. On the one hand, the postulate of "giving voice" to presented peoples is to some extend fulfilled. On the other hand

the ethnic groups are still presented in a kind of evolutionary paradigm. The issue of contemporary changes in these societies is treated in a highly selective way, reflecting the policy of Vietnamese government directed towards ethnic minorities, described by Oscar Salemink as "selective preservation".
The case of the Vietnam Museum of Ethnology reflects the overall policy of Vietnamese authorities towards the matter of ethnic diversity. Attempts to fulfil the requirements of modernisation and maintaining the authority over the whole society, leads the official discourse into contradiction between meeting postulates of affirmation of ethnic diversity and strengthening the national unity.

Migration Recycled: Vietkieu and the Construction of Vietnamese modernity

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In an age of globalisation and migration, not only is the migrant identity often constructed and reconstructed in the shifting domains of cultural dynamics, the identity of the nation-state is also diversely affected with the presence of large communities of transnational subjects and return migrants. The Vietnamese Diaspora has received increasing scholarly attention in recent years. But many of these previous studies focus on the Vietnamese migrants living abroad; research on return migrants is still rare. Since the mid 1990s, the odyssey of the Vietkieu (overseas Vietnamese) has been swiftly "recycled" with hundreds of thousands of them returning "home" to work and invest.
This paper argues that the return Vietnamese Diaspora has created a new social platform for discursive reconstruction of the Vietnamese past and present and posed new questions on "boundary" making related to histories, patriotism, immigration policies, and transnationality. Much of the rhetorical and ideological embellishment within the shifting official views towards the Vietkieu "patriots" and the public opinions of the changing roles of Vietkieu have forced the nation as a whole to adopt endemic strategies in accommodating different layers of cultural and identity politics which in turn contribute to the building of Vietnamese modernity.

Translocal Identities in the Indonesian Malay World

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This paper discusses the interrelations between local self-understandings of "Malayness" amongst Malays in West Kalimantan and local, national and transnational identities. Understandings of Malayness have always been strongly translocal in nature, drawing on regional and Islamic themes. The paper asks to what extent national and intra-national relations have shaped and limited this translocalism. This paper draws on my ongoing research into the social, political and economic conditions, which make translocal identity construction possible and its implications for inter-cultural and inter-religious interaction, association and conflict in what we call the modern "Malay World". Recent years have seen a tremendous growth of interest in the formation of global cultural and religious loyalties, in part because such loyalties have been seen to pose a threat to the integrity of nation states, and in part because at least in some instances such "translocalism" is seen as a possible "cosmopolitan" corrective to xenophobia and ethnic chauvinism. Here there is some evidence to suggest that translocal Malay identity processes in the region have been consistent with positive

forms of intercultural association, such as civility and tolerance. The paper outlines a number of spheres, such as religious associations and civil society organisations in order to explore the mechanisms of translocal relationships and their interaction with national and intra-national political, social and economic relations.

Winning Back the Audience: Cultural Politics and the Televisioning of the New Singapore Malay

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What is at stake when an audience tune out of their national media in favour of those from across the border? A lot, it seems, and it is not just about money. This paper discusses the cultural politics behind the establishment of a dedicated minority language television channel in Singapore, and its shifty attempts to articulate particular imaginings of the nation, community and culture.

The television channel in question is targeted at Singapore Malays who are arguably on the fringe economically and politically. Being a Chinese-dominated state in the heart of the Malay world, this marginality has been viewed by some as ironic. During the Asian financial crisis of 1997, the Singapore government, uncomfortable with the fact that Singapore Malays were watching more news, dramas and Islamic programmes broadcast from neighbouring Malaysia, decided to launch a dedicated Malay-language channel to "reflect the unique views, culture and lifestyles of the NEW Malay Singaporeans", while at the same time, "equip them with the attitudes, values and instincts that make them vibrant and proud citizens".

In practice, however, the channel has been far more ambivalent in its cultural representations. The ethnography of production suggests that its producers, mostly ethnic Malays themselves, constantly shift between several worlds and modes of identifications. Caught between regional affinities and the demands of the state, and between televising that "uniquely Singapore Malay culture" and the need to fill airtime with programmes gleamed from transnational others with "cultural affinities", the outcome has been anything but a neat articulatory closure.

The Cultural Politics of Good Governance: Crisscrossing Articulations of the Global and the Local in Toraja (Sulawesi, Indonesia)

Aurora Donzelli, FCT (audonzel@tin.it)

Analyzing debates on good governance video-recorded between 1999 and 2007 in the Toraja highlands of Sulawesi, this paper provides an ethnographic reflection on the multiple meanings of "cultural politics". A notion that refers both to the political uses of "culture" by different interest groups and to the cultural dimension of politics. In Toraja, the process of decentralization, which marked the first years of the post-Soeharto era, coincided with a call for a system of administrative divisions, which took into account "cultural difference". The first phase (1999-2003) of the regional autonomy reform was imbued with a "new politics of tradition" (Bubandt 2002). The "desa", an administrative unit introduced during the New Order to achieve uniformity and enhance control at the local level, was replaced by the "lembang". A "pre-colonial" unit, whose boundaries, it was argued, rather than being the outcome of arbitrary political decisions, reflected longstanding cultural divisions. In more recent years (2004-present), the initial appeal to tradition and to the involvement of "traditional civil society" into the local politics was replaced by a new emphasis on bureaucratic effectiveness and on the need to increase the number of government provisions at the grass-root level. Looking at how discourses on good governance

have shifted from participation and tradition to efficiency and accessibility, the paper not only reveals the interplay between local actors and (inter)national agencies in the unfolding of the decentralization process, but it also highlights the complicities and clashes between new global concepts and traditional political styles in Toraja public discourse.

The Politics of Tradition and Conflict Prevention in Post-Conflict North Maluku, Eastern Indonesia

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This paper looks at efforts to revitalize "tradition" (Indonesian, adat) among the Tobelo people in the eastern Indonesian province of North Maluku in the wake of the ethnic and religious violence that swept the region in 1999-2000. It examines how some groups in Tobelo society are attempting to revive previously marginalized adat practices as a way to facilitate reconciliation between Muslim and Christian communities. Largely left to their own devices by the provincial and national governments both during and after the conflict, the various segments of Tobelo society contend that customary tradition could help reconciliation and, more importantly, prevent future violence. Those involved in these efforts believe that a revitalization of adat would shift people's focus of identity from their religion, the focus of the recent conflict, to their ethnicity, a shift that will supposedly transcend religious differences. The paper also examines the various religious, political, gender and economic differences of both supporters and opponents of this revitalization. In particular, the paper explores the role of the district head of Tobelo (Indonesian, bupati) and his ability to garner political support due in large part to his adat-related knowledge, and to further his political agenda, which in part focuses on the revitalization of adat. The paper explores these attempts to rearticulate Tobelo tradition and Tobelo identity in order to prevent future violence. It also discusses the rationales and historical justifications for seeing adat as a mechanism for reconciliation and conflict prevention.

Islam and Empowerment: Challenges for Young Indonesian Muslim Women

Monika Arnez (monika_arnez@yahoo.de)

In the late 1990s Fatayat NU, the young women's organization of the traditionalist Indonesian mass organization Nahdlatul Ulama, explicitly started to use a gender-sensitive approach and introduced empowerment as one of their key goals. This move was at least partly determined by Abdurrahman Wahid. During his presidency an atmosphere of discussion prevailed that was more open than in other Muslim mass organizations and even non-Muslim ones. However, the traditional voices of NU did not fall silent due to the new 'liberalization'. A great number of kiai still stick to traditional Islamic values.

This split between conservative and progressive forces in NU also affects Fatayat NU, forcing the women to position themselves carefully between these two "poles". They depend on the support of kiai, who, in their function of pesantren leaders, can exert considerable influence on the activities of Fatayat NU, but at the same time the kiai often reject their ideas and vice versa. Many kiai do not favourably receive the young women's attempt to promote women's empowerment, to break up the monopoly of interpretation of religious texts and to demand political rights for women.

Based on ethnographic fieldwork from April until August 2008 in Jakarta and Yogyakarta, this paper proposes to analyze, how young Muslim women position themselves vis a vis the fact that male religious authorities still have the prerogative of

interpreting religious sources and which mutual local strategies and instruments, for instance shared religious rituals, values, symbols and programs, they use to promote women's empowerment.

Ethnicity in Upland Southeast Asia: A Systems Theory Approach

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Since Leach and Lehman, scholars are aware of the relationality of ethnic boundaries in upland Southeast Asia, both in states and minority areas. This resulted in attempts to replace the notion of structure with system. Yet, this notion needs further elaboration to become a valid analytical tool. The present talk attempts at modifying and applying approaches from Luhmann's theory of social systems. Ethnicity is seen as a type of system that does not classify persons, but communications. These systems and their reproduction are based on particular semantics that establish what kind of difference is marked as "ethnic". The reproduction of systems of ethnicity thus depends on the processing of information from other systems. The type of difference marked as "ethnic" depends on the other types of difference (in particular local vs. national, class, political affiliation etc.) and their respective valorization in relation to each other.

An Ethnography of Culture-Identity Switch in North Burma

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A Kachin community was persuaded to believe that it was Burman by psychologist-strategists of the Burman military government, and thus began a painful search to identify "Burmanness" in the Kachin cultural or lived experience. Not finding supporting evidence here the search veered toward looking for indications of "non-Kachinness" in the experience, and this continues today. This paper will discuss the cultural politics that emerged from this defection and became pervasive in the entire Kachin society.
The important elements in this ethnographical episode are why a culture-identity switch appeared possible in the Kachin context, how the military junta strategists read Kachin culture and society, how the other communities reacted, and the characteristics of the cultural politics that emerged in response, and affects the entire Kachin society today.
The key concepts relevant to the analysis are: ethnicity and ethnic categories as changeable and adaptive characteristics, cultural integration as political unity in the face of enduring conflicts, and the emergence of cultural politics intended to address the problem of defection as a generalized problem.

W063

Migrations: Of Borders, Crossings and Ambivalent Identities

Convenors: **Jaka Repič, University of Ljubljana (jaka.repic@guest.arnes.si)**
Verena Stolcke, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (vstolcke@telefonica.net)

29 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 410

There is now a vast amount of literature on the causes and consequences of transnational migrations in which the politics of identity and of socio-cultural exclusion

and inclusion received privileged attention. Crossing cultural, social and political boundaries appears to result in establishing new ambivalent identities seemingly transgressing cultural differences but in fact often asserting them as essential and divisive. In this workshop we propose to examine the contentious flip side of contemporary perspectives on migrations. A whole range of new old notions have come into anthropological usage in recent years - hybridity, mestizaje, creolization, miscegenation, cultural mediation - to account for the confounding effects the crossing of political and cultural boundaries seem to have in engendering ambivalent identities by blurring original socio-cultural identities. Yet, this assumption entails a paradox. The crossing of political cultural borders and mixing of identities only in appearance dilute and neutralize the divisive consequences cultural differences may have. For the very notions of crossing borders or mixing identities, in fact, re-activate original cultures and identities which they presuppose. This is admittedly a provocative proposal, which we hope to debate with the aid of comparative ethnographic and historical data.

A Propos of the Statute of Purity of Blood in the Society of Jesus (1593)

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The objective of this paper consists of exploring the construction of social categories, such as "mestizo" and "criollo", as interpreted from Society of Jesus' viewpoint in colonial Peru (16th and 17th centuries. As I will show, this ambivalent term had nothing to do with "race", but rather with matters related to purity of blood, lineage and the quality of people as regards to unequal marriages. To understand the Society of Jesus' official position with respect to these concerns, I want to revise the Statutes of Purity of Blood, issued in the V General Congregation of Rome (1593), to critically analyze the political and historical conditions that blocked the "impure and illegitimate Jesuits" from entering the Ignatius Order. Generally speaking, in the mid-17th century, the Society welcomed "criollos" to become capable and loyal Jesuits, while "mestizos" were definitely refused. Sexual limits turned into moral limits. The alleged "imperfections" - physical and intellectual ones, such as barbarous and evil customs - of Indians and "mestizos" did not affect "criollos" any more, because they related from now on to the dominant groups of power. Thus, by linking to the Spaniards, "criollos" gained access to ecclesiastical and administrative posts, while "mestizos" did not. To conclude, this paper will demonstrate that the Jesuit policy regarding "mestizos" and "criollos" did not blur these social categories. Rather the contrary, it helped to reinforce them, presupposing the existence of a "criollo" identity that will be claimed in the years to come.

Reproduction between Species in Amerindian Cosmologies

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Transnational movements are as old as humanity, but what is not considered enough when scholars analyse its consequences are the ways in that otherness experience -meeting, knowledge, conceptualization of new people and new cultural spaces - are integrated in social organization, in humanity's notions, in cosmologies and in world's representation of societies. This otherness experience is very well documented in Europe from Ancient Greece. Greeks travelled and drew sophisticated maps of those distinct others. Their cartographies were as far away as illustrating immaterial

universes they encountered in their cosmologies. Their myths constitute a complex classification of essentially different others - gods, semi-gods, heroes -, with which humans were not capable of maintaining relationships outside very specific ritual prescriptions. Even though those rules, borders between categories were easily broken by the strong power of passion and love. And from those prohibited moments hybrids were easily engendered. We cannot advance how the identity of those hybrids was conceptualized, besides their physical constitution, visible in iconography and in mythical narratives; but we could presume that when old western civilization linked beings of different assumed origins, the result used to be the conception of complete new ones. New beings for which humans created new specific places in the pantheon, separated in any case of humans even when humans were partially genitors. In sum, I will explain how non-western cosmologies, especially Amerindian ones, conceptualize unions between essentially different beings and their reproduction results, and under which forms of relationships it is/it is not possible to cross these immaterial borders.

"Pure" and "Mixed" in Nationalist Discourse: Immigrants and "Xarnegos" in the Sixties and Seventies in Catalonia

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Nationalist discourse appears as one privileged field to examine the relevance of notions of crossing cultures and/or mixed identities. Nationalism is a kind of socio-political discourse that usually implies a concept of "pure" nation and delimited cultural pertinence that appears incompatible with the idea of hybridity or mixed national origins.

This paper tries to illustrate these arguments through the analysis of the Catalan case, characterised by the absence of a state power to regulate immigration policies, national belonging and identity legally. This case has been traditionally used as an example of "integrative nationalism". The nationalist Catalan historiography and political discourse has advocated for an integrative image of Catalonia as a "land of passage" of different peoples (from the Greeks and Romans, to the Phoenician and Franks, etc.), and argues that from that mixture the supposed essence of Catalanhood arises. I would like to contrast this public political discourse with the reality of one kind of xenophobic reaction towards the wave of immigrants that results from the internal Spanish economic migration that Catalonia received in the 1960s and 1970s. This social reaction was shown with the use of a pejorative term, "xarnego", to denominate and denigrate the offspring of mixed marriage between Catalan and those who arrived in Catalonia from other regions of Spain. This term was also used to denominate the first arrived immigrants that were considered as "not integrated" because they did not use the Catalan language some time after their arrival.

Sephardim in Modern Spain: Between Nationalism, Anti-Semitism and Philo-Sephardism

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From the middle of the 19th century Sephardim where increasingly thought as a cultural-historical "mix" of Jews and Spaniards in modern Spain. The construction of this ambivalent identity instead of favouring the reintegration of Sephardim to the successor state of the kingdoms from where their ancestors where expelled in 1492, in

fact emphasized and reified the supposedly original, distinct and separate identities, "Spanish" and "Jewish". The consequence was that while a discourse of political inclusion developed, in fact Sephardim were never accepted as full citizens in Modern Spain. That had tragic consequences for those Sephardim that had enjoyed a pseudo-citizenship status from the middle of the 19th century at the outbreak of World War II, when Nazi Germany initiated the systematic extermination of European Jews. When those pseudo-Spanish citizens where in need of full protection from the state they thought they where members of, Francoist Spain did not allow them to cross the geopolitical border to enter into Spain to prevent those who "after all" where Jews to pollute the Catholic purity of his ideal Spanish nation. Nazi Germany probably deported most of those abandoned by Spain to extermination camps, where they were murdered. In the refugee chaos provoked by the war in Europe, Francoist Spain also developed a silent policy of expulsion of Jews already living in Spain, among them Sephardim, from Spanish soil.

Black African Heritage in Spain: The Forgotten Migration

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People of black African descent, freed or enslaved, men or women, born in Spain or brought from Guinea, were thoroughly represented in historical and literary sources from the Renaissance to the 19th century, when the abolition of slavery was discussed in Parliament. Black Africans have been part of the Iberian population for centuries and the number of plays, poems and narratives in which sub-Saharans come into view as secondary characters, but also as protagonists, is quite surprising. Equally astonishing is the paucity of studies that have been dedicated to them by Spanish scholars and the lack of awareness of present-day Spaniards about the presence of black Africans in Spanish culture and history, particularly as Spain probably had the largest black population in Europe. For instance, most contemporary Spaniards do not realise that the stepfather of Lázaro, the orphan rogue child who narrates his autobiography in the classic picaresque novel (Life of the Lazarillo de Tormes, his misfortunes and adversities, 1554) was a black man, even though the text is a compulsory reading in secondary schools. Moreover, in spite of being christened and having adopted Spanish traditions and costumes, they held a particular celebratory character in civil and religious ceremonies. This was due to the fact that they were not perceived as a threat, and therefore, were allowed to keep on practicing African dances and songs (cadena de congo, minuetes de guineo, etc.) that became particularly popular, especially on public holidays but also on religious ones such as the Corpus.

Between Various Homes: Considering Ambivalent Identities of Slovene Returned Emigrants and their Descendents through the Notion of Home

Tea Golob, University of Ljubljana (tea.golob@gmail.com)

Migration presents a complex phenomenon not solely related to geographical mobility, but at the same time influencing variety of personal and social transformations while depending on diverse internal and external factors. While considering these factors, my intention is to approach the remigration through the frame of transnationalism that indicates processes, activities, individuals and their identifications across national borders and connects them in broader space, both physical and cognitive. In the last century, many Slovenians emigrated to various locations around the globe, both

as political and economic emigrants. In recent decades, especially after Slovenian independence, many of them or their descendants have returned.
In this paper, I would like to consider the effect that migrations have on constitution of "selves" and "others" in relation to home. Migrations involve a splitting of home as place of origin and home as place of the sensory world of everyday experience. An essential point of this paper relates to the fact that globalisation, transnationalism and the concomitant creation of transnational social spaces have greatly affected the meaning of home for returned migrants and have consequently influenced their construction of identity. I intend to present the understandings of home that reflect the reality of living in social worlds that span two countries and the development of decentred multiple attachments and feelings of belonging in more than one place. In response to above described circumstances, Slovenian remigrants tend to experience home as multi-dimensional, pluri-local, and characterized by regular movement across the state borders.

Crossing Religious Borders and Identities in Denmark and Brazil: A Comparative Perspective

Tina Jensen, Danish National Centre for Social Research (tgj@sfi.dk)

Religion shares features with analytical categories such as race and class; consequently religious conversion may be conceptualised as a transformation of identity in several ways. In particular the act of converting to an ethnic minority religion tends to be perceived as a means of cultural critique, a revolt against the national community, and thus as a dissent that unsettles the boundaries by which selfhood, nationhood and community are defined. This perspective also indicates creation of new and hybrid identities. The proposed paper is based on a comparative field study of ethnic majority populations´ conversions to ethnic minority religions, i.e. Danes´ conversion to Islam in Denmark and white middle-class Brazilians´ conversions to Afro-Brazilian Candomblé in South East Brazil. The aim of the paper is to explore and compare how the different social actors (the converts) deal with otherness represented by respectively immigrants and descendants of former slave populations and the different ways they relate to and experience sameness and otherness, inclusion and exclusion in their constructions of self-identity. By that the paper aims to show how ways of conceptualising sameness, otherness and hybridity is conditioned by different national contexts for constructing ethnic and racial identities.

The Making of a "Wantok": (Post)colonial Social Categories and Ambivalency of Identities among Okapians in Port Moresby

Jaka Repič, University of Ljubljana (jaka.repic@guest.arnes.si)

The paper explores ambivalency of contemporary urban identities among Okapians in Port Moresby and the role of the "wantok system" in the social life of their translocal urban community. I will present the case of Okapians in an urban settlement in Port Moresby and their continuous negotiation between traditional notions of community and place of origin on the one hand and migration and urban strategies on the other hand. Being Okapian in Port Moresby represents a dynamic, non-essential social category that incorporates new urban identifications as well as traditional notions of community, broadened affinity, descent and place of origin. In an urban space these notions are transformed into a new social category called "wantok system" that incorporates social networks of co-ethnics, co-villagers, relatives and friends. "Wantok" is made through social interactions and since the category is unclear, it

can be ambivalently used either for socio-cultural inclusion or exclusion. Migrating to Port Moresby entails establishing new relations with "wantoks" and new urban identities, but among Okapians and other residents of informal urban settlements it also strengthens the role of original place in establishing interactions and asserting divisive cultural differences to other communities in the city.

W064

Interpreting Religious Diversity: Conversion, Syncretism and Religious Practice

Convenors: **Erik de Maaker, Leiden University (emaaker@gmail.com)**
Vibha Joshi, Oxford University (vibha.joshi@anthro.ox.ac.uk)

28 August 2008, 14:00
Room: 232

Contemporary anthropological studies of religion consider syncretism a universal phenomenon, and regard all religions as syncretic (Steward and Shaw 1994). However, if "neighbouring" religious traditions share common ground, how does religious diversity emerge? And how is it sustained and reinforced? Radical approaches to the study of religion, such as Asad (1993, 2003), indicate that conceptualizing religions as diverse and distinct cannot be separated from objectifying discourses involving agents or groups claiming religious authority. So, how are religious ideologies defined and objectified and by what agents? And perhaps more importantly, in what manner are people who engage in religious practices influenced by the ideologies voiced or formulated by people who (claim to) represent religious authority?

In the proposed panel we intend to develop these issues in relation to processes of proselytizing and conversion, as these tend to trigger the (re)formulation of religious ideologies. In our perception, such processes are not limited to the activities of e.g. "Western" missionaries in the former colonialised world. It also encompasses sub-national efforts, such as when Christian Nagas attempt to convert Naga animists. Moreover, proselytizing and conversion are not limited to so-called world religions, but can involve the reformulation of animist religious traditions as well.

We invite theoretically grounded papers that are strongly rooted in ethnographic research. In particular, we would like contributors to proceed from the varying and changing significances attributed to religious material objects, as well as ritual performances in which such objects play a role.

"Black Madonna" versus "White Madonna": Spiritual Feminist Pilgrimages in France and the Changing Significances Attributed to Dark Madonna Statues

Anna Fedele, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris (annafedele@yahoo.com)

This paper analyses the ritual practices of pilgrims, who do not consider themselves as practicing Christians, visiting French shrines housing dark Madonna statues. Referring to observations of three organized pilgrimages, I will focus on these individuals' use of the statues identified as "Black Madonnas" and analyse the way they visit and perform syncretic rituals at Catholic shrines, while fiercely criticizing the Catholic religion.

"Black Madonnas" represent, for these pilgrims, "the dark side of the Feminine" and serve as a useful counterbalance to the "White and Immaculate" Virgin Mary they know from their childhood in Christian, mostly Catholic, families. The paper shows

how the pilgrims' religious beliefs also form a political philosophy, explaining and denouncing the exploitation of the planet, as well as psychological and physical violence against women.

Food of the Gods: Boundary Makers and Religious Pluralism amongst the Zeme Nagas

Arkotong Longkumer (arkotong@gmail.com)

This paper will analyse relationships between different religious traditions in North Cachar Hills, Assam, to reflect upon the way the logic of religious diversity operates, by employing Fredrik Barth's (2000) notion of boundary as it operates on the physical and symbolic levels, creating "distinct categories of the mind".
Amongst the Zeme these religious boundaries were the result of Christian proselytisation and the spread of an indigenous religious movement known as the Heraka. Tensions surfaced over how "traditional practices" should be interpreted in the light of these new religious traditions. To elucidate this point, I will examine notions surrounding the use of zao (rice beer). For Christian missionaries, the elimination of zao as a "cultural symbol" was associated with "civilising missions" - that alcohol would bring about disorderly behaviour that went against the strict, regimented self the Christians were trying to shape.
Issues surrounding the use of zao amongst the Zeme Nagas even today are used to demarcate the perceived difference between religious traditions, set over and against ideas of "civilising missions" on the one hand and the preservation of zao as a "cultural symbol" on the other. This distinction is articulated by the Heraka who emphasise "preserving culture" as the requisite for determining "originality" of religious practice. This is contrasted with Christianity as "foreign" and therefore inauthentic in the "local" Zeme context. The latter determines who is human (zemena) and who is not. This raises an important distinction between the Zeme way of being (Heraka) and the modern way of acting (Christianity).

Gorovodu in Bénin and Togo: Between "Syncretism" and "Traditional Religion"

Alessandra Brivio, Università Milano-Bicocca (alezup@yahoo.it)

This paper traces the movements of the gorovodu - the vodu of cola nut - which, since the colonial period, has become more and more popular among vodu believers. The ritual objects, ritual dresses and part of practices have been derived from Islam and transformed into the vodu languages. During possession the spirits arriving from the "north" enter the adepts and transform them into Muslim believers; in other contexts, the "chefs" of the cult are trying to introduce a Sunday office that, in a mimetic way, evokes the Christian Mass.
A rhetoric of order and clearness helps the "chefs" of the cult to insert themselves in the complex contemporary religious fields, trying to find a place closer to the universal religions. The ambiguity and complexity of this vodu order are expressed in the desire to elaborate a public image that, at the same time, emphasizes its foreign origins, its alterity, and insert the cult in the field of the "traditional" religion.
Both categories of syncretism and "traditional religion" are not suitable to describe the cult dynamics and the strategies that the actors have been developing to find a political position in the actual religious field. Instead it is more useful to analyze their capacity to reformulate and to incorporate elements of universal religions in order to cope with their hegemonic spread.

Kitui "Culture" as the Other of the Modern Monoliths: Development, Religion and the Obscure Material Culture of Andu Manthi

Maarten Onneweer, Research School CNWS (M.S.Onneweer@let.leidenuniv.nl)

'Andu Manthi' is a label cultists in the Kitui district derive from their status as the "other" of the modern monoliths. It is the inverse of Christianity since Andu Manthi means "worldly people", but the people under this label are also called "the culture", or "the tradition" as opposed to modernity and development. In my presentation I will discuss the role of materiality and immateriality in the Andu Manthi of natural shrines (Mathembo) to discuss the ambiguity of the Andu Manthi status and its role in retraditionalisation and proselytesing. Local elites increasingly seek to appropriate Andu Manti practices, either in a positive quest for indigenous or traditional ecological knowledge to retraditionalise society, or as benchmark for proselytesing, as satanic "other" used by Christian congregations in the district. Interestingly, most outsiders know little about ritual practices and ritual places, and use the labels Andu Manthi, "the tradition" or "the culture", indiscriminately and speculatively. Few people know where Mathembo shrines are, what they look like and what goes on there. The lack of visible cultural markers, the intermittent character of rituals, and the regional differences has frustrated knowledge on the shrines and ritual practices, but it also made outsiders propose the presence of biodiversity, witchcraft and an elusive red mercury. I show that the speculation on the natural shrines and the practitioners provides the Andu Manthi with the power of obscurity, which seems constitutive of the distinction by other religious and societal groups.

Multi-Faith Contact and the Production of Difference through Place and Ritual in a Pilgrimage Site in Nepal

Jessamine Dana, Oxford University (jessamine.dana@anthro.ox.ac.uk)

This paper traces the movement of a multi-faith pilgrimage site in Nepal as its religious identity is claimed and its environment is drawn into and shaped to support various religious practices. It looks at how the making of a religious place in a cultural, economic, and political multi-faith context (Hindu and Buddhist) influences how pilgrims view the ritual and cultural practices of themselves and others. In particular, this paper examines the meanings that ritual objects and icons and 'ritual sensory worlds' are invested with, and how the nature of that process, with its focus on materiality, spatial designation, and the body, has within itself a propensity to create divisions between Hindus and Buddhists: Nepalese Hindus, Indian Hindus, and 'Tibetan' Buddhist practitioners.

These questions are examined within the context of Muktinath/Chumig Gyatsa, a multi-faith pilgrimage complex located in Mustang District, Nepal. This complex has been visited by both Buddhist and Hindu pilgrims since its earliest documentation, although it has seen a dramatic increase in numbers of both over the past 50 years. Positioned as it is, on the interface between the 'Tibetan cultural world' of the former Tibetan empire, and the outskirts of the Nepalese, formerly 'Hinduizing' state, Muktinath/ Chumig Gyatsa provides an excellent case study in which to explore contemporary, multi-faith contact as it takes place against the backdrop of changing discourses about caste, ethnicity, and secularism in Nepal.

On Conceptual Analogy: A New Analytical Approach to Religious Syncretism - A Case Study from Alaska

Medeia Csoba DeHass, University of Alaska (ftmkc@uaf.edu)

In this paper I am proposing to examine a case study from a Native Alaskan Russian Orthodox village. Through the framework of religious syncretism, I will present how Sugpiat Russian Orthodoxy affected, and at the same time was influenced by, non-religious spheres of society. I am using the notion of conceptual analogy, which I define as a set of corresponding ideas originating from two different patterns of thought, in this case Sugpiaq and Russian Orthodox, which facilitates the integration and re-interpretation of foreign religious ideas into the local cultural environment. By doing so, it results in the creation of a new religious concept that on the one hand became one of the most expressive elements of Sugpiaq identity, and on the other, influences other spheres of the local social milieu that are considered to be secular in nature. Therefore, the success of Orthodoxy in the single-denominational community of Nanwalek is due to the combination of several factors that are all connected by and created on the basis of a conceptual analogy between religion and the traditional local concept of social life.

Polish Lutherans between the "Catholic" State and Evangelical Movements

Grażyna Kubica, Jagiellonian University (grazyna.kubica-heller@uj.edu.pl)

The Polish Lutheran minority is very small in number, but in Cieszyn Silesia it constitutes a significant cultural factor (autochthonous people are mostly Lutheran). There are also parishes in bigger cities in other parts of Poland. I have been carrying out research in Silesia for many years and recently also among the Lutheran Diaspora in Krakow.
In my paper I tackle several problems like the role of religious adherence in local level politics, the conceptualization of Lutheran Polishness, the influence of Catholicism (mixed marriages, conversions), the important role of pietistic spirituality, the authority of clergy in formulating orthodoxy.

Religious Diversity in the Western Himalayas and in Western Tibet: Tibetan Buddhism, Bon Religion and "Local" Religious Traditions and the Function of Spirit Possession/Trance-Mediums

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The religious beliefs and practices of the village communities on the Indo-Tibetan/ Chinese border areas in the Western Himalayas and in Western Tibet were often described by scholars as being a syncretic mixture of Tibetan Buddhism, Bon religion and various "local" religious traditions. Based upon extensive field research this paper attempts to examine religious diversity by looking particularly at the phenomenon of vital spirit possession/trance-mediums in the area.
What is the function of spirit possession/trance-mediums, which seems to represent an important common trait all over the area, in the ongoing processes and discourses determining the conceptualizations of religious beliefs and practices of various social groups in the area? What is their relationship towards representatives of Tibetan Buddhism and other agents claiming religious authority, for example as expressed in the case of public ritual performances?

Soka Gakkai in Brazil: Syncretism or Strategies of Negotiation?

Suzana Bornholdt, Lancaster University (sucoutinho@gmail.com)

This paper is based on a case study carried out in Brazil with Soka Gakkai International ("International Value-Creation Society"; also, SGI). This is a lay Buddhist movement founded in Japan in 1930 and has now over 12 million members in 190 countries. The Brazilian umbrella organization for SGI was founded in 1960 and since then has been expanding in the whole country, being considered nowadays one of the biggest and strongest Buddhist groups in Brazil.
This article, through the analysis of data from an extensive ethnographic research done in the southern part of Brazil, aims to discuss the complexities and ambiguities of a group that seeks to insert itself in the Brazilian religious field, a country that is consensually known as diverse and plural. Through a "politically correct" attitude towards the Brazilian religions, Soka Gakkai elaborates a public image acknowledging the religious and cultural life of the country. Although Soka Gakkai is openly known as a Japanese religion, there is a clear institutional effort in being more inclusive and more Brazilian. This "culture of experimentation" and a strategy of reflexive syncretism (Clarke 2005), nevertheless, are left behind when they face the missionary work with potential new members, that once converted, start to experience a process of familiarization with the new and exclusive repertoire established by the Institution.
In order to become more attractive and to recruit more members, Soka Gakkai in Brazil develops different approaches and temporary syncretic strategies, aiming to become more attractive to the Brazilian religious field.

The "Church of Sakalava": Towards the Construction of Religion by a Malagasy Social Setting

Peter Kneitz, Martin-Luther University, Halle (peter.kneitz@ethnologie.uni-halle.de)

The case provides the opportunity to discuss religious syncretism within a context of power dominated by European forces and concepts. The chain of Sakalava kingdoms, a heterogene political formation in Western Madagascar dating from 17th century, became restructured and relabelled during 20th century as religion. A main step of the transformation was to replace the authority of the living king by that of the king's ancestors. This dynamic was associated with further and ongoing changes on all levels of symbolic, ritual - including spirit possession as a major aspect - and material representation.
Grounded on intensive fieldwork, the paper will offer insight into the process of founding a "church of Sakalava", as the structure is termed nowadays by actors in deliberate analogy with aspects of catholic practice. The religious discourse and invention observed, it is argued, has to be seen within a hierarchical structured interrelation between two different social systems and its ideologies.

The Blurring of Religious Boundaries: Sekrenyi and Christmas among the Christian Angami

Vibha Joshi, Oxford University (vibha.joshi@anthro.ox.ac.uk)

Christianity was introduced to the Naga peoples of northeastern India by the American Baptist mission in the 19th century. From the outset the Baptists saw the indigenous animistic religion as diametrically opposed to Christianity. But they could not foresee the later introduction of different Christian sects nor could they envisage

the way in which different Naga groups sought political separateness through use of religious distinctiveness. The paper focuses on the increasing religious syncretism, which resulted from this process and the particular forms of its expression.
I concentrate on the interaction between indigenous Angami religious tradition and Christian beliefs. Applying the conference theme of diversity and mutuality, the paper explores how these crosscutting kinds of religious transformation find expression in artefacts, and ritual and other performances among the Angami. Keeping with the current anthropological view that material culture has agency and is not merely passive, I describe how some items of material and performative culture, for example celebration of the annual festival of Sekrenyi, have retained outward form, yet denote religious change. I also analyse the reverse process by which earlier discarded material and ritual forms are being reclaimed in the cause of religious revival as well as for the assertion of ethnic identity.
Moreover, material culture is used in projecting the 'warrior' past, the symbolism of which is also included in the commemorative artefacts designed for Christian Centenary celebrations. Thus, far from consistently being in conflict with Christianity, as the earlier Baptists had professed, animism supports it in many respects.

The Syncretism of Christian Orthodoxy and Black Magic in Macedonia: Everyday Ritual Practice and Ritual Avoidance of the Contamination of the Body

Violeta Schubert, University of Melbourne (violetas@unimelb.edu.au)

Macedonian religiosity and ritual practices encompass elements of a syncretism of various beliefs and ritual practices including (Slavic) Christian Orthodoxy, animism and "magija" (black magic) and in the process readily encompass the new or emergent constructs of modernity, selfhood and individuality. The saliency of everyday ritual practices and the importance of religion and belief for individuals are manifest in various ways but are particularly prevalent in discourses of the body and the relationship between body and soul. This paper is concerned with exploring the ontology of the body and the continuum between body and soul, and, body and self in Macedonian cosmology, Orthodox belief and everyday practice. The focus on the body as both agent and instrument of religiosity and belief will be discussed with particular reference to death and mourning rituals, and the rituals associated with purification and the avoidance of contamination and the malevolence of others.

HW065

Routing Knowledge through Persons

Convenors: **Jeanette Edwards, Manchester University (jeanette.edwards@manchester.ac.uk)**
Maja Petrović-Steger, Cambridge University (mp333@cam.ac.uk)

28 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 102

The 10th EASA conference in 2008 presents a perfect opportunity to take stock of the large, diverse and influential body of research of Professor Dame Marilyn Strathern who, amongst many other things, has brought the concept of relationality to the height of anthropological attention. In this panel her former PhD students will take up the conference themes of mutuality and diversity by evoking and reflecting upon the multi-way traffic of inspiration that her scholarship has encouraged and generated.

We will seek to elucidate scales of understanding and articulate the transfer of meanings and ideas that collaboration with and learning from her has enabled (perhaps in partial, unpredictable and unexpected ways). In so doing, the panel will explore more broadly the way in which anthropological knowledge is routed through inter-personal, mutual and diverse relationships. It will attend to relations, diversities and mutualities of social life, and will address the cooperative impulse in the production of knowledge in an era of demutualization. Our aim is to elaborate on the influence these relationships - and decisions on how to represent them - have for the organisation of anthropological knowledge in general.

Inspiring Knowledge

Adam Reed, St. Andrews University (ader@st-andrews.ac.uk)

In this paper I aim to explore the nature of intellectual debt and influence, specifically my own debt to the work and person of Marilyn Strathern. But rather than assess this relationship through a reflection upon ideas of intellectual property, kinship and knowledge transmission [typical domains of Strathernian deployment], I wish to use the literary concept of "inspiration". This will involve an engagement with local theories of creativity from my ethnography of English fiction readers and webloggers. Part of the task of the paper will be to explore the dynamics and attributions of agency around this interaction. What does it mean for Strathern to inspire? What does it mean to claim to be inspired by Strathern? Finally, I reflect on what a Melanesian counterpart to the notion of inspiration might be.

Describing Knowledge Roads in Vanuatu

Lissant Bolton, British Museum (lbolton@thebritishmuseum.ac.uk)

On Tanna, Vanuatu, some knowledge was literally routed: it passed along controlled ritual roads, some of which are still in operation. These roads loop around the island, linking a number of places and hence, a number of men. Individual men inherit the right to control and transmit information along a certain section of these roads. The adjacent island of Erromango, which suffered massive population loss between 1840 and 1945, also operated at least one ritual road, which linked the whole island in a single competitive system. Knowledge about this road is being retrieved by Erromangan researchers, trained through the Vanuatu Cultural Centre. It is being retrieved both through a combination of ethnographic, archaeological and historical research. But while they are using the tools of social science, ni-Vanuatu researchers have quite a different objective for their research. From Marilyn Strathern I learnt that description is the end point of anthropological analysis. "Description", she says, "presupposes analysis, and analysis presupposes theory, and they all presuppose imagination" (1999: xi). Ni-Vanuatu researchers are not setting out to describe analytically, but to use knowledge as a resource for further action: my capacity to describe their use of knowledge as resource is informed by Marilyn's theoretical innovations, but their use of social science methodologies has far more to do with the model of knowledge as passing along controlled routes, from person to person. This paper will tease out some of the complexities of these intersections.

Gaps in Knowledge? Ethnographic Practice, Addition and Collaborative Endeavour

James Leach, Aberdeen University (james.leach@abdn.ac.uk)

Viewing knowledge as a kind of object, which can be transferred from one mind, context, discipline, or sector into another suits a particular contemporary version of political economy and its attendant rules governing circulation, reputation and ownership. As Riles and Miyazaki have recently addressed, faced with complex enterprises, it appears that certain projects require the "addition" of one kind of knowledge to another, thereby making "gaps" disappear. Social scientific engagement is pre-specified in its form and utility in these instances. Starting from a Strathernian notion of knowledge as the kind of thing which does not have "gaps", this paper will develop an argument for writing an anthropology which obviates "the social" as a distinct category of knowledge, focussing instead on ethnographic engagement as collaboration, and utile understandings as those embedded in persons and relations.

Invisible Families: Imagining Relations in Families Based on Same-Sex Partnerships

Aivita Putnina, University of Latvia (putnina@lu.lv)

The paper addresses the paradox of the sudden Latvian societal revolt against the homosexual community resulting in hostile talk and action, throwing human excrements at homosexuals. At the same time the Constitution was amended with a norm of a family as a heterosexual union. However, the statistics show that almost half of children are born out of wedlock and at least one third of families are single parent. The paper is based on research on same-sex adult families with children, involving homosexual partnerships and mother-daughter tandems. All families involved declared themselves families and raised children. These families allow examining the real and declared relationships, strategies of positioning themselves within heteronormativity. Heteronormativity makes both kinds of families structurally invisible. While homosexual couples utilise traditional family roles and kinship networks through sexuality relations, mother-daughter relations tend to negate the actual parental role structuring their daily routine and duties "normalising" their family through symbolic and temporal absence of the father-husband figure. Both families live in a "closet" and tend to conceal their relationships in public. Prevalence of heteronormativity does not allow re-conceptualising the family relationships in gender-neutral terms and solve the inner tension created by conforming to norms. Their relations embody the paradox of simultaneous approval and negation showing the depth of gendered perception of a person and his or her position in a family.

Knowledge, Kinship and Anthropology

Monica Bonaccorso, Durham University
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When I first met Marilyn Strathern many years ago she was one of the few social anthropologists working on what were called the New Reproductive Technologies and kinship. At the time I had just concluded work in Italy on lesbian and gay couples and their children, and I was intrigued by the sorts of questions that such practices may lead to, when third parties are involved, and children (as they say) "do not know where they come from". At the time I did not realise that my interest in what we make

of the kind of knowledge that we put to work to create or disperse relations might occupy me so intensely in the years to come. I owe a debt to the work of Marilyn Strathern for this.
This paper uses two ethnographic examples, quite disparate, on how donors see the provision of gametes in clinics of assisted conception in Italy (pre 2004 legislation) and on how science journalists see the provision of embryos and human cloning technologies in the UK. The material illustrates the "knowledge model" at play when thinking about kinship relations both in Italy and in the UK; and it makes self-evident an unique ability for simultaneously abstracting and invoking practice in the arena of kinship relations. Following Strathern, the material sheds light on "the facility to deal with both together, to operate two kinds of relations [conceptual (or categorical) and "interpersonal"] at the same time…" (2005: 7, original emphasis). The paper will emphasize that it is this facility (the oscillatory and reversible movement from abstraction to practice) that makes the comparative exercise in kinship studies viable. The oscillatory movement illuminates the anthropological (kinship) object per se in a variety of cultural contexts - and comparatively.

Visions of Modernity: Re-routing Knowledge through People and Things in a Large Scale Resettlement Project

Thomas Yarrow, Manchester University (thomasyarrow@hotmail.com)

This paper examines how the linked concepts of "development" and "modernity" acted as a prism through which the ideas of a diverse and previously disparate group of people became mutually intelligible in the context of a large-scale resettlement project in Ghana. During the 1960s the Akosombo Dam flooded 700 villages, leading to the resettlement of 80,000 people in centrally planned towns that were imagined as props to the modernizing ambitions of the Nkrumah government. Drawing on Strathern's theorization of artefacts, I explore how the material embodiments of these past development ideologies continue to manifest themselves in the present. In particular my account focuses on how those who were re-settled literally extend the visions of planners and architects both through "practices of everyday life" and the modification of resettlement houses. In this context I argue that resettlement acted to objectify the visions of planners and bureaucrats in ways that re-routed existing forms of knowledge and relationship in new and largely un-anticipated ways.

Crime and Custom in Cosmopolitan Society

Sari Wastell, Goldsmiths College, University of London (ans01sw@gold.ac.uk)

In an era increasingly characterised by the (allegedly) self-evident phenomena associated with globalisation, few institutions purport to instanciate the mutualities of our age quite as sharply as international criminal justice (ICJ). Acting in the name of a shared "humanity" and common global interests, this emergent body of law and domain of legal practice constitutes a wide variety of social relations, in ways that sometimes seem to mirror popular or "common-sense" imaginings that might be universally held across temporal and territorial purviews, and at others seem wildly counter-intuitive, no matter the time and place of their invocation.
Focusing on the prosecution of Ramush Haradinaj for crimes against humanity and breaches of the laws of war in the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), this paper explores the shared and divergent imaginings of social relations in international, national and "customary" proceedings. Tacking between the jurisprudence of the ICTY (and its rendering of such concepts as "command

responsibility", "joint criminal enterprise" and the "chapeau" of a systematic attack on a civilian population as a fundamental criterion for charges of crimes against humanity) on the one hand, and the rendering of personhood, family, honour and criminal accountability in the ("customary") Code of the Leke Dukagjini on the other, the paper mobilises the Haradinaj case to explore the different scales on which social relations are made visible and eclipsed in law. Arguing that it is likely that the war-time activities of the KLA were, at least in part, operationalised and/or justified through kanun (Albanian customary law), the work critically reflects on the commonalties and incommensurabilities of how social relations feature in disparate legal fora. In particular, the paper addresses the ways in which "custom" and "customary law" could and did feature in Haradinaj's prosecution, and the extent to which custom's limited role in the court case belies the universality of social relations as constituted through ICJ. In so doing, the paper aims *not* at undermining the validity or import of international criminal prosecutions, but towards broadening the repertoire of resources that diverse legal renderings of social relations might offer - both to the efficacy of proceedings like the Haradinaj trial, as well as to projects of "transitional justice" more generally.

Digital Afterlives: Human Remains in Interactive Formats

Maja Petrović-Steger, Cambridge University (mp333@cam.ac.uk)

In her 2005 "Kinship, Law, and the Unexpected" Marilyn Strathern analyses Euro-American conceptualisations of human material in the context of ever increasing sophistication of biomedical technology, and its crossing with heightened notions of ownership. Revisiting this material, I observe that many Euro-American practices of recovering, retrieving or repiecing corpses tacitly rest on a conception of the dead body's integrity. The proposed paper aims to develop an anthropological understanding of the equation between the person and individual body (or collection of body parts) through an ethnographic consideration of the "Mission Eternity Project", an artistic endeavour exploring intimations of immortality.
Launched by the Swiss art group etoy in 2005, the Mission Eternity Project was conferred with the VIDA Award 2007 for "on the one hand foregrounding the human longing somehow to survive after death, and on the other cultivating a sense of irony about the dated sci-fi fantasies people entertain in seeking to satisfy that desire" (excerpt from the VIDA jury statement). This paper specifically examines one of the artefacts created by the project - the Sarcophagus, a mobile sepulchre displaying composite portraits of those who consented to have their "informational remnants" cross over into a digital afterlife. By enquiring into the compositional or repiecing effect of the objects and practices deployed by Mission Eternity Project practitioners, this reading illuminates contemporary conceptualisations of human remains in informational economies and considers the question of what kind of knowledge can be routed through a digitised deceased.

The Eleventh Hour: Climate Crisis, Obviation and Retirement

Tony Crook, St. Andrews University (tc23@st-andrews.ac.uk)

In After Nature, Marilyn Strathern reflects that "For one who perceives the world relationally, it is always the eleventh hour, the implosion of the evolutionary clock, the moment of terminal realisation". Depictions of climate change increasingly dominate contemporary contexts and sustain the sensation of life itself at the eleventh hour on the very threshold of momentous evolutionary change. After Nature suggested that

the heat generating the "greenhouse effect" derives from the claustrophobia felt when new bio-technologies enabled the conceptual collapse of nature and culture, from the anxiety of self-consumption through resource usage, and even dated the literalisation of this "outlandish metaphor" to 1989. Climate change thus appears as a contemporary, and man-made, phenomena and as the moral cause of our age as if the greenhouse effect of cultural conceptual transformation can now literally be seen and scientifically verified by analysing ice-core records. An anthropological analyst may see the relation between the figurative and the literal, and yet an effect of symbolic obviation is to now conceal, and now reveal, the ground of relations for cultural practitioners. Similarly perhaps, Strathern's work in obviating the ethnocentric origins of social constructionism, in theorising symbolic form and in emphasising the method of the relation, might have brought anthropology to the threshold of momentous change. This eleventh hour is perhaps an apposite moment in which to reflect on the changes upon us, and on what it means for an anthropologist to perceive the world relationally.

W066

Millenarian Dreams in the Post-Socialist World: New Ideologies of Success and Transformation of the Self in Contemporary Eastern Europe

Convenors: **Ingo Schröder, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (schroeder@eth.mpg.de)**
Victor de Munck, State University Of New York, New Paltz (demunckv@newpaltz.edu)

29 August 2008, 11:00
Room: 116

The workshop will explore the usefulness of the concept of millenarism for explaining the valorization of consumerism and individualism in East European societies. A key dynamic of colonial millenarian movements is that they entail a wholesale rejection of the old and a radical embracing of the cultural symbols and practices of the new as symbolized and embodied in the practices and behaviors of the colonizers with "the expectation of and preparation for ... a period of supernatural bliss" (Worsley 1957: 12). While there are obvious, sharp differences between the events that occurred in Melanesia during periods of millenarian movements and those that have occurred since the 1990s in Eastern Europe, there are also some intriguing correspondences. For instance, in both situations, there was a sudden radical, if not revolutionary, change in the social, economic, political, and cultural systems coupled with an expectation that a turn to the West would lead to a new world - one of surplus goods, wealth, and a new life. The defining features of post-socialist millenarism involve a conscious, intentional project to transform oneself into a "modern European" by means of: 1. the acquisition of wealth; 2. the consumption of western-style goods and lifestyle; and 3. developing a seamless hybrid western-eastern mental disposition. While most East Europeans have such millenarian dreams, only some are able to realize them.
The workshop's objective is to use the millenarian concept to gain fresh insight and help explain some of the cultural events and processes that have occurred in Eastern Europe since the demise of socialism.

Millenarian Dreams: Neoliberal Transformations of Self and Society in Lithuania

Victor de Munck, State University Of New York, New Paltz (demunckv@newpaltz.edu)

This paper relies on the case-study method to make a case for the occurrence of a secular millenarian movement in Lithuania. The case study method is limited and biased because each case may be read as a metonym for all members of the group represented by the individuals in the case study. The case studies selected for this paper are not intended to represent all, or even most, Lithuanians with a socio-economic profile similar to that of the protagonists in the case study. However, I do claim that each case study represents one particular psycho-cultural response to what I have referred to as a millenarian movement. I also claim that most Lithuanians would recognize each of the case studies as a culturally feasible event (though they may disagree with my analysis of it).

The defining feature of this movement involves a conscious, intentional project to transform oneself into a western European by means of: 1. the acquisition of wealth; 2. the consumption of western style goods, leisure, and lifestyle; and 3. developing a seamless hybrid western-Lithuanian psyche (to be elaborated on below). I posit that most Lithuanians (particularly those under say forty) have such millenarian dreams, but that only some can realize those dreams. The case-study method is used to describe and compare social, cultural and psychological features of Lithuanian participants and non-participants in this millenarian movement.

Post-Socialist Modernity and the New Europe

Neringa Klumbytė (klumbyn@muohio.edu)

Bruno Latour argued that modernity is a project of purification, an overarching project of making separations and creation of entirely distinct ontological zones—that of humans from nonhumans, nature from society, natural from social order (1993: 10-11, 39-43). Emulating Latour, the democratization of the former socialist states in Eurasia could be seen as a type of purification. The protagonists of neoliberal capitalism aimed to create distinct ontological zones with different political, economic, and social qualities from their socialist period predecessors. They developed semiotic ideologies according to which some practices, usually associated with the socialist past and the socialist or Soviet region, were morally inferior to others emanating from Europe or the West. In other words, the work of purification was privileging Western practices, ideas, experiences, and agents and morally justifying political economy of the West. The West-privileging semiotic ideologies informed not only Western expansion to Eastern Europe, they were positively embraced by local actors and nourished East Europe's revolutions of 1989 and East European states' integration to the EU and NATO.

This paper explores similarities between the post-socialist democratization of Eastern Europe, millenerian movements that occurred in Melanesia, and Christian modernization in Africa and New Guinea. I argue that all these cases are different examples of modernization, which includes rearticulation of social, economic, and political orders as well as remaking of people.

Extracting One's Past from a Grey Future: Nostalgia in Post-1989 Romania

Marina Elena Tataram, University of Bucharest (mtataram@yahoo.com)

The probing of their recollections from this era has been known to make people

talk, producing a remarkable collection of stories. Based on an archive of student interviews, our focus will lie with the ordinary people who claim that "all was better then".

Two possible patterns emerge: either the existence of a syndrome or that of a contagion. This study proposes to test these hypotheses against the discourses mentioned.

While nowadays political discourse re-appropriates relevant themes from the past, there is an increasing (and understandable) avoidance of representing the nostalgic layers of society, moderated by the need to account for these latter's discontent.

Perhaps the representation of the discontent understood in these terms is neither a legitimate political grievance, nor is it a problem for democracy and representation or a moral issue. Nevertheless, the puzzle is not the existence of several layers of discontentment, but the fact that such regrets associated with dictatorships occur in post-totalitarian or post-authoritarian countries (Chile, the former GDR, Romania, Serbia, etc.).

We shall identify several categories of discontent according to the usual sociological variables.

We shall distinguish between people who loved the past (and may want to get back to the past, but no party asks for it, so they are underrepresented), people who are unhappy with the present (hence the volatility of the social bases of the parties), and people who see no future (liberalisation affects them negatively, hence they form the constituency of extremist parties). What is more, these categories may overlap.

The Accession of Macedonia into NATO: The Change of the Name of the Country and New Millenarian Views

Davorin Trpeski, Sts. Cyril and Methodius University (davorin@iunona.pmf.ukim.edu.mk)

The paper will examine one short period of political and media activity of the political centers of power before the NATO Summit in Bucharest in April 2008. The accession of Macedonia into NATO is uncertain as a result of the Macedonia naming dispute. Greece is asking for a change in the name of the country, with mediation of the UN. Representatives from the EU and from part of the Macedonian political elite also insist on the change of the name. This act, according to them, is a guarantee for Macedonia entering NATO and they emphasize that it is exactly this process that will protect the country from the very possible and quick vanishing from the world scene. In case Macedonia changes its name, it will have a very bright future, unthreatened safety and foreign investments will flourish, which will enable rapid economic development and a way out of the poverty. Another part of the political elites is against the change of the name. According to them, the change of identity is devastating for Macedonia. All this is placed through the media to the citizens, with the majority supporting Macedonia joining NATO, but at the same time being against the change of theirs and the identity of the country they live in. This paper will be mainly focused on the research of the media, which are under control of the political centers of power, who use them as a means to create millenarian views.

Moral and Religious Re-Education of Russia

Agata Ładykowska, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (ladykowska@eth.mpg.de)

The central role of education in the grand Soviet project of creating a new society

and a new man has been described well in the field of history, especially for the Stalinist period. Equally known is the role of teachers and schools in the process of forming the so called Soviet morality, implemented partly through means of a special pedagogical approach - vospitanie ("moral education"). However, there is little ethnographic data on contemporary schooling, the professional practice and private life of the teachers, especially those whose professional biography is rooted in the Soviet context. The so-called post-Soviet period has been marked (among other things) by a great change in the field of religion, where there has been massive conversion of Russians into Orthodoxy. The change resulted in the actual introduction of religion-oriented subjects into some public schools (still, much debated in the society). My paper, based on twelwe months of fieldwork, will offer an anthropological perspective on lives of contemporary active teachers, educated and having their professional experience in the Soviet system, currently engaged with instruction of religion. By investigating millenarian-like concepts I will analyse the ways that teachers engage in transforming themselves into "modern" Orthodox believers. I will also look at the transformation of the content of the new vospitanie, with the help of questions about continuity, change, replacement, resistance, and accommodation.

Lady in Pink: Different Aspects of One Color in the Direct Selling Organization in Poland

Paweł Krzyworzeka, University of Warsaw (pawel.krzyworzeka@uw.edu.pl)

Direct Selling Organization where I conducted my Ph.D. fieldwork was founded in US "by woman for women". Pink color can be seen as key element through which we can understand the most important cultural aspects of that very organization. Pink is everywhere: main prize is pink car, smaller prizes are in pink, pink is the dominant color in office décor, one of the organizational slogans is "feel the power of pink", etc. Pink in that organizational setting can be analyzed as: 1) Synonym of femininity. This women's organization can be characterized as prefeminist, "celebrating womanly abilities and values but not challenging dominant social structures" (N.W. Biggart). The dominating image of femininity is quite stereotypical here and pink is core symbol of womanly abilities and values. 2) Synonym of joy and happiness. Colors are used for implementing feeling rules. 3) Pink as an identity color. Although formal ties in direct selling are weak - because sellers are independent entrepreneurs - the feeling of membership is very strong. Pink is one of the main symbols upon which they build their group identity.

W067

Brother- and Sisterhood in Anthropological Perspective

Convenors: **Erdmute Alber, University of Bayreuth (erdmute.alber@uni-bayreuth.de)**
Sjaak van der Geest, University of Amsterdam (s.vandergeest@uva.nl)

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 535

Even though there has been a remarkable conjuncture of kinship issues in the anthropological debates, the complex relations between brothers and sisters are still underestimated, whether so-called biological siblings, "half"-brothers and sisters, classificatory brothers and sisters or different forms of "made" or "constructed" sibling ties, like for example blood-brotherhood between friends, or brother- and sisterhood

in secret societies.
The aim of our panel is to focus on a persistently neglected theme in anthropological research by encouraging scholars to present papers on topics like becoming (and losing) brothers and sisters, emotions between siblings, economic competition and/ or collaboration, care and so on. How are relations between brothers and sisters perceived, how do people speak about brothers and sisters, and how do concrete relations between them work in everyday practice? In which concrete situations do people mobilize sibling relations? What about the elder brother, the elder sister? Can brother- or sisterhood be an alternative to alliances between spouses? What does brother- and sisterhood mean in changing patterns of reproduction, for example in circumstances of reduced fertility or instable marriage patterns as in Euro-American societies?
We encourage scholars to send empirical case studies as well as theoretical reflections on the conceptualisation of brother- and sisterhood in a changing world. We welcome papers on Euro-American societies as well as papers from Africa, Asia and Latin America. Comparative studies are welcome as well as historical perspectives.
This panel provides a forum for researchers to present and discuss work in progress. Panel participants are therefore advised to read the papers before the meeting (ask the panel convenors for a copy). Paper presentations will be brief and most of the panel meeting will be devoted to discussion and not to presentation of papers.

"Wagon Brothers, Wagon Sisters": Symbolic and Actual Siblingship in a Situation of Life Crisis

Auksuole Cepaitiene, Lithuanian Institute of History (auksuole@cepaitis.aiva.lt)

The expression "wagon brothers, wagon sisters" is taken from a popular song of Lithuanian deportees to Siberia during the Soviet era, and denotes a kind of solidarity maintained among the deportees.
The paper discusses the ways in which people understand and experience siblingship in its symbolic and in its actual sense. Drawing on ethnographic examples it analyses how family members and strangers interact with each other during and after a life crisis situation, what cultural and social issues bind them and transform their relationships into the closeness classified as sibling tie and how this closeness is practised after return from deportation. The paper suggests that the experience of life crisis, people's being together and sharing of physical and mental strategies of survival creates connections comparable to familial relationships. It also assumes that deportation, external to all deportees, is a kind of symbolic "co-filiation", which reinforces equality, equivalence and horizontal order among them - features that are characteristic of sibling relationship.

A Brother as Saviour: Siblings and Family in Bénin

Erdmute Alber, University of Bayreuth (erdmute.alber@uni-bayreuth.de)

My paper tells the story of a Baatonu-girl in the Republic of Bénin who worked as a maid in an urban household of relatives without being paid. She escaped from that situation through the intervention of a half-brother whom she convinced to take his role as brother. The story tells us how she struggled in a complex situation of negotiated kinship, including not only the sibling relation, but also that of in-laws, parents and foster parents in urban as well as rural settings. The example shows how brother- and

sisterhood can play a crucial role in a family conflict that touches on fundamental values about child labour and belonging of girls.

"The Brother is a Trap": Rethinking Brother-Sister Relationships in a Lebanese Town

Michelle Obeid, Manchester University (michelle.obeid@manchester.ac.uk)

This paper investigates the brother-sister relationship, neglected in mainstream literature on the Arab World, in the context of a transforming border Lebanese town. The paper discusses the factors which have made room for contesting the once taken for granted power of the brother: shifting livelihoods and economic transformations, changes in sociality and especially in household models and ideologies surrounding "the family" and exposure to new values through a variety of means, including rising levels of education and satellite television.
The paper specifically addresses a fear that haunts unmarried women in making decisions about marriage, which is the predicament of falling under the power and control of a brother and his wife. The paper, hence, brings out tensions in sibling relationships in the context of a fixed ideology of kinship, which postulates a specific morality and obligations and the reality of a conflict of interest and a perceived gender bias.

Obligation, Care, and Struggle for Personal Freedom: Siblings within the Matrilineal Akan

Astrid Bochow, University of Bayreuth (astrid.bochow@uni-bayreuth.de)

In the "classic" ethnographic accounts of the matrilineal Akan in Ghana Rattray (1927) and Meyer Fortes (1963, 1975) state that siblings play a crucial role in kin relations in these societies. Especially mother brothers who are responsible for care, upbringing and housing of their sisters and their children and from whom people are supposed to inherit are said to be of utter importance for a person's life. Are Rattray's and Fortes' accounts still valid in Ghanaian society of the 21st century? Which role do sisters and brothers play in these societies today? Even though since the implementation of the new Intestate Succession Law in 1985 fathers are de jure supposed to support their biological children (rather then their nephews and nieces) bothers and sisters still play an important role in housing, feeding and financing school fees of their (younger) brothers and sisters.
Approaching kinship by exploring modes of relatedness (Carsten 2000) I want to describe sibling's relations between obligation and rivalry, care and struggle for personal freedom in the intimate sphere of household affairs and advice giving in "love affairs". The data derive from an ethnological fieldwork in Endwa and Kumasi in 2004, 2005 and 2006 in the framework of my PhD thesis about "intimacy and sexuality before marriage in Kumasi and Endwa".

Sisters and Marriage in Shona Society, Zimbabwe

Andrea Mester, University of Bayreuth (AMester@freenet.de)

The authority of sisters in marriage negotiations, marital conflict and general family matters was never recognised in customary law nor has it found the detailed recognition in anthropological discourse it deserves. Research shows that sisters still today take an active interest in their brothers marriage. In many cases they even have the final say when it comes to distributing an inheritance within the semi-autonomous

field of the family. Acting as advocates of their natal families they often display rather suppressive attitudes vis-à-vis their brothers wives. Only few hints in anthropological writing indicate, that the wife's sister had a similar position of authority when it came to settle marital conflicts in early colonial Shona society. In interviews I conducted with old women they even maintain, that the wife's sister held a higher bargaining position vis-à-vis a husband's sister. But her influence seems to have vanished almost completely.
My paper will look into the process of disappearance of matrilateral influence in marriage and the incorporation of sisters bargaining positions into a lineal structure.

What is a Brother? A Discussion about the Notion of Brother in the Tajik Context

Sophie Roche, Max Planck Institute (roche@eth.mpg.de)

The terms of brother (aka, dodar, barodar) enclose a large part of the complexity of social interaction in Tajik society. The majority of myths teach us that brothers constantly fight each other (Kluckhohn 1969), but in Central Asia this is not the only picture that circulates. In Tajikistan siblings are imagined "as different as the five fingers of the hand" and at the same time as the most important social unit. Families invest into sons in a way to maximize future security and economic success by placing them into different sectors (state, religion, work migration). The competition for "niches" (Sulloway 1996) within the family is a strategy, less to gain parental affection, than to oppose social roles that are predefined by birth order.
Sulloway accords the laterborn siblings the potential of revolutionary discovery - if he is right, it means that a population with high fertility in consequence must have a higher risk of (violent or non-violent) conflicts and thus the proportional size of youths within a society would stand in any kind of relation to social change. This leads me to take a look at the social relation standing behind the term brother in its second meaning, namely as an ideological term as it was used within the Islamic opposition group in the Tajik civil war. Within a brotherhood the sibling terms became synonym of equality and unity within the frame of a (revolutionary) agenda.
This paper will investigate on this to seemingly opposing notions of brother and also take a look at cross-references, which means sets of brothers within an Islamic fighting group and siblings' relationship after the civil war.

W069

Law Matters: Mapping Legal Diversity

Convenors: **Gerhard Anders, University of Zurich (anders@access.uzh.ch)**
Bertram Turner, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (turner@eth.mpg.de)

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 325

Anthropology of law has made an overdue comeback into the centre of the discipline. Discussions about recent processes of globalisation, the postcolonial experience and cultural diversity often concern legal issues. These current debates owe a great deal to the work of scholars like Franz von Benda-Beckmann who mapped legal diversity and analysed the social working of law when it was less fashionable. Thanks to his and others' efforts the anthropological study of law and legal institutions has left the narrow confines of a sub-discipline on the wane and has been taken up across the

discipline spurring new research agendas, and intensifying intra- and inter-disciplinary exchange.
The law in its multifarious manifestations, be it state-law, customary law, religious law, transnational law or para-law, is not merely an instrument to address disputes or regulate social life but rather powerfully shapes people's ways of making sense of the world. The workshop is based on this conception of law in society and focuses on a number of central themes:
From the margins: Claiming rights against the nation-state
The limits of religious law: Islam and family law
The politics of global order and the transnationalisation of law
Contested diversity and conceptualisations of legal pluralism,
The aim of this exercise is to investigate the appropriation of legal ideas and institutions and the production of legal knowledge in different inter-related local settings. The operation of power and the ways in which law is constituted by and constitutes social and cultural life will be central to our discussion.

Peasant Lawyers, Law Activism and the Morality of Politics in China

Susanne Brandtstädter, University of Oslo
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Law in the People's Republic of China is an important new tool of governance and cannot be neatly separated from either government politics or public moralities. In order to explore local visions of law, and law's possible resignifications, it is necessary to take into account the realities of juridical processes, and of fazhi ("governing through law") as a discourse that emphasizes accountability towards the state, citizen morality and social stability or harmony. My paper looks at law activism in China. I argue that while legal processes might formally work towards establishing accountability, in China's particular context this is typically diverted into efforts to rebalance relations between particular local activists (and their "constituencies") and particular local governments. "Settling a case" here means to create new spaces for political and moral negotiation, a new "balance" of interest by bridging the quest for accountability with situated sensibilities, derived from particular moral relations. Justice is here primarily sought as a social aesthetic ("balance") not as the outcome of legal processes. Such a search for justice with, but ultimately beyond the law, is often interpreted as "culture corrupting law". This is a serious misinterpretation/beyond the point. Instead, my paper argues that such appropriations of law are central in linking local moralities to the public sphere, in creating new spaces of negotiation and in injecting local relations (including what is ordinarily seen as state and society) with a new notion of the "right" (as opposed to both "rights" and to the morally good).

Anthropology of a Crossroads: Legal Aid in Istanbul

Dicle Koğacıoğlu, Sabanci University (kogacioglu@sabanciuniv.edu)

The last five years saw a major transformation in the public conceptualization of the reach of disadvantaged social groups to legal venues in Turkey. This process once deemed a matter of state-led national development is increasingly labeled as "access to justice" and conceived as a domain of institutional mechanisms and expertise. Efforts of law faculties, transnational "law offices", non-governmental organizations, branches of a number of ministries and international funding agencies add to the existing work of bar associations. These social actors, in competition and coalition with each other in various ways, attempt at institutionalizing their notions of what

"access to justice" is and, advocate their institutional designs to attain it. "Access to Justice" becomes a key word over which actors with different political convictions who stand in hierarchical positions of gender, class and race, contend each other. This contention generally takes place with the conceptual tools that their particular backgrounds in different disciplines and jurisprudential schools endow them. In this paper I examine these dynamics and discussions around the transformation of the practice of the legal aid office of the Istanbul Bar Association.

Constitutionalism in an Insurgent State: Plurality and the Rule of Law in Bolivia

John-Andrew McNeish, Christian Michelsen Institute/University of Bergen (john.mcneish@cmi.no)

In this paper, I aim to question the significance of recent efforts to create a new constitution in Bolivia for anthropological ideas about legal pluralism. The paper focuses specifically on the significance of recent constitutional processes for Bolivia's largely indigent and previously politically marginalised majority indigenous population. As such, the paper considers the manner in which the country's legal plurality has become a part of the national political identity and an integral part of the constitutional process now completed in the country's legal capital. Whilst highlighting the causes and dangers of continued contestation, the paper argues that important lessons about the possibilities for the empowerment of the poor and acceptance of a place for plurality in law can be learned from Bolivia. With its empirical background of insurgency and constitutionalism, but also of indigenous cultures, the case of Bolivia tests the limits of standardised rights based approaches to development and legal empowerment. In this paper attention is drawn to the cultural pliability of ideas about modernity and democracy and the importance of an inter-legal rapprochement between formalized legal norms and alternative legal systems. The paper further highlights the validity of anthropological approaches to the state that highlight the social construction of institutions and structures. Drawing from its empirical base the paper finally aims to critically contribute to recent discussions in "pro-poor" theory, highlighting the problems and possibilities of multi-culturalism and questioning the relevance and applicability of recently proposed ideas of inter-legality.

Getting a Divorce in Spain: Legal Pluralism, Gender and Migration

Eva Evers Rosander, Uppsala University (eva.evers-rosander@teol.uu.se)

This paper deals with legal pluralism and multiculturalism from a gender perspective. The fact that the reformed Moroccan family law (Mudawwana) and the Spanish Family Code co-exist in Spain, offer maltreated Moroccan women migrants a chance to get a Spanish divorce by the application of the Integrated Law of Gender Violence (2004), something which has consequences for migrant women's chances of rapidly getting residence and work permits in their own names. They get the permits independently of their ex-husbands, from whom a divorce valid in Morocco according to Mudawwana often in practice results more difficult to achieve.
In this paper I present a detailed case of a Moroccan woman's marriage and divorce career during the five years that she has lived in Spain. I include her encounters with the Spanish legal and administrative authorities and her Moroccan family's efforts to get a divorce for their daughter in Casablanca. This example illustates the many and complex factors such as religious and/ or secular ideologies and political pragmatism which together shape the conditions of the Moroccan female migrants' legal rights to divorce.

Discord and Judicial Divorce in the Damascus and Marrakesh Muslim Family Courts: A Comparative Evaluation

Jessica Carlisle, Centre of Migration Studies, Nijmegen (occanecca@yahoo.co.uk)

The codification of Muslim family law, with provisions drawn from the classical Islamic legal corpus (fiqh), has been identified as having constituted a fundamental shift in the sourcing and application of legal norms, and imposing restrictions on the discretion exercised by the judiciary. In codifying Muslim family law, post-colonial states privileged a selection of norms to the exclusion of the general body of opinions contained in the fiqh, and increasingly introduced procedural regulation of matters such as marriage and divorce.

Both Syria's Personal Status Law No. 59 (1953) and Morocco's recently reformed Mudawwanat al-Usra (2004) contain legal articles enabling the family court judiciary to award a judicial divorce to a claimant on the grounds that their marriage is in discord, meaning that it has undergone irretrievable breakdown. Although the wording of these provisions is similar, fieldwork undertaken for this paper illustrates significant disparities in the processing of judicial divorce claims, with repercussions for litigants' dispute strategies and post-divorce financial settlements imposed by the court.

Evaluating empirical data gathered during observation of Damascus and Marrakesh judicial divorce process, this paper illustrates discretionary behaviour by the family court judiciary when interpreting the meaning of the legal rules, enforcing procedural regulation of claims and incorporating social attitudes towards litigants' claims. Although judicial divorce is always granted to persistent claimants, variations in the application of legal provisions in Damascus and Marrakesh demonstrates that there is a creative tension between the "situated practice of judging" and post-colonial codified family law.

Legal Diversity within and beyond the Scope of the State: Faith-Based Dispute Management in Canada in the Aftermath of the Shari'a Law Dispute in Ontario and its Repercussions in Morocco

Bertram Turner, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (turner@eth.mpg.de)

State legislation in Canada has been regarded as one of the most advanced and path breaking state legislations worldwide allowing for legal and cultural diversity in accordance with multiculturalism politics. The inclusion of faith-based arbitration according to the Ontario Arbitration Act of 1991, however, has been deleted in 2006 after a vehement public dispute over the compatibility of Islamic law with Canadian legislation, particularly over the legal and social status of women in Islamic law - a decision with reverberations all over Canada and beyond.

The paper addresses the question of the continuation and reconsolidation of faith-based arbitration in the aftermath of the dispute, then without any connection to the official legal sphere. This development is analyzed in the light of the debate over stately guaranteed legal diversity and religious self-determination as facets of multicultural coexistence.

In this context, the public debate on the findings of the "Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences (CCPARDC)" in the state of Québec is contrasted with the transnational discourse on the role of Islamic ethics and moral order in dispute settlement which links Muslims of Moroccan origin in

Québec with their interlocutors in Morocco.
The paper shows that Canadian Muslims of Moroccan origin identify with an adjustment of Islamic arbitration to the normative standards of Canadian multiculturalism and that the transnational debate helps liberal Muslims in Morocco dealing with the increasing importance of moral Islamic reasoning in dispute settlements where local legal standards, transnational Islamic normative dogmatism and state law are involved.

Tortured Ethics: Doubt and Commitment in the UN Human Rights System

Tobias Kelly, Edinburgh University (toby.kelly@ed.ac.uk)

This paper examines the combination of scepticism and enthusiasm found in so much engagement with the UN human rights system. In doing so it applies some of the central insights developed by Franz von Benda Beckmann about legal pluralism, to international human rights bureaucracies. Focusing on the UN Committee Against Torture, it argues that the experience of the plural legal and normative orders that mark human rights practices means that doubt is the dominant experience for many practitioners. On the one hand, human rights bureaucracies are often seen to be marked out by their rigid certainties. On the other hand, human rights lawyers are faced with an array of often contradictory human rights standards and an uncertainty over the long-term impact of their work. In this context, doubt is a sense of being in two minds, that is neither entirely scepticism nor enthusiasm, but an unstable and productive combination of the two. The knowledge produced by the UN human rights system is not a self-referential or self-enclosed process, but rather is marked gaps, hesitations and uncertainties. In this process there is a constant movement between legal and ethical concerns, between a focus on means and ends. Such tensions are not simply an issue of jurisprudential theory, but rather are an issue of practical concern for many of the people involved in the Committee. This irresolution produces both despair and hope, as alternative avenues and possibilities are constantly opened up and closed down.

Global Order in the Making: The Local Production of International Criminal Law

Gerhard Anders, University of Zurich (anders@access.uzh.ch)

International criminal justice is a rapidly expanding field of international law. Several tribunals have been established to deal with massive human rights violations and contribute to national reconciliation after armed conflict. Whereas international lawyers hail these tribunals as milestones in the development of universal legal order a growing number of critics draw attention to the dark sides of international humanitarianism. Proponents and critics, however, fail to appreciate that international criminal law, in spite of its universal and abstract character, is the product of concrete social processes in specific places and sites.
The Special Court for Sierra Leone, one of the ad-hoc international criminal tribunals, offers an interesting case for the study of the local conditions under which international criminal law is made. My fine-grained ethnography of knowledge practices at the Special Court for Sierra Leone suggests that the court has a much more precarious position than the Manichean image of the neo-colonial humanitarian apparatus suggests since it is a site of contestation and competition, both in the national political landscape and the transnational arena. My analysis shows that international war crimes tribunals such as the Special Court play a crucial role in advancing the idea of a cosmopolitan legal order using sub-Saharan Africa as a laboratory of sorts.

National Law and Policy-Making in the Shadow of International Institutions

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Global governance has involved the loss of the monopoly of the state over law and policy-making for its citizens. Sub-national and supra-national non-state actors have increasingly begun to shape the formulation of norms and watch over their implementation. This paper examines some of the paradoxical consequences of the proliferation of actors and arenas of norm production and adjudication using empirical material on India. It focuses on the role of the USAID in institutionalising the new population policy as well as that of the World Bank (and its Inspection Panel) in shaping the new norms for the resettlement of those forcibly displaced by infrastructure projects. The contestation of these norms at the local, national and transnational scales by NGOs is analysed in terms of the resulting juridification of politics. Problems of overlapping sovereignties and fragmentation of citizenship rights are discussed in this context and their consequences for democratic decision-making are delineated.

Legal Pluralism in the Wild: Rules of Encounter and their Effects on Imaginings and Practices of Wilderness

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The paper presents the co-existence of two sets of principles, which define the scope of management and public use of a protected area, which has been designated as a wilderness area. The first set of principles in question concerns the concept of "minimum requirements", which is an exception stemming from the Wilderness Act of 1964 (Section 4(c)) and has been further defined through guidelines that are the joint efforts of wilderness managing governmental agencies and interest groups. The second set is the "Leave No Trace" principle, the origin of which can be traced back to wilderness advocates in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, but were also appropriated by the governmental agencies when teaching visitors to these areas on how to behave. Conflicts arising from the opposition of the mission of the National Wildlife Refuge System and the wilderness designation are discussed in relation to these rules. Examples of activities that are being undertaken on the refuge illustrate how these two sets of principles affect imaginings of the area as well as movement within the refuge, whereby movement is understood as a spatial tactics occurring at the level of individual visitors to such areas, and as one of the crucial practices in the processes of "wildernization", a term the author derives from van Loon's (2002) "spatialization".

Some Thoughts on Norm Orientation and Legal Change

Julia Eckert, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (eckert@eth.mpg.de)

Legal pluralism is often considered from a perspective that assumes a historical layering of different legal orders. Such a perspective distinguishes not only between the different sources of law as well as the respective judicial authorities legitimized by and using these different legal orders in their decision making, but furthermore it implicitly or explicitly contains propositions about the validity of different normative orders among different segments of a population or different social groups. The identification of certain social groups with certain normative complexes, however, frequently introduces a culturalism into the study of norm orientation and legal pluralism, which does not give justice to the contemporary processes of the pluralisation and/or homogenization of legal orders. As an alternative to the model of historical layers,

I want to pursue a dynamic model, which pays close attention to the processes of adoption and adaptation of legal norms by different actors in social interactions, as well as the configurations which shape these processes. This perspective raises questions about the transmission of knowledge about legal norms, their selective and situational adoption and adaptation and last but not least about the normative change inherent in these processes.

Between Custom, Islamic and Algerian Laws: Diya (Blood Money) in the Perspective of Legal Pluralism

Yazid Ben Hounet, Collège de France (yazid_benhounet@yahoo.fr)

Starting from case studies, the aim of my communication is to analyse articulations between custom, Islamic (Maleki) and Algerian laws in different cases of diya practices occurring in South Algeria. In this region, and more generally in the Maghreb (particularly in Saharan and pre Saharan areas), diya still occurs with some changes linked to the supremacy of State law (in which diya is not legally recognized). In fact diya is still legitimated as a customary duty. This compensation is done in order to prevent acts of revenge or vendetta against the brothers or the cousins of the guilty person. Diya comes to complement State law, which does not take into account the collective responsibility of the group of the guilty person (in preventing vengeance) and of the group of the victim (in acting vengeance).
This paper shows how diya (which follows custom and Islamic recommendations) comes as a substitute or a complement of Algerian State law in order to make justice more efficient and legal procedure (based on social arrangements) more socially accepted.

Transforming Traditions: Myths and Stereotypes about Traditional Law in a Globalizing World

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Franz von Benda-Beckmann, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (fbenda@eth.mpg.de)

Processes of globalization and decentralization and the political interest in local tradition, call for a critical examination of the deconstructivist literature. This paper discusses the analytical problems and the political context for which the term adatrecht was created by the Dutch scholar Cornelis van Vollenhoven who laid the foundations of the Adatrechtschool and compare this with the context in which the creation of history was criticized in the 1970s and 1980s, and the political context in which the issue has resurfaced in light of globalisation.
We shall argue that the evaluation of this work was largely based on a rather legalistic conception of "law", underrated the degree of continuity of local legal orders in most parts of Indonesia, and grossly overrated the actual significance of these colonial legal constructions. A legal anthropological perspective serves to capture the agency of local people, elders and writers, actively transforming and reshaping their own legal orders, irrespective of what foreign writers did, and in response to yet not entirely dependent on state agencies. Law is not only and not primarily to be found in confines of state institutions. Such an approach offers insight into the complex interdependences between different actors engaged in the reproduction and transformation of adat laws in different contexts and at different scale. Van

Vollenhoven's insights are still valuable, though he may not have predicted the degree of complexity we are facing in the globalised world of today.

W071

Media, Technology, and Knowledge Cultures: Anthropological Perspectives on Issues of Diversity, Mutuality and Exclusion

Convenors: **Cora Bender, University of Bremen (Corabender@aol.com)**
Ian Dent, Cambridge University (Ian.Dent@iandent.com)
Discussant: **Dorle Dracklé**

29 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 426

In recent years, many scholars in the field of media anthropology have pointed out the necessity to study media as technology, in order to further decentre the textual content of media in favour of their social context. However, what do we mean by technology? This workshop intends to inspire the reception of recent debates in anthropology and related neighbouring disciplines, which have expanded the perspectives on technology vastly. Science and technology studies, material culture studies, ecology and environmentalism, medical anthropology, and anthropological studies of cyberspace and technoscience, contribute to a much better understanding of technologies not only as sets of material devices, but as complex, negotiated arrangements of agents, social practices, cultural imaginations, and circulating things. Abandoning older "ballistic" concepts of technologies as physical tools having an "impact" on cultures, research into the dynamics of technoscience suggests that much of what constitutes technology in a given situation is the outcome of politically interested media discourse producing models of diversity, mutuality and exclusion. Nevertheless, every technological orthodoxy produces its heterodoxy, as well. Unpacking the "black box" of technologies, therefore, means to look at different opposing ways of how technology is culturally constituted by and in the media, how media-related practices configure and re-configure technology, and how technology and cultural imagination interplay.

Possible fields of exploration may include, among others: Symbolic appropriations of technologies as "techno-totems"; media, technology and the body; technology and minority claims; technology and indigenous media; media practices and technological ideologies; technologies, moral regimes, and joy; technologies and the reconfiguration of nature-culture boundaries; technologies and nationalism; technologies and imagined communities; technology and creativity; entertainment; media technology and gambling; technologies and representations of the post-human; visual cultures of technology; technology, media and empowerment; technology and the construction of the subject.

Everyday Technologies of Indian Film: Bollywood Meets Tibet in Exile

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Tibetans in the Diaspora in India construct identities through which Indians appear as radical "other". Yet, Bollywood films and other Indian popular-cultural media are immensely popular among Tibetans in India, and Indian television has had a significant impact on the historicity and cultural imagination of Tibetans in India.

In this paper, I will explore how the everyday technologies specific to Bollywood media work to not only influence cultural imaginations of beauty and romance, but

ultimately to offer alternative "technologies of self" to diasporic Tibetans within the field of tension maintained by identity politics in exile. In my analysis, the mundane sense of "technology", for example as Indian cable television programming and TV sets, is expanded to include wider existing markets, as well as sophisticated practices of consumption, discourse and creative display among Tibetan youths in India. These practices culminate in spectacular "multi-cultural shows" organised by Tibetan youths, in which both Tibetan folklore and Bollywood dance routines are performed and consumed.
The paper demonstrates that the everyday technologies of Bollywood film extend into social practices of consumption, adornment and creative display, and offer a creative imagination of the Indian "other" through the Tibetan self.

Portuguese Voices Abroad: Representations, Discourses and Agendas of a Migrant TV Show

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Marta Rosales, Universidade Nova de Lisboa (marta.rosales@netcabo.pt)

New networks of communication, are transforming our senses of locality/community and of "belonging" to either, national and transnational communities. Migrants, indigenous populations and other traditionally less "empowered" people, usually subjects of representation and not producers of contents, are using communication technologies in the construction of the idea of "nation" and "nationalism" producing technological mediated "imagined communities".
This paper corresponds to one research line of a broader project focused on the constituency of a "migrant Portuguese voice" in Canada through the production of an "ethnic minority media" - the TV show Gente da Nossa. The show is created, produced and presented by a team of Portuguese migrants and is broadcast to all Canadian territory, Bermuda and also available on the Internet (www.gentetv.com).
Since the Internet is becoming a major medium for the "consolidation, strengthening and definition of collective identities" (Eriksen 2006), and like any other (potential) multisided audience, the projects' first research stage used it as a privileged medium to access the Gente da Nossa contents. The main objectives at this stage are to explore the constituency of an "imagined Portuguese audience community" through the understanding of the processes of establishing a "migrant discursive space" supported by a media fculture and the Portuguese-Canadian community. We are particularly interested in the rhetorics of modernism and tradition, and also in the "sociotechinal frames" (Morely and Silverstone, 1990) involved in this communication process.

Indigenous Media Technology Production in Northern Ontario, Canada

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This paper aims on the one hand to review anthropological literature about indigenous media production and on the other to introduce and discuss two case studies of First Nation media technology production in the geographical and cultural contexts of Northern Ontario, Canada. In both cases indigenous organizations have been taking initiative to produce and distribute their own media services.
The Wawatay Native Communication Society, established in the 1970s, provides the First Nation communities of the region, which is called the Nishnawbe Aski by its Ojibwe, Oji-Cree and Cree speaking indigenous inhabitants, with newspapers, radio

and TV programs as well as online news.
The Kuhkenah Network (K-Net), which was founded by the Keewaytinook Okimakanak Tribal Council in the 1990s, is an indigenous broadband Internet program offering services, such as telehealth, videoconferencing, online learning, and free personal e-mail and homepages. By concentrating on the actual situations and life worlds of First Nation people in Northern Ontario, both media producers have developed culturally and linguistically appropriate alternatives to mainstream mass media.
Through ethnographic fieldwork in the Nishnawbe Aski, this paper intends to contribute to the understanding of the history, the challenges and the possible future of indigenous media technology production in this part of the world. How are these media producers interconnected? Which similarities and which differences can be identified? What role does local/regional media technology production plays in the transnational media landscape?

Getting Bored: Mobile Phone Use among Romanian Teenagers

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Throughout the last century it has been extensively argued that technology plays a key role in the mediation of the emotional experience of the modern man. In this paper I will depart from this flattened perspective in order to interrogate specific forms of social subjectivities shaped at the confluence between boredom and new technologies.
I will start by showing how, through the use of mobile phones, teenagers practice their newly gained subjectivities inside particular private spaces far from school and parents' surveillance. Stressing teenagers' blurred social status, mobile phones constitute themselves into unexpected objects of negotiation between the families' need to expand their authority beyond the domestic space and the teenagers' strong tendency to defend their newly conquered space and avoid such authority. I will also look at how certain techniques of appropriation of mobile phones objectify particular forms of social engagement, throughout teenagers' perpetual swing between monotony and excitement.
Under this perspective, I will consider boredom within its shared intimacy with technology. Beyond the "problem of boredom" that societies are supposed to resolve somehow, as Kopytoff seems to claim (1994), I will look at how individuals experience, internalise and ultimately transform boredom. I will consider boredom not as a sort of suspension of the individual, trapped inside an overwhelmingly congested society, but as an unexpected account for intense creation of subjective meaning. I will look on how mere boredom mediates social practice at the confluence between individual subjectivities and the technology available at their fingertips.

Media Technologies at Home: How Urban Poor (Culturally) Consume Mass Media?

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This study is an attempt to understand how and in what ways the urban poor conceive and use the mass mediation technologies in their everyday life. Applying audience ethnography and utilizing a multiperspectival approach -long-term participant observations and survey analysis-, we examine the ways that the urban poor families, representing different ethnic, dinominational affiliations and political

preferences, consume media technologies in their own cultural environment. The data was collected from two discrete districts, representing the most diverse locations in Eskisehir, the sixth developed city, Turkey.
The rate of poverty in Turkey is incomparably higher than it is in all EU member and candidate states. However, the poor people, marginalized in the public spheres and affected by social exclusion, are almost always "othered" by the phobic media representations (e.g. crime). Despite the socio-economic commonalities of the poor families, the media, on the other hand, remain a primary source of information and channels of discourse through which the different cultural, national and political identities of the poor are (re)constructed.
This study aims to assess the dominant cultural roles that conventional (e.g. television, newspapers) and new media (e.g. Internet, mobile phones) play in the everyday life of the poor families to show how gender-based, ethnic, political and denominational diversities reflect on the ways in which the families consume the media technologies in their own social network and private domains. Moreover, the ethnografic data enables us to interrogate the ways global images circulated by mass media were perceived in economically and socially isolated localities.

"Transvestite Terrorism": How did Transgendered People Become Terrorists in Turkey?

Rüstem Ertuğ Altınay, Bogazici University (realtinay@yahoo.com)

Transgender prostitution has a fairly long history in Istanbul. Many of these people worked in private brothels and they lived rather peacefully until late 1970s in the peripheries of central districts. In the late 1970s, they were forced to move the brothels to less central areas. These new brothels were closed down after the coup d'etat in 1980, which marked the start of a period of state violence against the trans community. When the districts which transgendered prostitutes shared with other abject groups - such as international immigrants waiting to be granted refugee status, children living and/or working in the streets, the Roma, and the Kurds - started to gain value in the 1990s, various forms of violence they experienced from the state institutions as well as from the real-estate owners and the ultra-nationalist gangs peaked. This paper aims to look at this period to discuss how mainstream Turkish media coined the term "transvestite/transsexual terrorism" to define the acts of violence in which transgendered individuals - mostly prostitutes - were involved, and how they presented these stories to construct the image of the trans community as a violent, dangerous gang that poses a threat to peace and security in the big cities. It also aims to explore how the construction of this image legitimized the stigmatization and violence to which the trans community is subjected.

Second Life, Second Body: A Microethnographic Analysis of Nonverbal Communication in the "Second Life" Virtual Environment

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This paper presents results of a six-month ethnographic research of nonverbal communication (NVC) in the "Second Life" (SL) virtual environment. The research was conducted in 108 SL areas selected in a non-structured manner, and it included a microethnographic analysis of naturally-occurring user interaction. A non-structured selection of observational settings yielded a wide range of communicative contexts (e.g. religious sites, bars, art galleries, etc.).
The results pointed to a significant difference between user-generated and computer-

generated NVC. User-generated NVC was observed in the use of proxemic cues, and it had an important role in communicating interactional intent, structuring interaction, and communicating relational messages. User-defined NVC was not significantly correlated with users' physical appearance (human or other) and gender, or with the communicative context. Although often consistent with social norms of the physical world, user-defined NVC showed adaptability to the symbolic system of the analyzed virtual setting. Computer-generated NVC was identified in the use of kinesic cues, provided as predefined nonverbal acts. Predefined NVC often represents stereotypical, gender and culture biased nonverbal acts. By striving to mimic social norms of the physical world, predefined cues convey specific cultural assumptions through representation and modeling of users' nonverbal behavior.
This research indicates that a computer-mediated nonverbal act is an epistemic tool juxtaposed with users' agency. This juxtaposition produces a boundary area between computer-generated and user-generated embodied knowledge, in which computational models emerge as interpretative models of reality, leading into re-articulation of cultural concepts and categories.

Seeing Body Politics: Photographic Representations and the Modern World Picture

Zeynep Gürsel, University of Michigan (zdgursel@gmail.com)

News photographs, by virtue of being photographic representations are highly singular and indexed to particular individuals. Yet, many of the bodies in news photographs are to be seen as stand-ins for large numbers of bodies sharing the same condition - bodies that are metonyms for "body politics". This makes news photographs at once truthful visual documents and points of departure for imagining collectives that are represented but not indexed. How did viewers learn to see represented body politics through images indexing specific bodies in journalistic contexts?
I contend that this learning process, amplified by mechanical reproduction and the appearance of photographs in journalistic contexts, brought about a shift in photographic imaginary not merely in technologies of production. Therefore photographs in news publications provide an excellent site to reflect on how technologies of mediation and collective imaginations are mutually constitutive and together shape how collectivities are imaged and imagined.
This paper, building on extensive fieldwork on international photojournalism, uses the case study of a journalist being fired for constructing a composite character of a child slave in Africa. His transgression - using facts that were typical of the children though they did not apply specifically to any single individual - became public because of a photograph accompanying the text. I use this moment of crisis to investigate the politics shaping practices of visualizing a collective through specifically indexed bodies and showing how photographs force us to interrogate journalistic labor differently than text does.

"Everything is Changing": On Digital Imaging Practices by Amateur Photographers

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"Our tools are mutating quickly, promising ever faster, clearer, brighter and cheaper pictures. Meanwhile telephones become cameras, desktop printers morph into mini-printing labs, and high-definition screens threaten to dislodge the venerable

photographic print from gallery walls."
With the popularisation of digital imaging amateur photography has been structured and valorised anew. This process has often been described as a development, which would necessarily lead to perfect photographs and to a democratisation of the means of producing and distributing images. The analysis of the contemporary developments in amateur photography must not concentrate on the description of the mere technological changes; it has to take into account the historical, economic, political and social context and also the practices. This allows some relevant questions as on new imaging practices, their perception, uses of and perspectives on technology and subjectivities of the practitioners.
Firstly I would like to define "amateur": In public and scientific discourses, amateur is not defined in respect to specific practices but in distinction to the professional. Thus a heterogeneous spectrum of practices is called amateurish: from eventual family photography to the images of ambitious hobbyists. It is also important to analyse how social class, gender and generation of the photographer influence their practices.
Further I would like to ask:
- How the digitalisation influences the production and distribution of images by amateurs.
- What consequences this change has on the distinction of amateur and professional.
- Whether this means an emancipation of the amateur as consumer or as creative participant.

W072

Mutuality at a Distance: Transnational Social Space

Convenors: **Anna Wojtyńska, University of Iceland (annawo@hi.is)**
Unnur Dís Skaptadóttir, University of Iceland (unnurd@hi.is)
Wojciech Burszta, Warsaw School of Social Psychology (wojciech.burszta@swps.edu.pl)
Chair: **Anna Wojtynska**
Discussants: **Wojciech Józef Burszta and Unnur Dís Skaptadóttir**

29 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 532

Recent years have been characterized by the changing patterns of people's mobility in Europe and all over the world. Although individuals continue to relocate elsewhere to find better places to live, there is also growing short-term mobility and pendulum movements. Consequently more and more places face diversity and mutuality on local and national levels. With current communication technology and cheap airfares, migration does not have to indicate abandoning the communites of origin. Multiple examples from around the world illustrate how people continue to act and participate in the local life in their countries of origin based on solidarity, obligations and reciprocity. Simultaneously they also participate in local life in the host society. Thus they are involved in two places in economic, religious, political, and emotional contexts.
These migration patterns pose new challenges for anthropological theory and research methods. The questions of integration and transnational activities are interlinked.
In this workshop we welcome papers that discuss transnational activities of today's migrants, which stimulate transnational social space. We would like to invite papers discussing different aspects related to transnational practices performed

by contemporary migrants such as identity, belonging, participation, gendered migration, class differences, and transnational families.

Integration and Transnational Practices

Unnur Dís Skaptadóttir, University of Iceland (unnurd@hi.is)

The prominence of research on transnational relations, multiple identities and anti-essentialist approaches have challenged anthropological research on ethnicity, migration and multicultural society. This occurs in the context of rising politics against multiculturalism in Europe. My analysis focuses on the relationship between individual transnational activities and integration based on research among people who have migrated to Iceland from the Philippines in the last two decades. While working mostly in low paid jobs in Iceland, most of them participate in family life in their countries of origin based on solidarity, obligations and reciprocity. The transnational practises of sending remittances and keeping in touch with family "back home" shape the meanings of both places. The paper will take people's agency and diverse experiences into account as well as the larger structures that limit their activities, such as the changing labour market in Europe that increasingly excludes those coming from outside Europe.

Identities and Transnational Migratory Spaces: Female Migrants from the Former Soviet Union in Slovenia

Sanja Cukut, Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (sanja.cukut@zrc-sazu.si)

The contribution will, through the analysis of life stories of women from the former Soviet Union in Slovenia, present their conceptualisations of "home", ethnic and cultural belonging. Processes of multiple belonging and identity formation, traced in the stories, point to the complexity and fluidity of migrant subjectivities and reveal multiple subject positions at the intersection of gender, class and ethnicity. In this respect, ethnic and cultural belongings are themselves fluid, and context-dependent as neither the "country of origin" nor the "new society" can be understood as homogenous, static entities. However, transnational movement causes contradictory processes that pertain to both inclusion and exclusion of migrants and contain mutually competitive discourses: the idea of human rights and equal treatment of all individuals; and the exclusion from different rights (for instance, social and employment rights, inability to gain dual citizenship, privileging the "classic marriage" model) and racisms (for example, the "sexualised" images of women from the former Soviet Union as exotic dancers and prostitutes, the construction of the "Eastern female") experienced by migrants. I will trace such a contradiction in EU discourses, which both promote freedom and openness and create new stratifications by severely restricting transnational movement of third-country nationals across the EU. The paper will reveal the heterogeneity and diversity of individual experiences and argue that heterogeneity of migrants might be a crucial starting point for devising integration policies which should address different migrants' needs and experiences and their relation to the country of origin through various transnational practices.

Elderly Women with Ingrian Background Across the Finnish-Russian Border: The Questions of Identity, Belonging and Mutual Care

Tatiana Tiaynen, University of Tampere (tatiana.tiainen@mail.ru)

The collapse of the Soviet system followed by the difficult cultural transformation together with ethnic mobility and transnational migration, which have specifically increased on both sides of the Finnish-Russian border in the 1990s, have had an impact on identity formation process, inter-generational relations and family forms in the Finnish-Russian borderland. This paper focuses on the Ingrian Finns case, an ethnic group which was subjected to the discriminative Soviet policy having been significantly affecting the people's every day life and identities. This paper is documentary based, and contains the in-depth interviews of elderly women with Ingrian background. Some of the women have moved to Finland, while others have stayed in Russian Karelia (Petrozavodsk). Addressing of issues such as multiple identities, national and ethnic identities, memory and sense of belonging I seek to explore these women's identity formation and reconstruction process in the context of the post-Soviet cultural transformation and migration to Finland. As all the women are involved in transnational families across the Finnish-Russian border I also aimed at the examination of their role in those, and the effect of transnational experiences upon their identities.

The Systems of Mutual Assistance among the Africans in Moscow

Sergey Serov, Russian Academy of Sciences (sergej-serov@yandex.ru)

Four systems of mutual assistance have been singled out for the research:
• the assistance the African newcomers get from their relatives that remain in home countries;
• the assistance the already well-adapted Moscow Africans provide to their relatives in home countries;
• the assistance the well-adapted Moscow Africans provide to their recently arrived compatriots;
• the assistance the African newcomers get from Russians.
All the kinds of assistance were studied: practical (financial support, accommodation, etc.), information (sharing the knowledge necessary for successful interaction with the immigration services, university administration, etc.), psychological (support in hardships, spending leisure time together, etc.).
It was also important for us to find out the factors affecting the assistance providing and their strength. The most significant among them are as follows:
• the degree of kin and affinity closeness;
• gender;
• ethnic origin;
• religion;
• country of origin.
The methods employed are questionnaire interrogation and interview, well elaborated and recognized as highly valid in contemporary social anthropology.
The significance of the research is determined not by its academic importance only but by its possible and desirable practical outcomes as well: Its results can be used for improving the Moscow Africans' position what will no doubt be beneficial for the Russian society as a whole.

Leavers and Stayers Discuss Returning Home

Aleksandra Galasinska, University of Wolverhampton (a.galasinska@wlv.ac.uk)

There is a significant difference between the previous waves of Polish migrants and

the massive outflow of people from Poland after the EU expansion. Information technologies enable post-accession migrants to participate actively in an ongoing dialogue with those who stayed in the home country about, among others, various social issues related to the process of the post-communist transformation. This paper discusses an electronic newspaper forum as an example of transnational space of participation in a recreated civil society.
Recently there has been an on-going debate in the Polish media about a possible return of the post-04 migrants. Newspapers and magazines emphasise the economic (very strong Polish currency) as well as the political arguments (change of a government for the more liberal one) in order to explain that a mass return might happen.
Both migrants and "non-migrants" make comments on the issues and they post their views on Internet forums of a number of e-papers. Anchoring the study in narrative and discourse analyses, I shall investigate topics and lines of argumentation of forum participants. I shall also describe the differences and similarities between "non-migrants'" and migrants' entries. In doing so I hope to shed a light on the role of such Internet sites as translocal platforms of a new form of involvement in a public sphere. The data come from approximately 350 entries on an Internet forum triggered by newspaper reports and articles in the electronic version of the "Gazeta Wyborcza" between January and March 2008.

"Welcome to the FoE family": The Constitution and Maintenance of Mutuality at a Distance in a Transnational Community

Caroline Gatt, Aberdeen University (c.gatt@abdn.ac.uk)

Three key issues arise from my research in the transnational milieu of Friends of the Earth International (FoEI): 1. how mutuality is maintained at a distance; 2. how mutuality between FoEI activists is constituted; 3. how attention to the specific dynamics of mutuality is critical to understanding group cohesion. FoEI is a long-standing international federation of environmental non-governmental organisations. It is made up of activists who participate in FoEI from their respective homes all around the world and identify themselves as belonging to what they call the "FoE family". Mutuality at a distance is based on shared work and daily communication done by telephone and over the Internet. In practice these media "fold" the geographical distance between the activists. However, an exploration of FoEI annual meetings shows that this mutuality largely depends on certain face-to-face practices carried out during these events. In fact, these annual meetings can be understood as rituals that establish new activists' initial sense of mutuality and reinforce existing relations. The practices of communion and communicative action within these rituals provide concrete insights into the constitution of mutuality. These findings challenge notions of identity as defined primarily through alterity. In particular, the activists' experiences of mutuality at a distance highlight processes where alterity is only one of the many aspects involved in the way their group coheres. Consequently, what is called for is a more multi-faceted understanding of group identity and cohesion; one that explains the minutiae of mutuality as well as alterity in understanding social groups.

Liquid Lives: Migration in the Times of Globalisation

Anna Wojtyńska, University of Iceland (annawo@hi.is)

International migration flows belong to the global processes. Experiences of contemporary migrants are shaped not only by the involvement in cross-border mobility but also (post) modern transformations in society. Their identities, modes of

belonging, family patterns, associations and networking are as much influenced by migration as so-called global culture in which migrants participate.
Taking the case of Poles living in Iceland I am going to discuss the shifting notions of national identity, community and kinship. I will present different linkages Polish migrants establish with the sending country. However, contrary to findings from other scholarly works, sustained contacts Poles keep with place of origin does not necessarily lead to establishing a transnational community. I suggest then, that transnationalism in migration studies should not be reduced to the various practices migrants pursue across the borders, but more as a condition and potential for emergence of transnational social spaces.

Cambodian Refugees and Naturalisation

Giovanna Cavatorta, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (giovannacavatorta@gmail.com)

This paper is about a fieldwork with Cambodian refugees in Ile de France. More in particular it is focused, and identifies, Cambodian refugees, which are passed through the French asylum dispositive. By following the critical anthropological perspective in refugee studies, aim of the ethnography is questioning the self-reduction which laws and subjectivity experts make, by constructing a refugee which is culturally and ethnically fixed.
Existential anthropology will be useful to approach refugees' experiences and memories in their social dimension. This forces us dealing with relations between the first and second generation, and face the silences, which the "survivors" deserve to their children in everyday interactions and growth. Silences, which seem not to deal with the work which this Diaspora make, consisting in a transnational activity of claiming recovery. It's by the articulation of this two expressions of the genocidal violence, which can help us to problematize the "survivor" category. The enejeux is positioning their experiences, here and now, in the arriving national-state; this implies the particular citizenship, which French multicultural society promotes. Anthropology, as the critique of common sense, should so investigate how the self-evidences of a belonging are changed and perceived by those citizens; how the agency is moulded, in the social and domestic space, by "Khmer" and "French" cosmological references.
Focusing on the passage, this people chose, from refugee status to naturalization, asks us to reconsider analytic categories, and the interpretative violence into which social sciences can incur.

W073

Questioning the "Quiet Revolution": Demographic Change and Modernity

Convenors: **Peter Kneitz, Martin-Luther University, Halle (peter.kneitz@ethnologie.uni-halle.de)**
Irena Rožman, University of Primorska (irena.rozman@fhs.upr.si)

27 August 2008, 14:00
Rooms: R2 and 430

Looking closer at the experience of diversity and mutuality expressed in the fundamental decision of getting or not getting a child means to focus on a complex

indicator of a given society and its culture. How, it may be asked, the reproduction of generation is intertwined with social and cultural conditions?
The demographic change in industrialised societies in particular provides an opportunity to focus on the impact of modernity and to contribute from the anthropologist's point of view to one of the major social changes the nations affected are faced with. The surprising connection of modernisation and globalisation with low fertility rates despite of general prosperity is in historical and comparative respects a singular and still not much understood phenomenon, with major consequences.
The workshop seeks papers, which will make a contribution towards an anthropology of modern demographic change. Participants are encouraged particularly:
- to address the effects of modernity and globalisation on demography, in particular low fertility, and conversely;
- to seek possible consequences for the interpretation of modernity;
- to discuss theories and explanations as to refer to methodological questions;
- to offer in particular case studies related to diverse cultural backgrounds.

Culture, State and the Fertility Transition in Rural South China

Gonçalo Santos, London School of Economics (g.d.santos@lse.ac.uk)

Despite the lack of fully reliable statistics and the significant regional and rural/urban variations, China has achieved between the 1970s and the late 1990s the fastest fertility decline on record for any large human population, though it is still not clear what caused this decline. Was the state and the "one-child policy" the key factor behind it, or did it result primarily - as most "classic" demographic theories suggest - from the spectacular socio-economic developments of the post-Mao era? This paper draws on data collected through longitudinal research (1999-2008) in a small Cantonese "single-lineage village" in South China to seek some local answers to these questions and to reflect more generally on the role of culture in the process of fertility transition. What makes this case study particularly suitable to this goal is that it refers to a part of rural China long associated with strong pronatalist ideals. Given that these cultural ideals were not eradicated during the Maoist era, our focus will be on what happened to the persuasive power of these "old" ideals as people started to be confronted with both a rampant process of capitalist modernization and a powerful state determined to engineer a national fertility decline. Converging with recent interdisciplinary work in anthropology and demography, the paper seeks not just to characterize the specificity of China's fertility decline but also to draw attention to the diversity of socio-cultural and politico-economic forces affecting human reproductive behaviour.

Individual versus Culture: Living in the Same Cultural Milieu, but Having Different Reproductive Strategies

Irena Rožman, University of Primorska (irena.rozman@fhs.upr.si)

The basic question is what exactly do we mean by modernity? If we agree that modernity is just one of many possible encapsulations of social and cultural changes in distinct historical periods, then our question is, how does modernity manifest and/or influence the reproductive behaviour of individuals? The detailed analyses of diverse sources of fertility decline in a Slovenian parish demonstrate clearly that the reduction of fertility was not influenced by a single underlying cause sweeping trough society as a whole, even though norms and views of the state on fertility were changing. With the case study of fertility behaviour of four women in the time of the end of

the first demographic transitions (from 1950 – 1965) I will go beyond these findings. I want to research more insights in the individual reproductive strategies. Namely, during my research I found that with women of the same social classes their different reproductive outcomes were a mixture of old – traditional – and new – modern – reproductive values, which can be seen as a personal response to a complex relationship between individual characteristics and social and cultural influence on courtship, marriage, child-rearing and birth giving patterns which are influenced by a set of opposing community level values.

Narratives in Parent's Organisations of Adoptive Families in Spain: Between Commodities and Gifts, Market and Kinship

Diana Marre, Autonomous University of Barcelona (diana.marre@uab.es)
Hugo Gaggiotti, University of the West of England (hugo.gaggiotti@uwe.ac.uk)

Since 2004, Spain has received more internationally adopted children than any other country in the world after the USA. This is a phenomenon lead by adoptive families organised in powerful associations generally by country of origin of their adopted children. The aim of this paper is to explore the blurring of "parents/kinship" with "users/consumers" that pervades the narratives of adoptive families, their organisations, professionals, bureaucrats, and policy makers working on international adoptions in Spain. Spain has one of the lowest birth rates in the world (1.17 children per woman in 1997 and 1.37 in 2007) and the highest rate in international adoption. In 2006, 43 percent of families who applied for an international adoption in Catalonia -the region with the highest international adoption rate in Spain and in the world per inhabitants- already had children, 52 percent were not infertile and only 35 percent have had some infertility treatment. According to the data and the law, international adoption in Spain is not a form of assisted reproduction. Should this be understood as a process of "outsourcing" or "offshoring" of some reproductive functions in the same way that other processes of "outsourcing" or "offshoring" of productive functions to the East, South and/or cheaper cost immigrant spaces?

Opposing the "Quiet Revolution": The Way to Have Children and University Education

Duška Knežević Hočevar, Institute of Medical Sciences (duska@zrc-sazu.si)

Given that the year 1980 is widely recognised as the turning point of below replacement fertility trend in Slovenia, and that the lowest fertility rates on the national level have been recorded among university educated people, the author discusses those couples who, independently of the general trend, obtained both a high level of education and statistically an above-average number of children. By comparing two generations of four selected families, the author sought to identify the key differences between these people's wider context of reproductive decisions before and after the year 1980. Their reproductive histories go back into socialist times, and extend into post-socialism. A "bottom-up" explanation of the background of "non-typical" couples' reproductive decisions could prove conducive to better understanding of complex fertility behaviour, particularly in the view of recent studies that have reported positive relationship between education and high-order births in "industrialised below-replacement societies".

The Invisible Families

Margarida Moz, ISCTE (margaridamoz@gmail.com)

With a fertility rate of 1.36 born children/woman in 2007, Portugal stands below the European rate of 1.52, following the tendency of most industrialized countries. The decision of having or not having a child is obviously linked to the social, cultural and economic conditions, and there is more than one way of explaining the fast decline of such a rate. But a fertility rate established by the expectation of how many children a woman will give birth to is already in itself limiting the ways in which we face the issue, since it overshadows important transformations on child bearing and alternative ways of creating a family. In Portugal, there is a significant increase of applications for adopting children, both by couples and single women and men. Simultaneously, alternative families are establishing themselves, having children, and contributing to demographic changes in ways, which do not affect the fertility statistics.
Homosexual relationships, often (erroneously) perceived as sterile, are claiming they right to parenthood in Portugal and all over the modern world. Although the legal system fails to recognize their existence, these couples are finding ways to create their families and educate their children, as a legitimate human desire, despite one's sexual orientation.
In a workshop dedicated to questioning the demographic changes and what the decision of having or not having a child means, focusing on the growing and assertive ways in which gays and lesbians decide to have children may contribute to discussing the family and its importance in the modern world.

W074

Imprints of Dreaming

Convenors: **Adriënne Heijnen, Århus University (adrienne.heijnen@hum.au.dk)**
Iain Edgar, Durham University (i.r.edgar@durham.ac.uk)
Discussants: **Maria Louw and Nana Meladze**

29 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 434

Critiques of the modern view of dreaming have underlined that there is more to a dream than a pure illusionary and irrational experience. Ethnographies of mainly non-European societies have described how dreams can be a means of transgressing boundaries that in waking life separate diverse dimensions of existence, for example between the living and the dead, the mundane and the Divine, the human and the non-human, between "Us" and "Them". Most world religions, particularly the Abrahamic ones, and shamanic societies are imaginatively rooted in revelatory dream accounts.
Less attention has been given to the question of how dream spheres in various cultural settings are used for experiencing and acting out diverse ways of living. Especially in situations characterised by profound change whereby established social rules and practices - perhaps even existence itself - are threatened, dreams can help persons to reposition themselves in the world.
The aim of this workshop is to cross-culturally investigate the imprint of dreaming experiences on waking life. Papers are welcome that describe and analyse ethnographic cases of how people through narration or performance integrate dreaming and waking life and come to terms with an ever-changing world. Topics

might include: the ethnographic study of cultural dream practices, including those of Western societies; analysis of commonalities, as well as diversities, of peoples' assessment of dream images and the way these assessments guide and inspire waking action and methodological considerations of the qualitative study of dream accounts and situated dream interpretation.

Assessing the Reality of Dream Images: A True-False Quiz in New Guinea

Roger Lohmann, Trent University (rogerlohmann@trentu.ca)

I describe how Asabano people decide which remembered dream sequences represent accurate perceptions of reality versus imaginary thoughts. One approach is judging whether an image matches local religious ideology—if it does, it may be deemed divine and therefore accurate or predictive; if it does not, it may be attributed to a demon, and therefore considered deceitful. Another method is waiting to see if something similar to the dream scenario happens in the future—if it does, this indicates it was predictive and therefore revelatory. Many remembered dreams are of uncertain status, and dreamers may think about or discuss a particular dream's possible source or accuracy. When remembered dream images do not inspire the dreamer with interest or curiosity because of their confused, fragmentary, or dull content, they are usually regarded as meaningless thoughts. The methods used to evaluate the ontological status of particular dream sequences, and the cultural dream theories on which they are based, are multiple and changeable, enabling people to pick and choose whether certain dream vignettes are spiritual communications, sensory perceptions of wandering souls, mystical participation in spiritual perceptions, troubled thoughts deriving from indigestion, or personal thoughts and fanciful images. Indeed, they may be deemed as accurate or illusory predictions based on subsequent outcomes, without any theory being invoked at all. The lack of absolute certainty regarding the ontological status of any particular dream invites speculation, faith, and ongoing possibilities for reassessing the extent to which one's dreams represent reality.

Construction of Social Relations Motivated by Dreams in East Georgian Highlands

Ketevan Khutsishvili, Tbilisi State University (keti_khutsishvili@yahoo.com)

The paper discusses the role of dreaming in the organization of society. Ethnographic data from the East Georgian highlands gives evidence for four directions of dream communication: 1. to divinity; 2. to the world of the dead; 3. to the past and the future (i.e. connection through time); and 4. connection through space. All of them can be a reason, ground or justification for the establishment of definite social relations or events. Dreams can cause further actions. Such dreams often support the recognition of the rights of community leaders, or the abilities of seers or witches. They can define new social status or create new social connections. The rituals for avoiding evil dreams or invoking desirable ones build social connections inside the group. Often dreams can be the motive for visiting, forgiving, regarding each other; also for celebration, sacrificing and carrying out some religious rituals. These actions in the form of common, everyday life habits, as well as special rituals, serve the group interests. They are constructing, reestablishing or strengthening inner connections and regulating relations to the "Other". This facilitates identification and orientation for group members in East Georgian Highlands.

Dreaming and the Other

Adriënne Heijnen, Århus University (adrienne.heijnen@hum.au.dk)

The investigation of different conceptions of "the self" is eminent in anthropological studies of dreaming. In societies, where the dream is viewed as a creation of the mind, self-conceptions are related to the notion of the individual. On the contrary, in those societies where the self is conceived as a multiple self, dreams are often considered to be a true source of knowledge. In this last case, the relationship between the dreamer and other beings in the dream is anthropologically interpreted as a process of identity making by the dreamer through the inclusion of others.
This paper seeks to explore dreams and "the other" in the light of "the other" and not only of "the self". I will depart from ethnographic data from the Icelandic society, where dreaming involves two main elements: A partial integration of "the other" and "the self", specifically of the dead and the living, and, secondly, various interactions between the dreaming-self and other actors appearing in the dream, whereby each actor's identity is sustained. Upon waking, dreamers might initiate or amend relationships with the people they have dreamed of and know from waking life. Thus, my argument is that a psychological inspired approach, viewing the other as being significant for the dreamer's self in "making identity", does not appreciate fully the implications of the dream for the initiation and maintenance of social relations and, more than that, for the life of "the other".

Dreaming up Futures: Dream Omens and Magic in Bishkek

Maria Louw, Århus University (etnolouw@hum.au.dk)

In Kyrgyzstan dreams are of great significance as sources of omens and divine revelations. Taking its point of departure in my recent fieldwork in the capital of Kyrgyzstan, Bishkek, this paper will be concerned with the complex relationship between belief in fate and belief in the free will which is unfolded in Kyrgyz practices of dream interpretation: Through magical practices which manipulate dream omens people sometimes seek to affect what is about to happen, changing the fate that they, in other situations, claim not to have any control over. I will argue that dream interpretation and the magical manipulation of omens can be seen as a means of imagining and experimenting with possible lives under conditions characterised by overwhelming social change and unpredictability. Dream omens embody peoples' fears about, and hopes for, how their lives may develop. With the magical acts that people handle dream omens with, they enter a virtual realm, an "if" land, where they can reflect on how their lives would look like if fate showed up to be one way or the other. Divine signs and magical acts create different kinds of temporality, larger time horizons, to peoples' existence; they create orientations toward imagined futures in situations where the future seems uncertain, and they thereby help people dare to act to bring these imagined futures about.

Dreaming, Islam and the Ahmadiyya Muslims in the UK

Marzia Balzani, University of London, Roehampton (m.balzani@roehampton.ac.uk)

The Ahmadi Muslim movement, founded in the 19th century by a charismatic leader, has been since then one of the most controversial movements within Islam. Yet Ahmadis remain the least known of all Muslim communities and in many Islamic countries they have been defined as heretics and subjected to persecution.

Despite hostility from other Muslim groups the Ahmadis have been able to establish resilient communities whose survival depends on the development of bureaucratically sophisticated organisational structures, which sustain local communities and incorporate these into an integrated global media network. These structures, however, are ultimately dependent on their charismatic foundations and on the institution of the Ahmadi Khalifat.
This paper explores the role played by Ahmadiyya interpretations of dreams in sustaining these structures at personal and community levels. Dreams may lead to personal life-changing events and may also institute new organisational structures and offices in this global NRM. For example, the institution of Waqf Nau established by an Ahmadi Khalifa is based on a dream he had for the future of his community. This institution encourages parents to "donate" a child to the cause of Ahmadiyyat, often before the child is born. The children born into Waqf Nau are selected for special training knowing that their lives are given over to community needs. Parents of such children may not make plans for them as they would for their other children.
Examples of dreams and their interpretations as understood within Ahmadiyya Islam will be developed from both historical and contemporary ethnographic data.

Dreams and Culture: The Contents of Dream-Sharing Communication in Modern Slovenia

Senka Vrbica, Pravno-informacijski center nevladnih organizacij, Ljubljana (senka.vrbica@evj-kabel.net)

This paper is based on ethnographic research on dream-sharing communication in modern Slovenia. The research was based on the thesis that dreams are rarely subject of communication; the purpose of research has been to find out to what extent the dream-sharing communication is present in our society and what are the reasons for a presupposed "silent" position of dreams in social interaction. Following the communicative theory of dreaming the research tried to reveal patterns, contents and contexts of dream-sharing in Slovene society.
The study suggests that dream sharing is sometimes part of social interaction (more frequent between women), but it is mostly within the limits of intimate relations and it usually regards to some "interesting" dreams. On the other hand dream-sharing is more present on the Internet, or related workshops, which are perceived as esoteric. In the other part of the social sphere, where there is no communication about dreams, the "I don't dream" attitude prevails.
This attitude seems encouraged by the popular folk saying, which describes dreams as something really empty and unreal.

Dreams as a Communication Method between the Living and the Dead

Gabriela Kiliánová, Slovak Academy of Sciences (gabriela.kilianova@savba.sk)

The paper examines narrations in which people describe meetings with deceased persons in their dreams. They understand such dreams as a specific communication method between two allied worlds that need each other. The deceased look for the attention of their relatives and friends: they should pray for them and should not forget them. In return the living people receive information and worldly advice from the world of the dead about forthcoming events.
My ethnography focuses on a local community in Western Slovakia where the Roman Catholic Church has managed to keep its position for a long period. Therefore, the

idea of dreams as a communication method between the living and the dead has been rooted in Christian beliefs concerning the afterlife that have been confessed by the majority of the local inhabitants in the past as well as in the present. The paper deals with the following questions: 1. to what degree has dream experience been integrated into the public life of the local community and what are the conditions of this integration; 2. how the dream narration is treated in the public discourse; and 3. what are the interpretations of the dreams. I am interested especially in the changes to the interpretations of the dreams that have currently occurred as a result of the post-socialist transformation processes after 1989.

Gold Mining and the Mirroring of Dreaming and Waking Life among the Hamtai-Anga of Mount Kaindi, Papua New Guinea

Daniele Moretti, Cambridge University (dm457@cam.ac.uk)

The Hamtai-Anga people of Mount Kaindi (Papua New Guinea) consider dreams an important means of communicating and interacting with the spirits of the mountain. In the productive fields of hunting and, more recently, artisanal and small-scale mining, certain dreams are understood to predict and facilitate the acquisition of prey and gold. This paper starts from a series of narratives about dreams that led to significant gold discoveries to investigate ethnographically how the Hamtai view the relationship between dreaming experience and future waking events. This exercise will show that the connection between the two should be best described "neither as chance, nor as necessity" (Lima 1999). This is not just because the polyvalent symbolism of dreams makes it hard to identify what events they are meant to predict and facilitate. Rather, even if correctly interpreted, the enabling performances of dreams must be "mirrored" in waking life if they are to have an effect. For the Hamtai-Anga of Mount Kaindi, however, this "mirroring" process is tied not just to the waking will of the dreamer (ibid.), but also to the ongoing choice of the human and non-human spiritual entities that interacted with his or her soul in each particular dream experience. In the specific field of gold mining, this has important implications not just for how the miners orient their oneiric and waking life in relation to one another, but also for how they seek to minimise the impacts and maximise the outputs of their extractive activities.

The Role of Night Dream Incubation (Istikhara) in Contemporary Islamic Public Life

Iain Edgar, Durham University (i.r.edgar@durham.ac.uk)
Janice Metcalfe, Durham University (janice.metcalfe@durham.ac.uk)

Islam is probably the largest night dream culture in the world today. In Islam, the night dream is thought to offer a way to metaphysical and divinatory knowledge, to be a practical, alternative and potentially accessible source of imaginative inspiration and guidance, and to offer ethical clarity concerning action in this world. Night dreams were one of the forms of revelation experienced by the Prophet Mohammed and the interpretation of "true dreams", Al-ruya, are part of the belief and practice of Muslims throughout the Islamic world.

Recent studies of the role of night dreams in Islam (Edgar 2007) in the UK, Turkey, Pakistan and Northern Cyprus has shown that dream interpretation and Istikhara (dream incubation) is a significant feature particularly in marriage choice but also sometimes in political and business decision-making. Edgar has shown that dream interpretation is "an inspirational part of the contemporary militant Jihadist movement

in the Middle East". Istikhara, Islamic dream incubation, was found in these studies to be practised by young and old alike.
Istakhara involves reciting special ritual prayers before going to bed and meditation upon life choices, such as marriage, before sleeping. In the morning the dreamer will try to interpret the meaning of their dream through using Islamic dream interpretation codes. The paper will outline and explore the range and the complexity of interpretative codes used and their relationship to western dream interpretative methods.

W075

The Fall of Cultural Man: Some Proposals for an Anthropology Less Cultural and More Natural

Convenors: **Alessandro Lutri, University of Catania (alessandrolutri@libero.it;alelutri@unict.it)**
Alberto Acerbi, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (alberto.acerbi@eva.mpg.de)

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 533

From the epistemological point of view anthropology has been always in balance between the aspiration to define itself as a scientific discipline - with a statute similar to natural sciences - or as an individual understanding closer to humanistic knowledge. This condition in most cases brought anthropologists to underline the elements of discontinuity and division between what has been conceived as the specific domain of human kind - culture - and what has been conceived as the specific of other animal kinds - nature. This tendency to underline the discontinuity between human kind and animal kind generated the culturalism that characterises most of the anthropological knowledge of the 20th century. This tendency generated in the common and scientific sense a dualistic vision of reality, considered as separated in two different entities, culture and nature.
This ontological dualism reflects what is assumed to be an essential characteristic of human beings: the absence of any kind of constraints on their social and mental behaviours.
The aim of the workshop is to stimulate a debate about some key concepts of social and cultural anthropology, like "natural", "innate", and "humanity", reflecting upon the difficulties of a discountinuist conception that divides human beings, more than connects them. The workshop would to reconsidering the relationship between nature/culture, focusing the painstaking empirical investigations about the relationship between structural factors (neurophysiological, biochemical, biological, etc.) and social and cultural factors (cultural, social, political and ideological).

Different by Nature

Alberto Acerbi, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (alberto.acerbi@eva.mpg.de)

In general, naturalistic research programs are not, up to now, particularly widespread in anthropology. One reason that can explain this state of affairs is that, in most cases, the approaches to human sciences that presented themselves as naturalistic (e.g. sociobiology, evolutionary psychology) tended to underline the universality and the commonness of human behavior and to deny, or give less importance, to diversity.

However, from a comparative point of view, the variety of human behavioral patterns cannot be compared to the variability present in other species and it is worthwhile to argue that this variability has to be explained in terms of the importance that social learning dynamics (culture) have among human beings.
In my theoretical contribution, I will try to point out how it is possible to conciliate a strong naturalistic commitment (and I will try to explain what is required to fulfil such a commitment) with the acknowledgement of the human behavioral variability. In particular, I will refer to three different, but conciliable, research paradigms: 1. the empirical study of social learning in comparative psychology; 2. the gene-culture coevolutionary modelling; and 3. so-called embodied cognitive science.

Anthropology, Historical and Natural Science of Culture

Joël Candau, University of Nice-Sophia Antipolis (candau@unice.fr)

In the "Sidney W. Mintz lecture" delivered on November 13th 2002 at John Hopkins University, Immanuel Wallerstein called for a reconstruction of the social sciences. Wallerstein argued that the 19th century division of academiae into various disciplines "has outlived its usefulness and is today a major obstacle to serious intellectual work".
While confining my remarks to the state of anthropology, I shall quickly outline this current crisis and then propose a definition of our discipline that can help us to resolve this crisis.
On the basis of my research on memory and smell, I advocate that if anthropology wants to embrace its "raison d'être" entirely, it must demand membership in both historical sciences and natural sciences.
I shall insist on the necessity of the historical sciences membership through three arguments: 1. obligation to work only on remains of the past; 2. impossibility of dissociating our observations from particular socio-historical contexts; 3. necessary incorporation in our analytical frameworks of the specifically human aptitude of Mental Time Travel.
My argument relating to the membership in the natural sciences will also be developed through three points: 1. challenge to the hypothesis of the Blank Slate; 2. importance of cognitive and emotional processes of which we are not entirely aware in cultural phenomena; 3. effects of secondary altriciality and epigenetic factors on humans being.
Finally, I shall argue that it is scientifically justified to maintain anthropology as the sole constituted discipline capable of conceptualizing the interconnectivity between the individual and the universal.

Between the Angel and the Beast: The Human Body as a Melting Point of the Culture versus Nature Debate

Ilina Jakimovska, Sts. Cyril and Methodius University, Skopje (ilina@iunona.pmf.ukim.edu.mk)

Combining theoretical literature from the fields of sociobiology, evolutionary psychology, cognitive sciences and anthropology with ethnographic field data from the region of the Balkans, the text advocates for understanding humans as organisms that adapt to their environment through a complex interaction of biology and culture. Using the discourse of oppositions in the analysis of different "types" of bodies (i.e. young vs. old, healthy vs. sick, beautiful vs. ugly) it tries to locate the point of contact of biology and culture in establishing these categories. It is a two-way process during

which the biophysical melts into the sociocultural body, and vice versa. The body is thus considered the ultimate intellectual battleground when it comes to the nature versus culture debate.

Mind, Self and Society: A Critical View of the Contemporary Naturalistic Way of Conceptualising the Identity Group and Human Nature

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The contemporary naturalistic approaches to folksociology (the way of organising knowledge about the identity group) have hypothesized a universal propensity to naturalise both living kinds (folkbiology) and human kinds (folksociology).
This paper wants to discuss the hypothesis about human kinds, founded on the constraints of the phylogenetic properties of the human mind.
I think that the hypothesis of innate conceptual content in the domain of the human kinds perpetuate the anthropological vice to emphasise and to reify the differences in the identities of social groups supposed to be naturals. A judgement founded on the fact that until today no empirical evidence has been shown that this kind of relevant concepts emerge early in development irrespective of widely different input conditions.
Differently by this naturalistic hypothesis and by most mainstream anthropologists founded in the hypothesis of "Unconstrained Learning", on the basis of my ethnographic research I will show: the conceptual content of identity group is socially and culturally constructed because their construction and acquisition are in no way constrained by the philogenetic properties of the human mind.
On the contrary I think that the identity group is most constrained by practicing certain activities, or by adopting distinctive ways of doing and being, more than by the philogenetic cognitive properties, therefore if anthropology wants to understand how people form their knowledge about themselves, it should see both inside the actor's mind and social praxis hand on every day.

The Naturalness of Difference, the Politics of Culture: Some Notes on Indian Thought and Practice

Tommaso Sbriccoli, University of Siena (tommasosbriccoli@gmail.com)

The caste system in India is not only a social and religious structure, but implies also a biological and cultural theory. Presenting the caste system as composed of jati ("caste", but litteraly "species") and the theory of karma and reincarnation, in which animal and human worlds are thought of in a continuum rather than in a dychotomic way, I will try to show how the attitude toward cultural differences is, paradoxically, one of tolerance. In a system in which culture is deeply linked to supposed biological and cosmological differences, cultural difference is thought of as "natural" and put on a hierarchical scale. It becomes a function of status rather than being considerated as a superorganic entity. This vision leads to the substantialisation of diversity and so to the reification of power relationships, in what has become in common sense the symbol of social inequality, the caste system. But culture being a symptom of biological differences, this leaves an open space in which it is possible for people in some circumstances to better their own status (biological as well as social and religious) changing their cultural traits. Through the presentation of ethnographic material on a Rajsthan village I will try to substantiate this point and to link it to the new political debate on Hindu nationalism.

Terra Sapiens: For a Prehistory of Landscape

Matteo Meschiari, University of Palermo (matmeschiari@yahoo.it)

By proposing an extended use of the term Folkecology to designate the ecological knowledge and competences among the hunter-gatherers and in some traditional societies, my paper will pose the methodological basis to create a landscape model of the human mind and cognitive processes.

The Natural-Cultural Presence of Dog in Human Groups and Cultures as an Example of Cultural Hybridation Between Species

Alessandro Arrigoni, University of Siena (alexarrigoni@inwind.it)

Animal symbols are also living beings with individual biographies and destinies. Zoo-anthropology is a discipline that started to intend animals as subjects (with the contribution of cognitive ethology and bioethics), which have been so important for the development of human subjectivity itself. It is not the case for a naturalisation of culture but for the recognition of this subjectivities-in-to-relationship beyond the boundaries we built - also for defensive reasons - between humans and [other] animals.
The frame of zoo-anthropological studies is fundamental to understanding the role played by dogs (and many other animals) during the long process of mankind-making, not only for what concerns spatial exploration but also for the symbolic implications and for cultural differences amongst populations. In this perspective the idea of a "pure" man(kind) progressively outgoing from the "animal" biological basis is strongly criticized. In the zoo-anthropological perspective we consider both the biological characterization of animals of the natural sciences and the lack of recognition of their subjectivity by the humanities (social sciences) as an obsolete view of ourselves and our place in the world. Following Barbara Noske's words: "If the science of anthropology would shed its a priori notion of animals as beings unworthy of an anthropological approach, and would share its insights with critical ethologists, it might grow into an integrated science of humans and animals alike under the name of anthropo-zoology or zoo-anthropology".

The Borderline between Humanity and Animality: When Categories are Used as Onthologies

Sabrina Tonutti, University of Udine (sabrina.tonutti@tin.it)

The aim of this paper is to reconsider the role played by the human/animal divide in our cultural context, and specifically the use of cultural categories and euristic tools (such as taxonomies and forms of systematization) as natural entities.
This shift from the level of contingency to one of necessity is central in the anthropological discourse on the relationship between nature and culture, humans and (other) animals.
A topic, which will be discussed is the use of the term "culture" in the anthropological tradition (from Boas onwards) as a key concept leading to the divorce of culture from nature and of humankind from animal kind.
As a result of this approach, the study of culture has become a deterministic form of "culturology", opposed to any possible contamination with naturalistic views and perspectives on humanity.
The human body, the phylogenetic evolution of humankind and its kinship with other primates, the strict relationship between "innate" and knowledge acquired through

experience, and the presence of culture in other animals are some of the subjects which fall beyond the discipline boundaries. These issues and the implications of the reluctance to take them into account within the anthropological field will also be addressed.

The Human Nature in Question: The Re-Naturalization of Human Being?

Georgeta Marghescu, University Politechnica, Bucharest (marion@comm.pub.ro)

Anthropology is still far from having said its last word concerning the natural nature or the cultural nature of human beings. In solving this problem anthropology is indebted to the anthropocentric modern rationalist paradigm according to which man's uniqueness is assumed. Its corollary is the relegation of animal to machine; assuming their sovereignty over all others creatures, humans used them solely as means to debatable human ends. Culture was opposed to nature in order to explain man's peculiarities.

Nature and human nature became, in the last decades, a subject of reflection and research. Namely, the inviolability of the boundary between humans and non-humans beings is questioned and the extent of other animals' capacity for language, morality and, generally, for culture is debated. We are witnessing, in consequence, the changing conception concerning the relation between human and non-human beings and, thus, the reconsideration of what it means to be fully human. A tendency of re-naturalization of humans is obvious in both these processes.

Our paper concerns this tendency of humans' re-naturalization in defining the human nature and its consequences both for the understanding of the boundary between humans and animals and on the ways in which animals are represented and used. In order to achieve this goal, the theoretical approach will be associated with the consideration of traditional and modern understanding of the relation between what it means to be truly human and the way in which animals are viewed in Romanian culture.

W076

Children and Migration in Europe: Between New Citizenships and Transnational Families

Convenors: **Silvia Carrasco, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (silvia.carrasco@uab.es)**
Esben Leifsen, University of Oslo (esben.leifsen@nchr.uio.no)

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: ZDR

The new "era of migration" (Castles and Miller 1998) has brought major changes in Europe. Political trends show a radicalisation of ideological positions related to notions of citizenship and identity while the survival -or the development- of welfare state systems is being seriously reconsidered. Newspaper headlines inform us of dramatic consequences of these trends for the children of immigrants and child migrants.

Traditional visions of immigration provided by former debates and research are no longer sufficient in order to understand the processes and experiences affecting children involved in migration. Basic areas of such processes and experiences remain, to a certain extent, unexplored; reunification, transnational households and families,

rights and conditions to access legal status, experiences of belonging. New studies conclude that there is a need for cross-national comparisons (cf. CHIP 2000, Portes and DeWind 2007), and we also argue that there is a need for a stronger engagement of anthropologistst in migration research on children and childhood.
This workshop will offer a space to present recent ethnographic research from different European areas and discuss new theoretical perspectives. The aim is to review and get a better understanding of processes and experiences as lived by the children involved in and affected by migration.

With Near and Distant Kin: Growing Up in Transnational Families

Ulla Vuorela, University of Tampere (Ulla.M.Vuorela@Uta.fi)
Anna Rastas, University of Tampere (anna.rastas@uta.fi)

We draw attention to an under researched topic in the anthropology of childhood: growing up in transnational families. While parents need to make important decisions about caring for their children in the context of family Diaspora, the perspective of children also needs to be given attention. The challenges that children face may be related to an absence of one or both parents from home or with their own mobility, related to the multi-sited location of the families. With whom or with which place do the children feel connected to, whom do they see as their significant caretakers? How do children find their comforts? How do children imagine their life situations and life chances? Children with transnational life paths may also face challenges from surrounding society, regardless of the safety provided to them by the homes.
We propose that anthropology of childhood and transnationalism needs to shift the focus from discussing ethnic identities to transnational subjectivities and multi-sited life-paths. The paper is based on our ethnographic and theoretical work. Vuorela speaks of lessons learned about immigrant childhood in Finland, children tended by NGOS between Russia and Western Europe and of the ways in which childcare has been organized by transnational families based in Pakistan. Rastas has studied various kinds of racism encountered by Finnish children with transnational roots.
We address methodological and conceptual challenges in doing research on multi-sited childhood. How to consider the breath-taking variety of transnational families and the kind of agencies that circumscribe their lives.

Parenting Transnational Children

Jacqueline Waldren, Oxford University
(jacqueline.waldren@anthro.ox.ac.uk)

Based on qualitative studies of "labour migrants" and expat families in Mallorca, Spain, this paper will discuss the difficult issues of parenting transnational children. Cultural differences in the meaning of childhood become evident as parents from varied social, geographical, economic and ethnic backgrounds reveal their perceptions of parenting, education, family, social inclusion and exclusion, and cultural priorities. Children have become increasingly important in social policy issues as their position in society is seen to become more precarious with increased mobility, migration, divorce, domestic violence, single parenting, poverty, etc. Transnational children are actively influencing cultural transitions and can no longer be treated merely as extentions to adult studies.

Circulation of Russian Children in the Process of Migration: In and between

Lilia Khabibullina, Universitat de Barcelona (liliakhabibullina@ub.edu)

In the modern world children become frequent migrants in and between countries. Along with increasing numbers of immigrants the percentage of children adopted from different countries is on the rise. Although immigrants and transnationally adopted children might share the same country of origin, they are treated differently. While immigrants have problems with crossing borders and obtaining rights, transnationally adopted "quietly" proceed to receiver countries and have no problems with obtaining rights.

Russian children are one of the most circulated in the world. The share of children and teenagers from Russia is extremely high in the emigration flow to the economically developed countries. 40% of the emigration flow from Russia to the USA were children and teenagers. It reveals two tendencies. The first is that the departure for permanent residence has a family character - parents leave with children, and the second - Russia became an "export" country of children for adoption (Rybakovsky and Ryazantsev 2005).

My research considers adoption and immigration as a means of child circulation. My objective is to see how a child, born in Russia, is "taken", "separated" from one culture, family, country, citizenship and "incorporated" into another culture, family, country, citizenship; how he or she participates in the process of constituting a transnational family. I believe that this cross-cultural analysis will be fruitful for cross-cultural migration studies in Europe, in general, and for the EASA 2008 conference, in particular.

Disruptive Continuities in Time and Place: Informal Care of Children in the Finnish-Russian Borderland

Helena Jerman, University of Helsinki (helena.jerman@helsinki.fi)

My current research on perceptions of self and lived experience among Russians crossing national borders delves deep into an analysis of the ways in which cultural knowledge is memory related. Memory, "an activity in the present", and, primarily, not concerned with the "truth", rather emphasizes the role of social consequences of lived experience. The creation of otherness on the one hand, and the creation of belonging, on the other, are two sides of the same coin and thus central themes in shaping perceptions and imaginations in border crossing, be it cognitive or physical. In this paper I will discuss the way elderly and middle aged informants recall displacements and emplacements in their childhood, and in what sense they consider it a meaningful experience. I will explore in what way their perceptions on powerful events in early childhood affect their sense of belonging during their life span. I will also examine existential and practical consequences of care of children within families in a present transnational context in the Finnish Russian borderland. The focus is on informants' interpretations of related experiences. Methodologically my presentation emphasizes juxtaposition and mobility, moving between different time perspectives and with different social actors exploring central notions of forms of culture within specific contexts. Furthermore, individual enactment of belonging originates in the consciousness of the self and in its relationship to society.

Relations interculturelles, interclasses et interethniques dans la garde des enfants en bas âge

Véronique Pache Huber, Université de Fribourg (jeanne-veronique.pache@unifr.ch)

La présentation portera sur une thématique qui recouvre des enjeux sociaux, économiques et politiques importants: la garde d'enfants en bas âge assumée, dans la sphère domestique, par des personnes non apparentées. Parmi ces personnes figurent aussi bien des «mamans de jour» ou des assistantes maternelles, qui travaillent à leur propre domicile, que des travailleuses domestiques, souvent d'origine migrante, qui exercent leur métier au domicile des parents. Ce centrant sur cette deuxième catégorie de personnes, la présentation analysera les relations interculturelles, interclasses et interethniques établies dans le cadre de la garde d'enfants. A ce titre, elle prendra également en compte la manière dont les enfants des travailleuses domestiques sont pris en charge, soit dans le pays d'origine, soit dans le pays de résidence des travailleuses domestiques.

Children, Immigration Policy and Citizenship - Norway as a Case

Hilde Lidén, Institute for Social Research (hilde.liden@samfunnsforskning.no)

Using Norway as a case, this paper deals with how migration flows, as well as the improvement strategies of migrant families, are shaped by immigration and asylum legislation. Immigration policies construct specific notions of family. They thereby define legitimate citizenship in gender-biased and generationally biased ways (Bhabha 2007, deHart 2007, van Walsum and Spijkerboer 2007). The welfare state, characterized by universal access, generous benefits, a high degree of public involvement and comparatively high levels of redistribution, is both a means of integration, and a potential source of conflict. In Norway, as in other Nordic countries, family policy emphasises gender equality and assumes that families have two incomes to meet living expenses. The implicit expectations of the welfare state can be read between the lines of the regulations for transnational marriages and family immigration. It will be shown that family reunification is limited to the closest family members, which has significant implications for relationships of care and normative expectations involving extended family members. The paper will discuss how migrants negotiate the legal, social and economic barriers they encounter when facing the regulations of the welfare state. In which ways do these challenges affect children and their citizenship?
The complexity of family relations in migration and improvement strategies will be analysed on the basis of interviews with family members as well as documents from the applications and decisions by the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration.

Being a Good Portuguese Citizen: How Angolan Children and their Caretakers Must Take Different Measures to Become Good Citizens

Cecilie Øien, University of Oslo (cecilie.oien@sai.uio.no)

During a recent fieldwork among Angolan transnational families in Greater Lisbon, caretakers often commented on what they appreciated as a lack of discipline in Portuguese schools. Sending their children to school, they expected that teachers would take the same attitude towards education as they themselves did. Quite a few of my interlocutors claimed that in Portuguese society younger generations lack respect for adults, contrasting it with how Angolans (and other African migrants)

raised their children to accept the superiority of their elders. Smacking your child or giving it "uma palmada" was in this context seen as a natural part of educating him or her to understand what was right or wrong. In Portugal, many mentioned, the social services could take their children away if they raised their child in a "traditional African way". Parents and other care-takers claim that youth gangs and "unruly" youth are created by the Portuguese educational system; whereas teachers, social workers and Portuguese "neighbours" claim the problem is that parents let their children "run wild". Conscious of how their way of raising children is not always regarded as proper in a Portuguese context, these migrants' notion of what it means to be a "good" citizen differs from the view their children meet in school. Being a good citizen thus means different things for children and their caretakers. There is ofcourse also disagreement between Angolans on how to raise children, and in this paper I explore different layers of tension regarding upbringing and citizenship.

Refugee Children's Status in the Norwegian Welfare State and Role in their Family

Josée Archambault, NTNU, Trondheim (josee.archambault@svt.ntnu.no)

My paper takes part in a discussion in the field of childhood studies about the concept of citizenship and how we may refer to children as citizens, as active members of a society. What form of citizenship can asylum-seeking children access; children whose parents are not themselves part of that social ensemble of citizens of the state? I suggest looking at that question while taking as a starting point the status of refugee children in the Norwegian welfare state, from the time they live in reception centres for asylum-seekers to the time they settle as refugees in a community. It can be said that, by virtue of children's international rights and of the incorporation of the UNCRC in the Norwegian domestic law, asylum-seeking children's rights are better recognized by the Norwegian welfare state than those of their parents. Can the same be said once families have received a residence permit and they settle as refugees? Children are generally perceived as dependent on their parents, but, in the light of empirical data on the theme, interdependence between children and parents appears to be more accurate. I will shed light on the status shift of refugee children and parents taking place at the time of settlement. This paper will discuss how family members' status may change in the welfare state and how it may interfere in children's experience of settlement within their family and their new community.

Learning for Precarity: Identities and Strategies of Precarious Adolescents with Immigrant Background

Diana Reiners, Universität Graz (diana.reiners@gmail.com)
Gilles Reckinger, Universität Graz (gilles.reckinger@gmail.com)

Structurally disadvantaged adolescents are confronted with steadily increasing inequality on the labour market. The devalorisation of diplomas, due to stark competition for the rare tangible positions produces a reservoir of precarious young adults/adolescents who find themselves in a paradoxical moratorium which is labelled as temporary but in reality offers few long-term perspectives on the labour market. The contemporary social transformations and the setup of a managerial ethos of the individual life project - whose success depends more and more on social, economic and cultural capitals - reinforce the existing social cleavages.
The new employability ideology leads to the individualisation of responsibility for social success or failure. Hence, what is brought about by a macro-social process is masked

and thrown back into the realm of individual conscience.
Our paper provides ethnographic insights into the coping strategies of disadvantaged adolescents from different immigrant backgrounds in an Austrian city, how they feel about the exigencies of the new capitalism, how they deal with their hopeless social situation and how they manage or do not manage to integrate into precarious forms of labour. We argue that the strategies they develop - relying on family structures, gambling, online sales, delinquent forms of transnational entrepreneurship, illegal trafficking, and frequent changes of unstable employment even across continents - respond to the new premises of capitalism and constitute a socialisation into, and a reproduction of precarity.

Ethnic Identity and Acculturation Process: Bosnian Immigrant Adolescents in Croatia

Lana Peternel, Institute for Anthropological Research (lana@inantro.hr)

By their origin the Bosnian adolescent immigrants in Croatia do not belong to an ethnically and religiously homogeneous population. On the contrary, a number of them are Muslims by religion; and the rest are Catholics. In spite of numerous cultural similarities with the host population in Croatia, immigrant adolescent groups and the host population originate from culturally different traditions. Depending on how these cultural differences are perceived by the host community members, the construction of ethnic identity of the adolescent immigrants may be influenced by the concealed or pronounced, institutional or personal discriminatory practices. Based on that discrepancy in the perception and comprehension of the "other", the construction of immigrant adolescent ethnic identity during the acculturation process is strongly influenced by the stereotypes, prejudices, and finally discrimination.
The goal of this paper is to show how multidimensional ethnic identification of Bosnian immigrant adolescents indicates different acculturation strategies in everyday practice and how these strategies corresponded with current acculturation orientation of the host adolescent population. In that context, we will show how different cultural symbols like language or dialect become meaningful in the construction of ethnic identity and how ethnic identification could be an indicator of psychological and social outcomes.

Are Romanian Students Non-Problematic in Catalonian Schools?

Bálint Ábel Bereményi, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (abel.beremenyi@uab.es)

Recently Spain has become the preferred destination of transnationally migrating Romanian families. Despite the fact that in 2007 Romanians constituted the second largest immigrant community in Spain, there are only a limited number of ethnographic researches conducted in respect of the antecedents, strategies and different consequences of Romanians' transnational migration processes.
According to the teachers, the children of Romanian immigrant families do well in Catalonian schools, especially in some subjects. It is also argued that they have solid fundaments of school knowledge, they show respect for their teachers, they have good social skills and they catch up easily in both Spanish and Catalonian language. In the teachers' view, they form a non-problematic part of generally problematic immigrant students.
This paper will intend to contrast the generally held opinion of teachers on "non-problematic" students of Romanian origin through some particular cases, underlining

the variability of the strategies that families elaborate towards schooling. We will argue that Romanian immigrant families set high academic expectations for their children, in response to both the Romanian and the Catalonian school system, because they desire to arm them with competences which are valid both "here and there". Parental pressure, however does not necessarily result in high school performance, sustained throughout the years. Our data stem from ethnographic fieldwork in course, carried out both with families and in school environments. The main theoretical references of the paper are from the basically Anglo-Saxon anthropological literature about school performance of immigrant students.

Children and Migration in Switzerland: Coping with Mutuality and Diversity in Swiss Schools

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Switzerland experiences very high rates of immigration, which subsequently becomes visible in public schools. The intersectionality of ethnicity with other categories of difference is obvious. The data, collected in focus group discussions with nine to sixteen year old school children and youths give ground for a broad range of constructions into insiders and outsiders. In the discussions with Swiss and migrant children/youths the following questions arose: Who is ascribed to be a foreigner in Switzerland? Which national or ethnic categories count? How can ascriptions of inside or outside be maintained in schools as an "arena of agency"? What is it about the gender stereotypes within the category of Muslims: are all boys violent and all girls victims? And who is a "true" Muslim anyway? Is it different to live as a Hindu in an urban or in a rural area? The composition of the group in terms of heterogeneity seems to be crucial for the participants' strategies to build alliances and to deal with dominance or subordination.
In order to get a better understanding of the processes and experiences as lived by the children we propose to conceptualise the various categories of difference and their intersections. Given the increasing significance of identity politics in the public domain, it could be the task of social science research to highlight the multiple dimensions of belonging of children and youths. This perspective will help to prevent rush measures that consider only one notion of difference such as religion, ethnicity or gender.

Immigrant Girls and Boys: Navigating between the Ideal Student

Maribel Ponferrada, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (maribel.ponferrada@uab.es)

This paper will analyze how immigrant youth negotiate between diverse models of femininity and masculinity in relation to a notion of the ideal student and the identity of youth citizenship that is specific to a local school culture, as part of a particular society, and penetrates the relationship between the process of identity construction, performance and strategies for social integration. We want to know which kind of citizenships are offered and possible for immigrant girls and boys in a context where most practices and values in the school create a gendered ideal student that promotes a quiet, silent and non-participative identity and, simultaneously, where social popularity is based in anti-school culture and peer solidarity. The analysis draws

on ethnographic data gathered in my fieldwork with immigrant youth from different origins (Bangladesh, China, Morocco, Ecuador and Venezuela) around Barcelona (Spain) and is illuminated by a theoretical framework including literature from the anthropology of education, feminist and gender research in working class and minority youth.

Learning Positions as Future Citizens at Primary School: Diverse Conditions of Incorporation for the Children of Immigrant Families on the Catalan Coast

Beatriz Ballestín, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (beatriz.ballestin@uab.cat)

One of the main features that characterizes primary state schools placed on the Mediterranean coast in Catalonia (Spain) is the reception of pupils coming from migrant families of very different sociocultural backgrounds: on one side, those from extra-communitarian poor African, Latin American and Asian countries; on the other side, "luxury" migrants from European Union countries.
Using the findings of a comparative ethnographic fieldwork carried out in two primary schools of El Maresme, an area on the coast near Barcelona (one with a majority of pupils of working-class extra-communitarian families, mainly from North and West Africa, the other welcoming children from diverse national and social origins), this paper will show how social prestige attributed to the local placement where schools are located, as well as social class composition, national origin, and linguistic diversity among pupils of the two chosen schools, contributed to a differential construction of the "distance" between family culture and school culture.
Consequently, on the one hand we will point out that the conceptualization of children in a hierarchy of inclusion/exclusion of new citizenships, extraneous to, but reproduced by schools, is on the basis of the differential responses they give in terms of educational expectations and attention to pupils. On the other hand, we will analyze the consequences these experiences have for the children and their conditions of incorporation to the reception society, considering the differential strategies of engagement and disengagement they display both at the academic and social level.

W077

Care, Welfare and Mutuality: Anthropological Perspectives on Shifting Concepts, Boundaries and Practices

Convenors: **Rosie Read, Bournemouth University (rread@bournemouth.ac.uk)**
Tatjana Thelen, University of Zurich (thelen@eth.mpg.de)

28 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 119

Global demographic trends, the growth of international migration, and the spread of marketisation have reconfigured welfare arrangements and practices of care in many different parts of the world. Obligations for mutual care and support within kinship networks, across generations and in relations between states and citizens have been challenged. For example increasing numbers of frail elderly have led to the introduction of payment-for-care schemes in various countries whilst new forms of care migration challenge practices of mutual support within transnational

families. This panel seeks to address how we might use anthropological knowledge to understand these reconfigurations and the interrelations between inter-personal or intimate care practices and such global transformations. This question has not yet fully been explored by anthropologists, although some recent work has focused on anthropological concepts of the gift in studies of care practices (Russ 2005, Read 2007) feminist analyses of care and inequality (Kingfisher 2002) and theories of care and social security (Read and Thelen 2007).
This panel seeks to build on and develop these bodies of work through inviting papers, which explore how ideas and practices of care, welfare and mutuality are constituted in response to new global developments and pressures. We welcome papers, which approach these connections through focusing on caring arrangements within personal, kin-based relations, or those in more institutionalised settings. We are also interested in papers on welfare reform and shifting international discourses on mutual dependence, obligation, difference and inequality.

Rethinking Social Security, Welfare and the Privatisation of Care

Tatjana Thelen, University of Zurich (thelen@eth.mpg.de)

The collapse of socialist states reinforced global neoliberal trends that surfaced in the early 1980s. State frameworks for welfare have been interpreted as being too paternalistic and consequently increasingly subject to processes of privatisation, decentralisation, and neoliberal reform in many parts of the world. This development has often been described as a state withdrawal. Yet while socio-economic transformations have undoubtedly produced severe forms of hardship, which may well have been experienced as a loss of the state, the notion of state withdrawal is analytically problematic. There are two (inter-related) reasons for this. Firstly, it implies a rather one-dimensional view of "the state" which makes it difficult to grasp the complex and contradictory nature of reforms, particularly the ways in which a range of state bodies, actors and institutions, far from being in retreat, continue to shape social life, albeit in altered form. Secondly, the state withdrawal model provides little analytical purchase on the dynamic reconfigurations of public and private spaces, institutions, moralities and subjectivities. In this introductionary paper I propose to analyze these developments using anthropological understandings of social security in combination with feminist perspectives on care. Applying this theoretical perspective promises to overcome the conceptual inadequacies of the "state withdrawal" model. More importantly, it helps to illuminate the nuanced ways in which what is public and private (as spaces, subjectivities, institutions, moralities, and practices) reemerge and change, continually shaping the trajectories and outcomes of reforms to care and mutual support networks.

Ageing in Diverse Social Contexts and the Challenge of Comparison

Carla Risseeuw, Leiden University (risseeuw@fsw.leidenuniv.nl)

The paper focusses on the social world of middle class elderly in urban Holland and urban (Buddhist) Sri Lanka (Colombo) and the challenge to name similarity and difference. The paper tries to develop a comparision along the lines of the matter of fact way of "shaping the social", in line with Bourdieu's concept of "habitus/learned ignorance". It takes into account the idea of family; intergenerational relations and care; fixed and fluid boundaries of the home; the self/person/lifespan; friends and acquaintances; ways of keeping company: proximity and distance; the idea of "everyday sociality"/"relatedness".

My aim is two-fold: Reflect on implications of similaries and difference in the ageing experience; reflect on our concepts to understand and name socio-cultural difference/nuance in meaning.

Between Formal and Informal Care: The Permeable Boundaries of Home and Care for Older People

Peter Lutz, Philips Research (peter.lutz@philips.com)

This paper is based on ethnographic stories and observations of care for older people in the US and Sweden. It stems from the need to find socially appropriate ways to care for an aging global population. This often includes respect for personal autonomy and the avoidance of institutionalised care when possible. There is consensus - stemming partly from economic and political pressures - that in-home care makes the most sense. For some of the people concerned, home spaces may nevertheless become places of isolation, loneliness or even danger. In such cases viable alternatives must be found. One vivid example from Sweden is the installation of a state-funded bathroom module built directly onto the side of a private house. The rationale is that this eases the task of personal hygiene performed by state healthcare workers. Rather than a fixed entity, here the home emerges as a permeable boundary where private and public dimensions are increasingly blurred. Such fluidness brings into question the validity of a formal/informal care distinction for the analysis of how human and non-human actors negotiate their care. Consequently, this paper argues that contemporary care practices situated by home render such distinctions obsolete. With reference to recent work in the study of material culture and medical anthropology, it offers a nuanced approach to care. Multiple settings are contrasted to highlight the most relevant findings and suggest avenues for further research.

"In the Best Interests of the Child": The Intergenerational Legacy of Past Indigenous Child Welfare Policies in Australia

Tiffany McComsey, Manchester University (beddamia@aol.com)

The welfare of Indigenous children in western settler nations has been, and continues to be, a focus of state intervention. In Australia, since 1998, May 26th is acknowledged as National Sorry Day. Sorry day is a day of commemoration for the Stolen Generations. The term "Stolen Generations" refers to those Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children who were removed from their families as a result of Indigenous child removal policies, dating from 1910 through to the 1970s. May 26th is the day when in 1997 the Bringing them home Report was tabled in the Australian Federal Parliament. It was from this Report, the subsequent media coverage and political debating that the Stolen Generations and the intergenerational legacies of these removals entered into the forefront of public discourse.

While past Indigenous child removals are acknowledged as having significantly affected Aboriginal families and communities throughout Australia, the intergenerational legacies of removals - how to address them and by what means - either through Aboriginal and or non-Indigenous approaches - is less cogent. This paper will examine these issues by focusing on the relational dynamic that exists between government policy and government department practices and the work of Aboriginal community organisations. Teasing out these dialogical relationships will allow for the unpacking of multiple perceptions and approaches that exist in relation to understanding the Stolen Generations and how traces relating to past Aboriginal child removals and their intergenerational legacies are interspersed through the day-to-day work of

Aboriginal child and family welfare practices. This will be ethnographically explored in an Aboriginal community located in Redfern, an inner city suburb of Sydney, Australia.

Poverty Relief as Neoliberal Education

Alexandra Bakalaki, Aristotle University, Thessaloniki (abak@hist.auth.gr)

The paper draws on fieldwork among the members of a small group of volunteers in Thessaloniki, Greece. Along with food, they offer poor people "psychological support", the aim of which is to transform them from victims of their own immaturity and irresponsibility into autonomous, rational, self-sufficient individuals. To become more effective in the therapeutic role they assume for themselves, they seek the guidance of social workers, psychologists and psychiatrists. Their efforts to rehabilitate the poor and their apprenticeship to experts reveal to them the causes of the problems their interventions seek to address. Volunteers come to view poverty as a symptom of individual psychological problems and failures and/or of dysfunctional interpersonal relations. They also feel that their own commitment to helping others access the real causes of their troubles is the outcome of a personal choice that contributes to their own empowerment, namely to their capacity to cultivate in their own lives the attitudes and virtues they try to teach to the poor. Involvement with poverty relief under expert guidance transforms their sense of themselves and of the world within which their self-improvement efforts make sense. Attending the deployment of the sufferings of the poor for the generation of lessons about the advantages of personal independence and rational self-management may contribute to the understanding of the processes through which neoliberal values and constructs are gradually naturalized and appropriated by "ordinary" people.

Volunteers Wanted! Emerging Discourses of Care, Gendered Citizenship and the Self in the Czech Non-Profit Sector

Rosie Read, Bournemouth University (rread@bournemouth.ac.uk)

This paper will consider the ways in which hospital volunteering programs in the Czech Republic contribute to the neoliberal restructuring of the country's health and welfare frameworks. It is based on the findings of an ethnographic research project carried out in 2008, which focused on hospital volunteering programs in three Czech urban locations. These programs enable (predominantly female) volunteers to provide company, care and support to hospital patients on a range of wards. The paper will explore how volunteers of different ages and backgrounds engage with and experience volunteering, and how these experiences are informed by a range of techniques employed to recruit, train and supervise volunteers. Such expertise tends to highlight the significance of reflexivity and self-knowledge for volunteers, and advises on the appropriate boundaries to establish in their relationships with patients. The paper will then compare contemporary volunteering with older forms of public participation from the former socialist era in Czechoslovakia in order to draw out how notions of gendered citizenship are undergoing transformation, and in particular to highlight the changing contexts in which women are engaged in providing care and welfare. Finally, the paper will explore why volunteering programs need to be considered both as a complicated response to the neoliberal restructuring of Czech health care and welfare frameworks, as well as part of what helps to bring it about.

The Conceptual Framework of Social Workers

Sabrina Tosi Cambini, Università di Firenze (elfide@libero.it)

The topic of this paper is what in France is called terrains sensibles: spaces (ghettos, streets, camps, etc.) and social conditions (homeless, squatters, etc.), which the Institutions (Services, Law-Courts etc.) define as deviant, illegal, etc. I talk about how institutions care (or govern?) these people. In particular, I analyse the conceptual framework of social workers in Italy.
First, my focus is on the notions of social exclusion and marginality always present in the narrative of social workers about people with whom they work: social workers use these words almost interchangeably and in doing so they risk masking the wide-spread situation (e.g. working poor, new-poverties, social and economic vulnerability etc.) in our society. So, social exclusion and marginality have become empty notions, characterising a wide range of different life-situations containers.
Second, I analyse how social workers abuse and exploit the word "culture": they use it to describe a case that the Service doesn't understand and doesn't know how to manage. In this way, the responsibility is all in the hands of the person (the "user") and the Service avoids self-reflection.
Third, I consider the dominant medicalising discourse. Medical-psychiatric categories are often used to interpret social situations: this is not only accepted but also a priori considered as legitimate. Finally, the dominant languages and practices at both levels of policies and social work produce a hegemonic process which reinforces a pathological interpretation (individualised disorder) and fails to connect the individual condition to the systemic inequities and structural violence.

The Right to Proper Housing in Berlin: Exclusion and Precariousness in a Field of Blurred Responsibilities

Irene Sabaté, University of Barcelona (irenesabate@ub.edu)

In the last two decades, the transition from socialism to capitalism and the changing terms on which public welfare is provided have dramatically affected the provision of housing in former East Berlin. The role of the state has evolved from that of a direct provider to that of an occasional mediator in a market setting. Only the most unprivileged are still getting public housing assistance. But, even for them, the access to assistance is not unconditional. In a context of bureaucratised state-citizens relations, exclusion not only derives from income inequalities. Indeed, the access to information and advice, as well as the availability of social connections capable of improving housing conditions in a variety of ways, including self-help practices, is crucial. Who is responsible for providing a proper home for differently situated citizens? On the basis of what form of mutual obligation? How are responsibilities defined? How do people perceive and cope with their transformation?
Throughout this paper, inequalities, exclusion and precariousness will not be merely considered regarding the right to access housing (or accommodation) itself, but in a more complex sense. They will be unpacked to address a diversity of aspects including the juridical security of tenancy, the suitability of flats to the needs of domestic groups, as well as the ability of Berliners to live in their desired neighbourhood and to choose among different residential modalities.

The Production of Social Security in a Rural Russian Context: An Agenda for Research

Rebecca Kay, Glasgow University (r.kay@lbss.gla.ac.uk)

The project draws on anthropological understandings of social security as encompassing both material and emotional forms of provision and involving both state/public frameworks, regulations and institutions, and more interpersonal/private networks, practices and relationships. On this basis, the project explores social security as something which villagers actively produce, drawing on a combination of state/non-state, formal/informal resources, structures and networks. In trying to understand these processes and practices, attention is drawn to the influence of informal networks and the role of charismatic leadership in maintaining state structures and developing new programmes for socially vulnerable groups. Yet such informal networks (re)produce categories of exclusion as well as inclusion. Thus, understandings of "deserving need" and hierarchies of power and authority play an important role in defining both access to support and obligations to provide care which are differentiated along lines of gender, class and ethnicity. The relationship between state and non-state systems of support and provision and the differing ways in which these relate to the provision of material and/or emotional support is also a key focus of study. Here the emphasis which villagers place on integration into "caring communities" as a key feature of security is of interest, particularly as this exists alongside support for neoliberal understandings of the "self-sufficient individual" and a renunciation of "dependent" attitudes and "excessive" expectations of state support.

Intergenerational Care under the Condition of Vulnerability: The Case of Urban Burkina Faso

Claudia Roth, University of Lucerne (rothc@access.uzh.ch)

Poverty is increasing in Burkina Faso despite economic growth. In 2002, nearly half of the population were living under the poverty line defined as 125 € per year (Soulama 2005). Under these economic conditions, the interpersonal mutuality will also in the future continue to be the base of social security and care. Though young urban people long for independence from their parents. However, this is impossible under current conditions, and interdependencies with old and new circles of support and care continue to determine their intergenerational relations. The anthropological research on the micro level is working with a multitude of interviews and life stories. As statistical data on the effects of inter-generational exchange is lacking, only qualitative data makes it possible to trace old patterns of reciprocity and to discover new practices and perspectives of young and old women and men in relation with the established structures of reciprocity. Within our interdisciplinary research project "Intergenerational relations under stress: a comparison between Europe and Africa" (2007-2010, financed by the Swiss National Science Foundation) we analysed a multitude of interviews and life stories in Bobo-Dioulasso, the second largest town of Burkina Faso, West Africa (and my research partner in Switzerland). The research is focussing on two situations considered stressful: 1. jobless adult children, living with and supported by their old parents, 2. adult children taking care of their old diseased parents. In the workshop, I will put the recent results of my study in Bobo-Dioulasso up for discussion.

Intergenerational Care in Rural Togo: Belongings and Realities

Tabea Häberlein, University of Bayreuth
(tabea.haeberlein@uni-bayreuth.de)

This paper examines the relationship of mutuality and care between familial generations. Intergenerational relationships, this is especially true for the aspect of care, are very norm-related. This applies also to Asséré, a small village in northeastern Togo. Care, reciprocity and mutuality between the generations are a social norm: Grandparents and parents raise children whereas the younger look after the elderly. Like the whole region of the Kabiye people, Asséré has been characterised since the late 1920s by short and long-term migration of younger people, mostly to the rural south. Every family in Asséré lacks some of its adult children. Nevertheless the vertical axis between the generations continues to be important: concepts like belonging and relatedness persist strongly between parents and children, even if they don't have had any contact for years. In contrast to this, the every day material care and security for the elderly appears to be very individual, and is arranged differently in each homestead and each family.
In my paper contradictory results of qualitative and quantitative research on the subject of intergenerational care will be exemplified. It will go further into the question why both findings are valid.

W078

Mutuality's Margins: Contesting Cosmopolitanism in the Rescaled City

Convenors: **Madeleine Reeves, Manchester University (madeleinereeves@gmail.com)**
Nina Glick Schiller, Manchester University (Nina.GlickSchiller@manchester.ac.uk)
Discussants**: Ayşe Caglar and Virginia Dominguez**

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: R2

Official celebrations of cultural pluralism and borrowing, whether in the shape of the cosmopolitan city, the multicultural nation-state, the new "borderless" Europe, or the marketing of a global urbanity, coexist with new forms of material and social exclusion. The responses of those facing deprivation are multiple as well as multi-layered. Exclusions can foster rejections of pluralism and explicitly anti-cosmopolitan politics. At the same time apparently anti-cosmopolitan politics may simultaneously contain alternate narratives of inclusion that reconfigure belonging around markers other than culture, appearance, nationality, or religion. This panel contributes to a critical reflection on diversity and mutuality by exploring various social fields of disparity where accounts of cosmopolitan coexistence are practically resisted, contested, reconfigured and redefined.
Explorations of the marketing of diversity and elite cosmopolitanism and its rejection by marginalized urban residents - whether migrants or natives - will be grounded in a critique of the neoliberal global restructuring and rescaling of cities and urban spaces. The panel does not take the links between economic marginalization and responses of the excluded to be unicausal or self-evident. Questions and issues to be addressed include: the relationship between economic marginalization legitimated through the

marketing of urbane cultural difference and violent anti-cosmopolitan or nationalist urban movements; the coexistence of categorical exclusions (in the form of the legal production of migrant "illegality"), discourses of "equality", and the articulation of desires for personal and collective respect, through which the excluded create alternative narratives of mutual humanity.

Bi-Cultural Politics in a Cosmopolitan City: Latinos' Experiences in Auckland, Aotearoa/New Zealand

Eveline Dürr, Ludwig-Maximilians Universität, München (Eveline.Duerr@vka.fak12.uni-muenchen.de)

Migrants' experiences in Auckland are mediated by New Zealand migration politics and the country's official definition as a bi-cultural nation, based on an idea of equal partnership between indigenous Māori and Pākehā (European New Zealanders), as articulated in the Treaty of Waitangi signed in 1840 by Māori chiefs and the Crown. Due to the country's revised immigration laws in the late 1980s, the cultural composition of Auckland has changed enormously in the last decades. Increasing non-white immigration has challenged New Zealand's national identity as a bi-cultural, but predominantly white society in the South Pacific. However, it is unclear where other ethnic groups are situated in this bi-cultural framework. In this paper, I give voice to the relatively small, low profile Latin American community in Auckland and explore their experiences of cultural belonging and social positioning in this particular urban setting. Based on ethnographic interviews and discursive accounts, I scrutinise their understanding of bi-culturalism in a cosmopolitan context. I am particularly interested in their self-positioning in the wider social matrix and in the contested forms of (self)-inclusion and exclusion. I situate these practices in migrants' biographies as they are shaped by political ideas, class, and economic opportunities. I argue that these conditions affect migrants' perceptions of "belonging" and "being in the right place" in the urban ambit.

Resisting Mutuality: Multiculturalism and the Controversy about the White Working Classes in Britain

Gillian Evans, Manchester University (Gillian.Evans@Manchester.ac.uk)

Whilst Bermondsey people lament the death of an industrial, inner-city community based on closely knit ties of kinship and residence or "born and bred" criteria of belonging - and are preoccupied with trying to defend their way of life - learning "how to have an explicit cultural identity", to be a "new ethnic group" in order to compete in a multicultural social climate - the political and economic struggles which have historically defined what it means to be working class in Britain are forced into the background. This highlights the present danger, which is that even as we celebrate multiculturalism in Britain or wonder whether it has past its sell-by date, little emphasis is placed on those institutions - political or economic - through which relatively poor people - black, white and Asian - might once have come together to know themselves collectively as working class.

Eager to capitalise on this shift in the political landscape the British National Party promotes an agenda of racial and cultural nationalism, gaining votes in areas of the country where the white working classes feel increasingly at unease about a Labour government which no longer speaks their language but talks of "community cohesion" and national integration. Exploring recent controversies about the position of the white working classes in Britain, this paper argues that at the margins of the

mutuality, which was multiculturalism's promise, there is profound alienation from a society which dreams of equality but no longer understands how social relations are structured in practice.

The "Cosmopolitanisms" of (Moldovan) Post-Socialist Domestics in Istanbul and their Turkish Employers

Leyla Keough, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (ljkeough@anthro.umass.edu)

Border and bridging East and West, Istanbul has long been celebrated as a cosmopolitan city. More recently, this assertion has been combined with its theorization as a "global city" marked by a neoliberal service economy. One indication of this is the concurrent increases in a wealthy Westernized elite and the presence of irregular migrant domestics from the former socialist states who help this class fulfil their new lifestyles. Based upon 14 months of ethnographic research in Istanbul and Moldova, in this paper, I deploy the concept of "cosmopolitanisms" (Abu-Lughod 1999) to explore the subjectivities not only of these jet-set elites, but also of their migrant domestics from Moldova. The latter's cosmopolitanisms derive from particular combinations of education, travel, wealth, labor, urbanity, and (as part of a post-socialist Diaspora in Istanbul) a renewed identification with an "internationalist" Soviet past. I illuminate the kinds of cosmopolitanisms these women workers gain and lose in the context of their mariginalized lives as irregular migrants; exploring how they use a nostalgic sense of Soviet cosmopolitanism to resist and/or (re)occupy their marginalization from Turkish society on their own terms. By deploying "cosmopolitanisms" as an analytic tool in this manner and by remaining attentive to its emic meanings, we can better understand these women's positionalities and practices. In so doing, we also shift from a focus upon the diversity of "cultures" to an examination of the different configurations of cosmopolitanisms - tracing these to specific experiences of power, wealth, education, labour, and gender located in particular places.

Precarious Labour, Legal Ambiguity and Contested Cosmopolitanism in Moscow's Migrant Construction Brigades

Madeleine Reeves, Manchester University (madeleinereeves@gmail.com)

For rural school-leavers of southern Kyrgyzstan, "going to town" to work as irregular labourers on the construction sites of Moscow has become a significant right of passage, with the remittances thus earned crucial to sustaining rural livelihoods and ritual expenses. Yet this overwhelmingly undocumented labour, in what for many young Kyrgyz people had been, imaginatively, a paradigmatically cosmopolitan space - the capital of the erstwhile "international" Soviet polity - is fraught with legal contradictions and moral ambiguity. On the one hand, the overwhelming majority of Kyrgyz migrants move between domains of "legal" and "illegal" residence and employment, developing complex and often friendly relations with local policemen, Russian pensioners and fellow villagers in order to remain nominally "documented". On the other, Kyrgyz migrants are acutely aware of the different degrees of legal protection, physical mobility, earning potential and vulnerability to police extortion that are felt to attach to the various groups of post-Soviet citizen (Tajiks, Uzbeks, Moldovans and Ukrainians) of which Moscow's migrant building-brigades are typically composed. Nationality, far from losing relevance in the space of competitive labour, comes indeed to figure centrally in migrant narratives as a key category of economic competition and legal differentiation. This paper draws upon the experiences of

Kyrgyz labour migrants on large "international" building sites to explore the relationship between precarious labour, legal uncertainty, social differentiation and cosmopolitan coexistence. In so doing, it seeks to interrogate the place of law (and the ambiguous figure of the "illegal immigrant") in normative accounts of cosmopolitanism.

Urban Child Soldiering: Boys' Armies, Urban Cosmopolitanism and New Cultures of Violence in Indian Slums

Atreyee Sen, Manchester University (senatreyee@rediffmail.com)

This paper argues that unguided and unguarded contact with diversity and syncretism can generate social and moral anxieties in marginalised children. According to the slum children in Bombay and Hyderabad, their search for stable, insular and communal selves led them to organise violent collective resistance to cosmopolitanism, discourses on mutual tolerance and diffused urban identities. From a theoretical perspective, this paper seeks to contribute to a growing corpus of research trying to uncover the problems of aggressive children principally through the concept of child agency. I take a step away from the vulnerability paradigm to highlight the initiatives of children to survive marginalization in peripheral, urban "warscapes". My research also makes a contribution to recent studies on child soldiering, and tries to rectify their limited impact on peace policies. Academic and activist literature on child militancy focuses primarily on forced or voluntary child recruits within larger, self-styled militias, marginalising the accounts of local children's groups who operate as informal armies. The experiences of the latter children need to be considered while negotiating peace, as failing discourses on violence and social exclusions get refreshed and rearticulated through children's organised quest for survival in volatile social environments.

Cosmopolitanism at the Margins of Tolerance

Vera Skvirskaja, Cambridge University (vs228@cam.ac.uk)

Since the Orange revolution, official celebrations of multiethnic diversity in Ukraine have aimed at dismantling the legacy of the uniform Soviet man. In the new nation-state, the Soviet discourse of internationalism with its links to former Russian supremacy has been replaced by Western-style rhetoric of tolerance. Based on fieldwork in the port city of Odessa, famous for its cosmopolitan roots, but now experiencing emigration of its former minorities and inflows of transnational migrants, this paper explores various economic, marriage and interpersonal strategies among two trading minorities, which put the new spectrum of tolerance to test. It focuses on recent Afghan migrants and local Ukrainian Gypsies as representing different modalities of exclusion from the city's wider circles of sociality. Inspired by Sheldon Pollock's discussion of "non-compulsory" cosmopolitanism (the universal) and "avoidable" vernacularism (the national), I argue that these two trading minorities in Odessa are able to create their own forms of engagement with difference and affiliation with the wider world in ways that we can understand as "endogamous" or "selective" forms of cosmopolitanism.

W079

Globalising Neighbourhoods or Tradition-Based Parallel Societies? Studying Migration and Cultural Diversity in Rural Areas

Convenors: **Heidi Armbruster, Southampton University (ha@soton.ac.uk)**
Sabine Strasser, Middle East Technical University (sabine.strasser@univie.ac.at)

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 4

Anthropologists often describe migrant contexts as multiply dispersed new transnational neighbourhoods or as ethnic or religious environments, which are marked by complex processes of cultural belonging. These accounts often share an emphasis on cultural change and locally negotiated diversity. At the same time, and particularly observable in many European countries, political and media discourses repeatedly reassess specific migrant contexts as sites of tradition-based inequalities or failed "integration". Thus, while anthropologists (amongst others) increasingly highlight the locally negotiated and malleable character of "culture" under processes of globalisation, many public discourses maintain scenarios of essentialised cultural threats and suggest clear boundaries between "ethnic minorities" and putative majority communities. Such contradictory discursive dynamics that hold ideas of creative cultural complexities against those of disturbing cultural anxieties are readily associated with global cities. However, they bear equal relevance for small towns and provincial regions, which researchers of migration and globalisation have much less focused on in recent years. The workshop wants to address diversifying neighbourhoods and forms of cohabitation in rural areas that have been formed by both migration and larger socio-economic processes.
We particularly invite papers that address the following:
Ways of forming or activating local neighbourhoods that span multicultural and transnational constituencies; politics of space and multicultural co-existence; local forms of agency and their links (or challenges) to regional, national or supranational (e.g. EU) policies and governance issues (e.g. citizenship, family reunion, residence, anti-discrimination) - and to public discourses on e.g. "integration" or "gender equality"; rurality and diversity.

"Even Our Village is Part of Europe": Rural Lives on Europe's Eastern Fringe

Laura Assmuth, University of Helsinki (laura.assmuth@helsinki.fi)

The paper presents a comparative study of transformation processes of peripheral rural communities in four European countries: Finland, Estonia, Russia and Ukraine. Fieldwork is conducted in villages on both sides of the European Union eastern border. We purposefully take a grass-roots view of the complex processes of globalisation by asking: how do people who live in rural fringe areas, far from political and economic centres, experience the huge changes in their lives brought about either by the end of socialism or participation in EU institutions and policies, or both? We question the validity of a rigid division between "countries-in-transition" and "Western countries" by comparing localities across this divide, on the thematic grounds of relationship to the European Union, sustainable livelihoods and in-and out-migration. All locations studied share a peripheral position, geographically and/or economically, in relation to the national centre, but the national and international contexts of which they are part are very different. The cases of southern Estonia and eastern Finland are discussed in

detail in relation to the gendered patterns of "culture work" through which local and ethnic identities are maintained, recreated and appropriated. Many local people have become aware of the unique subjective worth of their culture. They have also realised that local traditions, landscapes and livelihoods constitute valuable resources. In the regions studied women, including elderly ones, are especially active in processes of revitalisation of local cultural traditions.

Being an "Outsider" and Being a Woman: A Study of Social Transformation in the Catalan Pyrenees

Meritxell Sucarrat, University of Barcelona (merisuvi@yahoo.es)

At present the tourist and construction industries are the main economic forces in the Catalan Pyrenees. Tourism and construction are in expansion and are directly related to the social conception of the valley as a landscape. Both the majority of the local people and people who come from the outside work in these two sectors. The outsiders are individuals who have decided to live in the Valley where they participate in the local social life.

They are neither tourists, as they stay permanently, nor "real neighbours" in the local sense. Their classification depends on their changing position over time, dependent, for example, on whether they have a house locally, the kind of jobs they do, their degree of active participation in local politics and events, etc. From a local point of view, they display different life styles and also different ideas about the Valley as a place to live.

I want to show the particularities that characterize the relationship between locals and "outsiders" with a special focus on local conceptions of gender. The analysis will use the event of the "Sta. Àgueda" celebration (women's day), to discuss "gender politics" and the current composition and transformation of the social structure.

A Good Place to Live or a Good Place to Leave? Young People and Migration Decision Making in Rural Austria

Bernadette Ralser (bernadette.ralser@univie.ac.at)

More than other age groups rural youths suffer from a range of "disadvantages" of rural life: the lack of public transport which limits their mobility, the absence of institutions offering further education, low employment opportunities and the lack of leisure facilities. Sometimes young people also consider the social control aspect of close-knit communities as "intrusive" and "constraining". These disadvantages are generally felt more strongly by young women: men tend to have more job opportunities locally, and the social life of clubs, leisure associations and community organizations are male dominated. Young women are more exposed to social control than young men - for example they can more easily lose their "good reputation" through gossip if they do not conform to social norms.

My ethnographic case study about migration decision making processes among young people of the rural Upper Austrian Community Schönau nevetheless shows that living in the countryside also offers social advantages: Because of their integration in large families, friendship- and community-networks the young interviewees articulate a strong attachment to their home places. They identify with local cultural values, tend to idealize "the country" and share negative images of "the city" and its inhabitants. The country is collectively considered as the only appropriate place for raising children, yet as disadvantageous for the ambitious youths. This leads especially young, well-educated women to express conflicts, combining their traditional image

of the family with their career aspirations. Thus, gender and social integration are key factors affecting young people's feelings about rurality with implications for out-migration. Moreover, young people are not as mobile and flexible as the globalized labour market increasingly expects them to be, and categories such as community, solidarity and closeness to nature remain valuable for the youths in these areas.

Diversity in the Mind: Rural Homestayers and their Perspectives of the World Out There

Gertraud Seiser, University of Vienna (gertraud.seiser@univie.ac.at)

The paper is based on several periods of fieldwork in a marginalised rural area of Upper Austria, which is characterised by a high fertility rate on the one hand and continuous out-migration on the other. For more than 150 years, half of the members of a group of siblings, on average, have been leaving the region. Target areas have been urban centres with better job opportunities and other lifestyles within Austria and abroad. Contacts to the region of origin are upheld for at least two generations. The homestayers experience the world out there not only through the media but also in addition, through mutual visits and narratives by their relatives.
As a consequence, the rural homestayers are confronted with a plurality of different values, which influence their perception of life, of belonging and diversity. What they share are not common values, they share the knowledge of the diversity of values.

"Honour and Shame" on the Move: Sexualities and Multicultural Tensions in an Austrian Town

Sabine Strasser, Middle East Technical University (sabine.strasser@univie.ac.at)

The public debate on Muslims in the European Union increasingly focuses on the verdict that Muslims are "not willing to integrate" and contribute to the formation of "parallel societies". Hierarchical gender relations and crimes "in the name of honour" (e.g. forced marriages, honour killings, virginity tests, and genital mutilation) have recently become the centre of attention and a main argument for the retreat from principles of multicultural accommodation. Despite the general rejection of the idea that Islam is responsible for these "harmful traditions", legal as well as political practices in Austria not only combat violence against women but also fuel anxieties between different religious and ethnic groups. Honour is in this context presented as an uncontested tradition and reduced to men's sexual control or violence against women. I will show how this debate on crimes "in the name of honour", shaped by the idea of "cultural difference" as something coming from the outside and being concentrated in segregated Muslim enclaves, affects neighbourhood relations and the minority-majority power structures in a small town in Austria.

African Migrant Networks in Germany

Cassandra Ellerbe-Dueck, Southampton University (c.ellerbe-dueck@soton.ac.uk)

Migrants of the African Diaspora have frequently experienced a sense of non-belonging, encountered ever tightening borders, and restricted movement within the European space. African individuals that manage to overcome such hindrances commonly gravitate towards postcolonial or metropolitan capital cities. The

connection with migrants of the African Diaspora and Germany can be categorized as a particular case. While direct postcolonial links to Germany are virtually non-existent, African diasporic migrants can nevertheless be found in many of the country's major cities and small towns. Spatial dispersion and social marginalisation, has prompted many individuals with African diasporic migrant backgrounds to form networks and associations in order to counter sentiments of non-belonging and exclusion.
In this paper, I will examine the networks, networking practices, and cast an intersectionally informed eye upon the situation of migrants of the African Diaspora, residing in the small Southern German city of Bayreuth.

Integration between the Poles of Cultural Difference: The Intersectionality of Islam and Gender in the Tyrolean Municipality of Telfs

Christina Hollomey, University of Vienna (Christina.Hollomey@gmx.at)

Although the general discourse on cultural diversity as well as the policy framework regarding the integration of immigrants is created on a national level, it is local municipalities, which are actually implementing integration projects. In trying to prevent social divisions and finding new ways of "living together" municipalities liaise with migrant associations in order to get into contact with the local immigrant population. However, as both actors often employ a view of "culture" that is essentialist and tends to "naturalise" hegemonic religious, ethnic or national constructions of identity, integration projects may fail to address basic structural inequalities between social majorities and minorities. Even more so, asymmetric participation structures within migrant associations remain unquestioned. This particularly affects marginalized groups who are not asked for their (dis)agreement to the way "their" culture is represented to society at large.
The focus of this paper is on women engaged in two Turkish Islamic associations in the Austrian Tyrolean municipality of Telfs. Discussing the example of a locally implemented integration project, it analyses how a multicultural discourse can serve to legitimate asymmetric participation structures within associations, as well as to reproduce them in the cooperation between migrant organisations and local municipalities.

Contested Integration: Local Policies and Responses in Small-Town Germany

Hauke Dorsch, Southampton University (H.Dorsch@soton.ac.uk)

Integration is the current buzzword in German politics. Recently the federal government announced a "national integration plan", and the national media present integration as a desirable goal, opposing it to so-called parallel societies regarded as threatening Germany's social cohesion. Following the national lead, the administration of the town of Bayreuth, located in the Northeast of the German federal state of Bavaria, started to establish its own integration policies. Activities include the appointment of a Commissioner for Integration and the establishment of steering committees and working groups, which are to design an integration concept for the town. Though being sceptical, members of associations supporting migrants participated in these activities from the outset. Many migrants and persons with a migrant background, however, are still somewhat hesitant to support these initiatives, as many regard them as yet another way of forcing them into assimilation. Others appreciate the new interest "minority" groups receive and expect positive change in the future.
The presentation will introduce the particulars of the history of Bayreuth, its special combination of local and religious identities and how they come into play within the

current multicultural situation. Then local political activities with regards to integration, the different concepts of integration, the perceptions of neighbourhood and racism (by "indigenous" Germans and those with migrant background) will be discussed. Finally I will reflect on my role as a researcher - and supposedly "specialist" - in this context.

W080

Diverse and Shared Publics: Politics of Entitlement and Commemoration

Convenors: **Victoria Goddard, Goldsmiths College, University of London (v.goddard@gold.ac.uk)**
Susana Narotzky, Universitat de Barcelona (snarotzky@jamillan.com)
Discussant: **Frances Pine**

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: R1A

This panel is an exploration of ways in which action, sentiment and discourse shape and are shaped by urban public spaces. The discussion will address the relationships between emotions and action, focusing in particular on activities such as political protest and the creation or production of monuments and their elaboration thorough acts of commemoration. What is the effect of public action on urban space and how does urban space condition/inform public action? Do cities or urban spaces provide particular kinds of "spaces of communication"? How is public space regulated during different governmental regimes (fascism, Stalinism, neoliberalism etc)?
Recent anthropological and historical research has emphasised the significance of the "witness" to history. What different kinds of witness emerge in the wake of brutal or repressive acts, at times of revolution, or during periods of reconciliation? In other words, how does the witnessing of history (in the sense of both time and space) form, and reform, the present with reference to the past? In the current era of what often seems to be almost compulsive or mandatory witnessing to incredibly well documented events, how are some acts and spaces in the public sphere given salience while others are silenced or ignored.
We invite papers from anthropologists and others working on political protest, commemoration and/or the public sphere. We are particularly interested in the ethnography of urban places, but we recognise the impossibility of considering the urban to be an isolated place and therefore will welcome studies from a wider perspective.

Spaces of Transition? Trajectories of Juvenile Assertion in Urban Côte d'Ivoire

Karel Arnaut, Ghent University (karel.arnaut@ugent.be)

Throughout the low intensity civil war, which started in 2002, a rhetoric of youth affirmation and nationalist "patriotic" defiance has invaded the Ivorian public sphere at least in urban centres such as Abidjan. The immensely popular people's parliaments are the most conspicuous sites where this rhetoric is flourishing. These self-styled "spaces of free expression" partly replace and/or extend the conventional democratic infrastructure of political parties, national parliament, as well as the media. As such they constitute operational bases for gaining access to the regular

civil and political society. In most of the current literature on this subject, people's parliaments are seen as part of a "transitional public sphere" (Shukra) that connects subaltern and mainstream forms of activism.
This paper explores in what sense an approach in terms of "spaces of transition" also applies to other newly emerging heterotopias in the Abidjanais public sphere. The ongoing conflict has seen patriotic youth groups of different sorts — ranging from cultural associations to armed militias — also occupying and transforming other public and semi-public sites such as hotels and cafés, schools, and even army camps. This paper tries to grasp what has been happening in these spaces by looking at how some of these youth organisations have given shape to them. While being based on ethnographic research in Abidjan since 2003, this paper analytically ties in with current research on: 1. public sphere and civil society after the spatial turn; and 2. non-state forms of governance and governmentality.

The Role of the Public Square in the Formation of the Public Sphere: The Case of Romania in the Early Post-Communist Period

Codruța Cuceu, Romanian Academy of Sciences
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One of the particularities of Romanian communism was that in the appropriation of communist ideology, Ceausescu's totalitarian regime made use of a major deformation of the public-private split for ideological purpuses, i.e., for the proliferation of its power. Therefore, a lack of a coherent theoretical and practical approach of the public-private split is noticeable (and, in a certain way, explainable) in Romania even after 1989.
At any rate, the lack of a public sphere could explain people's need to symbolically takeover of real public squares during the 1989 Romanian Revolution and afterwards. At the beginning of the 1990s, the routes traversed by the masses during the Romanian Revolution in December 1989 have gained a symbolic role and have been ritually iterated, more or less spontaneously, but regularly, by the protesting masses.
These public spaces and squares play the role of an agora, of an open, real, public space, claiming no conditions for attending and participating to the public sphere.
By bringing into discussion two case studies, one regarding the use of a public square in seeking official recognition and in recreating religious identity in the Transylvanian city of Cluj starting with 1990, and the other regarding the Romanian political opposition's symbolic use of space in Piata Universităii in June 1990, the purpose of this paper is to analyze the role of urban public squares in generating discourses, redefining social interaction (Sam Beck) and for the formation of organic, natural and visible Romanian civil society after the fall of the communist regime in 1989.

The Changing Politics of Remembrance

Paz Moreno Feliú, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia
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The purpose of this paper is to analyse the changing politics of memory applied to different social groups of the Holocaust and Concentration Camps survivors. The so-called Nuernberg representation of the Holocaust made possible a certain homogeneity of the process in various European nations. The dinamic of the process goes from the initial politics of retribution and of public commemoration, based on a sort of meritocracy of action (fighters as national heroes) to the present policies based on the new and broader concept of victimhood, a group of victims defined in

terms of their past suffering. Paradoxically, the first policies excluded from retribution and commemorations the groups worst hit by Nazism (such as Jews, Gypsies or homosexuals). Actually they were formally silenced and very often stigmatized as ambiguous unheroic/unnational group who "went to their death like sheep to the slaughter".
During the last decades public representation changed the emphasis on the action of the fighters to focus on the suffering of victims. I want to analyse how and why court rooms were a central part of this process and how the trials themselves became part of the new rituals of commemoration.
The result of this change belongs to a new and more general social trend that forms part of a wider process of depolitisation of the original conflicts that has transformed the discourses and the politics of retribution and remembrance.

Then and Now: The Temporal Structures of the Transmission of Republican Attachments

Nükhet Sirman, Bogazici University (sirman@boun.edu.tr)

The issue of the role of emotions in constructing national identity will be discussed in this paper through a study of the life stories of twenty women who at the time of the interview were about sixty years old. Drawing on these interviews, I shall concentrate on the issue of temporality and show how a binary time structure, then and now, serves to differentiate between authentic sentiments and false ones. I shall argue that it is usually through such simple temporal structures that sentiment can become public and therefore part of the process of politics.

Route of Conflict and Tradition: Commemoration Parades in Belfast

Eva Batista, University of Ljubljana (batisteva@gmail.com)

The Orange parade in Northern Ireland is a public holiday. The Orange Institution organizes this event in order to celebrate the battle of Boyne in 1690. The city of Belfast has had an interesting history of these parades, which have been determined by specific roads and streets and by specific visual material displays along the entire route. Belfast was for the Protestant community a place of imagination, which could only ever really be realised in the act of movement (de Certeau 1984). Commemorating such an event is of extreme importance to the Protestant community, as it derives from the desire for orientation in time, for integrating oneself in one's past by appropriating that past and by confirming one's identity by way of one's group identity (Frijda 1997).
My paper will examine the contemporary situation of Belfast parades and will show upon the connection between ritual changes and the uses of urban space. Namely, after a period of economic prosperity, the Catholic community dispersed and moved into areas of former Protestant settlement. This contributed to several issues, because the "traditional" route of the parade, which has remained a means of asserting collective identities and claiming political dominance over territory, was contested as being a symbolic violent act to express domination over the Catholic community. Their demand for re-routing the parades applied to entire parading manifestation culture. For example even the kerbstones, lampposts and road signs are painted in the same Union colours that serve as a constant reminder of which part town one is in (Bryan 2000).

Identities, Sexualities and Commemorations: Public Space and Sexual Dissidence

Begonya Enguix, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya (benguix@uoc.edu)

Departing from the analysis of the Gay Pride Parades in Spain and the analysis of the relationship between territorialisation, identities and political activism, we will analyse the mechanisms used for entitlement and how the public space has been resignified by sexual dissidents as a space for vindication and visibilisation.

The use of the public space for entitlement and commemoration has only been possible in Spain after the restoration of democracy. We consider that the Gay Pride Parade, and other uses of the space related to sexual diversity, can be read, not only as an occupation of the street in order to celebrate entitlement and commemoration, but also as an affirmation of distinctive identities. Such commemorative venues constitute a privileged field for the analysis of the mechanisms through which sexual dissidents express the social and subjective identities by means of the re-presentation of an embodied public act. These identities are intertwined with discourses and counterdiscourses of sexual diversity, which defend assimilationist/ revolutionary positions. Such discourses and counterdiscourses can be traced through the strategies of re-presentation/absence from the event.

The most important Gay Parade in Spain takes place in Madrid around the 28th of June to commemorate the Stonewall Riots in New York (1969), which gave rise to modern gay activism. With the years and the different political contexts, the march has changed in structure and itinerary, eventually occupying more central parts of the city. That is why we think public space can be important to understanding how sexual diversities are managed and negotiated.

The Changing Memory Landscape of the East European Provincial City: The Case of Gliwice and the Recovery of a Multicultural Past

Ewa Ochman, Manchester University (ewa.ochman@manchester.ac.uk)

This paper aims to explore the role of the self-governing and recently revived East European municipality in composing narratives of historical past and in reconfiguring the urban memory landscape. The post-1989 municipal commemorative practices primarily focused on dissociation from those imposed by the communist regimes' scheme of history and on the representation of the national historical narratives of the newly liberated nation-states. This re-composing of the past was achieved by the renaming of public space, by the removal and production of monuments and by revising the list of collectively commemorated anniversaries. However, the focus of the commemorative practices has increasingly been shifting and the specificity of the urban landscape, the distinctive population make-up and the mass memory of the inhabitants of the municipality have become central to cities' remembering. This paper explores this important shift in east European public remembering.

My case study focuses on a peripheral city, Gliwice, located in Upper Silesia, the historical western borderland of Poland. My investigations concentrate on the local remembrance initiatives that relate to the German-Polish-Soviet past and, more specifically, to the wartime conduct of the Red Army soldiers. I trace how the reclaiming of the commemorative space for the local - multilayered and multiethnic - war memories has altered the urban landscape in Gliwice in the last decade and what kind of functions have been assigned by the municipal authorities to the newly created/relegated/destroyed memory space during the democratic and economic transformations experienced by the city and the region.

Post-Socialist Transformation and Monument-Building in a Slovakian Town

Michaela Ferencová, Slovak Academy of Sciences (misaferencova@yahoo.com)

In this paper I aim to look into the mechanisms of post-socialist monument-building policy in the town of Nové Zámky in Southwestern Slovakia. In the book The Political Lives of Dead Bodies Katherine Verdery (1999) argues that political changes induce manipulations with statues and corpses of famous persons. She pointed to the intensity of these processes after the collapse of communism in East-Central Europe and explained them through the acute need to replace the symbols of the old regime. Within the recent twenty years, the inhabitants of the territory of present-day Slovakia experienced double political change: the collapse of the communist regime in 1989, and the split-up of Czechoslovakia in 1993. After 1989 the public spaces of Nové Zámky has been exposed to extensive monument-manipulations. Nonetheless, the ongoing monument-building obscures the connection of this practice with the political changes occurring nearly two decades ago. The prevalence of installations over removals does not fit the simple logic of the strong wish to eliminate unwanted symbols either. In my paper, I explain the post-socialist monument-building policy in Nové Zámky as a result of two driving forces: 1. the efforts of the local political authorities to compensate for the lost historical appearance of the city - enabled by the democratisation of decision-making procedures; 2. the struggles over classificatory schemes, induced by the re-emergence of inter-ethnic competition between Slovak and Hungarian inhabitants.

Valentin Vodnik, "the First Slovenian Poet"

Božidar Jezernik, University of Ljubljana (bozidar.jezernik@ff.uni-lj.si)

Each generation it its own way weighs up and measures the past according to contemporary outlooks, in order to give shape to the future. This is why, the views of the past, and of the future, are constantly changing, being rectified from generation to generation, supplemented and adjusted. It is, therefore, inevitable that the roles played by certain icons take on ever-new characteristics. Thus, over the past two centuries, the image of Valentin Vodnik has also undergone radical changes. With the changing political circumstances, not just his public image but also the interpretations of his poetical writings were altering.

W081

Modern Institutions in a "Cross-Cultural" Perspective: Ethnographies of Adaptation and Code-Switching

Convenors: **Almut Schneider, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris (as12008@gmail.com)**
Elisabeth Tauber, Ludwig-Maximilians Universität, München (lis_tauber@yahoo.de)
Discussant: **Judith Okely (Oxford University/University of Hull)**

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 06

Ethnographic research centering on institutions and organisations plays an increasingly significant role in our discipline, not only because more and more anthropologists are

working as consultants. Within this growing field, the focus of the workshop will be on "modern" institutions (e.g. schools, hospitals, prisons, army, employment centres, public service institutions, etc.), and seeks ethnographic examples of situations, regardless of specific regions (inside or outside Europe), where people are involved with modern institutions "cross-culturally". For example, people "inside" institutional contexts dealing with different "outside" realities or people from "outside" approaching institutions inherited from colonial/postcolonial implementations.
What are the concrete and intended articulations of places, people and specific forms of social relations and knowledge? Who is adapting how and to whom or what? How do institutions and people react to these adaptations? What other approaches are being attempted as in, for example - to borrow from a linguistic concept - people code-switching when moving between the inside and outside of institutions. How are internal, institutionalized discourses perceived in contexts of cultural diversity?
Finally, one might ask what the role of anthropologists is here? Where does an open-ended ethnographic description (model) end and where does a specific "useful" application as "expert knowledge", with clearly targeted outputs start? How can anthropologists react to the practical needs and interests of an institution? Does the increasing need for collaboration (mutuality) that anthropologists identify cause dilemmas similar to those encountered in recent debates on audit and accountability?

Changing Conceptions of Personhood in Contemporary Turkey: An Upper Middle Class School Ethnography

Müge Ayan Ceyhan, Istanbul Bilgi University (mayan@bilgi.edu.tr)

This research paper is a study of changing conceptions of personhood in Turkey. It focuses on a private primary school, which encourages values of entrepreneurialism, individualism, and creativity, and stands in contrast to the state system promoting conformity and equality. Based on one and a half years of participant observation at Bakis School, an upper middle class primary school in Istanbul, the study investigates how teachers raised in a conformist educational system develop a sense of "individualism".
The ethnographic evidence indicates that Bakis School reproduced as well as challenged the value systems underlying Turkish society. With its alternative educational model, Bakis called into question the nation-state's attempts to promote a concept of personhood revolving around conformism, obedience and citizenship, and promoted the idea of a person being an independent individual endowed with "rights". The extent to which teachers and parents comprehended these ideals forms a key part of the analysis and I also discuss how even the school administration vacillated between opposing conceptions of personhood. The ethnographic data overwhelmingly indicate that in the process of creating an alternative educational system from scratch and trying to meet high expectations coming from the school authority, teachers' roles and obligations became so dominant as to downplay and pressurise their "selves". Interestingly, in order to be able to raise children as independent individuals, the teachers needed to be interdependent people obedient to authority and this resulted in a complex and often conflicting interplay between their ideals and their day-to-day experiences.

Doing Research in a "Romani NGO": Dilemmas of Involvement

Hana Synkova, Charles University, Prague (hana.synkova@login.cz)

I have been involved in volunteering and researching strategies of survival of an NGO that labels itself a Romani NGO and provides social services in the Czech Republic. I let the organisation use me for whatever work was needed, gradually moving to more expert and external positions. I am going to explore the tensions between the strengthening presentation of the organisation in line with the official discourses of professionalism and social exclusion, and between the internal life of the organisation with conflicts around the legitimacy of authority and the influence of family structures. The organisation is run by a Romani woman, Anna, who gradually employed her two sons and some friends and thus became an important provider of socio-economic resources for these people. However, the new social services law and a pressure for efficiency forced her to take on more professionals, mostly non-Romani staff. Two conceptions of authority have clashed - the informal one of Anna, and the authority of a few professionals, who consider some of "Anna's people" as being inefficient. Having this competitive disadvantage in mind, the public relations strategy tries to create an image of high professionalism.
To what extent can an anthropologist disclose organisational strategies in a situation of strong competition and control of organisational reputation? How should an anthropologist act if s/he is constantly asked to confirm organisational credibility, knowing that it does not conform to the mainstream image (as well as his/her own) of the organisation using public money? To resolve the dilemma I will use Pels' (2000) claim about the right of anthropologists to "guard the secret". I will describe the inconveniences of active involvement and identification with an organisation and will balance them with assets that can be gained through the reflection of the researcher's involvement in the practice of code switching.

A Muslim Institution in a Hindu World and in a Modern and Secular State

Delphine Planterose, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris (thidous@libertysurf.fr)

This contribution deals with the adaptation of the administration of a Muslim shrine to the Indian context in which Muslims represents only 13% of the population. For centuries the shrine was managed in agreement with the mode of governance of its locality, inherited from Hindu society. But with the beginning of the 20th century, the institution had to bend to the requirements fixed by the Indian Union. The latter, in a modern and secular attitude, intervened by setting up a legal framework for the management of the various places of worship. Now, each religion had its own law, which was supposed to be more respectful of the particular value systems. Since about sixty years, the "ministry for Pious Foundations" tries to manage the shrine in terms of this law but the effect is minimal, because all the shrine's agents resist this "integration", imposed by the state. Thus, the shrine's administration tries to preserve its customary mode of functioning that successfully adapts Muslim practices to a Hindu context. In this paper I will show how and why this institution resists the law of the State, all the while the imposed mode of operation claims to be more respectful of the Islamic law than the traditional mode of management. Indeed the latter, being based on Hindu values, seems to be more successful when it comes to "interculturality" than the organisation imposed by modern law.

Acceptance and Resilience towards the EU Institutional Culture Model

Gabriel Stoiciu, Francisc Rainer Institute for Anthropology (gabriel.stoiciu@gmail.com)

Having to comply with EU accession requirements, but confronted with socioeconomic difficulties, East European Countries "import" foreign experts by "twining" or "technical assistance" projects.
The main objective of my paper is to present some aspects related to individual attitudes of professionals confronted with the EU institutional culture model, which consists of overall standards for activity and communication (even terminology).
From their position, EU-employees are confronted with multiple cultural pressures, which lead to different behaviours ranging from acceptance to resistance. On the one hand, an EU expert has to embrace an EU code of conduct (often different from their prior background) but also a Eurojargon, which can have unusual consequences. An example of using Eurojargon in average communication was a question addressed to me by an English-speaking EU expert: "Gabriel, can you organise (i.e. "bring") a headphone?"
On the other hand, the "exotic" environment of the hosting country could not be disregarded by a professional compelled to work both on the wide and the deep scale of a foreign society. Subsequently, another objective is to show how the representation of Romanian social, political and economic landscape - acquired by the foreign experts prior to their arrival in Romania - changed when confronted with the on-field situation (the attitude and background of the indigenous people to work with) and what the impact on their actual missions was.
As a former "native" member (project assistant) of such a technical assistance team, I present some results of this fieldwork based on empirical data gathered through interviews and participant observations of different foreign experts working in Romania.

Modern Institutions in a Cross-Cultural Perspective: The Case of a Feasibility Study in Vanuatu (South Pacific)

Gaïa Fisher, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (gaia.fisher@wanadoo.fr)

Building on six months experience as a consultant for an engineering group, with the aim to identify a suitable site for the implementation of a new wharf on the small island of Tanna (South Vanuatu), I analyse my expertise in the scope of an "audit" - not on accountability but on the feasibility - of the three different sites studied and of such a study in itself. The expertise, being framed in terms of "social needs" and "feasibility", taking also into account other social matters like "preservation of cultural sites" and seeking the "approval of the communities" raised, not surprisingly, a number of misunderstandings on the side of the silent partners and the beneficiaries of the project.
Having previously done three years of "open-ended" ethnography in the country, this experience made me particularly aware of the political and ethical stress under which the anthropological method finds itself in an "applied" context. My long experience with the local culture almost turned into something of an obstacle when confronted with the necessity to take into account the requirements of aid agencies and governmental directives.
Forthcoming, another trip to Vanuatu will be the occasion to present the results of the study to governmental and non-governmental institutions as well as to local leaders. The outcome of this presentation will be analyzed as to how the results of the report have been received by the institutions and the local people.

Institutions and Ethnoscapes: The BBC World Service Tamil and Sinhala Services amidst the Sri Lankan Civil War

Sharika Thiranagama, LSE (sharikathiranagama@hotmail.com)

In this paper I examine one of the world's most enduring institutions the BBC World Service, through its two regional language Tamil and Sinhala services broadcasting to Sri Lanka. This paper uses archival sources and ethnographic data with Bush House BBC journalists to explore how the BBC services attempt to negotiate the Sri Lankan war, and how in fact the BBC services far from being a dispassionate global observer has become a key part itself of Sri Lanka's ethnically fractured landscape. The paper examines how journalists in the Tamil and Sinhala services - small fry within the larger BBC but highly powerful within the Sri Lankan media landscape - continue to reproduce ethnically structured audiences even as they attempt to negotiate them. Thus the paper also uses the BBC to reflect on a much deeper malaise within Sri Lanka.

A Double Play: "Translating" between the Discursive Practices of Anthropology and Chinese Media Corporation

Makiko Taniguchi, What If Innovation (makiko_taniguchi@hotmail.com)

Increasingly, anthropologists are being engaged in consultancy for corporate concerns. This raises important questions regarding the appropriation and disciplining of anthropological knowledge and expertise. What kinds of roles are anthropologists expected to play? What critical insights can we bring to the corporate world as anthropologists?

These questions arose out of my experience as a consultant for China's biggest media research company between 2002 and 2003. I was, at that time, also writing up my PhD thesis. There, I had double roles to play. As an anthropologist conducting research, I was interested in presenting a more complex view of Chinese media and so-called "audience" beyond state or commercial discourse. Yet, as an "expert", it was my job to take part in the commercial discourse to create the "audience" and find ways to extract exchange values out of them. There were also the interests of the state and local academics to contend with, not to mention the contradictory pulls between being a participant observer trying not to interfere with what was going on, and being the consultant actively shaping the situation.

The question is, then, how could I remain true to my project and training as an anthropologist, while serving the interests of my employer who was ultimately the super addressee of the "expert"? This paper discusses the efficacy and relevance of anthropologists working in the corporate world as an anthropologist, trying to make our ethnographic accounts more accessible and "useful" for the people in modern institutions.

W082

It's Gone: An Anthropology of Loss

Convenors: **Stefanie Lotter, WITS (lotters@social.wits.ac.za)**
Robert Thornton, University of the Witwatersrand (robert.thornton@wits.ac.za)

29 August 2008, 09:00

Room: 5

We wish to re-imagine the apparently "missing" as paradoxically present by exploring

loss as an absence that is also a defining presence. We would like to examine loss as in decline and undoing of relations, the unlearning and forgetting of abilities and the loss and destruction of objects.
In general we tend to describe change with the beginning of a new paradigm, epoch or possibilities. However, loss may happen at the beginning, middle or ending of processes. For this workshop and a subsequent publication we would like to invite papers that focus on:
The loss of personality, mind, identity, for instance:
• loss of a past through the decline of memory or the loosing of ones mind
• loss of a future with its missed chances or closed options
Loss as central/defining a*bsence, for instance:
• Loss of a parent, virginity - redefining your kinship role,
• loss of love in rejection or death
The loss of objects, values, knowledge and goals, for instance:
• loss of knowledge about material culture
• loss of "heritage" objects as loss of culture
• loss at games or of money and the experience of defeat
The loss of past or future for instance:
• decolonisation as the undoing of colonialism rather than a state of post-colonisation
• finality of loss in war or violence as loss of an expected future and condition for alternative futures, or the unrecoverable future.

Manufacturing Loss: Evasion and Nostalgia in a German Industrial Town

Peter Phillimore, Newcastle University (peter.phillimore@ncl.ac.uk)

In a town dominated for over a century by a single industry and a single corporation, popular reflection in the German chemical centre of Ludwigshafen has tended to stress long-run continuities, typified in families where generation after generation has worked in the same firm and place. Yet concealed by such cyclical imagery of enduring stability is also a less noticed rumination on the balance sheet of profound social and economic change, in which loss and a sense of the missing is a pervasive motif. This paper, based on recent fieldwork in Ludwigshafen, explores the paradoxical ways in which industrial skills, management styles and practices, pollution of air and water, public services, demography and immigration all get interwoven in a narration of change, loss, hope and unease, involving a degree of nostalgia as well as considerable evasion.

A History Interrupted: Social Identity and Cultural Change in Modern Palestine

Joshua Rickard, Millersville University (joshuarickard@yahoo.com)

I spent the summer of 2007 conducting ethnographic research and filming interviews in Palestinian refugee camps in the besieged city of Nablus, the West Bank. Questions addressed included how cultural identity has been shaped and changed as a result of the occupation, and how traditions and family structure have been maintained in the refugee camps and other isolated communities. In seeking a modern perspective, I chose to interview young people, particularly university students, to gain their insight on the difficult political and economic forces on the issues that form the identity of Palestinians living in these communities. Some of the major themes that emerged

during interviews were cultural sustainability, education, psychological trauma, and family structure. As a result of the reflections and testimonies of personal and collective identity given by the contributors to the research and the time in which it was conducted, immediately before and during the Hamas takeover of Gaza, the study gives in depth insight into issues of cultural change, conflict, and a future in modern Palestine.

Individual and Collective Appropriations of Loss in Post-War Bosnia

Laura Huttunen, University of Tampere (laura.huttunen@uta.fi)

The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995 meant enormous personal and collective losses for most, if not all Bosnians. Many lost their loved ones, their family houses and other material belongings, and further their previous occupational positions and the like. The violent nature of the war meant also that many people lost their neighbourly relations, and the social fabric of most local communities was damaged or destroyed altogether. The social, cultural and political repercussions of the war changed social life to the extent that many Bosnians claim that they have lost "the world as they used to know it".

There are various discourses and practices within post-war Bosnia that seek to harness such losses for political ends. Memorial sites commemorating various events of the war are among such practices. In this paper, based on ethnographic fieldwork, I will look at specific memorial sites within Bosnia, such as a burial site of victims of shellfire in Tuzla, and the ways in which they are commented upon by Bosnians, both by locals and by Bosnians visiting from Diaspora. The focus of investigation will be on tensions between private, narrated memories of loss and public commemorative practices. The collective appropriations of loss are compared with private practices of grasping loss and imagining future, such as writing poetry in the Diaspora.

Becoming Parent through Loss

Chiara Garattini, National University of Ireland (chiara.garattini@gmail.com)

This paper draws on my research on pregnancy loss and infantile death in the context of Irish cultural history. In situations of infantile death parents construct a personhood for a baby who never lived and "create" memories through the use of material culture and space. The (supposedly) imagined relationship with their babies represents an interesting crossroads where materiality, immateriality, imagination and reality seem to meld. Parents experience a feeling of "presence", "intervention" and sometimes the "apparition" of their child's "ghost" while they are reconciling themselves with loss. Through these encounters - spatial, material and imaginative - parents construct an identity for their deceased child, while simultaneously articulating their own identities. The loss of a child for these parents is the beginning of a journey into "becoming" parents. Furthermore, for some young parents this event also becomes an occasion for personal "change". Infant loss is often their first encounter with the "finality" of death and this can influence their life expectations, plans for the future, and the way in which they approach subsequent pregnancies. Through an analysis of the spatial and material dimensions of loss I argue that the relationship with their absent/present child becomes a way for parents to form a new identity.

Narratives of Temporality in the Making of a Vanishing Landscape

Anne Brydon, Wilfrid Laurier University (abrydon@wlu.ca)

Environmental politics constellate diverse experiences and conceptualizations of temporality, yet tropes of loss have brought forth moments of conjuncture between their different constituencies. This paper emerges from the conjuncture of several narratives of loss manifest in Iceland's debate over hydroelectric dams, foreign-owned heavy industry, and the future of the country's highland moors and rivers threatened by both. Loss of habitat, diversity, wilderness landscape, and history are projected into the future, countering the modernist trope of (monetary) gain through progress and development. These narratives exemplify how pasts and futures can fold into the experience of the present: as loss or gain, but also as contingency or necessity, rupture or continuity, chaos or order. The projection of loss made visible to urban Icelanders the little-known landscapes of Eyjabakkar and Kárahnjúkar, two sites of hydroelectric development, and in so doing instigated the country's first environmental movement. Artists critical of the changes wrought by dam projects have attempted to make loss a palpable presence for urban audiences in such diverse locales as Reykjavík, Venice, New York, and Winnipeg. The art object thus becomes a possible site for the experience of the presence of an absence, yet to experience it as such remains contingent upon the recognition of mutual concerns within transnational ecological thought. This paper examines how time and narratives of loss figure in the making of landscape, political consciousness, and art.

Good Losers: On the Virtue of Defeat

Eric Worby, University of the Witwatersrand (eric.worby@wits.ac.za)

Losing a contest imposes a moral obligation upon defeated competitors and their partisans to accept the outcome in a ritualized manner - to demonstrate that they acknowledge and accept loss as a finality, perhaps even as a condition of being allowed to play again. This obligation would seem to compound the trauma and indignity of loss. Indeed, a long-running television advertisement for ABC Sports made a memorable reference to the "agony of defeat". Yet defeat can confer dignity, even virtue, upon losers, provided that they lose well, that they are "good sports". This paper reflects upon why this might be so.

The Loss of Wheeler Craft

Fruzsina Cseh, Eötvös Loránd University (csfruzsina@yahoo.com)

Taking into consideration the lives of the craftsmen, as influenced by the changing social and economic conditions, and being aware that their memories are beneficial not only for understanding the technique of wheeler craft but also for following the loss of workmanship in lifestyle and attitude. How they have lost their experience in the craft is different in the case of each master, depending on their circumstances, their level of knowledge and the community they have worked in. Accordingly, the events they attach importance to in retrospect also differs. The process of losing the craft incorporates different memories and experiences, and takes much more time - fifty to ninety years - than the loss of practice. This process is worth following, as the ways the craftsmen have lost their knowledge also says a lot about wheeler craft, and beyond the changing memories, about the varied range of values and social relations of craftsmen. Studying the loss of knowledge raises new questions regarding the research methodology of disappearing and sometimes incomplete knowledge

compared to an active and living craft. How and what should we ask, what kind of aspects are to be researched during the analysis of the life courses? The author of the paper tries to answer these questions with the help of her own new researches and experiences and by using other earlier researches in this subject.

From Land to Landscape: From Tangible to Intangible - Recognising a Sense of Loss and Grief

Liam Campbell, University of Ulster (Campbell-L6@ulster.ac.uk)

Much of the research in Europe on the notion of landscape in nature tends to focus on the large diversity of cultural landscapes, currently losing their ties with the land-use systems that formed them. Reports show a large commitment to this decreasing diversity and appear characterised by a strong sense of loss and grief. Globalisation has tended to reinforce the detachment of people from their environment and much needs to be done to compensate for this effect. However how are we to move forward with confidence and consistency if this grief and loss is not recognised and dealt with appropiately. Land is a tangible, physical resource that can be worked, sold, built upon and its importance is more functional than beautiful. However landscape is an intangible resource, whose definitive characteristic is its appearance; landscape is viewed not worked. Land is personal; Landscape is communal. How is this move from a tangible cultural heritage to an intangible heritage perceived and dealt with? There can be no agreement even about what to preserve or create, if there is no agreed upon reference images of landscape and land.

Men who Have Sex with Men and the Loss of Future

Aleš Lamut, University of Ljubljana (ales.lamut@gmail.com)

Stigma regarding men who have sex with men (MSM) is related to sexual risk behavior. Stigma can be subdivided into perceived, experienced and internalized stigma. Social pressure is reducing the options of choice, influencing MSM partner search and their sexual behavior. "Coming out", the act of declaring oneself as gay in the context of Slovenian heteronormative society, can become an act of closing ones options in the future, regarding sexually transmitted infections. Since MSM are difficult to reach, the central question is how to gather most relevant data to inform future disease prevention and sexual education policy efforts. Development of specific and adequate methodological approach for the study of a "hidden population" is the central question of the paper. The author discusses the use of different sociological and epidemiological approaches in MSM sexual behavior research. In that context the possibilities of anthropological qualitative research are presented.

W083

Homecomings in Transnational Age: Visible Projects, Forged Practices?

Convenors: **Tsypylma Darieva, Humboldt University (tsypylma.darieva@staff.hu-berlin.de)**
Riina Isotalo, University of Helsinki (riina.isotalo@helsinki.fi)
Discussant: **Anders Stefansson**

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 024

Homecomings and returns recently referred to as "silent migration" and "structurally invisible" movements (Stefansson 2004) seem to be increasingly significant for global mobility (Levitt 2007) as an emotive moment in a migrant's life cycle or as an imaginative project based on diasporic memories of expulsion. Homecoming and return produce diverse long- and short-term visits: heritage tourism, sacred journey, repatriation, work contract, remittances, and political activities of many levels. Not only people are involved in these processes but also commodities, soil, bones, stones and artefacts. On one hand we deal with the process of de-mythologising the myth of return, on the other hand with the de-diasporisation of transnational belonging.
This workshop sheds light on intersections and controversies of "return" and "homecoming" by problematising the interplay between multi-placement and displacement and by questioning the issue of fin legal, cultural and social life of both home and host lands. How do "homecomings" as "future projects" redefine the sense of place, the relations between migrants and the real or symbolic homeland? How do people relate "homecoming" to repatriations directed to areas other than those considered "home"? How do returnees change and modify the public space in a new old home? We welcome papers based on ethnographies as well as theoretically informed contributions on homecoming and return in transnational age.

"Homecoming" and "Home" Revisited: The Case of Co-Ethnic "Return" Migrations

Jasna Čapo-Žmegač, Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku (capo@ief.hr)

The presentation will deal with the "return" of "(co-)ethnic migrants" into their "ethnic homeland". Co-ethnic migrations were engendered by the reconfiguration of political landscape after major 20th century-wars and the demise of the communist regime in Europe at the end of the last century. Both of these resulted in transitions from multinational empires or states to new nation-states in which some ethnic groups were overnight transformed into national minorities. Many of them resettled - more or less forcibly - in their "ethnic homelands", that is in the countries in which their ethnicity represents the majority of the population. The list of such population displacements in European history can hardly be exhausted (to name just a few: during and after World War I, Balkan Muslims and Greeks were exchanging their areas of settlement; after the collapse of the Habsburg Empire, the German Kaiserreich and the Soviet Union ethnic Germans from those areas resettled in Germany, etc.).
In particular this paper will deal with the "homecoming", i. e. the resettlement of Croats from Serbia in Croatia after the collapse of Yugoslavia in 1991. Did they indeed "return home" as the State apparatus put it? Or was their "return" controversial and their expectations of their new homeland deceived? How did they, in the process of incorporation into the Croatian society, redefine their sense of belonging and their relationship to the homeland where they came from (their real homeland) and the homeland they settled in (previously the symbolic homeland)?

Coming Home to the World: The Remaking of Bosnian Village Life

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The legacy of the Dayton Peace Agreement that brought an end to war in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been contradictory, simultaneously providing incentives for displaced people to reclaim property but not to "sustainably" return. Rather, return is often a dynamic and open-ended process that may extend over long periods of time and may involve mobility between multiple places (Richmond 1996). Consequently,

in many cases villages have developed "non-place" qualities. Resembling the airport lounge, they are more akin to sites of traveling than sites of dwelling. They are characterized increasingly by a deterritorialisation of the relationship between place, culture and identity. And, the emerging social and material forms of village life are significantly extra-locally defined, as newly implanted "historic" local cultural references compete alongside an array, or in Auge's terms, an "excess" of the symbols of international aid donors, alien religious architectures and rememberences of diasporic communities. This ethnographic paper explores the Bosnian village homecomings of displaced Bosnian villagers, both Bosniac and Serb, now residing in Australia. In particular, it argues that the forms that the cultural interventions they make in contemporary village life are contingent upon the contrasting social conditions of their displacement. In this case a comparison is drawn between welfare dependent people subjected significantly to Australia's program of multicultural immigration management, participants in "Bosnian Virtual Villages" and a young Bosnian middle-class that valorizes the cosmoplitanizing dimensions of the refugee experience.

Diasporic Homecomings beyond the Ethnic Lens: Encounters in Post-Soviet Armenia

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Looking at the recent impact of the US American Armenian Diaspora on the local society in Armenia this paper will focus on interplay between nostalgic homecomings and pragmatic development programmes. In this case we deal with members of an established and "rich" Western Diaspora who "move" to Armenia for temporal visits keeping their strong ties to the US adopted homeland. By transferring economic and social capital into a poor land the Armenian Americans get a feeling to be re-incorporated into the sacred homeland, but in very different ways. One example of such transnational incorporation into the Armenian society is a successful environmental project on the reforestation of the Armenian landscape. The motivating forces in the decision to invest in Armenia, seem to be diversifed, whereby not only a national patriotism but also the idea to reconnect a lost homeland to the global environmental politics, as well as economic and individual interests nourish the idea of a symbolic return. The question is to what extend and how do transnational returnees reshape the public space in a post-socialist society and what kind of relationships are establishing between newcomers and locals beyond the ethnic and cultural intimacy?

Rebuilding Protea Village: Homecoming and Nation Building in South Africa

Anna Bohlin, Centre for Public Sector Research, CEFOS
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This paper analyses homecoming in relation to the redevelopment of Protea Village, a neighbourhood in Cape Town that was razed during apartheid. Former residents, who were forcibly resettled in townships on the outskirts of the city, won their land back through the land restitution programme in 2006. They are in the process of planning the redevelopment of the area to which eightysix families will return. Given the location of Protea Village, in a prosperous neighbourhood, on the doorstep of the internationally renowned Kirstenbosch Botanical Garden, the planned return of the community is anything but silent or "structurally invisible" (Stefansson 2004). On the one hand, those who support it hail the proposed redevelopment as a chance to right wrongs of the past; to reverse the spatial legacy of apartheid and to put the "new" democratic

South Africa into practice. On the other hand, some of the current residents in the surrounding areas contest the redevelopment, and have taken the former residents to court. While relations between some former and current residents are thus tense, the paper shows how outside of formal processes, various activities and events related to the return - an on-going process with both abstract and concrete stages - have resulted in new connections being forged between the returnees and the current residents. In these new relationships and linkages, "homecoming" is significant as a highly emotive category that both former and current residents can relate to.

Return Migration and Homecoming: Sorting out the Difference

Krystyna Romaniszyn, Jagiellonian University (usromani@cyf-kr.edu.pl)

The paper will delve into a systematic analysis on the interplay between return migrations and homecomings. It will begin with a presentation of the wider context of the discussed phenomena, i.e., that of globalisation and how this process augments frequent transfers between numerous localities, and the development of transnational spaces. This will be followed by a recollection of the noticed forms of return migrations; the issue of the return migrations' registration will also be addressed. The paper will focus on the selection of criteria that would allow to distinguish between the two entangled phenomena. The paper will be based on available empirical data and research on return migration.

Roots-Migrants: The Second Generation "Returning" Home

Susanne Wessendorf (wessendorf@mmg.mpg.de)

Homecomings among migrants have usually been discussed in relation to first generation migrants, many of whom see the return to their homeland as a primary goal of migration and orient their lives entirely towards the return, not only by way of concrete investments such as the acquisition of land in the village of origin, but also through the discursive celebration of nostalgia for the homeland. This paper discusses the impact, which these nostalgic relations and lively transnational connections to the homeland have on members of the second generation, the children of migrants born in the host country. Drawing on research among second-generation Italians in Switzerland and southern Italy, and expanding upon theories of transnationalism, the paper illustrates how the parents' nostalgia for the homeland is sometimes transferred to the second generation. This nostalgia, coupled with lively transnational relations, leads some members of the second generation to relocate there, a phenomenon I conceptualise as "roots-migration". However, once they settle in southern Italy, the realities they encounter sometimes dramatically contrast the idealised images of the homeland constructed by their parents and reconfirmed during the short holiday visits during childhood. The paper describes how the second generation deals with the discrepancies between their images of the homeland prior to migration and the actual realities they meet once they settle there. Furthermore, it explores how notions of belonging and "roots" can be constructed and reified by nostalgia for the homeland, and how "roots" can be lost when the homeland is transformed from imagined to real.

When Women Become Men, when Men Become Women: Gendered Process of Homecoming and Homemaking

Katarzyna Grabska, Sussex University (kgrabska@yahoo.com)

Conceptualising forced migration as a catalyst of social change, the proposed paper will explore the experience of return of southern Sudanese (Nuer) refugee women and men to their places of origin. The paper will examine how the processes of return, trajectory of return and the experience of settling in vary according to gender and age. The proposed paper is based on a fourteen month long PhD fieldwork in refugee camps in Kenya and in South Sudan following the lives of Nuer refugee girls and boys, women and men "returning" to their "original" place of residence in South Sudan. I argue that despite the rhetoric of "going back" or "going home" used in reference to the process of refugee return, the process of displacement is irreversible and there is never a return to the past or to an empty place. Homemaking and emplacement take both imaginative and social forms, representing for some a continuation of "displacement". It is both a gendered and gendering process, involving often a (re) negotiation of notions of "home". This process varies depending on the length of displacement, the experiences before displacement, and the experiences in the place of displacement. The paper attempts to add a more grounded gender and generation perspective to the literature on and knowledge of the processes and experience of forced migration and return. The discussion incorporates the feminist critiques of discourses of home and household questioning "home" as a site of haven and harmony.

W085

Performing Copyright: The Politics of Creative Practice and the Poetics of Technology

Convenors: **Panagiotis Panopoulos, University of the Aegean (ppanopou@sa.aegean.gr)**
Sissie Theodosiou, Epirus Institute of Technology (cissy_theo@hotmail.com)

28 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 535

Discussions over copyright issues have multipled in the last two decades among anthropologists. Copyright and wider issues of intellectual and cultural ownership are intricately articulated with a range of topics, from globalised economy inequalities and new reproduction technologies to world music sampling techniques and peer-to-peer exchange of digital files through the Internet. Creative practice, ideas of property, subjectivity, and the circulation of persons, services and goods have been deeply transformed under the influence of digital technology.

While the typical romantic approach of copyright as a guardian and regulator of creative practice and authorship has been criticised to its roots, recent attempts for setting up protection mechanisms outside intellectual property regimes can be equally problematic. Yet, copyright claims and counter-claims continue to be a source of recurrent conflict. Discussions in a range of fields focus on the changing organization of cultural production and engage with questions about the plurality and instability of cultural processes as value creating activities and the difficulties in controlling valorization (e.g. technologies of replication).

This panel invites papers that approach copyright's appeal across disciplinary

boundaries and specify the dynamics of copyrighting in social arrangements characterized by knowledge and service intensity.
Papers might also consider: How is copyright valued in different contexts and is it made meaningful in local settings and histories? How is copyright used as a device of agency? How are creative practices influenced by changing ideas about ownership? What is the role of technology in enabling entitlement and in transforming relationships among persons, things and practices?

"Best Version": Performing Middle-Classness through the Consumption of Pirated DVDs

Trina Joyce Sajo Agena, Third World Studies Center (trinajoyce.sajo@gmail.com)

Amidst the staggering poverty, mass-market consumption reeks everywhere in the Philippines. Malls loom large in urban landscapes and modernizing provincial areas. And then there are alternative sites of counterfeit commerce in street corners, rundown buildings, and overpasses, where fashion, food, music and electronics are sold at cheaper prices and with supposedly lesser quality compared to those in malls and licensed shops.
The globalizing commercial landscape is no less a testimony to Filipinos' penchant for buying. This paper takes special interest on an alternative form of consumption. Despite the government's crackdown on piracy, Filipinos continue to patronize bootlegged goods. Among these are DVDs. How can the popularity of such low quality - and least of all prohibited - form of entertainment be explained?
Noted Filipino scholar Roland Tolentino interprets DVD piracy consumption as the simulation of middle-classness. Most Filipinos desire to have the "fineries" of the good life, but only a few have gainful access. Pirated goods are representations of the desired middle-class life, but they are "as real as the real itself".
Taking Tolentino's claim further, this paper considers the consumption of fake DVDs as performance. I draw on theories of performativity to analyze the consumption of pirated DVDs in the Philippines.

Embroideries on the Web

Jean-Yves Durand, Universidade do Minho (jydurand@yahoo.com)

Participation in a research project about the "certification" of a specific type of handmade embroideries of rural northern Portugal has led to scrutinising the current dynamics of this craft production. Its traditional patterns are now appropriated, interpreted, and sometimes copyrighted by multinational companies and applied to various industrial products. Several Portuguese designers have also started using them in innovative ways. As for embroiderers (nowadays almost exclusively women), they start to look for ways to "protect" what they feel is "theirs". They publicize their work on the Internet, in an attempt to strengthen their claims of authority about "genuine" features. But they are also dismayed by the fact that this global diffusion greatly increases the risk of plagiarism. A few of them now talk about copyrighting their patterns. And pieces, which used to be anonymous are now signed while, paradoxically, the search for productivity, which is inherent to a commercial activity leads to a sharp decrease in creativity and innovation. The question is therefore not only "Who owns native culture?" but also what can happen when a collective heritage is objectified and commodified, and when its ownership, or at least its control, drifts to private forms.

"Samples" of Copyright's Multiple Meanings: Intellectual Ownership and Cultural Representation in World Music

Panagiotis Poulos, University of Athens (panagiotis_poulos@hotmail.com)

The practices of musical "borrowing" and "appropriation" in hybrid musical projects (world music, avant-garde etc.) through sampling techniques have been critically discussed in recent ethnomusicological literature with regard to issues of intellectual ownership, cultural representation and copyright.
This paper focuses on musicians' discourse, which, centred on the concepts of "creativity" and "innovation", defends the above practices, challenging the issue of inequality in cultural representation, as well as the copyright regime that operates in mainstream music industry. The aim of this presentation is to examine the implications of digital technology in the production of multiple meanings of the concept of "intellectual ownership" within the context of creative music processes on a cross-cultural level.

Copyrights in Cyberspace: Musical Creation in Virtual Places

Marilou Polymeropoulou (m.polymeropoulou@gmail.com)

Online music communities are seemingly active today. Musicians communicate, produce, exchange and consume music through Internet places to a greater extent. Music trespasses the physical boundaries of ethnography and extends its material culture beyond a global, natural space: the cyberspace. However, along with technological diffusion comes the question of cyber-copyrights, as well as the role of intellectual property and ownership within cyber-culture.
Several musicians communicate with each other through Internet places (music forums, websites, blogs etc.) in order to make music collectively. The key concept is that culturally diverse musicians compose music collectively; one uploads a sample piece, and others built up music layers based on the first idea. Musicians in this sense embody their intersocial relationships through the communicational vessels of the Internet and music, and as a result, a hybrid - or in other terms, a cyborg - is born, that is, the interactive result of their mutuality and diversity. What is the notion of copyrights, cultural property, and ownership in cyberspace and especially in music made in virtual places? What is moreover examined refers to the idea and role of copyrights within the cyberfield, in order to promote the cyborg musical piece as an urbanized commodity.

The Pirates of the Pirates of the Caribbean

Balazs Bodo (bodo@mokk.bme.hu)

Digital distribution formats and online distributors of analogue items promised an end to cultural markets driven by scarcity of shelf space, abundance of superstars, resorting to second-best choices, and frequent post-purchase disillusionment. Yet, as it soon turned out, incumbent players of the global cultural industries have no real incentive to yield to customer demand. On the other hand local players in local, vernacular markets often lack the resources to accomplish the digital transition. This has created the classic situation where black-markets step in and supply the unsupplied demand. During 2008 we have tracked several Hungarian underground file-sharing communities and compared these markets with what legitimate players had have to offer in the same period. Our findings reveal a complex and intricate

relationship between consumers, producers and distributors that cannot be simply described as plain destruction.

The Paradox of Gypsy Music Revised: Properties and Improprieties of Gypsyness at World Music Scene

Sissie Theodosiou, Epirus Institute of Technology (cissy_theo@hotmail.com)

The aim of this paper is to critically reassess the 19th century debate between Liszt and Bartok over the value of Gypsy music in the light of the significant presence of Gypsy music in today's music industry. More specifically, the paper considers a series of CD productions of Gypsy/Roma music in the Balkans and explores the complex inter-connections between identity politics, aesthetics, and claims to the ownership of resources, such as music. On yet another level in trying to shed some light at the discursive realm of "Gypsy/Roma musical work" concep, the paper employs two distinct but overlapping tropes: the "identity based" and the "aesthetic" one. The latter facilitates a certain kind of musical appreciation and certain kinds of listening practice by highlighting expressive form; the first facilitates the drawing of proprietary, identity-based, boundaries around complex music practices. Yet, in providing the public with a "new" musical object that will figure in commercial transactions and be the focus of specific "aesthetic" and "identity" expectations, both tropes fix the identity of the Roma/Gypsies around specific signifiers, while underplaying the significance of others.

W086

Transcultural Montage: The Uses of Filmic Montage in Conveying Diversity and Mutuality

Convenors: **Rane Willerslev, Århus University (rane@mail.dk)**
Alberto Corsin Jimenez, Manchester University (alberto.corsin-jimenez@manchester.ac.uk)
Christian Suhr Nielsen, Århus University (christiansuhr@gmail.com)
Discussant: **Peter I. Crawford**

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: DID

In ethnographic films montage has traditionally been conceived as something best to be avoided or minimized in order to bring forth the most accurate depictions of sociocultural reality (Vaughan 1992). Thus, the long uninterrupted shot, which preserves natural duration and reproduces space somewhat similar to ordinary perceptual experience, has become the hallmark of ethnographic films (Taylor 1996). Contrary to anthropological writings, which often work by illuminating cultural difference, the uninterrupted shots of ethnographic films have been valued for their potential to transcend cultural boundaries by underscoring the commonalities of being human (MacDougall 1999). Nevertheless, reception studies have found that the extent to which viewers perceive such transcultural properties in images significantly relies on the context in which the images appear (Martinez 2004). Thus, the particular juxtaposition of shots in a film may guide or misguide viewers to pay attention to cultural differences or to transcultural commonalities of being human. If it is accepted that montage is an unavoidable part of any cinematic representation a world of possibilities opens up. Thus, montage may be used to construct new visions, impossible

to obtain from the subjective viewpoint of our bodies (Vertov 1984). Montage may be used to depict the multispatial and simultaneous character of global cultural processes (Kiener 2006, Marcus 1994). Finally, montage may be used as a powerful means of deconstruction (Minh-ha 1982). It appears that montage is a pertinent issue to explore. In this workshop we invite people to reconsider the possibilities and limitations of using montage and other forms of filmic manipulation (framing, grading, soundediting etc.) to communicate experiences of diversity and mutuality on film.

Memory, Imagination, and Montage

Alyssa Grossman, Manchester University
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In my doctoral research on sites and practices of remembrance work in post-socialist Bucharest, I encountered a paradox while attempting to explore this subject through the medium of film. While memory, like film, is widely accepted as a visual phenomenon, deeply connected to sensory and material processes, it is only that way in the imagination. Although a memory may retain the quality of a photographic image in your mind, you cannot document that mental impression, or show it to someone else. Actually conveying memory through film requires more than literally lifting images from the mind and transposing them to the photographic realm.
To address this paradox in my current work, I have experimented with styles of filming and editing that aim to convey the feelings and textures of memories, rather than theoretical or academic descriptions of them. My goal is not to merely illustrate memory through film, but rather to capture its visual, tactile, and sensory properties. This paper discusses some of my experiments with live-action animation, extensive sound montage, and extra-long takes in order to ethnographically approach the subject of memory, and examines their implications for expanding upon more conventional assumptions and practices in visual anthropology.

Deterritorialization of Power: Filmic Representations as a Critique of Representation

Carena Brenner, Leuphana Universität Lüneburg/Università degli Studi di Macerata (carenabrenner@yahoo.de)

The focus of this paper will be on the notion of culture and the spatial dimension of anthropology, which have been subject to critical debate.
Colonial ethnographic film was employed to create representations of the "Other" as an expression of colonial dominance. Since the formal end of European colonial hegemony, anthropology sees itself confronted with a number of unresolved problems concerning not only conventional ethnographic methods, but also global systems of domination. Transnationalism and global migration challenge the construction of fixed cultural, racial and spatial differences and thus undermine simple binary oppositions. How do postcolonial, diasporic filmmakers use their filmic representations and montage as one filmic form of manipulation to reflect on the perception and projection of contemporary global cultures? Giving up naïve ideas of inversion and going beyond the idea of simply turning the gaze or the camera - how can the concept of "Reverse Anthropology" undercut the discourses about the powerful and the disempowered? Manthia Diawara's film Rouch in Reverse (1995) can be understood as an attempt to create "coevalness" and spatial interconnection by using montage. With his "Reverse Anthropology", Diawara wants to challenge the images "straight out of the textbooks of my francophone upbringing in Africa" and the pregiven cultural and

territorial entities. This paper emphasises aspects of migration, transnationalism and hybridity, and their complex consequences for the construction of identity, power and processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization in ethnographic film.

"Global Documentary": Representing "the Other" between Political Commitment and Reality Claim

Julia Binter, University of Vienna (julia.binter@hotmail.com)

On the basis of the Austrian anti-globalisation documentary "Darwin's Nightmare" (2004), the paper analyzes the syntagmatic structuring of a political filmic discourse by the means of montage. In the centre of the discussion lies the question about the shaping of ideas and images of "the Other" by the omission and the juxtaposition of audio-visual information within the scope of politically committed documentary. Like the ethnographic film, documentary in general seems to contain the legitimation of representing the world "like it is" by its indexical signification as well as its assumed lack of staging and acting. But while ethnographic film tries to convey the culture of the people shown, sometimes the socially critical documentary rather tends to serve the worldview of the director than to represent the actual life-worlds of "the Other". That way, the analysis of the filmic rhetoric of "Darwin's Nightmare" - which criticizes the globally working fish industry around Lake Victoria, Tanzania, and the local socio-biological disturbance that goes along with it - has to focus on three core issues: First, what kind of concepts about globalisation feed this film? Secondly, how does director Hubert Sauper assess notions of diversity and mutuality? Eminently, how does he give voice to the parties involved in that global setting? Thirdly, to what extent can this documentary be considered authentic to reality? Regarding the recent height of "global documentary", the intersecting analyses of filmic and global-political discourse at the level of montage seek contribution to the debate about the representation of "the Other".

The Dynamics of "Assemblage": An Analysis of Perrault's Multiple Uses of Editing in "The Land without Trees or the Mouchouânipi"

Noemie Oxley, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (noemioxley@yahoo.com)

As a filmmaker, making use of the spoken word and "shared anthropology", Perrault imposes a "harmonic" form of editing in his movies that creates a powerful dynamics. This encourages the existence of a "collective enunciation" (Michele Garneau). He explores the polyphonic nature of popular voice and identity of the "Quebecois" through editing.

"The Land without trees…" follows the quest of three scholars on the trail of a vanished caribou hunt that brought together Naskapi on the shores of Lake Mouchouânipi. The soundtrack, which is an assembly of testimonies, interviews and comments from the scientists, creates a continuous underlying tension with the images: archive photos, archeological excavations, interactions and maps showing the limits of native's lands in Quebec.

The documentary raises the question of the fragmentary nature of scientific and cinematographic research, by nature based on limited information, about a past, which cannot be recreated. An aesthetic analysis of sequences demonstrates the anthropological issues lying behind the editing. Zooms and reframing inside one shot, as well as editing across different shots express the interactions and "co-presence" between the scientists and the natives.

The "assemblage" of images and sound reveals the dynamics of Quebecois research, based on shaky documentary sources. Four centuries later, the native people's history is being taken into account.
The "intervals" created by the editing permits reflection about territorial and cultural dispossession. While fragmented, the interviews are integrated into a wider historical framework. It gives the impression of an "absence-presence" of the contemporary indigenous voice.

(RE:)Image-ining African Experimental Ethnographic Film: Insights from the Surrealist Movement and Contemporary African Philosophy on the Methodological Importance of Montage

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The proposed paper explores the ways in which contemporary African experimental ethnographic film is informed by a political aesthetic first proposed in the surrealist manifestos of the 1920s and further developed ideologically by contemporary African philosophers. By focusing particularly on the process of montage as a site of aesthetic and anthropological importance, the paper focuses on the overlapping ideas of Antonin Artaud and Franz Fanon and the importance of this overlap in further developing a theoretical context to analyze and understand the ways in which avant-garde art, ethnographic film, and African philosophy exist in symbiotic relationships. Aesthetic practices of rupture, polyphony, and narrative and alternative representations of time, history, and memory remain ideological categories and cinematographic choices frequently employed but rarely interrogated in the context of their importance to the field of postcolonial African visual studies.
This paper articulates how this interrogation leads to an understanding of the concrete ways in which the practice of montage invites a deconstruction of what Decerteau identified as spatial practices in contemporary ethnography; by distinguishing linearity from truth, the analysis of the use of montage in contemporary experimental ethnographic film points to the ways in which these practices place in dialogue cultural processes in a visual manifestation of Bakhtin's notion of heteroglossia. Hartog's idea of the regime d'historicite is put into question with serious philosophical and methodological consequences for the field of anthropology and African studies enumerated in the conclusion of the paper.

Cinematic Constraints and Ritual Dances

Smaranda Olcèse-Trifan, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (smaranda.olcese@noos.fr)

Nourished by cinematic propositions of filmmakers as Jean Rouch or Maya Deren, my reflection on moving images concretises in a fieldwork research lead by the requirements of filmmaking. I am working on ritual possession dances in West Africa and I privilege a visual approach that does not contempt itself with the visual aspect of these rituals high in colours and body postures. My attention interrogates the lived experiences behind this often shocking visibility. A peculiar kind of being in the world that blurs the borderlines between corporeal and mental experiences is questioned. The camera, when not used as merely recording tool, allows to establish a relationship of shared experience on the ritual ground thus transfigured in cinematic space.
I consider the moving body and its ways to inhabit time and space. The dancer's body in the peculiar experience of a danced invitation for Gods to descend. Also

filmmaker's camera incorporated body, having access by the very means of her/ his camera, to the dancer's experience. But in order for that to happen, in order to translate, in a language addict only to visual phenomena, this corporeal experience opened to other kind of presence, trespassing the limits of visible, several exploratory paths must be followed: 1. the relation between self and shared corporeal experience (sharing will be understood not as contamination but as "being together" in the ritual space by the bias of the camera); 2. the inscription of lived experience in the filmic texture - images, sounds, rhythm, cuts, editing.

Non-Representational and Anti-Didactic: The Ethnographic Exhibition as Collage

Peter Bjerregaard, Århus University (peter.bjerregaard@hum.au.dk)

The realisation that we are today engaged in a world of global interconnectedness of an unforeseen scale has caused ethnographic museums to reconsider their aim and practice. A number of ethnographic museums are now focussing on our mutual global interdependence rather than cultural diversity - displaying our global entanglement in questions of global trade, HIV/AIDS, climate change etc.
But parallel to this development, it is possible to trace an approach to exhibition making that aims at establishing another kind of mutuality in the jumbling together of the familiar and the unfamiliar. This approach embraces the kind of cooperation between anthropology and the surrealists of the 1920s and 1930s described by Clifford (1986). If the montage may work as a new ideal in ethnographic filmmaking we may argue that the collage is the ideal of this kind of exhibition making - the juxtaposition of apparently opposed worlds on the same plane bringing forth mutual existential themes suppressed in our everyday practical concerns.
Such an approach challenges the use of the exhibition as media and demands an awareness of the inherently constructed character of the exhibition. In accordance to the subject matter, this paper will reflect on the use of collage in contemporary exhibition making by applying on a single plane a number of disconnected and diverse cases - concrete examples of uses of collage in ethnographic exhibitions, Alfred Gell's (1996) imaginary exhibition of traps and modern conceptual art, and an analysis of the multiple agencies involved in the creation of an exhibition.

How to "Cut" without Losing your Head?

Maria Vivod, CNRS (vivod@hotmail.com)

Full objectivity seems to be impracticable during ethnographic filmmaking - as J. Vigo pointed out, the documentary is in every case a "documented point of view". The images are destined not only to the scientific community but also as a "feedback" (J.Rouch) to the filmed individual or group. During the montage the author should chose the images, which are entering in the "final cut". The final cut influences directly the understanding (and the "misunderstanding") of his work by the public and his "subjects". The montage appears to be a way of communication which transmits a kind of "message" - so what is to be kept and what is to be left out? What is to be transmitted to the viewer? The "story-creation" is one of the "dangers" of this procedure. Then again, some elements, which could be important for the understanding of this "message", could be left out…
Which are the images that the author can cut out and how to do it?
I would like to analyse examples taken from my fieldwork experience: through the examples I will explain the choice of my filmed subjects, and how I have selected

the "right" sequences for the final cut. What guided my choices? Which were the critiques of my fellow colleagues? I will also mention some of the feedbacks, the reactions obtained from the filmed individuals or communities after showing them the final cut.

Montage Begins from the Filming Process: An Experience of an MA Film Fieldwork

Adamou Amadou, Tromsø University (adoamo@gmail.com)

Considering that montage begins during filming (by choosing what or not to film) and considering that the behaviour of informants is often influenced by the presence of the camera, my paper will focus on how to handle the camera effects in order to produce knowledge through ethnographic film since it is not always easy to enable the encounters of the research team and the social actors filmed (Ragazzi 2005). However, it is known that researchers, in the field, familiarise with the place, the people, and their everyday life in order to achieve the task they want to come up to. After fieldwork, filmmakers often become partisans of their informants, they "fall in love" with the footage, and it is not easy to "kill their darling" during the editing process.
I did fieldwork on the Mbororo people who are coping with their new life after having left the bush to settle in Wouro-Kessoum on the periphery of Ngaoundéré in a northern Cameroon town. My focus has been mainly on women activities, the gender issue being a general aspect of the work. The main research question was to identify the role of gender in this transition phase of the Mbororo. However, the main challenge was to collect the data with the camera, interpret them, and edit them as naturally as possible. In the paper, I will discuss about editing while filming, reducing the camera effects, and the concept of "killing your darling".

Editing Ethnographic Material: A View from the Practice of Filming Culture

Florian Walter, Free University Berlin (filming_culture@yahoo.com)
Steffen Köhn (steffen_koehn@gmx.de)

In the history of ethnographic filmmaking, the experimental use of montage has often been rejected as a form of manipulation. André Bazin´s denial of avantgarde editing styles as a main element of communist propaganda (Kino-Pravda) has deeply influenced the Cinéma Vérité ideology of his followers. For a long time, films with ethnographic qualities were expected to depict rituals or events in uninterrupted long shots. Since then the interest has shifted from mere observation to the actual production of meaning; hence there is a need for other styles of editing.
I want to discuss these issues on the basis of my film: "Chiapas - Land of the Maya". This anthropological documentary takes us into the world of the indigenous woman Maruch de la Cruz Pérez. Maruch is a 35-year old, unmarried woman from Chiapas who loves travelling in her country to explore other cultures and to learn from them. On the one hand, she has quite a problematic stand in her traditional village Zinacantan on account of her biography, but on the other hand, while traveling she has to face racism and sexism in Mexican society. Roadtripping through Chiapas with Maruch and the filmcrew gives an insight into the culture and society of a post-war region. However, the film also provides an intimate portrait of an indigenous woman trying to live a self-determined life that will give her freedom from the traditions of her community, from her former husband, and from the terror of paramilitary groups.

W087

Phenomenological Anthropology as Research Method: Debating the Pre-Textual Basis of Ethnographic Fieldwork

Convenors: **Helena Patzer, Warsaw University (helenapatzer@wp.pl)**
Tomasz Rakowski, University of Warsaw (tomaszrak@tlen.pl)
Anne Line Dalsgård, Århus University (a.l.dalsgaard@hum.au.dk, etnoald@hum.au.dk)
Chairs: **Helena Patzer, Anne Line Dalsgård and Tomasz Rakowski**

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: R3

The last two decades have brought about multiple attempts to apply phenomenological concepts in the social sciences in order to create a new model of anthropological knowledge and capture these aspects of social life, which still escape interpretation. In this workshop we would like to explore the potentialities of using this perspective within anthropological research and, especially, within its practice.

Stepping beyond the usual procedures of fieldwork and pursuing a new ethnographic practical knowledge are precisely what we would like to focus on. As we assume, this kind of ethnographic knowledge is obtained exactly through multiple aspects of the body and bodily practices, the movement and existence of things, elements of social memory and various sorts of hidden narratives. They form, together with the pre-reflexive structure of cognition, a kind of a silent, pre-textual knowledge. Thus, the ability to participate in such pre-textual reality is our basic professional skill. During the workshop we hope to find a language to communicate this level of ethnography.

The questions, which we would like to address are as follows: How do we engage in and remember events from the field? How do we form our first understandings of the studied phenomenon? What is observation to us? How do we observe and how do we write it up in our field notes? How much attention do we pay to the "ethnographic detail"? What is the meaning of objects in our work?

All interested in these methodological questions are welcome to submit their abstracts.

The Pre-Textual Basis of Ethnographic Knowledge Step by Step

Tomasz Rakowski, University of Warsaw (tomaszrak@tlen.pl)

This paper will concern anthropology based on a kind of silent, phenomenological knowledge, which is usually obtained during fieldwork. I find this level of ethnography extremely important for our work, however at the same time it constitutes a sphere of experience very hard to communicate or describe. Once I have described it as a "mixture of professional ethnographic knowledge and ignorance" which is usually not communicated to professional audiences and remains hidden. It remains hidden because this kind of ethnography is directly related to the non-verbal, mnemonic, and bodily sphere of practice, while only a small portion of this knowledge can be written down in explicit meanings.

Thus, I will present such silent processes of learning ethnographic skills and details that I have passed through during the long-term fieldwork among the unemployed miners of Wałbrzych in Southwest Poland. As it turned out, a cluster of seeing, hearing, sensing, chatting, and making decisions and diversions from "The Ethnographer Path" (Sanjek 1990) was the very core of this process. I will try to show this pre-textual basis

of ethnographic knowledge as opposite to the "writing culture" paradigm in modern cultural anthropology.

A Phenomenology and Praxeology of Dogon Landscape: Sensory Kinetic Experiences as Modes of Writing and Constructing Anthropological Knowledge

Laurence Douny, University College, London (l.douny@ucl.ac.uk)

In this paper, I propose to examine the production of anthropological knowledge by use of a combined phenomenological and praxeological approach (Warnier 1999, 2001) that consider the sensory kinetic experience as a way of knowing the world through the body. I shall use these methods in the context of the "making" and "doing" of the Dogon domestic landscape of the Bandiagara Cliffs. I describe my experience of the place through shared, pragmatic, collective and routine embodied activities undertaken by Dogon women. These mostly concern the collection of resources such as water and foodstuff in the bush, cultivating and gardening. The landscape is here considered as the locus of shared participatory and embodied practices (Tilley 1994) that constitute the fabric of Dogon everyday cosmologies. Praxeology and phenomenology are not only used as an analytical framework but also as a method of "doing" fieldwork that is by following people in their daily life, learning and discovering "childlike" a brand new environment through the senses. This, I subsequently recount in an embedded dialogic and phenomenological form of writing (Jackson 1989, 1996, 1998) that is empirical, descriptive and reflexive. It is based upon my fieldnotes, my journal and some visual material that enable to recollect embodied memories such as smell, taste and emotions about the place and people and which all, in my view constitute crucial material in the writing of ethnographies.

Observant Participation among Immigrant Amateur Football Matches

Eva Juliane Müller, Universidad Hispalense de Sevilla (eva_juliane_mueller@yahoo.de)

My paper will discuss some methodological issues emerging from long-term fieldwork among South American football players in Seville (Spain). Combining a phenomenological approach with the methodology of carnal sociology, I am interrogating football as embodied competence and individual and collective practical reason. Learning to play football from my Bolivian team colleagues puts the ethnographer into the "point of production" of practice (Wacquant 2005: 466).
I will claim that the active engagement during fieldwork in a competitive team sport reveals some interesting insights into the pre-reflexive structures of knowledge and personal identity. The sensual and social logics of the game make conscious visual observation very difficult to maintain. Instead of it, the production of ethnological knowledge is achieved through a dialogue on body techniques and the sense of the game. The corporal identity of the ethnographer is challenged. She shares the higly emotional moments during the tournament. Both aspects intensify the fieldwork experience so that the "headnotes" have the potential to be especially rich.
Building on some experimental works in cultural anthropology and sociology, I will try to offer one option to write down this "mnemonic triggers of total bodily experience" (Shilling 2007:12) of the individual ethnographer without losing sight of the social and cultural dimension of any practical reason.

Movement of Large Bodies Impaired: Somatic and Semiotic Issues

Kjetil Wathne, University of Oslo (kjetil.wathne@medisin.uio.no)

Drawing on a sample of young patients who have participated in a long-term qualitative research-project in medical anthropology, investigating social aspects of paediatric obesity in Oslo, Norway - certain somatic and semiotic issues are discussed. Living a particular type of obese body may induce impediment to mobility, with implications for the ability/desirability towards exertion as a means to weight-loss. Arguably, there is little cultural nuance in circulation as to how various types of bodies are variously adapted to movement - and these factors combine to make obesity a double whammy for some individuals.

Audio Anthropology: Chances and Challenges

Bettina Weiz (bweiz@yahoo.co.uk)

In recent anthropology, visual material has been dealt with fruitfully, and the same happens with all kinds of artefacts - starting with material things and ending with songs and narratives. Acoustic material has been confined to music anthrophology or to recorded interviews, the content of which was analyzed, but rather not their acoustic shape. However, this sounds and noises that just happen, and are produced without being thought of as artefacts, can also be highly informative. Yet, they are so far underexploited by anthropologists. This paper discusses their scope, including technical questions of sound recording, its temporality, its specifics and the challenge to represent sounds in anthropological production (which is, after all, mostly writing). It is based on fieldwork and recordings in/from India, US and Europe.

The Structure of Anthropological Research: A Phenomenological Hermeneutics

Gheorghiță Geană, Institute of Anthropology, Bucharest (gheorghita_geana2003@yahoo.com)

Undoubtedly, the phenomenological doctrine exerted a fruitful influence over the various domains of human knowledge along the twentieth century. I have in view such scientific disciplines as psychology, sociology, linguistics, aesthetics, or the study of religions. Particularly significant from the viewpoint of the mirroring in phenomenology is the discipline of anthropology. In this paper I present a structural model of a classical anthropological research, starting with the fieldwork and ending with the assimilation of ethnographical text by (in Kuhn's terms) the "scientific community" of anthropologists. Actually, my tentative is to describe and interpret the phases of an anthropological research in phenomenological terms as these were established by Brentano, Husserl, and Heidegger, namely: pre-science, intentionality, phenomenological reduction, eidetical reduction, and intersubjectivity. Some of these phases (intentionality, as well as the two types of reduction) may be generally detected in any science, but the special relationship - based on participant observation - between the epistemic subject and its object of study confers on anthropology a singular phenomenological nimbus.

The Methodological Problem of the Epoché

Anne Line Dalsgaard, Århus University (a.l.dalsgaard@hum.au.dk, etnoald@hum.au.dk)

Phenomenology is "an investigation into the structures of experience which precede connected expression in language" (Ricoeur 1979:127). It implies a rigorous description of things as they appear to consciousness, and thus it seems closely linked to the effort undertaken in anthropological participant observation. But we may ask how such a description is at all possible? And also, how anthropologists can make use of this method, knowing how bodily habits and emotional attitudes are closely linked to language and thought. Is there a way, or perhaps rather a search, that allows us - if just for moments - to bypass these habits and attitudes? Merleau-Ponty writes that "only at the cost of losing the basis of all my certainties can I question what is conveyed to me by my presence to myself". In this paper I shall ponder upon the notion of the epoché, drawing on my experiences from long-term fieldwork in Brazil.

W088

Migrant Associations in Europe: Simultaneous Incorporation, Everyday Cosmopolitanisms and Actually Existing Citizenship

Convenors: **Mattia Fumanti, Keele University (m_fumanti@yahoo.com)**
Bruno Riccio, University of Bologna (bruno.riccio@unibo.it)

28 August 2008, 14:00
Rooms: 5 and 06

All over Europe one witnesses a growth and diversification of migrant associations. A plethora of associations emerge through the interactions of migration societies and institutions as well as with those of origin. Traditionally anthropology of migration has focused on ethnic networks as springboards for empowering migrant minorities' access to economic and political opportunities. Less attention has been paid to the multiple ways with which migrants organise themselves in the country of immigration and within transnational social fields. More recently, however, associations revealed themselves a sophisticated lens through which to explore various social processes such as the strategies adopted to gain access and recognition to the public sphere, the ambivalent adjusting of various sorts of everyday cosmopolitanisms, the potential of enhancing one's status both here and there through simultaneous incorporation, the constant struggle to improve the concrete and actual experience to be citizen in both sending and receiving contexts. Also, recent researches underline how these associations are both loci for innovation, transformation as much as reproduction and consolidation of cleavages and power asymmetries along gender and intergenerational lines. Institutional discourses tend to reify complex and ambivalent social and cultural processes affected by negotiation between individuals and groups. Such negotiation is influenced in multiple ways by the representation (symbolic as well as political) of migrant associations. Ethnography is particularly important for exploring the everyday political participation and social negotiation within and outside these organisations. Therefore the panel welcomes submissions exploring these topics with the aim at discussing them in a comparative way.

Migrant and "Second Generations" Associations in Italy

Bruno Riccio, University of Bologna (bruno.riccio@unibo.it)

The purpose of this paper is to compare different strategies of entry within Italian public space. One witnesses a tremendous diversification of migrant associations in Italy during the last fifteen years. Beside religious, national, ethnic and hometown associations, thanks to settlement and family reunification other kinds of associations are emerging from both the interplay with the receiving contexts' institutions and the transnational stretching of connections and projects. We count foreign families' and mixed associations together with what is normally called "second generations'" associations. These show to be very dynamic and rich of initiatives, which carry important political weight. If the former slot tended to struggle for recognition through the engagement in social activities based on Italian associational structures and networking with the social actors of the economic and institutional system within specific localities, the latter tend to fully address the issue of citizenship and tend to cross local and national boundaries. This kind of strategy proves to be crucial for youth that was schooled and socialized in Italian society, but encounter difficult prospects of social mobility and of seeing citizenship rights being granted. These new Italians, as they often define themselves, try to seek to empower their social position. In their struggle for recognition, often they focus on the double meaning of representation. They contest and critique the common sense representation, which targets them as forever migrants to enhance their access to social resources and political representation. The paper will discuss what this path is telling us about the Italian experience of immigration.

Politicizing Ethnicity: African Associations in Belgium

Nicole Grégoire, Université Libre de Bruxelles (ngregoir@ulb.ac.be)

During the 1990s, a great number of "African associations" began to flourish in Belgium. Many of them were short-lived, while others came into being. An analysis of the political context of this period shows that the emergence of those associations is linked thereto. I shall thus first explain how public policies have encouraged the birth of so-called immigrants' associations. Secondly, I shall analyze the reasons of this favourable political context: was the creation of "accommodation leaders" at stake? Indeed, the growing number of associations never gave rise to a large-scale and long-term collective mobilisation to improve the social, economic and political being of the African-rooted people in Belgium. Trying to understand that, I shall use my ethnographic data to show the roles and the statuses of the ethnic associations leaders within the African-rooted communities and in Belgian society at large. In this case, the nuance between ethnic communities and ethnic categories and a larger reflection about the notions of power and powerlessness among ethnic minority groups might be helpful.

Erin's Pride: The Role of Culture and Sport in Manifesting and Maintaining an Irish Identity at Home and Abroad

Críostóir Rowland, University of Ulster (criostoirrowland@gmail.com)

Identity is perhaps the most intangible heritage of all, and for those many millions in the Irish Diaspora both sport and culture are used to manifest, sustain and transmit an Irish identity - and, by extension, a link to Ireland as the perceived homeland. Such manifestations are extremely diverse - ranging from Irish emigrants' clubs in the major

Diaspora centres to Gaelic league branches to the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) and Irish-themed sports clubs - and many have been so successful in promoting an Irishness abroad that they have been exported from the Diaspora back to Ireland itself.
This paper investigates the great centres of this Irishness abroad, paying special attention to the position of the Celtic Football Club in Glasgow and its vast network of Celtic Supporters' Clubs worldwide - a club that has long since been an aspect of Irishness in Ireland, too. The popularity of Celtic - a Scottish "Irish club" or Irish "Scottish club" - around the globe and in Ireland demonstrates that intangible heritage can be a dialogue through which new and constantly evolving identities can be mediated, with the homeland absorbing influences from its Diaspora.

Diverse Meanings and Uses of Germanness: Who is when a German in Kazakhstan?

Rita Sanders, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (sanders@eth.mpg.de)

The German minority as all minorities of the former Soviet Union are mostly simply assumed to be there and to have some kind of importance. I argue that the relevance of ethnic belonging varies and it is exactly that what makes it interesting. When and how are boundaries drawn by means of ethnic affiliations and which significance do minority organizations have in this process?
Germans in Kazakhstan hold quite different perspectives on the importance of Germanness. I elaborate how first different life stories may help understand these differing concepts of ethnicity. Furthermore, I look at the role the minority organization Wiedergeburt (German for "rebirth") plays in strengthening ethnic belonging. First of all, the organization provides different kinds of benefits for the Kazakhstani Germans. Moreover, Wiedergeburt gives its members the opportunity to stage their "ethnicity" on different kinds of occasions, like the first of May. The paper explores the impact of those official ethnic performances on the process of the making and remaking of ethnic identities, by viewing institutionalized concepts of ethnicity affected both by the state with its rhetoric and policies and last but not least by the people themselves who, in very different ways, make use of the offered ethnic affiliations.

The "Peruvian Association of Siena": Negotiation between Different Cultural Identities and Strategies of Incorporation within the Local Community

Margherita Baldisserri, University of Siena (mbaldisserri@gmail.com)

The associations created by Peruvian migrants in Italy to promote socio-cultural, religious and sporting activities partly reflect the clubs created by rural migrants in Lima. The article describes the process of creation and the following developments of the "Peruvian Association of Siena" in order to interpret the cultural dimension expressed by the association and to reveal its role at a local level. The activities of the association mainly aim at spreading the knowledge of Peruvian culture and at facilitating Peruvian migrants' settlement in receiving society. The ethnographic description of the festival organized every year to celebrate the anniversary of Peruvian independence and the analysis of interviews of association members show the processes of negotiation and hybridization occurring between different cultural representations and practices. Most Peruvian migrants in Italy have an Andean cultural background either because they have experienced both internal and international migrations, or because they are the descendants of internal immigrants. On the other hand, a wider Latino identity

has taken shape in the process of redefinition of migrants' identity between translocal and transnational social fields. Members of the association use both Andean and Latino cultures as means to declare their identity as unitary and as socio-political resources to achieve public visibility as well as recognition within the territory of residence. Finally, the association plays a vital role in the formation of social networks which, increasing the opportunities of incorporation in the receiving context, could lead to concrete experiences of citizenship.

The Influence of Local Administration and Policy on the Structuring and Dynamics of Migrants' Associationism: Castelfiorentino and Migrants from Morocco

Elisa Gori, University of Siena (elisa.gori@tiscali.it)

Usually local administrations encourage associative experiences. On the other hand, such experiences tend to be instrumental to the realization of the policy of inclusion and to the strategies of control operated by institutional power. This may increase inner tensions in the groups, cause the risk that the ties that characterize them break off, and may invalidate the same migrants' representation.
The policy of the studied area strongly tends to consider anyone belonging to a national group as representative of the entire group. At the beginning of the migrant flows from Morocco, the administration chooses a person among the group and he becomes the main informer for the institution (local administration) and he forms a direct communication channel with the administrators and the politicians.
This determines the orientation of the inclusion policy, which leads to the culturalisation of migrant groups and to the development of inner competition for citizenship. In fact, when the national group enlarges, the new comers consider the role of interlocutor as an opportunity (i.e. for work). On the other hand the administration takes advantage of this representative to control and rule the whole group: the administration has to face an increasing hostility of the public opinion towards migrants, so it needs a continuous control on the migrants. The association has been emptied of its functions: the inner competitions and the groups in the community compromise the cohesion and the sharing of objectives.
In this context (i.e. Moroccans), women are excluded from the association, so they look for their own channel of communication with the administration. This happens through a Moroccan woman who is already employed in the local administration as a cultural – linguistic intermediary. The citizenship among the women is promoted through the intermediary that is part of the administration and that works outside the association.

Bolivian Domestic Workers in Barcelona: Negotiations of Citizenship Rights in the Context of Precarious Labour Markets, Migration Policies, and Non-Governmental Associations

Karina Goldberg, J.W. Goethe University (goldberg@em.uni-frankfurt.de)

In the last years the number of "illegally" immigrated Bolivian women in Barcelona has increased. Most of them work caring for elderly people, children or as housemaids. "Illegal" female migrants mostly have only access to jobs in the domestic sector, which is characterized by precarious working conditions, linked to irregular status. In the last years the Spanish government organized several regularisation processes, where irregular migrants could get temporal residence and working permits. There

are also continuous informal regularization mechanisms, made possible by specific Spanish labour market policies linked to the demand of cheap labour force. In my paper I focus on the every day practices of migrants to be incorporated into the host society by subverting, but also adapting to political frameworks. I also highlight the role of NGOs and churches in Barcelona, who have informal employment agencies, provide basic and advanced trainings and offer legal consulting services concerning citizenship rights. These organizations and their practices, I argue, are ambivalent: On the one hand they empower irregular migrants to subvert legal power (giving them jobs although they do not have working permits/showing them the legal niches to get residence permits), but on the other hand they reproduce precarious, ethnic and gender segmented informal labour markets (offering jobs only in the informal/ domestic sector) and the neoliberal power relations they are based on.

Women, Associative Groups and Practices of Citizenship

Donatella Schmidt, Università di Padova (donatella.schmidt@unipd.it)

Migrant associations focusing on women generally are reserved lesser attention in public debates and their impact on the overall political discourse on migration policies is often downplayed. The aim of this paper is to direct research on associative forms, which involve women's participation by following their process of formation, transformation or disappearance; by challenging the common interpretation that looks at women as scarcely relevant in public arenas; by considering the interplay between the gender and the political variable. Field data come from a northeastern Italian town seen as a privileged stage where policies of migrants' inclusion and participation - in anticipation, in contrast or in line with national directives - are experienced and reshaped. Particular attention is paid to the narrative rhetoric used by the subjects involved, interpreted as a reflexive form of new practices of citizenship.

Ghanacoop Case: Diasporic Discourses and Localised Practices of Co-Development

Selenia Marabello, University of Bologna (selenia.marabello@unibo.it)

This paper is based on a PhD research currently in progress. Presenting the case of Ghanacoop, which is a co-operative enterprise recently born within the Modena Ghanaian Migrant Association, I will attempt to demonstrate how co-development initiatives depend on the practices with which the migrants' associations are actively incorporated in the local contexts, rather than on presumed and characterised trends of migration. Furthermore, assuming that the concept of scale allows us to take into consideration locality and its interaction with power hierarchies I suggest that scale's theorisation can be an analytical tool to describe migrants' associations engagement in development.

The Ghanaian migrant association, initially established to fulfil specific member needs during their first period of settlement, has become a political laboratory for reflections on migration, diasporic actors and development. Ghanacoop has been the concrete opportunity to gain access to the public sphere in Italy and in Ghana. In addition, this opportunity has enhanced the status of its leaders in both sending and receiving countries.

Migrants' associations, incorporated in local contexts, move as a new actor on the transnational political space that they contribute to define. Ghanacoop is characterised by economic, social and political criteria on the transnational

landscape through development and diasporic discourses, and acts as development broker directing political negotiation, capital flows and social remittances towards communities and individuals. Thus this new actor needs to be observed investigating the power relations it holds and is embedded in within the local contexts in Ghana and Italy, within the "diasporic communities" and in relation to Ghanaian and foreign migrants' associations.

Associational Life, Citizenship and the Public Sphere in Britain: The Case of Two Ghanaian Associations in London

Mattia Fumanti, Keele University (m_fumanti@yahoo.com)

By placing community building and active citizenship at the centre of its policies on migration, New Labour has set its vision for multicultural Britain and redefined the meaning of citizenship through participation in the public sphere and associational life. Within this context London has seen a dramatic increase in its migrant associational life with thousands of migrants associations. Yet although some associations engage with the government initiatives at local level, many others remain concerned exclusively with the welfare of its members and with assisting in a charitable way various development projects in the home country rather than promoting active citizenship. In this paper I explore the different ways in which Ghanaian migrants associations in London respond to the great drive towards migrant associational life in the capital. I here focus in comparative terms on two associations. These associations provide an important contrast as they engage in different ways with the local authority's initiatives and in building London public sphere. I here want to argue how this contrast reflects the emergence of generational, gender and class cleavages, often related to the migrant status, within the Ghanaian migrant community as well as cultural and social practices originating in the home country, but also the often exclusionary, discriminatory and highly bureaucratised practices and policies that regulate access to resources and funding from the local authorities in London. Ultimately in fact both associations suffer in different ways from the dominant discourse that enforce the associational experience of migrants to the idea of an active citizenship and of multicultural Britain.

W089

Europe and Anthropology: New Themes and Directions in Europeanist Research

Convenors: **Anna Horolets, Warsaw School of Social Sciences and Humanities (anna.horolets@swps.edu.pl)**
Andrés Barrera-González, Universidad Complutense de Madrid (abarrera@cps.ucm.es)

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: R4

We start with a broad definition of "Europeanist" research. The field certainly pertains to a range of diverse disciplines, mainly within the divisions of the Humanities and the Social Sciences. We are set to discuss what Europeanist research means for Anthropology; and to present what individual anthropologists and ethnologists are effectively doing under this conceptual umbrella. One main goal of this workshop is to demonstrate how the engagement of Anthropology's unique resources in theory,

method and epistemology contribute to enhance these research endeavours.
We invite papers that broach the subject from any of its many facets and dimensions. Not to constrain but to facilitate your initiative, we advance a tentative and open list of research issues, which may be addressed in your papers:
- The ethnography of Europe and European institutions.
- Ideas and images of Europe in travel writing, literature and "high culture".
- Europe's lore and media narratives.
- Politics and policies of European building and identity.
- Citizenship in multinational entities and ethnically diverse polities.
- Global migrations and social cohesion at the national and supranational levels.
- Anthropology and development. The role of non-governmental organisations.

One expected outcome of this workshop is the drawing of research agendas on Europeanist issues; which may become the baseline for the setting up of multidisciplinary research teams, and for the development of cooperative research programmes.

Socio-Cultural Anthropology and the European Research Area: A Europeanist Turn in the Discipline?

Andrés Barrera-González, Universidad Complutense de Madrid (abarrera@cps.ucm.es)

The stepping up of the processes of European convergence is having a decisive impact also in the fields of higher education and scientific research, particularly in countries that belong to the European Union. This shows, for instance, in the rising budgets and the broadening of research programmes under the so-called Framework Programmes. The establishment in 2007 of an autonomous funding body, the European Research Council, marks a decisive turn in these developments. What is the position that anthropology and European anthropologists hold in this emerging competitive arena for research funding and policy formulation?
Research policy and funding at the EU level is a factor of growing importance in itself, and also because it is shaping developments at the national level significantly. Therefore, we run the risk of being marginalised as a discipline if we do not adequately face the challenges issuing from these institutional changes. Anthropology has on its side some unique and quite impressive scholarly assets; and it holds a great potential to act as a catalyst for interdisciplinary endeavours. Yet, anthropologists may have to make serious efforts in adapting some cherished principles in their practice, method and epistemology, if they are to become principal actors in this new scenario. This paper stands for a more integrated approach in our educational and research endeavours, for the unreserved engagement with neighbouring branches of knowledge in true and consistent interdisciplinary work. Lastly, and as Europeanist anthropologists in particular, I am of the opinion that we have got to get involved in the working out of collaborative research agendas, on issues that are socially relevant, policy oriented when appropriate, and responsive to practical application; which should not run counter to methodological rigour and high theoretical profile.

An Anthropological Approach to Hegemony in Catholic Majority Societies across Europe

Ingo Schröder, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (schroeder@eth.mpg.de)

Catholicism offers itself as a classical - yet comparatively understudied - topic of a comparative Europeanist anthropology. My paper draws upon a theoretical

framework designed as part of an ongoing research project on the role of the Church as a social institution and the Catholic faith as an individual habitus in postsocialist Lithuania and proposes some general lines of inquiry for Catholic majority societies across Europe.
Key inspirations of my approach are: 1. Gramsci's notion of hegemony, which serves to analyze how culture and consciousness are the product of power inequalities, class experiences and historically accumulated understandings of the social order; and 2. Bourdieu's theorizing of the "paradox of the doxa", the fact that the established order of things perpetuates itself easily, rather than being challenged or subverted by those disadvantaged under the existing conditions. A Church that dominates the religious field can thus be understood as a particularly effective means of promoting hegemony and the misrecognition of elite domination as the natural order of things, by supporting the reproduction of an individual religious habitus or a collusio shared by the members of a social group as their collective understanding of the doxa.
Based on such theoretical reflections, I propose to study the role of the Catholic Church with regard to four interrelated fields: sites of the production of hegemony; occasions of the expression of common-sense, "popular" religiosity; the Church as an institutional focus of belonging; and sites of contestation or religious indifference.

Deepening Urban Democracy?

Clarissa Kugelberg, Uppsala University (clarissa.kugelberg@ibf.uu.se)

A reoccurring idea in debates on public policy is that governing has become a more complex task, demanding broad mobilization of resources and competence. When a single authority and hierarchical decision-making fail, solutions are sought for across formal divisions of authority, across sectors in the public sphere, and often in co-operation with private actors. Such organizations may be called functional networks. Thus, citizen participation is increasingly called upon to serve as a democratic anchorage in functional networks. Such networks, however, are not easily reconciled with representative democracy. It is difficult to exercise political control over more or less independent actors who work in co-operation with each other.
My presentation has two targets. One is to present a newly started research project about such functional networks in the Stockholm metropolitan area. The other is to invite anthropologists to discuss a European multidisciplinary comparative study of functional networks in a number of European cities.
The Swedish study combines an anthropological understanding of culture with a political science focus on strategic actors. These new forms of governance have few formal rules and the fieldwork focuses therefore on the ways working rules are subject to negotiations and re-negotiations together with participants' efforts to make sense of the interaction and their positions. In order to understand the interactions and new (political) identities emerging in the networks, the participants' negotiations and the interaction are situated and examined in the context of the surrounding world of formal and informal relations.

A New Subject at the Margins: Migration Studies in Bulgaria

Magdalena Elchinova, New Bulgarian University (magi_el@hotmail.com)

The paper will present a critical overview of the study of migration and transnational mobility in the Bulgarian social sciences. Having emerged recently at the margins of different social sciences, this field of research interest calls for evaluation and systematization in regard with theory and method. The case of migration studies in

Bulgaria will be further used to discuss the role of anthropology in this interdisciplinary field of study. In such a perspective, issues of broader significance will be discussed, such as reconsideration of migration and transnational mobility-related categories, as well as methodological bridging between migration studies and studies in other subjects of interest (e.g., ethnic relations, religious diversity, community studies). Special attention will be paid to the role of local strategies of mutuality and policies of cultural diversity in the incorporation and integration of migrants.

Reclaiming European Heritages of Transatlantic Migration: Politics of Identity of the Descendants of Early East European Immigrants to Texas

Vytis Čiubrinskas, Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas (v.ciubrinskas@smf.vdu.lt)

Transnational migration is one of the most relevant themes in "Europeanist" research today, which might be applied for the exploration of multiple "Europeanist themes" in politics of identity in the non-European world. Transatlantic migration taken from the anthropological perspective enhances us to explore politics and practices of how "Europeanist" identities are handled. The case of "newly discovered" belonging to the descendants of the ancestors of "New-Europeans" in North America, could be one of them.

The interest in local and family histories and cultural heritages in the nowadays USA refresh and re-frame cultural identity processes and even evoke local politics of identity. Especially after the fall of the Berlin wall and Singing Revolution in the Baltic States such identity processes are enhanced by the reclaim of the "overlooked for generations" cultures and histories, and do provoke identity politics focused on the New European heritages in local areas of the US.

It is in particular true in East Texas, where since early 1990s a group of descendants of early Lithuanian immigrants created a network of "searching for the roots and ancestry".

Their activities are in the focus of this presentation, based on fieldwork in 2002-4, which aims to answer the question of how do they "reclaim" their socio-cultural background by using genealogical and historical frameworks, and how they build mutuality based on family reunions' networks.

Where Post-colonialism meets Post-socialism: African Migrants in Russia as a New Research Field

Dmitri Bondarenko, Russian Academy of Sciences (dbondar@hotmail.com)

While Western Europe has a long-lasting experience of facing and studying the problems of migration, they are still recent for the ex-socialist states where they have not been pinpointed and studied sufficiently yet. In the meantime, the "closed" nature of the socialist societies, the difficulties of the transitional period reforms predetermine the problems in communication between the migrants and the population majority, the specific features of the situation with the forming Diasporas and of their probable position in the accepting societies. The recently launched study of African migrants in Russia falls into two interrelated parts: The sociocultural adaptation of Africans in Russia on the one hand, and their perception by the Russian society on the other. One of the core points eventually addressed is that of the formation or non-formation of Diasporas as network communities, as a means of both more successful adaptation and identity support. The basic methods employed are interviewing, distributing questionnaires and observation (participant when possible) both among Africans

and original Russian citizens. The obstacles on the way to the conducting of research and the results yet obtained in the course of this work in progress are discussed.

"Feeling Europeans": A Research on the Image of Europe among High School Students in the Region of Murcia (Spain)

Joaquín Guerrero, Catholic University, Murcia (jguerrero@pdi.ucam.edu)
Isabel Morales Moreno, UCAM (Imorales@pdi.ucam.edu)

Our research aimed to comprehend the cultural image that young high school students of the Murcia region had about Europe. We have developed on this issue a plan of fieldwork divided into two phases to collect information. The first one was addressed in an interview that contained a questionnaire, which included variables such as age, sex, academic course, place of birth, nationality among other variables. We held over one thousand surveys. The information we got was really interesting. A very substantial proportion of students used the term "Europe" referring to it like an institutional, economic and political, rather than a cultural reality. When asked if they felt "Europeans" most of them replied in the first place they were "Murcianos" and they established a classification system in which local identity appeared as the most immediate cultural reference. The common knowledge that students have on what is the European capital or in which country the European parliament is located, was very limited and incomplete. Europe was seen as something strange, a group of countries that one can freely visit and where you can buy things with the same currency: the Euro. Our research proposal has sought to carry out a second time an ethnographic study through participant observation, in-depth interviews and focus groups to find the keys to the cultural image that young people have of Europe and what senses and meanings they used to refer to it.

(Re)Creation of Europeanness: Construction of Self and the Other by Polish Tourists Visiting Former Soviet Union Countries

Anna Horolets, Warsaw School of Social Sciences and Humanities (anna.horolets@swps.edu.pl)

In Europeanist research tourism deserves detailed anthropologists' analysis, which would allow linking institutional frameworks, cultural policies, business exchange and fashions to individual practices of meaning-making.
How Europeanness is defined through the bodily practices, images, people met, material settings, articulated and implied values, narratives and contrastive institutional settings that are encountered and/or constructed during travel experiences - are intriguing questions.
In my paper I would like to address these question on the basis of the analysis of narratives of young Poles traveling to the former Soviet Union. In rapidly modernizing and Europeanizing (Westernizing) post-communist Poland, Europeanness is a very old and at the same time ever renewing idea and identity. Political changes after 1989 in Poland have influenced the imaginary of the former Soviet Union, also as a tourist destination. I will analyse young people's incentives to travel, images of the people encountered as well as the narratives of natural/material, institutional and personal obstacles to traveling. I aim at studying the processes of experiencing and (re) constructing Europeanness among Poles of the generation for whom "real socialism" is still a personal yet fading memory.

Anthropological Inquiries on the Politics of Memory in Contemporary Europe

Lorena Anton, University of Bucharest/University of Bordeaux 2 (lorena.anton@g.unibuc.ro)

In January 2006, PACE voted on the Resolution 1481, or "Need for international condemnation of crimes of totalitarian communist regimes". Although it did not receive the necessary votes, the resolution determined a long debate all over Europe. In short, a need for coming to terms with the communist past was and still is a problematic issue on Europe's agenda, giving birth to different politics of memory at the level of each member state and strongly influencing intra-European relations.
In applying an anthropological approach on the contemporary politics of memory in Europe, regarding our communist past, my intervention intends to analyze those memo-politics in present day Romania, taking the present remembering of pronatalism and Ceausescu's demographic policies as a case study. From 1966 to 1989, the Romanian Communist Party prohibited by law the right of pregnancy interruption, all in the name of the sanctity of the Romanian communist nation. The social memory of those times constitutes, over the years, an alternative discourse to the Party's pronatalist propaganda. But, in the public sphere of contemporary Romania, those memories are as absent as in its Communist times, a fact, which has its influence on Romanian's reproductive health.
The main aim of my paper will thus be to discuss the ways by which remembering, as a social phenomenon, can and often influences the identity of societies. The analysis is based on extensive fieldwork started in 2003, as well as related documentation, and has as theoretical background the interdisciplinary field of Memory Studies.

W090

Seeing under, through and beyond Ethnicity in Diversity (Roundtable)

Convenor: **Steven Vertovec, Max Planck Institute (vertovec@mmg.mpg.de)**
Panelists**: John Eade, Ayşe Caglar, Gabriele Alex and Nina Glick-Schiller**
Discussant: **Nina Glick-Schiller**

28 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 415

Public, political and academic understandings of diversity have conventionally been couched in models of ethnic and ethno-racial classification. Such models have arguably obscured as much as, or more than, they have revealed in terms of the construction and maintenance of everyday identities, social relations, and socio-economic trajectories. Would a better perspective be, as some have suggested, a "post-multicultural" or "post-ethnic" one? Are reclaimed concepts such as cosmopolitanism or creolisation more satisfactory for describing dynamics of diversity? Or is the concept of ethnicity still a useful central tool of analysis by way of examining processes of boundary making and social closure, rather than as a definition of identity or community? Or further, could we profit theoretically and methodologically by thinking more about "ethnicity-plus" - that is, to focus more centrally on ways ethnicity interplays simultaneously with factors such as legal and political status, religion, economic milieu, age and gender profile, etc.? How can we

fashion our anthropological tools to better understand how ethnicity both conditions and is conditioned by differential diversity hierarchies (by way of which, for example, Turks in Germany are not the same, or same type, of "community" as Turks in Britain, Greece, Australia or the USA)? These questions will be explored in this session through brief presentations and chaired debate.

W091

Teaching Diversity (Workshop of the EASA TAN Network)

Convenors: **Dorle Dracklé, University of Bremen (drackle@uni-bremen.de)**
Ana Isabel Afonso, Universidade Nova de Lisboa (ai.afonso@fcsh.unl.pt)
Chairs: **Ana Isabel Afonso and Dorle Dracklé**
Discussant: **László Kürti**

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 030

Teaching anthropology always involves the challenge to design courses that develop an understanding of diversity. Anthropological theories and methods serve as a lens for learning processes aimed at examining the implications of diversity - not only in foreign but in the home cultures as well. Social Anthropology offers a variety of tools for experiencing and interpreting diversity while being trained in the discipline. Facilitating seminar discussions on texts as well as practicing ethnography on a student level creates situations open for experiencing the deeper layers of cultural identity, gender relations, racism and other forms of discrimination. By assuming the research perspective of the ethnographer during their training, students might be empowered to question their own cultural biases and open themselves for broader questions of sociocultural inequalities.

Most of the students we are educating today will be working in applied contexts after finishing university. It is only since some years, the Bologna process with its implications towards educating BA students for practical fields well on its way, that academic anthropologists tend to reflect especially about diversity related teaching. Are we capable of defining necessary skills and aims of a genuine anthropological education? What are the aims and tools we can provide for teaching the complexities of diversity and culture and thereby turning young anthropologists into attractive and much needed employees in a variety of professional fields? Should we aim at becoming so deeply applied anyway?

In this workshop we will be able to discuss the whole issue of teaching anthropology under "new" conditions - whereby we are still aiming at facilitating experiences of difference and opening up possibilities for analysing the complexities of pluralistic contexts. The workshop offers room for presenting different teaching projects on the topic but also for generally relating diversity as a topic to teaching and learning.

Teaching Human Sameness, a Neglected Prerequisite

Thomas K. Schippers, CNRS (t-schip@libello.com)

The idea I would like to develop concerns my experience in teaching an undergraduate course entitled "Ethnology et ecology" and the discovery of a surprising persistance of "racial" (not necessarily racist...) thinking among European students today. Faced with this, I found it very useful to start this course by (re)affirming very strongly human "sameness" and to list common features of humanity etc. as the prerequisite of any anthropological approach to cultural/social/ethnic diversity. But teaching human

sameness today also implies a renewed approach of anthropology's disciplinary divides.

Cultural Diversity: Content, Context and Possibilities

Zerrin Tandogan, Bilkent University (zerrin@bilkent.edu.tr)

Is it possible to teach "cultural diversity"? This paper will discuss and share experiences related with the teaching of differences and cultural variety through an anthropological perspective within the context of formal university education. The argument is that, there is an urge for a more "cosmopolitan education" which promotes a mentality that is in favor of developing an awareness and openness towards experiencing and learning about other ways of living and being. The call for "cosmopolitan education" is also a critique of "monoculturalist education" projects that intentionally or unintentially dominate curriculums in different parts of the world. This study will provide cases from Turkey.

Rethinking Diversity through Peace Education

George Chidiebere Iheanacho, Champion Newspapers Limited (achogeorge@yahoo.com)

As part of the on-going effort to explore the conference theme, this paper will look at the essential imperative of diversity in fragmented and intolerant societies and with respect to ethnicity and conflict resolution. Within this framework, I shall consider how diversity can be instrumental to solving human problems and maintaining progress. Solving human problems in multiethnic, multiracial, and multicultural societies can be very difficult and the relevance of diversity for achieving the ultimate goals of mutual recognition. Unity, harmony and peaceful coexistence become imperative when we understand the practices and ascertain the workability of diversity in such societies. The discourse of diversity in recent times would not be complete without peace education and consideration of observable cultural and experiential differences. Thus in reconstructing diversity so as to realize its objectives and in view of its multifarious implications, peace education has become a key practical concept, especially in education and raising awareness by closing the gap between fragmented and intolerant societies and the globalisation process.
My paper will develop and discuss these subjects.

The European Joint MA "CREOLE": Teaching Diversity on Diverse Levels

Anna Streissler, University of Vienna (anna.streissler@univie.ac.at)

The Joint MA programme CREOLE: Cultural Differences and Transnational Processes (www.univie.ac.at/creole) is a four-semester Masters programme in anthropology run jointly since the winter term of 2007/08 by the departments of the Autonomous University of Barcelona and the universities of Ljubljana, Lyon II, Maynooth, Stockholm and Vienna.
Students are encouraged to deal with diversity on two, sometimes three levels: 1. as a core topic of the curriculum, dealing with anthropological theories of diversity; 2. by experiencing different academic cultures. Students are required to study in at least two, possibly three different universities, thus experiencing diversity also through different teaching approaches, different engagements with theories and literature, different approaches to field research. Furthermore their MA theses will be jointly supervised by two lecturers of two different departments. In July 2008 CREOLE students and staff come

together for ten days of lectures and debates in which these differences in academic culture are pivotal for fruitful academic exchange; 3. by carrying out fieldwork in the city/cities they visit. Although not a prerequisite, some students are planning fieldwork during their stay abroad, many of them on different aspects of migration. So they will be studying cultural diversity, often of groups considered culturally different from the receiving society in settings where they themselves are visitors.
The presentation will give an overview of the programme and then focus on students' experiences of diversity, drawing on reflexive papers, which the students are asked to write after finishing the first two semesters of their studies.

Teaching Diverse Students, Learning Diverse Practices of Anthropology

Graça Cordeiro, ISCTE (graca.cordeiro@iscte.pt)

Thinking about teaching anthropology leads to a deeper reflection on the role the discipline as a professional practice outside the university. Workplaces for academic research are fewer than ever and the anthropological professional practice is more and more developed in different domains of application. In spite of this situation, the teaching anthropology model in Portugal is still strongly connected with a conception of pure academic research, opening few perspectives of practicing. From my own teaching experience, delivering a course named "Professional practices of anthropology" in an undergraduate program of Anthropology (ISCTE, Lisboa) for the last two years, my aim is to identify and discuss some of the most relevant issues that I have learned from the contact with a great diversity of students.

When Diversity Enters the Classroom: Experiences from a Slovenian Minority school on the Italian Border

Lucia Rodeghiero, University of Milan-Bicocca (lucia.rodeghiero@unimib.it)

Even if Slovene minority schools in Italy are intended for the autochthonous Slovene minority, in recent times the minority school had to adapt itself to the changing social environment (the enlargement of the European Union and the immigration phenomenon) of which it is a part. Therefore a school, which was designed only for the Slovenian minority group is now attended also by Italian and foreigner (mostly from the ex-Yugoslav republics) pupils.
In the school where I did my ethnographic work (in the Trieste district) teachers have to cope with diversity, defined both as the status of being a minority school, and as the ethnic, religious, national and linguistic different belongings of pupils in the school. Teachers have to adjust their classes (the language used and some of the items taught) to the new situation.
Moreover not every teacher identifies him/herself with the Slovenian ethnic belonging and this fact complicates the situation. A constant, shifting and never definitive definition of the self and the other takes place during the lessons; but it can also be inferred leafing through the school texts used in the school, where terms like diversity, ethnicity, nationality, identity are used without any problematization.
In this context my presence as an anthropologist inside the classroom was anything but neutral and I had to face dilemmas about the eventuality of reacting or not to the requests of the school itself.
This paper investigates both the practical situation inside this specific school and the theoretical problem of a lack of an anthropological training and awareness among the people concerned in the educational endeavour.

Furthermore, what kind of tools would these teachers need to deal with a diversity of which they are often part?

Articulating "Diversity" in Swedish Teacher Education Programmes

Annika Rabo, University of Stockholm (annika.rabo@ceifo.su.se)

This contribution is based on a project called *Teacher Education in "multicultural" Sweden, class, gender and ethnicity* where five researchers have studied a number of colleges with a variety of methods and utilising different kinds of material.
Sweden is officially proclaimed to be a multicultural society where diversity is said to be an important and a "natural" aspect of contemporary Swedish life. Teacher education constitutes the largest college/university programme in Sweden with around ten thousand new students every year. Teacher education is routinely described as the most important in the country and "diversity" is high on the official agenda. But what is meant by "diversity" in teacher education and how is it perceived, articulated and reproduced by different kinds of actors? In teacher education "diversity" is a vague and ambiguous concept, which is used and perceived of in many different and often contradictory ways. There has also been a shift from an articulation of "diversity" as a collective ethnic identity to a more individual one, mirroring a more general shift in society. In most of the programmes we studied teacher education students with a "non-Swedish" background came to be seen as representatives of diversity. However, in one programme with a strong multicultural profile, this was not the case. But even here there was no deeper analysis of diversity in Sweden or in education. Instead the students - often with diverse ethnic backgrounds - were encouraged to cultivate their own individual identities. There is quite a lot of attention on gender in Swedish teacher education, but class is seldom brought out.
As an anthropologist it has been very interesting to study and analyse teacher education and "diversity". But it has also been discouraging to realise how little impact anthropological theory has had on this important programme and how marginalised our discipline is when it comes to debating "differences"/"similarities". What lessons can be learned from this project?

W093

On "Souvenir": Experiencing Diversity, Objectifying Mutuality

Convenors: **Nuno Porto, Universidade de Coimbra (nporto@antrop.uc.pt)**
Anthony Shelton, Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia (ashelton@interchange.ubc.ca)

29 August 2008, 11:00
Room: R3

"Souvenir" evokes mass produced objects reifying places, practices or persons, obtained in superficial experiences of cultural diversity.
This workshop, however, intends to put in comparative perspective the processes these objects prototypically convey - the experience of time, place and interaction - considering the broadest possible tokens of mutual relations in social practices.
In his photographic album "Saudades do Brasil", Claude Lévi-Strauss explains how mute and distant photographs had become to him after so long. The scent of his notebooks, however, made him travel back to Brazil, his youth, and his early queries on anthropology. A token of some shared lived experience need not be a material object. More often than not, however, the notion of "souvenir" is entangled with

marketed mass produced stereotypes of places, attitudes or characters, which situate its owner in a specific time and site context where some sort of cherished relationship has occurred.
The purpose of this workshop is to invite anthropologists to recast the idea of the souvenir under new perspectives, by exploring cases on which experiences of cultural diversity have been acknowledged through mutual explorations, and elaborated through the kind of relational procedures, which also stand at the core of ethnographic approaches to social life.

The Notion of Anti-Souvenirs

Anthony Shelton, Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia (ashelton@interchange.ubc.ca)

Two types of anti-souvenir will be examined. The first will focus on the surrealist's notion of the found object, artifacts, it will be argued, not only open the doors to unexpected universes and provoke a rupture in ordinary consciousness and perception, but also dissolve histories centred on the existence of a discretely constructed individualism. The second example will be based on religious "souvenirs" that can be collected during pilgrimages to miraculous sites associated with the Virgin Mary in the Canary Isles. The pilgrimage represents an individual's aspiration to commune with divinity, a denial of the conditions of their physical existence and desire to become part of a universal transcendental body. In both examples individual histories are replaced by transcendental determinants, which are marked and remembered through the acquisition of specific types of objects. The study of these sub-categories indicate how Stewart's tripartite classification of objects can be extended to open up new ways in understanding the way artifacts work on the articulation of conscious/unconscious aspects of life histories.

Maasai Beadwork for Sale: Destruction of Culture or Perpetuation of Traditional Handicraft?

Signe Strøm, University of Perugia (signestrom@gmail.com)

This paper is based on data collected during fieldwork in the Talek community adjacent to the Masai Mara Reserve, where sale of souvenirs, especially beadwork, represents an important income source for Maasai women.
Tourists' interpretation of different forms of souvenir sale will be analysed. A fair trade project, which claims to promote the maintenance of the handicraft skills and the production of beadwork as souvenirs, represents for the buyers a "positive" aspect of tourism in Masai Mara. Guests are invited to visit the workshop where they can see how the women work. The objects for sale are labelled with the name of the artisan and, consequently, a personal value is added to the commerce of souvenirs, often criticised as mass-produced. In this context, tourists experience buying souvenirs as "helping" the local poor women. In contrast, sale of souvenirs during village visits and outside the reserve's gates is characterised, according to tourists' accounts, by the Maasai women's aggressiveness and tough bargaining. Therefore, the tourists are often left with the feeling of being pushed to buy against their will and are often afraid they have paid "too much". Souvenirs sold in this way are generally of "low quality", according to Western standards, and mass-produced in Nairobi. This commerce is described as a sign of the ongoing erosion of traditional culture.
For the Maasai women, the direct sale to tourists is better than the participation in the project: they earn more, and do foreign visitors gaze upon not "poor women".

"Du souvenir a l'avenir": Animal Memories, Animal Futures

Charlotte Townsend-Gault, University of British Columbia (ctg@interchange.ubc.ca)

Animals on totem poles and Native carvings of all kinds are increasingly prominent in Vancouver's parks and airport, in museums, galleries, and in portable versions in the kind of stores at which tourists, but not only tourists, shop, where they constitute a significant part of the urban bestiary. The current widespread trans-disciplinary interest in animals encourages attention to the neglected role of the image of the animal as a specific component of publicly accessible Native imagery. Attempting to deal with the fact that most of the territory of British Columbia remains un-ceded land, an acrimonious, potentially explosive treaty process is currently underway with political and economic tensions between native and non-Native at an all time high in the province. The paper relates to a larger study of the ways in which the display of Indigenous motifs and imagery in urban British Columbia acts simultaneously, under these circumstances, as evasion and disguise. Less racialized, less essentialized, than Native art as such has become, dispersed animal imagery is relational, active in the contemporary spaces where Native and non-Native are brought into de-territorialized contact. Is it the case that visual and affective interaction with images of animals, when coded Native, provide access to spaces that are typically blocked, obfuscated or reduced in verbal or published explanatory accounts, both popular and specialist? In working to short circuit troublesome politics and the anxieties around the unknown, or unknowable, other, they enable a defining move from logos to pathos.

Books on Culture as Souvenirs of Cultural Adventure

Maria Cardeira da Silva, FCHS-UNL (m.cardeira@fcsh.unl.pt)

Bookstores and libraries sometimes rise in cultural carrefours. Usually tourists with cultural interests purchase travel guides and "cultural shock books" before going some place and "books on culture" when they came back to its "own place". Bookstores in airports, and other located in touristic places, sell "books on culture" which help tourists to interpret or re-interpret their lively experiences and remembrance of different places.

The ancient libraries of the Desert in Mauritania, once born as a result of trade routes and pilgrimage pathways, became nowadays tourist attractions, pretending to epitomise cultural tolerance and understanding. Although the old books of these libraries cannot be read or understood by foreigners, they become a clue for cultural indulgence and respect in the performances that their guardians enact for tourist audiences.

Of Tourist Art and Souvenirs: For a Transversal Analysis of Travellers and their Objects

Solen Roth, University of British Columbia (roths@interchange.ubc.ca)

Scholarly discussions of collecting practices have tended to focus on three archetypal figures of Western travellers: the colonial ethnographer, the Primitive Art connoisseur, and the exoticizing tourist. Similarly, the debate surrounding non-Western material culture has resulted in the crystallisation of such categories as "ethnographic artefact", "fine art", and "tourist art". A simplified Bourdieusian approach would contend a strict correspondence between type of traveller, collecting habitus, and taste for particular objects. In this paper, however, the notion of "souvenir" will be used as an avenue for

a more transversal analysis of these reified categories of people, objects and value. "Souvenirs" are usually cast as cheap and kitsch embodiments of uninformed tourists' superficial experiences of foreign locations. In this perspective, "souvenirs" and "tourist art" are often used as synonyms, an equation that can be criticized on several grounds. First, souvenirs can be understood more broadly as "tokens of a shared lived experience" in which case they do not necessarily espouse the canon traditionally assigned to tourist art. Second, tourist art is increasingly valued and acquired by individuals that do not fit the stereotype of the unsophisticated traveller. Third, tourist art can be invested by their makers and owners with other values than those usually assigned to souvenirs. This paper examines three examples in support of this double-recasting of travellers and their objects: Primitive Art collectors' investment of "masterpieces" with souvenir value, anthropologists' investment of tourist art with ethnographic value, and Indigenous communities' investment of mass-produced objects with artistic and ceremonial value.

Collecting Souvenirs, Collecting Tourists-Scientists, Tourists and Travel Objects of the Canary Islands

Fernando Estevez, University of La Laguna (festevez@ull.es)
Mayte Henríquez, Museo de Historia y Antropología de Tenerife (mhenriquez@museosdetenerife.org)

One of the most usual traveller classifications is the one to establish a clear dicotomy between those who travel because of scientific reasons and those, who travel for leisure. From this opposition the scientific travellers always are seen as interesting and worthy people to study, whereas tourists appears like anodyne beings and no interesting to investigate their motivations nor behaviors. In that sense, the objects carried by the scientific travellers and the tourists, the artifacts and specimens collected in the expeditions and the souvenirs acquired by the tourists, are considered like two classes of radically different things.

Analysing materials from the Canary Islands, where historically there have been both many scientific expeditions and an important international tourist area, we argue the impossibility of settling that radical difference between scientific objects and souvenirs.

On the contrary, the two types of objects share similar narratives of exotisation and cultural appropriation. Thus, the objects collected in the scientific expeditions also can be considered as souvenirs of trip, whereas, behind their apparent triviality, souvenirs reveal scientific, political and ideological categories about the tourist culture. These two types of objects do not reflect the places and the people whom they supposedly represent, but, rather, the culture from which they were collected or acquired. Then, the scientific specimens and the tourist objects are part of the same continuum of travel objects. We conclud that a collection of souvenirs would be, more appropriately, a collection of tourists, their conceptions of the exotic and their aesthetic and moral values.

W094

Rethinking Spirit Possession

Convenors: **Vlad Naumescu, Central European University (naumescuv@ceu.hu)**
Arnaud Halloy, Université de Nice Sophia Antipolis (halloy@unice.fr)

28 August 2008, 11:00
Room: 430

Spirit possession is an extreme way of knowing the "other" by embodying it; the kind of "first-hand" religious experience, in William James' terms, which still provokes great interest among anthropologists. While in some societies spirit possession and trance have been considered as favorite means of expression for marginalized and oppressed, in others, cultivated by religious experts, they form the core of the local religion. In spite of the variety of possession cults and practices around the world there are strong similarities in the possession experience. In this panel we intend to bring together cases of spirit possession from various religious traditions, from Christianity to Brazilian Candomblé, in search of its underlying characteristics. Our interest is to explore the processes through which this human experience becomes religious or dissociative (disorder), as negotiated between cultural frames and individual insight. For this, we will focus on processes of "learning possession" and the successful transmission of representations related to spirit possession. Although much has been written about it, few anthropologists addressed possession as a mode of knowledge or a mode of attending to the world. In this panel we intend to pursue this direction further in the light of recent research in cognitive sciences. We are interested, among others, in the role of cognition and imagination in creating an experience of dissociation and in the role of emotions as somatic markers for "recognizing" possession.

"Possession" and Anthropology's Containment of a Crisis in Categories

Kalpana Ram, Macquarie University (kram@scmp.mq.edu.au)

This paper gathers up and addresses some of my long standing concerns with the wider implications of "possession" for anthropology, for the social sciences more generally, and, speaking to the wider themes of the conference, even for emancipatory political struggles of the twentieth century insofar as they invoke a particular notion of agency.

Possession, if taken seriously, challenges all manner of rationalist "explanations" as a model of what social science's mode of operation ought to be. However, even more profoundly, possession occasions pose a challenge to fundamental ontologies employed in the social sciences in assuming what it means to be a "person", to have a body, to have a mind, or even what it means to be "culturally constituted". The paper will argue that it is not simply a matter of allowing "possession" to interrogate ontologies implicit in the human sciences. Many of the meanings around "cultural construction" and "embodiment" rely implicitly on an understanding derived from an unexamined notion of possession as the "occupation" of a body that is vessel-like. This paper takes the opportunity presented by the panel's interest in re-examining possession and the specific role of emotion and learning in possession in order to ask: how might a better account of "possession", one that lets in emotion and temporality, potentially modify the ontologies and epistemologies at work in anthropology?

Be(com)ing a Cult Member or Spirit Medium: The Malopo Cult in South Africa Revisited

Johann Kriel, University of Pretoria (johann.kriel@up.ac.za)

The spirit possession cult known as malopo in South Africa apparently has it roots in East and Central Africa. Ever since its introduction to the inhabitants of the Limpopo Province in the early twentieth century, the cult has evoked ambivalent views among local people. Although some are not interested at all and others merely participate in the often spectacular possession dances, some have indeed become active cult members and spirit mediums.

Becoming cult members or spirit mediums implies altering existing views about the relationship between the "living" and the "living dead" and accepting new ideas about the cause, diagnosis, and treatment of illness and disease. The core question that this paper aims to answer is how this process of adjustment is managed by the individual. How does the individual reconcile the "old" belief that the ancestral spirits should be confined to their ancestral abode to preclude illness and misfortune with the "new" belief that such spirits should be enticed to actually leave their abode and enter the body of a living person to facilitate a cure? What are the successive steps that a person has to take in order to progress from an afflicted individual to a fully cured spirit medium or cult member? Is it possible for an individual to feign an affliction in order to become a cult member?

This paper explores the processes of becoming a malopo spirit medium or cult member by focusing on the emotional struggle to submit to the "call" of the ancestral spirits.

Demons and Paths to Church Adherence ("Votserkovlenie"): Possession and Conversion around a Russian Orthodox Exorcist

Tünde Komáromi, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (komaromi@eth.mpg.de)

Religious conversion is often described as a radical reorientation of the self, followed by a series of cognitive and social transformations. Possession is an experience of the spiritual forces from within the person; an eventual exorcism or deliverance "restores" the self into its "natural" state. My paper is exploring the intersection of these two concepts and argues using empirical case studies of post-possessed converts that the transformations associated with possession and exorcism are often lead to conversion.

During my fieldwork in an Orthodox Christian Russian parish I encountered several cases (mostly women) whose religious career was closely associated with personal experiences of suffering and relief from demonic influences. In these cases deliverance or exorcism from possession was followed by strong adherence to the parish and its associated structures (ex. serving as aides in the church, the canteen of the parish ("trapeza") or hostels built around the church etc).

Large part of the conversion studies focus on missionary work and conversion to Christianity in the Protestant and neo-Protestant denominations. The anthropological study of changing church adherence ('votserkovlenie' - in the Russian case) and conversion is relatively neglected in the Eastern Christian traditions. The experiences of possessed people and their conversion careers show that these phenomena far from being survivals "from times long passed" are better understood as responses to contemporary social transformations and the postsoviet way to "modernity".

Hypnosis: A Trance of Possession without Possession

Nancy Midol, UNSA (nancy.midol@gmail.com)

Winnicott have perceived the threat of disintegration and chaos because of undifferentiated structure of primary mind processes. During the early few months, the baby gets illusion that she/he is responsible for creating the world, feeling to be oneness with the mother, either in a positive oceanic sensation, or in a terrifying sensation of fragmentation. The baby experiments sway states, embedding mother's emotions but also environment nature energies. Has the baby other possibilities than those which run on a line from psychotic answers, to creative answers? So what does Milton Erickson do when he inducts a hypnosis trance by sending confused messages, which connect the archaic dissociated communication from an altered consciousness state? Doing that, he manages a regression until the dissociated states of mind appear. He takes the place of the "sufficiently good mother" in order that the sway is a new experience of healing by connecting emotional positive balance. Is there a possession? Maybe yes, by Erickson's one unconscious. He plays, at this moment, the holding function of the shaman. So, we are able to understand what means the formula: hypnosis is a trance of possession without possession. But it is the result of a hidden therapeutic role, as psychoanalysts say a "non-dit". So the psychoanalytic theories give an answer.

La mètis des jinètow. Islam, cultes de possession et sociétés d'initiation au Bèlèdugu (Mali)

Laurent Berger, Musée du Quai Branly (laurentberger@club-internet.fr)

Cette étude décrit et analyse la façon dont le dernier processus en date d'islamisation de la région du Bèlèdugu (Mali) s'est traduit par un essor fulgurant des cultes de possession (jinèton) en milieu rural. Son parti pris est d'identifier ensemble et dans leur articulation le type de conditions techniques réunies et de contextes historiques pertinents, à même de conférer à certains individus la "charge" et la "qualité" publiquement reconnues de maître des jinè (jinètigi) et d'adepte (jinèden), et de mieux saisir ainsi la nature de la performance les habilitant, en l'occurrence, à médiatiser les voies du salut parfois contradictoires de l'Islam (silamèya) et du paganisme local (bamananya), afin d'influer sur le devenir des rapports et clivages sociaux contemporains conflictuels.
Pour cela, l'accent porte autant sur les enjeux politiques du processus d'islamisation que sur les artifices techniques du dispositif rituel mis en place lors des initiations et des cérémonies du culte. La théorie de la possession esquissée ici montre que c'est en historicisant l'analyse fonctionnelle comparative de Lewis sur la longue durée et en intégrant certains apports récents des sciences cognitives (theory of mind), que l'on peut espérer rendre intelligible les pratiques relatives à ces cultes.

Learning Possession in the Xangô Cult of Recife (Brazil): Outline of an Emotional Theory

Arnaud Halloy, Université de Nice Sophia Antipolis (halloy@unice.fr)

Drawing on my ethnographic research in the Xangô cult of Recife (Brazil), I will first suggest a methodological approach of possession trance. Then I will argue for a theoretical hypothesis about spirit possession.
A first observation of possession trance in the Xangô cult points out that it is far from being as monolithic as numerous studies of possession are suggesting. My ethnography

takes into account possession vocabulary, participants discourse about possession and numerous descriptions of possession episodes, including learning possession episodes. This data clearly shows that possession should be thought as a multiplicity of subjective states characterized by a series of somatic changes (sensations, perceptions, emotions) and different degrees of consciousness.
What this ethnographic account suggests is that anthropological studies of possession should be resolutely pragmatic. In other words, they should focus on the learning conditions of spirit possession but also on its specific interactional context (involving persons, artefacts, animals). My main purpose is to give a precise description of possession and its complex relations to emotion and cognition.
A theoretical hypothesis can be put forward from our ethnographic data. Possession, as I will suggest, might be conceptualized as a special kind of emotional learning process. From this point of view, recent researches in psychology and neuropsychology of emotions can be very useful for a better understanding of that phenomenon. In our theoretical perspective, possession might learn something from emotions… But possession can also teach us something about them.

Les cris des dieux dans la umbanda

Elise Heinisch, Sorbonne, Paris (eliseheinisch@yahoo.fr)

Dans un rituel umbanda, la masse sonore couplée à la religion est constituée des rythmes frappés sur plusieurs tambours et des chants qui les accompagnent. Au-delà de ces éléments, on relève d'autres manifestations sonores comme les cris qui informent sur le rituel même si on ne le voit pas. Si une personne crie, il y a possession. Soit c'est l'officiant qui crie pour appeler les divinités à « descendre » dans le corps des médiums, soit ce sont les divinités incorporées elles-mêmes qui crient. Cet élément sonore, le cri, est donc significatif de la possession pendant le rituel, en revanche chants et percussions sont omniprésents du début à la fin du rituel, qu'il y ait possession ou pas. Un connaisseur peut somme toute reconnaître un chant d'appel ou de renvoi de la divinité.
Dans quelle mesure le cri est-il un élément qui prend une valeur équivalente au chant ? Le cri est plus souvent considéré comme dissocié de la musique. Dans la umbanda comme dans beaucoup d'autres rites, la musique n'est pas dissociée de la religion, du rituel, de la magie.

On Somatic Markers of Trance and Possession Trance in Three Cultures: Similarities and Differences

Antti Pakaslahti, University of Tampere (antti.pakaslahti@univ.fimnet.fi)

The present study springs from documentatary work over a decade in North Indian healing shrines (Hindu and Muslim) including extensive visual documentation of trances and possession trances used in local treatments of mental health problems. The author decided to compare those observed at the famous shrines of Balaji (Rajasthan) with material of two independent visual series from Europe:
First, the richly documented and illustrated descriptions of "major attacks of hysteria" in photos and drawings by Jean-Martin Charcot at La Salpetrière over a century ago in Paris. He considered that "the hysterics of today are the possessed of yesterday". He also specifically described a "demonic variant of major hysteric attacks".
A second comparative series became available as the author was invited to document the trance sessions of a well-known Finnish "energy healer" in Helsinki. Along with interviews, the healer and her patients accepted to be extensively photographed

and filmed during treatment session.
In this presentation, the three series are illustrated and compared using slides and video clips. The data show intriguing similarities in discrete psychomotor trance manifestations and somatic markers. In terms of repertory, frequency and intensity they are most striking between the Indian and the Charcot series. Motor phenomena in the Finnish series had similarities with both other series but their repertory was smaller, less frequent and less intensive. It is obvious that the observed similarities cannot be due to chance. Neither could they be explained by supposing similar suggestions or learning paths.
In terms of process and time sequence of psychomotor and somatic phenomena the three series showed differences. Also the "sub-cultural" local meanings assigned to them were quite different.
The study discusses the observed similarities and differences. A common psycho-physiological capacity for trance phenomena is presumed. Paradoxically, it can be manifested both in healing rituals and pathological conditions, nowadays often called dissociative states. Cultural context is decisive for process and local interpretations. Based on the comparative analyses a new cultural hypothesis is presented on the "major hysteric attacks" as non-therapeutic ritual possession trances.

Religious Experience among Members of the Hare Krishna Community in Zagreb, Croatia: Approaches and Interpretations

Hrvoje Čargonja, Institute for Anthropological Research (hcargonja@hi.htnet.hr)

In my presentation I would like to give an overview of my ongoing research on the religious experience among the members of Hare Krishna, a religious community active in Zagreb, Croatia since the late 1970s.
The applied phenomenological methodology revealed religious sensations reported by the informants with a variety of sensorial, cognitive and affective elements.
On the examples of several case studies I would like to show how intimate and subjective reality of the supernatural is shaped by social environment satiated with complex theological beliefs and practices systematically applied in the pursuit of the ultimate aim of Vaishnava systematic theology - creating the experience of love of Krishna.
I shall also try to propose several theoretical approaches adopted in the line of phenomenological framework of my research. Notions of "captivated consciousness", and "cultivated imagination" as well as the Indian conceptions of emotion in rasa (flavour, taste, aesthetic or religious sentiment, charm of exchange in a relationship) theory will be discussed. Such reflections will hopefully prove useful in better understanding how Hare Krishna theistic philosophy and culture with its elaborate and repetitive method of imbuing religious practice with devotional passion facilitates experience conceptualization and it's immediate impact on both subjective and social levels of an individual.

Spirit Possession among the Miskitu of Nicaragua

Johan Wedel, University of Gothenburg (johan.wedel@globalstudies.gu.se)

The Miskitu people of Eastern Nicaragua are occasionally troubled by a spectacular illness called grisi siknis or "crazy sickness" said to be caused by spirits. The problem, which occasionally takes epidemic proportions, is characterised by a violent, hysterical reaction as the afflicted loose consciousness, begin to run around together, and may

hurt both themselves and others. Western medical personnel have never found any organic cause of the problem and have had difficulties finding a cure. Treatment is instead performed by Miskitu healers who isolate the patients and ritually transform the experience of the afflicted through an idiom of the spirit world. Afflicting spirits are ritually turned into supporting ones, and the afflicted develop a new attitude and a new way of understanding themselves and their problem. Illness and suffering is reinterpreted as signs of possession and sorcery and given concrete form, which also makes possible resolving the problem. It is suggested that the Miskitu spirits may represent both positive and negative social relationships, and both wellbeing and illness. Spirit possession helps the Miskitu to interpret the world, as the spirits may be a sign of, or express, social, psychological, and physiological conditions. Similarly, the spirits represent a model for healing and wellbeing as they can change a person's condition from illness to health.

Spirit Possession in Guinea-Bissau and Senegal

Maria Teixeira, Inserm (maria.teixeira.f@gmail.com)

Possession exists in so many societies that it seems banal. However, each society gives to this phenomenon a particular place and meaning within its religious system. The assignment of one or the other sex to the possession, its more or less spectacular forms and more or less organized rituals, show its great diversity. However, I argue that it is possible to have a more global comprehension of this phenomenon. In order to defend this argument, I will use the Manjak example, analyzing the language of the possession and its various codes by the projection of a short audio-visual document. In this paper, I will describe a relatively recent possession cult, which appeared a hundred years ago. In this cult, possessed persons prove to be women although men rank among its leaders. Manjak trance is seldom spectacular even though emotions could overflow and make the possessed women become more violent, threatening, or in tears. The control of the possession is done gradually but without any formal initiation, nor recourse to psychotropic substances. Possessed persons discover misfortunes that threaten Manjak Society and, by the same way, offer it a means to counter witchcraft by using specific divinatory and therapeutic ritual. Officiants give a meaning to misfortune by creating answers whose symbolism is recognized by all. The ritual action is accomplished by the irruption of a divinity with whom a direct and immediate communication is possible.

The Enactment of Self and the Nature of Knowledge among Mediums in Cuban Espiritismo

Diana Espirito Santo, University College, London (gimmefish@yahoo.com)

In Cuba, spirit mediums, known simply as espiritistas, are individuals whose unique relationships to their muertos (their spirits) enable them to receive, discern and interpret valuable information from the spiritual world for the benefit of others. Learning to be a medium here involves learning to be attuned to the ways in which this manifestation occurs, trusting the senses and the imagination as tools of insight, and cultivating a relationship with one's body as it becomes an increasingly controlled instrument and marker of spiritual presence.

But spirits are far from "other" to a medium's consciousness. They are part of her very constitution, and self, for they come with her, much like a pre-existing blueprint. Developing an awareness of herself as a medium implies an acknowledgment of her own multiplicity: of her capacity to be other to herself, but only in as much as this

otherness is also intrinsic to her. Spirits embody the stories and images of an ethnically, religiously and culturally diverse Cuban past, simultaneously representing and enabling alternative avenues of behaviour and expertise through the enactment of such knowledge relations, in the present.
An anthropological understanding of possession in this context must engage with such indigenous notions of extended self and agency, and with the scope of individual creativity in her own self construction and understanding. In ths paper, I attempt to move away from purely mentalistic or functionalist views of the spirit-person dynamic and consider the value of processual, enactive, social behaviourist and distributed cognitive approaches to such phenomena.

The Work of Imagination in Religious Experience

Vlad Naumescu, Central European University (naumescuv@ceu.hu)

Imagination and its most visible outcome, mental imagery, have always been a necessary presence in extraordinary religious experiences. What we perceive as visions, dreams or dissociative states appear as spontaneous experiences independent of the conscious thought. Such experiences are the outcome of a set of developed techniques for inducing states of enhanced imagistic activity for acquiring special religious knowledge; a cultural process described as the "cultivation of mental imagery" (Noll 1985: 445).
The issue of "training" religious imagery has not been raised until now in the context of the Eastern Christian tradition even though it is manifest in both its theology and practice. The ethnographic case I propose comes from my fieldwork in a male monastery in Western Ukraine. There, monks focused on a tradition of prayer that leads oneself to an experiential knowledge of God. Through their daily practice monks are cultivating a particular relationship to God that granted them access to divine power and mystical inspiration. I argue that the cultivation of imaginative practices should be regarded as a complex learning process involving cognitive, bodily-sensorial and social aspects at once. Moreover, I am interested to explore the creative potential of religious experiences, especially the capacity of some rituals to convert individual imagination into innovation.

Narrative Reconstruction of Spirit Possession Experience: The Double Hermeneutic of Gaddis Religious Specialists in Western Himalaya (India)

Daniel Côté, University of Sherbrooke (daniel-cote@videotron.ca)

Almost everywhere in India, spirit possession is described as a means of social regulation and of conflict resolution through symbolic transformation. This communication explores the meaning and the experience of spirit possession among the Gaddis, a semi-nomadic "tribe" of Western Himalaya, and its narrative reconstruction. Despite the assumption that possession in India is generally a belief and a practice prevailing among the "tribals" or among the low castes to complain against social oppressive patterns, Gaddis spirit possession narratives show how this intense and extravagant experience is articulated through the cultural idioms of orthodox Hinduism. Experiences of possession are interpreted in the light of yogic discipline, meditative techniques and the Hindu core concepts such as dharma, karma or samadhi (inner bliss). Concept of samadhi corresponds to the specific moment where a deity enters a human body and takes full control of his thoughts, feelings, and behaviours. This communication shows how a supposed peripheral practice may be opened up to mainstream Hinduism. Here, the spiritual discipline does not fit the traditional image of the renouncing yogis,

but appears in the daily routine. At the same time, possession takes place in a public arena, always ritually induced with the intention to bring solutions to cross-personal or village litigations. The possibility of a double local hermeneutic is discussed here in the light of the sanskritisation process and of the possible cultural legitimation through narrative reconstruction.

Voyages chamaniques et expériences profanes en Sibérie du Sud

Charles Stépanoff (charles-stepanoff@wanadoo.fr)

Dans le chamanisme de Sibérie méridionale, la distribution inégalitaire des expériences rituelles est fondée sur une inégalité supposée naturelle des compétences. La littérature anthropologique présente habituellement comme caractéristiques du chamane certains états extraordinaires qui mettent en cause les contours et l'identité de la personne : le chamane sort de son corps ou incorpore des esprits. On constate pourtant que ces états sont aussi couramment attribués aux profanes : la maladie est vue comme l'effet du départ de l'âme suivie de l'installation d'un esprit dans le corps, ce qui correspond au « voyage chamanique » et à la « possession ». Une description en termes de catégories d'identité et d'état n'est donc pas suffisante. La personne étant conçue ordinairement comme distribuée en divers lieux et objets, ce n'est pas dans l'opposition intérieur/extérieur mais dans le contraste entre des dynamiques d'expansion et de rétention que peut se lire la spécificité du voyage du chamane. L'analyse des dispositifs de l'action fait voir que l'interaction avec un agent non humain est spécifique du régime d'action chamanique alors que l'identification caractérise l'expérience profane. Tout en faisant éclater les limites de la personne du malade, le rituel assigne temporairement mais vigoureusement à chacun une identité de profane ou de spécialiste.

W095

East Looks West and West Looks East: Mutual Constructions of Anthropology

Convenors: **Frances Pine, Goldsmiths College, University of London (pine@eth.mpg.de, f.pine@gold.ac.uk)**
Joanna Zalewska, Graduate School for Social Research (asia_zalewska@yahoo.com)
Chair: **Frances Pine**
Discussants: **Michał Buchowski, Vlad Naumescu, Vintila Mihailescu, Enikő Magyari-Vincze and László Fosztó**

28 August 2008, 14:00
Room: R2

Our panel examines the way eastern European anthropologists have used their local histories, including their experience of "socialism" to inform their work outside their own region and the influences western anthropologists have brought to bear on their work in Eastern Europe. We shopfront the work of the youngest generation of doctoral students working in these fields - bringing contrasts and parallels from more senior scholars invited as discussants. The organisers of this panel coordinate a Marie Curie network promoting anthropological research in the region but have drawn in a broader set of researchers.
Session 1. At home and abroad

Session 2. Circulating practices
Session 3. Circulating and migrating persons
Session 4. General reflections and discussion

On "At Home Anthropology": "Indigenous" Perspectives

Alina Ioana Branda, Babes-Bolyai University (alinabranda@hotmail.com, alinabranda@yahoo.com)

The first aim of this paper is to focus on, in a diachronic way, the domain of Anthropology of Eastern Europe as a western construct, briefly analyzing the most interesting and involved moments it profiles (at this level, assessing mainly anthropologies of socialism and subsequently, post-socialism).
The second main goal of my paper is to see how and why an at-home social/cultural anthropology "appears" after 1990 and is created/accepted as such by several universities in Eastern Europe (I use the Romanian case as a detailed example). Who are the performers of this at home anthropology, why they choose to adopt such an identity, which are their professional and "ideological profiles"- are key questions of my approach.
It is, I think, compulsory to clarify also the relation between this "new type of research" and the cultural /social research traditions (local, "indigenous" ethnographies and folklore, and also, in a few cases, sociological approaches), how this at home anthropology and its performers view and confront the traditional researches.
I am going to articulate all these questions and to offer updated answers to them, putting them in a 2008 context, considering also the role of exchange programs and new educational policies profiled in a big part of Europe nowadays.

Pathways of Anthropology in South Eastern Europe: An Ethnographic Approach of the Discipline and its Disciples in Bulgaria and Greece

Aliki Angelidou, Panteion University (alangel@panteion.gr)

In both Greece and Bulgaria, the development of social sciences in general and of social anthropology in particular, until very recently has been studied only at a national level. These approaches placed much emphasis on the comparison with the theoretical and methodological fields developed in "Western" countries or the Soviet Union respectively, attempting to catch up the discrepancies between the domestic practices and the western or Soviet "models". Transforming the scope of this inquiry in comparative perspective between the countries of SEE could be an interesting project, as it shows that what seems to be "particular" to one or another national scientific tradition are similar phenomena, due to common social and historical frameworks. In search for the commonalities and differences between the Greek and Bulgarian theoretical schemes and research practices, we come accross of the strong influence of history and folklore in both academic traditions at the end of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, the beginning of empirical studies in SEE in the interwar period, the breaking up of contacts and exchanges between "eastern" and "western" scholars due to the Cold War, as well as the reconfigurations of the academic field after the fall of socialism in the early 1990s, when anthropology becomes more institutionalized in the academia and is (well) established in both Bulgarian and Greek universities.

East Looks East: Slovenian and Chinese (Post)socialisms Compared

Maja Veselič (maja.veselic@guest.arnes.si)

Similar to Central and Eastern Europe, in the People's Republic of China (PRC) socio-cultural anthropology in its Western form has gained a great influence and popularity in the recent years both in terms of theoretical approaches and fieldwork practices. Reflecting on my education and training in Slovenia as well as fieldwork experience in the PRC I compare mutual constructions of foreign and local ethnologies/ anthropologies in the cases of Slovenia and China. Familiarity with Slovenian discussions at the time of (explicit) introduction of cultural anthropology into the name and curriculum of my home department in the 1990s informs my understanding of current Chinese debates on ethnology (minzuxue) and nativization (bentuhua) of cultural anthropology. Furthermore, I examine my own shifting positionality among the various sets of ethnological and anthropological traditions throughout different stages of my PhD research. I consider these issues by focusing on two examples: the different ways foreign and domestic scholars have dealt with issues of religion, ethnicity and state policy among Bosnian and Chinese Muslims and the extent to which the concept of post-socialism can be a useful analytical tool for understanding contemporary China.

Making Sense of Ideologies and Practices of Local Democracy Circulating between East and West: Fieldwork in a Local Community Office in Bosnia-Herzegovina

Larissa Vetters, German University of Administrative Sciences Speyer (vetters@foev-speyer.de)

One of the most dearly held divisions of the Cold War period was the one into Eastern totalitarian and Western democratic regimes. After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the ensuing breakdown of other socialist regimes, it fuelled much of the democratization efforts in now post-socialist countries.

The paper aims at unravelling ostensibly Western notions of democracy promoted in the Yugoslav successor state Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH). Tito's third way and Yugoslavia's claim to socialist democracy through workers' self-management form a unique background to explore questions of state-building, regime transformation and democratization. A close look at the ideologies and practices surrounding the local community office (mjesna zajednica) - formerly part of the system of socialist self-management and still existing in many parts of BiH - not only reveals deep ambiguities within concepts of democracy promoted by the international community, but also directs attention to changing configurations of the state, and multiple layers of meanings of democracy in West European countries themselves.

The ethnography of a local community office in Mostar (BiH) thus serves to contribute to an anthropology, which is sensitive to the historical genesis of concepts and practices of local democracy, and the often forgotten cross-fertilization of ideas between East and West. The paper aims at reviving a tradition of mutual learning and of inquiry into each other's experience of local democracy. It extends this line of thinking to critical questions about the changing role of the state, and conditions for local democracy in contemporary European societies in East and West.

Third Age as an Ideology and as an Analytical Category: How the Concept can be Applicable in Polish Anthropology?

Joanna Zalewska, Graduate School for Social Research (asia_zalewska@yahoo.com)

The concept of the third age is derived from the modern division of life course into stages. The third age is a period of retirement, when the elderly, free from their previous everyday duties, can finally realize themselves, and it is juxtaposed to the fourth age, time of decline and dying. The concept of the third age was meant to give the meaning of self-realization instead of exclusion to retirement.

Nowadays modern capitalist society pays more attention to consumption than production. Withdrawal from the job market does not exclude citizens from consumer activities if they have enough resources to spend. Retired people are not excluded as long as they participate in leisure culture, which requires material, social and cultural capital.

In Poland the concept of the third age is promoted by the institutions sponsored by the EU, acting for the sake of the elderly and it is spread among those who have direct access to the services of these institutions. They promote volunteering and intergenerational cooperation. The third age is presented as a difficult period: excess of free time, difficult financial situation, loneliness. The aim is to fight exclusion of the elderly, but at the same time it introduces a "global" ideology of active ageing, which may not suit local experiences of ageing.

It seems that the term "third age" is created in ideological purposes of speaking for retired people. Later on, the third age has become a concept which divides the younger, wealthier, educated, healthier (the third age) from the poor, ill, uneducated (the fourth age).

Effects of Legal Changes in the Lithuanian Countryside after Entrance into the EU

Ida Harboe Knudsen, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (ida.harboe@hotmail.com)

This paper will discuss the consequences of the EU entrance in the Lithuanian countryside four years after membership was obtained. I will argue that the EU is not arriving at an empty space, and development is not only coming from "above" as people already have their own social settings, their own daily practices and their own (unwritten) norms and codes of behavior.

I will furthermore stress that it is not necessarily the initiated and planned changes, which have influenced rural daily life the most, it is what I here call "second row changes" - the changes that came after the changes. In the restructuring of the countryside, which mainly aims at closing small farms and setting up big farms, no further development of the rural infrastructure came along. As a consequence hundreds of thousands of young Lithuanians have left Lithuania since the country joined the EU. The big scale migration has consequences for the family structure and thus for the ways people obtain economic and social security. In my paper I will look at these recent changes in the countryside and the strategies people make use of in order to come to terms with the new situation.

Death in the Life of Ukrainian Migrants to Italy

Olena Fedyuk, CEU (novyjbox@yahoo.com)

Labor migration can be seen as an ultimate experience of the East/South and West permeating into each other. While many anthropological works focus on exchange of labor, care-work, money, goods, and knowledge in order to capture the dialectics of the processes in migration there is hardly anything written about the encounters of death in labor migration, which for many migrants is linked to their daily work experience as well as functioning on many symbolic levels.
Majority of Ukrainian labor migrants to Italy work in a care sector where they have to look after old and terminally sick people. For most migrants the death of the person in care means not only personal trauma caused by the intimate care work of the last days of the person's life but also marks the loss of job and home for the migrant. For many, the burden is intensified by the tortures of remorse for leaving their own parents and children without proper care at home in Ukraine.
The paper, therefore, explores three major presences of death in the life of Ukrainian migrants in Italy, i.e. the death of the employers (people in care), the death of migrants' family members back home, and the instances of death of Ukrainian migrants in Italy. Death, therefore, stretches across the borders, exposing migrants' own structural and spatial limitations, financial and legal restrictions, symbolically representing migrants' loss of time spent away from the families, the loss of intimacy with their dear ones through migration.

Multiple Temporalities of Chechen and Ingush Refugees in Lublin (Eastern Poland)

Michal Sipos, Goldsmiths College, University of London (Michal.Sipos@gmail.com)

In my paper, I elaborate on continuing anthropological fieldwork carried out among immigrants from the Northern Caucasus living in the Eastern Polish city of Lublin. By the end of 2007, the number of Chechen and Ingush immigrants coming to Poland had peaked at more than 9,000 people. This immigration was mainly a result of their fear of isolation following the inscription of the new Schengen border in Eastern Poland, and of the dangerous socio-political and precarious economic circumstances in the Northern Caucasus. In Lublin, most of the Chechen and Ingush immigrants live in a state rented accommodation centre, located in the deprived neighborhood of Bronowice. By looking into the narratives and daily practices of the immigrants, I aim to discover how experience of oppression and violence and current insecurities, impinge on the lives of these people, and influence the ways they approach their past, present, and future. The presentation aims to contribute, by way of a "case study", to the broader discourse on commonalities and differences in fieldwork practices in Eastern Europe.

Postcolonial Processes in Kazakhstan and India: Comparative Characteristic of Russian and British Colonial Policy

Yulia Guzhvenko, Barnaul State Pedagogical University (guzvenko@yandex.ru)

The paper will discuss the postcolonial processes and the construction of the independent states in Asia. Firstly, in the paper, an attempt is undertaken to compare the colonial policy of Great Britain and Russia from the following parameters, such

as linguistic situation and operating by the language of the indigenous population, presence of the indigenous population in the authority, industrialization and the forced economic development of India and Kazakhstan. Secondly, the paper will analyse the development of India from the moment of independence in 1947 and Kazakhstan after the declaration of independence in 1991. Special attention will be given to the role of colonial language in everyday life and to operating by colonial language in the government. I will also compare the economic relationships of Russia and Great Britain and their former colonies, the origin of the new national bourgeoisie and political elite.

What We Missed: Institutions and Community Care in Psychiatry (Czech Republic)

Lydie Fialová (lydiefialova@gmail.com)

The era of late state socialism in Central/Eastern Europe has been described as a time of a timeless (V. Havel), whose history might be written in terms of what has not happened in comparison to what has happened in the West. The paper examines "what has not happened" in transformation of Psychiatry from institutional to community care. Unlike in the West, where de-institutionalization began in the 1960s partially as a result of criticism of social control role of Psychiatry by leftist intellectuals and anti-psychiatry movement, in C/E Europe this reform has been proposed since 1990s as a way of dealing with the legacy of the past in the form of institutionalized social exclusion through newly established NGOs, as well as a proof of adherence to human rights by the state - a necessary condition for accession into the EU. The paper aims to compare the presumptions, conditions, and actual outcomes of these movements in different social contexts, based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in the Czech Republic and comparative historical research of respective reforms in other Western and Central European countries.

W096

Memory and Material Culture in Post-Conflict Societies

Convenors: **Ferdinand de Jong, University of East Anglia (f.jong@uea.ac.uk)**
Maruška Svašek, Queen's University, Belfast (m.svasek@qub.ac.uk)

29 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 233

The relationship between memory, materiality and emotions is complex. While some scholars argue that material culture, including works of art, may actively engage people in memory work and give them emotional relief, others on the contrary maintain that material culture, and monuments in particular, objectify memory, allowing only certain interpretations of the past and not others. The dialectics of memory and material culture has been debated in the context of remembrance of the Holocaust. More recently, art historians and anthropologists have examined these issues in the context of post-conflict societies.

The panel seeks to bring together papers that examine the making of post-conflict socialities and subjectivities through materiality. We invite papers that address how art and material objects address past suffering, and to what extend they aggravate or alleviate painful memories.

Museums and the Location of Memories in Post-Siege Sarajevo

Elizabeth Carnegie, Sheffield University (e.carnegie@shef.ac.uk)

War memories remain part of the cultural history and present of people living in Sarajevo but this creates tensions for authorities trying to create a forward looking "new old cultural" destination whilst still recovering from the wounds of the war.
This paper contends that new "cultural products", objects and sites have evolved as a consequence of the war and these translate also into a new "war-based" material heritage and memory-making which are projected outwards and also onto Sarajevo as a result of the mediated nature of events and the international interest in Sarajevo. Based on fieldwork carried out in Sarajevo in May 2007, it will address how these fragments of war displayed in the Government run museum, in private exhibitions such as the Secret Tunnel, in street displays, "Mission Impossible" war tours and in the scarred landscape can be powerful, painful or even unwelcome reminders for local people of their own lived experience and tourism can in fact force remembering by creating a demand for sites associated with the war. This paper argues that material memories create meaning for visitors, many of whom are Diaspora returnees, seeking to make sense of the recent past but that visitor's expectations that the impacts of the siege will remain a primary narrative within the museums and monuments renders "forgetting" more problematic.

Socialist Art, Socialist Lifestyle: Alleviating Memories of the Socialist Past in Poland

Ewa Klekot, Warsaw University (evakot@poczta.onet.pl)

Kozlowka is the only existing museum of socialist art in Poland, and one of the favourite one-day trip destinations in the Lublin region. However, apart from art pieces in "socialist realistic" style of 1950s, the exhibition includes several arrangments of everyday life sceneries, with original items of material culture form the period, staging grey and homespun "lifestyle" of the time. In the paper (based on observations and interviews with visitors) I will argue that the elements of everyday material culture reconcile visitors with their "socialist" memories suggesting them the "average" part they played in it, while the monumental propaganda art gives them a feeling of being "victims of the system". Alltogether it creates a museum experience that alleviates memories of the socialist past in Poland.

Material Hyper-Evidence: Objects of the new Plutocracy in Bratislava

Alexandra Schüssler, MEG (a.schussler@uva.nl)

The fall of the Iron Curtain has resulted in political and economic changes in all ex-socialist countries. These changes have given rise to a new stratum of nouveaux riches, who managed to acquire wealth due to restitution and privatisation of former state properties. That pecuniary elite is despised by the "old aristocracy", the cultural elite, as well as by the newly poor. The plutocrats' provocative demonstration of their wealth may be stigmatized as "uncultivated", but it is their cultural idiosyncrasy that my research is focused on. The newly rich demonstrate to the world how rich they have become, but there is more to their message that uses "things" as a vehicle. Can this demonstration of "tasteless and obscene" overabundance be understood as a break with the socialist past, the ideology of equality? Can it be read as a sign of a new social order with an orientation towards the consumption absorbed West?
In my paper I shall concentrate on subject - object relationships of my informants

with their possessions, which are so evidently displayed by the newly rich of post-socialist countries. Looking at their dress-codes and jewelry, registering their objects of daily use and furnishing, potential (art)collections, architecture (including interior and garden architecture) as well as means of transport I intend to map the plutocrats' subjectivities. Presenting a case of a material environment created by a plutocrat in Senec (near Bratislava, Slovakia) I shall attempt to approach an understanding of the motivations, intentions, fears and desires of this recently born elite.

Bones, Buttons and Photographs: Objects for Remembrance in the Exhumation of Mass Graves of the Spanish Civil War

Aitzpea Leizaola, Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea (University of the Basque Country)/Aranzadi Zientzia Elkartea (Society of Sciences) (aitzpea.leizaola@ehu.es)

In 2000, the exhumation of mass graves of people executed during the Spanish civil war (1936-39) opened up an intense debate in Spain on the memory of the civil war and Franco's dictatorship, bringing to the public arena questions that had been silenced for over seventy years. Since then, the Spanish civil war has been at the centre of public debates in the political arena. For the first time, the pact of silence on the war and its aftermath was broken. Sealed at the end of the dictatorship that gave way to the democratic transition and considered to be one of its main pillars, the pact of silence was instituted as an officialised amnesia, preventing any debate, review or legal claim over past events. Indeed, the Spanish case served as a precedent and an example for the so called "full stop laws" (ley de punto final) enforced in Latin American dictatorships.

Leaded by families later constituted in associations, the efforts to localize and give the corpses of their kin a "decent burial" opened up unprecedented discussions on remembrance, oblivion and political responsibility regarding past events.

Digging up common graves has a healing effect on those looking for their beloved ones. Many did not dare to undertake such an action for decades. Many of them have died without being able to trace and recover the corpses of their beloved ones. The issue is far from being simple, though. The debate over the convenience of opening up the graves or leaving them as they are for future generations to remember what happened is still open, underlining the existence of different points of view over the role of such locations as sites of memory and places for remembrance. All of these underline the need to give a material shape to memory in the form of memorials, communal or individual tombs.

However, the exhumations constitute a unique moment to observe these debates in action. The materiality of corpses, together with personal items found in these graves have a strong impact on all those attending the exhumation, from archaeologists to families and members of the associations working for what has been called the "recovery of historic memory". Ordinary objects, such as buttons, shoes, pencils or glasses found in mass graves acquire thus a huge importance: they may be central for the identification of the bodies and/or they may become the very materialization of remembrance in the hands of the families. Drawing from a four year fieldwork conducted in different exhumations all through Spain, this paper intends to explore the links between memory and material culture, focusing on the objects found in mass graves of the civil war as well as on different artefacts (photographs, documents, flags, flowers) brought to the exhumations.

Materialising Memory: The Armenian Loss after the Post-Socialist Change

Tsypylma Darieva, Humboldt University (tsypylma.darieva@staff.hu-berlin.de)

This paper is focused on the question how silenced memory of the Armenian expulsion in 1915 has been articulated in the Soviet past and received a new meaning and materiality after the post-socialist change. In spite of erecting the Armenian Genocide Memorial in Yerevan in the mid of the 1960s during Khrushchev's political thaw there was no crucial change in social and political order of remembering. A radical shift from forgotten to visible Armenian loss has occurred in postsocialist Armenia with creating a new moral universe and re-establishment of proper memorialization regarding the Armenian yeghern (grief and mourning) in terms of global morality. The Soviet memorial in its typical abstract monumental style has been successfully incorporated by the new ideology in the Armenian post-conflict society, whereby the cult of death is intensified through global aesthetics of loss and a new politics of unrecognized bad death in the language of Christian suffering. To illustrate this change, I concentrate on the area surrounding the Yerevan memorial and museum of the Armenian Genocide on the Tsitsernakaberd hill.

The Policies of Identity: The Lithuanian Case

Domenico Crisafulli, University of Messina (domcris@gmail.com)

In this specific research, I am interested in analysing the procedure by which, elaborating more or less coherent representation, the burocratic power structures construct a national identity.
I carry out this analysis using what M. Herzfeld called the "middle ground" approach, the way in which it is possible to analyse how the official representations are constructed and, contemporarily, how they work in social daily life.
My point of view tries to put in evidence the role of "Agency", intended as the strategy applied by individual according it to the society.
In a nation-state there is always an intimate space for negotiation of those representations that, to an outsider, are presented as natural and unchangeable. How does it work in the process of constructing the European Union?
The field of my work is the Republic of Lithuania, the state that, in a period of ten years, went through the independence from Soviet Union to the joining of the European Union.
This example of a nation-state is particularly interesting because there is a powerful nationalist policy oriented to the consolidation and legitimisation of the new burocratic power growth after independence. In particular, my research will concentrate the attention on the process and all the people involved in the restructuring of urban space and the management of monuments and museums according to the specific national and nationalist policy as well as a European and an international one.

New Patterns of Local Identity Based on the Enacted Historic Landscape: Example of the Gdańsk (Danzig) Recollections Literature

Barbara Bossak-Herbst, Warsaw University (bessar@poczta.onet.pl, bossakb@is.uw.edu.pl)

In my paper I will focus on Gdansk (Danzig) city considered as a carrier of non-material values. Gdansk, being for a long time a subject of Polish-German conflicts, has a very diverse landscape. Since 1989 a part of it is a subject of vivid processes

of symbolisation. Among others, they occur on the discursive ground and entail phenomenon called the Gdansk literature, which can be placed on the edge of recollections literature and fiction.
Stefan Chwin and Paweł Huelle are the authors known also outside of Poland. An outstanding feature of their literature is abundant and reflective descriptions of Gdansk seen through different persons' eyes. Among those rediscovering images of the city some regularities can be found. Those new Gdansk portraits usually omit the old town (city center) rebuilt after World War II as well as all new districts and turn to post-German peripheral districts, which over the years have been marginalised. They also reveal paths of domestication and symbolic privatisation of Gdansk, which are different for the first and the second generations.
The main thesis of the paper is that the reason why the Gdansk landscape triggers such an exceptional interest and emotions results from tension arising from intersection of three pairs of categories mingled with different types of city landscapes. The Old Town is perceived as Polish but artificial and a communist heritage, whereas districts like Oliwa and Wrzeszcz as German, authentic and liberal which makes both types of places not an obvious reference for contemporary local identity.

W097

New Vocabularies of Method: Experts, Ethics and the Mutuality of Ethnographic Fieldwork

Convenors: **Peter Pels, Leiden University (pels@fsw.leidenuniv.nl)**
João de Pina-Cabral, University of Lisbon (pina.cabral@ics.ul.pt)
Chair: **João de Pina-Cabral**
Discussant: **João de Pina-Cabral**

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 119

The lack of an elaborate language for discussing the methodology of ethnographic fieldwork, especially of its changes after the "literary" and "global" turns of the 1980s and 1990s, puts anthropologists at a disadvantage in competitions for research funding and in maintaining the discipline at its current academic level. Our vocabularies of method are still held hostage by the desire to either put the process of research under the full control of the researcher (producing the "expert"), or turn the researcher into a fully transparent conduit of knowledge (resulting in "objectivity"). Ethnography, however, relies on the "mutualities" of interlocution and collaboration. We have not sufficiently invested in what one could call a "methodology of mutuality", often leaving this work to qualitative sociologists, but, more often, subjecting ourselves to the scorn of those disciplines whose claim to expertise can fall back on the "distinction" of more obviously quantitative methods.
This workshop should help develop the following aspects of that vocabulary: 1. an articulation of anthropology's focus on validity and mutual value recognition, that 2. shows our method is therefore a (neglected) model for ethics, that 3. indicates we work against the mutual recognition of values when we claim expertise as "independent" and asocial authority on knowledge, and finally that 4. shows which redefinitions of method, ethics and expertise are required that will fit ethnographic fieldwork. This should transform our curricula, the "methodology" sections of the average grant application, our relationship to people researched and our position vis-á-vis so-called "applied" research.

The Extended Case for Method

Peter Pels, Leiden University (pels@fsw.leidenuniv.nl)

For a considerable period, "method" was either a well-kept secret or a dirty word in anthropology. This is detrimental to the anthropological position in the marketplaces of funding and public service. This paper suggests what a non-positivist conception of method could look like - one that incorporates research demands (such as ethics and expertise) that are discursively similar to method, and that also incorporates themes structurally in tension with method (such as history, reflexivity). I argue that time and process, contrary to what many anti-positivists argued, are not inimical to method.

Bohemian Methodologies?

Patty Gray, National University of Ireland (patty.gray@nuim.ie)

Does anthropology lack an adequate language for discussing the methodology of ethnographic fieldwork, or do some anthropologists deliberately resist developing such a language? Or are there attempts to develop an alternative methodological language that are silenced by more dominant institutional discourses that privilege articulations of methodology in terms of natural science and technology transfer? How does the restructuring of universities in general and graduate education in particular - promoting a uniform "1+3 years" model for the completion of PhD degrees and implementing "generic skills" modules for the professionalisation of PhD programmes - undermine the radically ethical project of 21st century social anthropology, which is to train scholars to allow their research agendas to be shaped by a collaborative encounter with interlocutors at (and beyond) fieldsites, and to therefore craft a methodology that has spatial, temporal, and conceptual flexibility structured into it? Methodological borrowing across disciplines is a constructive practice that has in many ways strengthened anthropology and its interlocutor disciplines; but are there cases of methodological hijacking (funding agency-approved) that similarly undermine social anthropology, such as "human dimensions" research in which natural scientists claim to produce social scientific data, or "quick ethnography" whose proponents claim that long-term ethnographic field studies are no longer necessary to produce valid results? In the face of all of this, should social anthropology give in and jump on the bandwagon of managed uniformity, or should it resist and insist that space must be made for a more "bohemian" methodology - and can it be?

On Methodological Relics: Etic Outsiders, Emic Insiders, and Fieldwork Relationships

Lorraine Nencel, Faculteit Sociale Wetenschap (ls.nencel@fsw.vu.nl)

Many methodology books on ethnography have adopted not unproblematically, existing anthropological vocabularies. In particular, we find that explanations concerning the researcher's positionality (insider-outsider), and the construction of knowledge (etic-emic) have been appropriated, largely uncritically. In this paper we will analyze these and related concepts with respect to what they reveal about assumptions concerning the character of fieldwork relationships and knowledge generation.

Contemporary anthropology claims to have distanced itself from its colonial heritage through globalisation and post-colonial theory, as well as the epistemological upheaval brought about by critical (feminist) anthropologists and the literary turn. Yet binary terms such as emic-etic and insider-outsider remain virtually intact in their

usage in methodological discussions. As innocent as they may appear, these terms reify notions of culture and contain several assumptions, which contradict present day anthropological practices founded on the plurality of experience and polyphony.
We argue that a critical anthropology must find ways to do away with these relics of past methodological times, departing instead from a perception of anthropological practice that conceptualizes the research relationship for no more and no less than what it is: the fieldwork relationship within which the construction of knowledge takes place. If this is accepted as the point of departure, then there is no room for concepts like those listed above. We call for an end to their automatic, unthinking invocation and a rethinking of the character of knowledge generation grounded in contemporary understandings of research relationhips and all they entail.

Personal Relations, Interlocution and Ethnographic Knowledge

Benoît de L'Éstoile, Ecole Normale Supérieure (Benoit.de.L.Estoile@ens.fr)

In Brazil, experienced ethnographers, when studying land reform often use survey methods, which give more weight to their findings in a politically sensitive field. How can we sustain claims as to the validity of ethnographic knowlege, which is acquired through personal relationships? Using both personal experience in Northeast Brazil and a study of British anthropologists in the 1930s, I will try to reflect upon the distinctive contribution of ethnography and the ways it can gain recognition.

Sensuous Anthropology: Rehabilitating Craftsmanship in Scientific Practice

Yolanda van Ede, University of Amsterdam (Y.M.vanEde@uva.nl)

Sensuous scholarship during the past twenty-five years has been arguing against an ocularcentrism that came to define western science in the modern era, which turned the Other into an object of the western gaze. By making a plea for a multisensory approach in ethnographic fieldwork, sensuous anthropology acknowledges authorities of knowledge that are not necessarily based on the sense of sight (or on vision as conceptualized in the West), but on other sensory perceptions (some of which do not even occur in western discourses on the senses). The mutuality lying at the basis of a sensory methodology demands, firstly, a sensory training/skilling of the ethnographer; that is, emphasizing the participant mode in the common denotation of "participant-observation" for ethnographic fieldwork. Secondly, it evokes dilemmas in representation that seeks not to undo this mutuality-in-practise. Consequently, sensuous anthropology has not only been redefining method and ethics, but inevitably questions the very - indeed - "asocial" western epistemology itself. Its advocacy of skilled knowledge may award the Other expertise, "at home" the ethnographer's acquired skills only widen the rift between scientific claims of objectivity and the subjectivity of being his own instrument of investigation, between distance and immersion. This paper will cast serious doubts on whether a "new vocabulary of method" will ever be accepted in "average grant applications", unless scientific practice in general will regain some of its pre-modern, "old-fashioned" characteristics of craftsmanship and trade.

South African Fieldwork, Intimacy, and Anxiety: How Methodological Problems Turn Out to be Theoretical Insights

Erik Bähre, Universiteit Leiden (ebaehre@fsw.leidenuniv.nl)

Successful ethnography is often thought of in terms of the researcher obtaining intimacy and belonging. When I hear anthropologists converse about the close ties

they have in the communities they study; how they are adopted by a family; how they see children grow up in multi-generational households; and have several beers in bars and taverns, I cannot help but feel somewhat envious and inadequate. The source of envy concerns the intimacy that their fieldwork enables; inadequacy about my own research in the Townships of Cape Town, South Africa.
When I return to "my street", where I did extensive research in 1997/98, most (Xhosa) residents have left and are untraceable. When I visit Edith, my research assistant with whom I work since 1997, the social composition of her household has changed beyond recognition. Moreover, violence was a constant obstacle and source of anxiety as people I got to know were murdered, became victims of assault, or told me how they assaulted others. I had to constantly deal with safety and the numerous precautions I took only marginally decreased my anxiety. The anxieties that were part of the ethnographic endeavor offered further lines of inquiry. In this paper I will argue that the methodological challenges of ethnographic research generate crucial insights into life in contemporary urban South Africa, particularly with regards to the nexus of intimacy, violence, and social interdependencies.

From Kinship Studies to the Analysis of Relatedness: A New Method of Mutuality to the Analysis of Mutuality in Everyday Life

Antónia Pedroso de Lima, ISCTE, Lisbon (antonia.lima@iscte.pt)

This paper will argue that the constitution of certain mutuality is vital for the very possibility of comprehension of relatedness. The heuristic value of addressing mutuality as a method to study relatedness is that these kinds of relations are based on a permanent fundamental mutuality of interest and experiences between persons defined as relatives (it asserts what Schneider terms "enduring diffuse solidarity" or what Fortes terms the "axiom of amity"). Therefore these forms of relatedness ought to be expressed and understood only if there is some kind of mutuality between anthropologist and people studied as ethnography itself, relies on the "mutualities" of interlocution and collaboration.
I will develop this argument based on my own fieldwork on kinship relations in several social contexts in Portugal during the last twenty years. Having worked in working class neighborhoods in Lisbon, with elite families and with "new families" in contemporary Portugal I have learned that the only way to make this kind of ethnographic enquiry is based on the construction of a kind of mutuality with the people we are working with. That is the ground on which it is possible to raise an ethical and respectful communication when sharing experiences and feelings from a very intimate dimension of their lives. Notwithstanding, it is the sharing of this intimacy that enables anthropological insight into wider social questions.

W098

Islam within and across Religiously Diverse Communities: Case Studies from Muslims in the Balkans and Europe

Convenors: **Mentor Mustafa, Boston University (mentor@bu.edu)**
Boštjan Kravanja, University of Ljubljana (bostjan.kravanja@guest.arnes.si)

28 August 2008, 14:00
Room: 325

This workshop brings together ethnographic accounts on the experience of diversity by Islamic communities in the Balkans (Bulgaria, Macedonia, Albania, Bosnia-

Herzegovina, and Croatia) and other European settings (Austria, Poland, Germany, Norway, and Finland). The accounts under study represent an array of settings where Muslim communities find themselves immersed in an ongoing discourse of diversity and mutuality, be it in their religious understandings and ritual practice, in their ways of life or in their ways of socio-political participation. The experience with the "other" and "othering" necessitates a heuristic commitment to the interplay between diversity and mutuality in socio-cultural processes. How are the communities considered here coping with their particular situations in regards to power relations within, in some cases, diverse Muslim communities, as well as with non-Muslim ones? What are the processes at play that enable a balance between mutuality and preserving the boundaries of diversity that each community depends on for self-recognition as well as imagination and recognition by others as different? What are the different ways of identifying within particular communities? How are the processes of establishing mutuality between and within various Islamic groups influenced across religious, secular, ethnic, political, transnational and other lines? These are some of the questions and organizing themes that concern Islam within and across religiously diverse communities in the Balkans and elsewhere in Europe.

"It Has Always to Do with the Veil...": Experiences of Discrimination and Racism by Muslim Women from the Islamic Centre Munich

Manuela Astrid Ballmann, University of Munich (manuela.ballmann@gmx.de)

The veil is a central symbol for Muslim women and Muslim communities in Western Europe. In my fieldwork I was in contact with Muslim women who attend the Islamic Centre Munich. Some of them converted to Islam in the last years, after marrying a Muslim man. The Islamic Centre Munich is one of the oldest mosques and most discussed Islamic centres in Germany.
The aim of the research is to find answers to the questions wether Islamic women are victims of (cultural) racism and discriminiation. I discuss personal impressions of the women with developments in the German society, who are impressed of the theories of "European Islam", parallel society of migrants and Islamophobia.
Important is the reality, that Muslim women are always visible in the public sphere, when they wear the veil. Because of this situation they are often constructed as "the others" in the society, the ones who have to be integrated and who have to learn the German "High-Culture". There are also discriminations from the state, as veiled women are e.g. not allowed to work in schools, when they wear a veil.

Veiled Women and Bearded Men: Transforming Muslim Identities in Post-War Bosnia-Herzegovina

Andreja Mesarič, University of Ljubljana (jumalena@yahoo.com)

The paper, based on ethnographic research in Sarajevo, focuses on the transformations of identities and communities in post-war Bosnian-Herzegovinian society, mainly through the prism of Muslim dress and veiling, as well as other daily religious practices. The paper looks at veiling, and other Muslim dress practices, including men's dress, as a transnational phenomenon that is nevertheless always inflected by the local situation in which it is given shape. In the Bosnian context different forms of Muslim dress, as well as references to it, can be indicative and form part of wider processes of social change and identity transformations. Most importantly, they do not influence only Muslim - non-Muslim relations, but are, along with other religious practices, also

crucial in negotiating new relationships among Muslims themselves. Many Bosniaks (i.e. Bosnian Muslims) who see themselves as modern and European look upon veiling as foreign to the Bosnian tradition. These questions are further confounded by the presence and influence of transnational networks and organisations, mainly of Salafi orientation, that appeared during and after the war in the 1990s, which commonly denounce many traditional Bosnian Muslim practices as non-Islamic. Questions and debates often centre on what is Islamic and what belongs to the Bosnian tradition, with differing interpretations of how they relate to, or exclude each other. The aim of this paper is to explore how different people, men and women, draw on these discursive resources in order to reconstruct their own identities as Muslims, Bosniaks and Bosnians.

Representing Islamic Possibilities for Fashion: A Journey into the Dutch Consumptionscape

Carolina Ivanescu, Erasmus University Rotterdam (yamahacarol@yahoo.com)

Contesting the view that the religious aspect of Islamic identity is all encompassing, this paper deals with the overlaps between fashion, custom and religious practice. Focusing on Islamic fashion practices as embodied on the Dutch streets, it points out the fluid process of identification and ethnic representation, which leave ample possibility for personal and collective innovations.
Life story interviews focused on sartorial practices, with attention to generational differences let us map out the changes in the Dutch possibilites for Islamic fashion. Besides personal experiences regarding wearing recognisably Islamic dress, this paper deals with the socio-economic context, which regulates the process of identification.

The Rufai Order in Croatia through an Ethnomusicological and a Gender Perspective

Željka Petrović, Ethnographic Museum (zeljkapetr@yahoo.com)
Tihana Rubić, Institute of Ethnology and Folkloristics, Zagreb (tihana@ief.hr)

Dervishes from the Rufai order in Rijeka are mostly immigrants from Albania and Kosovo, and as such they form an ethnic and religious minority group in Croatia. In this paper we examine the ways in which the self-identity is constructed through having specific musical skills or, on the other hand, being a woman. The research was conducted from two different sights, both according to our individual research interests. Firstly, the role and status of being a "professional" musician as well as the use of traditional musical instruments were examined from an ethnomusicological perspective. Secondly, particular dervish women's experiences of rituals were to be observed from a gender perspective.
Both music and traditional musical instruments play a relevant role in religious ceremonies within the Rufai order in Pehlin. Both present the overlapping and central performing element, which follows movements and text.
Women's experiences of rituals seem to mainly reflect everyday social life within a dervish community. Since women and men are traditionally spatially separated while participating in a religious ceremony (singing, pronouncing the ritual text, swinging, etc.), in this research space is considered as a projection of symbolic meanings and social and cultural patterns implemented therein. The attention was directed to how

women's spirituality and religiosity is constructed and obtained, and what part of it is eventually determined by silence and oppression or autonomy and creativity.

Experiencing Sufi Music Abroad: The Case of Sudanese Living in Austria

Eva Adam-Maxa, University of Vienna (adammaxa@yahoo.com)

The diverse Sufi tariqas, which facilitated and assisted the spread of popular Islam in Sudan are undergoing a transformation into an official channel of beliefs in accordance with the state visions about what a Sudanese Islamic culture should be. Through my observations of the contents broadcasted on Sudanese National TV, many Sufi leaders as well as composers debate about the contents and performances that are transmitted in the mainstream media. This research concentrates on the traditional ritual practice of the Tijaniyya Order, their music and texts. It contextualizes these ethnographic materials with the new socio-political milieu, which emerged in the last two decades of the contemporary era.
One important question has to do with the new position that the adult generations of twenty to thirty year olds are now finding themselves in. How do they interpret the sacred texts and which role does music play in their interpretations and re-interpretations of these texts? Do these new, (re-)constructed music styles characterize the urban North Sudanese? Is music an instrument to strengthen or perhaps to weaken the relation of the young immigrants with the more established Sudanese communities in Austria? Is the music text, which is widely listened to by a wide array of the immigrants in Austria related to Islam or is it a form of entertainment attracting particular target groups in an effort to persistently identify with their culture of origin?

Redefining the Muslim Identity: Tatars in Poland

Dobrosława Wiktor-Mach, Jagiellonian University (dobroslawa.wiktor@gmail.com)

Recent studies of Islam in Europe nearly neglect the old Muslim presence in Central-Eastern Europe. In Poland, the Muslim minority of Tatar origin has been living for more than 600 years. It has created a local, moderate version of Islam and in effect its religious beliefs are largely compatible with modern European culture. After 1989, an increased Muslim immigration has taken place, affecting the localised Tatar Islamic tradition. Drawing on my fieldwork conducted in January 2008 in northeastern Poland, in a region with a significant number of Muslims of varied backgrounds, the paper focuses on contemporary religious practices among Muslim Tatars in Poland. It considers the recent transformation of Tatar religious identity, the interactions and tensions between supporters of the Tatar syncretic form of Islam and the "normative" or "scriptural" version propagated by the Muslim immigrants that have come to Poland in recent decades as well as by the group of Polish converts. I will show how the global influences can be seen in the practices and articulated beliefs and concerns of the Tatar community. The current debates and events lead to divisions among the Tatars who, after becoming a minority inside a Muslim minority in Poland, need to find a way to handle this Islamic diversity.

Muslims, Christians and Jews in Contemporary Bulgaria

Desislava Pulieva, Bulgarian Orthodox Church (crsc_st_cyril_st_methodious@abv.bg)

In local as well as in national and international contexts religions can be seen as both

the cause of conflicts and an important tool for conflict resolution. Global networks and processes are multiple and varied and they include the great religions as among their most significant agents. In post-industrial society unemployment, immigration and an aging population provoke new forms of exclusion. In such a situation, religion can be seen as a welfare provider, a participant in the debate and a creator of moral consensus, national integrity and international peace.
The example of Muslims' integration in contemporary Bulgaria is interesting with its complexity, dramatical prehistory and peaceful realisation.
Taking into consideration the fact that Orthodox Christian Bulgaria has been under Ottoman rule for almost five hundred years and that Bulgarian Jews were saved during the 2nd World War makes us think about the unique charachter of Bulgarian multiethnic society and the mechanisms of Muslim integration in it.
In this respect the hierarchy of values in Judaism, Christianity and Islam may be seen as very helpful to different Bulgarian socio-religious groups' search for happyness, wellbeing and peaceful co-existence despite remaining faithful to the central tenets of their own religions.

Living in America, Believing in Macedonia: An Ethnographic Account on Mimicry and Creativity in Representations of Bektashism

Boštjan Kravanja, University of Ljubljana (bostjan.kravanja@guest.arnes.si)

Traditionally, the religious landscape in Macedonia, as well as in other countries in this region, is very diverse. Rather than comprehending diversity through religious syncretism, which stems from world religions, religious life itself is the point of departure here. In my case, religious life is imagined and practiced along the secular, socio-political and (trans)national domains (or relations). The history of the Bektashi Order of Dervishes in Macedonia is intimately connected with the Bektashiyya in Albania and by implication also to Albanian national history. Bektashiyya, like other Sufi movements, represents a heterodox counterpart to legalist Islam, often mediating between Islam and Christianity. It was rather due to accidental discoveries during fieldwork that we found newly built "tekkes" in the area of the Macedonian-Albanian border. The area contributes continuous outgoing migrant labor abroad. Most Diaspora communities are established in the USA, as well as in western European countries like Germany, Switzerland, Italy and others. Nowadays, powerful migrating individuals are investing in home villages, also in actual and would-be public objects, such as mosques, churches, "tekkes" and in the construction of other sacred sites. The motivations for such investments are diverse; they are mutually cohabiting across national and political domains. The questions of competitive status on one hand and cooperation on the other are important. I suggest that the interesting part of such alternative socio-cultural practices of supporting and applying traditional religious symbols has to do with the balance between communal diversity and mutuality in relation to larger contexts such as the state, the region, the European Union and the Islamic world. These may be locally explored through the concept of (trans)national mimicry and creativity.

The Experience of Diversity and Mutuality through an Ethnography and Historical Anthropology of Islam in Albania

Mentor Mustafa, Boston University (mentor@bu.edu)

Here I present dissertation fieldwork data on the experience of Islam in contemporary Albania. The focus is on religious understandings and ritual practices amongst the

Albanian Bektashi - a Sufi Order of Islam - as well as on their ways of life and socio-political participation. The ethnographic narratives presented here focus on the contemporary experiential manifestations of diversity and mutuality within the context of Albanian Bektashi and their relations to Sunni Muslims along with the Albanian Christians of Orthodox and Catholic faiths. These materials are complimented by data sets offered by a historical anthropology of Bektashiyya, and present these from a perspective of inter- and intra-faith dialogue.
The historical-anthropological perspective employed here is mobilized in order to understand the post-communist return of religion in Albania. How was religion experienced in "atheist" Albania? What can we recover from the historical accounts of the establishment and persistence of world religions in Albania that better addresses questions of Albanian religiosity? Aside from seeking answers to the above questions, I document present-day commitments to inter-faith dialogue within a multi-religious context.

The Production of "Norwegian Muslims": From Immigrants to Citizens?

Christine M. Jacobsen, University of Oslo (c.m.jacobsen@sai.uio.no)

In February 2006, TV-spectators around the world watched the Norwegian flag burn as Muslims in the Middle East protested the publishing by Danish and Norwegian newspapers of the so-called Mohammed caricatures. When confronted by the media as to his reactions, the leader of the Muslim Student Association in Oslo declared himself to be doubly offended: first by the caricatures, and subsequently by the burning of the Norwegian flag. This paper deals with young women and men affiliated to Muslim youth and student organizations in Oslo, and the ways in which they publicly engage in redefining what it means to be a Muslim in Norway. Focusing on the production of the category "Norwegian Muslim", and the ways in which young Muslims embrace, resist and negotiate national and religious identities, the author argues that what it means to be a Norwegian Muslim to activist young Muslims is shaped both by the discourses and practices of the nation-state and by the discourses and practices of transnational Islam. The ways in which young Muslims are shaped and shape themselves as citizen-subjects is shown to be neither a passive adaptation to dominant norms, nor a refusal of these, but a complex process of negotiation that foregrounds "participation" rather than "integration".

The Day They Caught Saddam: Diasporic Public Space among Iraqi Refugees in Finland

Marko Juntunen, University of Helsinki (marko.juntunen@helsinki.fi)

How does Islam enter the public space in diasporic contexts where global and local influences and state generated structures intersect? Under these complex influences diasporic Muslims construct new scales of communication and dimensions of identity. While diasporic communities maintain ties to globally shared Islamic traditions they also host a variety of conflicting and competing identity processes which contest the credibility of that tradition.
Between 2005 and 2008 I carried out ethnographic fieldwork among Arabic speaking Iraqi refugees in Finland. The collapse of Saddam's regime and escalation of violence in Iraq led to rapid redefinition of social boundaries within the international Iraqi community. The paper observes the ways in which the sectarian violence in Iraq reflects itself in the heterogeneous diasporic community in Finland. The ethnographic focus is on a number of leftist secularist men, many of whom were underground

political activists and suffered extended prison sentences, torture and finally painful escape from Iraq. A number of the subjects of this paper are writers and filmmakers who constantly analyse the Iraqi Diaspora in their work and provide both challenges and methodological opportunities for ethnographic representation. Rather than understanding fieldwork in a traditional dyadic format I perceive the ethnographic project consisting of series of co-operations with these men. I have participated in four large projects - namely translation of two works of fiction from Arabic to Finnish, making of two film documentaries, and writing a biography of a man who experienced eight years of imprisonment in Bagdad's Abu Ghraib prison.

Proper "Traditional" versus Dangerous "New": Religious Ideology and Idiosyncratic Islamic Practices in Post-Soviet Chechnya

Bella Marten

Based on recent fieldwork, this paper examines the conflicting Islamic discourses in post-Soviet Chechnya, in order to determine how the religious ideology of the Chechen government affects subjective beliefs and practices.
The power elite's use of Islam as an ideological tool rests on the dichotomy between the "right" or "traditional" Islam, i.e. Sufism, and the "wrong" or "terrorist" Islam locally termed "Wahhabism". Building on the clashes between the followers of "traditional" Sufism and Islamic reformists in the 1990s, as well as on the widespread public antipathy towards "Wahhabism" as an ideology that was appropriated by the dominant rebel faction in the period between the two armed conflicts in Chechnya (1996-1999), the current Chechen government is engaged in a crackdown on the adherents of reformist or "non-traditional" Islam, all of whom are lumped together as "Wahhabis". In line with the policies of Moscow, "Wahhabis" are equated with terrorists, and often referred to as "Satans". At the same time, the power elite is sustaining a public display of the "right" practices of Islam and allocating considerable resources to the construction and renovation of mosques and shrines.
I argue that the fight against "Wahhabi terrorists" on the one hand and the ideological phrasing of resistance in terms of a pan-Caucasian jihad against infidels by a faction of rebel movement on the other has created an atmosphere of fear in which reformist-minded Chechen Muslims cannot openly practice their faith and are forced to find discreet ways of maintaining their beliefs. Moreover, the forceful yet shallow governmental religious campaign ignores the diversity of Islam within its own accepted "traditional" camp.

W099

Collection Itineraries

Convenors: **Barbara Plankensteiner, Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien (barbara.plankensteiner@ethno-museum.ac.at)**
Michael Rowlands, University College, London (m.rowlands@ucl.ac.uk)
Discussant: **Benoît de l'Éstoile**

29 August 2008, 11:00
Room: R4

The act of creating collections is not just a specialist museum practice but can also be understood as the mechanism in determining assembling things in private lives. Decisions of keeping or disposing of things, the form of care and presentation of such collections inscribe meaning and subsequent changes in the ensembles and

arrangements are curatorial means that shift the perspective.
The workshop invites contributions that reflect the caring and collecting of objects from a broad perspective.
These could range from the creation of shrine-like arrangements of objects in private homes that constitute the self as an idealised subject to tendencies of creating private art foundations on the African continent. Such private enterprises could become powerful counterparts to the public institutions whose collections and missions date back to the colonial times, and offer new perspectives in collection-building and representation of cultural heritage. Ethnographic museums in Europe on the other hand work hard on inscribing new meaning to their assembled material belongings and experience difficulties in formulating contemporary collection strategies in the postcolonial context.

Collecting Thoughts: About Collecting

Johannes Fabian, University of Amsterdam (johfabian@t-online.de)

From the perspective of an interested outsider to the curatorial profession the paper will discuss some conceptual problems, ambiguities, and contradictions in practices, and talk about, collecting and collections as experienced by an ethnographer of contemporary African culture.

Collecting/Exposing the Self: The Museum as Photo Opportunity

Ferdinand de Jong, University of East Anglia (f.jong@uea.ac.uk)

The Jola Museum consists of a collection of ethnographic objects. Most of these objects are rare and authentic, and they may be considered representative of a particular way of life. Through this collection an "authentic" way of life is reconstructed which, while on display to foreign tourists, can be photographed. Some of the shrines on display, however, were never meant to be seen by non-initiates. The museum displays some simulacra of shrines, which it turns into objects of photographic representation. Hence, the exhibition of this collection raises issues about secrecy and revelation deeply embedded in the poetics and politics of the wider community.

Collected – Neglected: A Fictive Biography of Ceramics from Asyut, Egypt

Axel Steinmann, Museum für Völkerkunde
(axel.steinmann@ethno-museum.ac.at)

One day, a nice collection of "enchanting" and "fascinating" ceramics from Egypt caught my eye in the museum's storage room. An elongated, narrow-necked container looked like a classical Etruscan perfume flask, a jug covered with palmettes seemed to imitate a Wedgewood style jar. Card indexes and inventory books provided only basic information, such as collectors' names, registration numbers, and acquisition dates, with superficial descriptions added to them. "Assiout", "Kenneh", and "Assouan" are alternatively mentioned as their places of origin. All items have been collected in the second half of the 19th century by European gentleman travelers, explorers and scientists. Though so-called Asyut earthenware has been on show in the late 19th century International World Exhibitions and has been acquired even by the most important museums in the Western hemisphere there is no serious information which makes it possible to trace their history from their place(s) of production and/or acquisition to the museums' storage-rooms. By retracing the individual and/or collective moods and memories these objects held for 19th century travel-writers on

their tour through Egypt, this paper aims to lift the curtain on this hitherto neglected group of collectibles and to provide them with a "fictive biography".

Thinking about the Different Meanings of Collecting: The Case of the Collections of Images and Objects of the Bamileke's Community of Bandjoun, Cameroon

Ivan Bargna, University of Milan-Bicocca (ivan.bargna@unimib.it)

The purpose of this account is to inquire about the way different kinds of collections of images and objects can act to articulate and express social and interpersonal relationships, dissent and conflict. I will look into this topic by making reference to the research I am carrying out in the chiefdom and little town of Bandjoun, West Cameroon.

Here we can spot several practices of collecting animated by different interests, motivations and aims.

We can find the big sacred hut (nemo) which creates, by the means of the iconography of its sculpted posts, a collection of images supporting the cultural identity of the Bandjoun's chiefdom and its historical memory and, at the same time, working as a shop-window for the artists who try to shift the centre of the attention to themselves, as is clearly expressed by their signature and address, directly sculpted on the posts. So we can see, at least, two different kinds of collections, marked by conflict, but composed by the means of the same posts. What is interesting to remark is that this collection of images is not only a selected repeat of the stock of representations transmitted by the past (the "tradition"): it finds its model in the books too, in the catalogues of the western collections of African art. The "collection's paradigm" is used to offer a strategic political oriented inventory of the main elements of the "tradition" codified by the elite.

Another kind of collection is represented by the chiefdom's museum (recently renewed by an Italian ONG, the Centro di Orientamento Educativo of Milano) which, by the means of the possession of ritual objects and their exhibition, inside and outside of the museum, reasserts the centrality of the king (fo) in the social and political relationships of Bandjoun, and his symbolic "autonomy" from Cameroon's state administration. In this case the "collection" appears as a patrimonial strategy, which reshapes the tradition in the international codified terms of the "heritage".

In the houses of the traditional dignitaries and nouveaux riches lastly, we can find some sets of objects and sculptures connected to the cults of the ancestors or, sometimes, a sort of cabinet de curiosité where, through heterogeneous things they display their "modernity" and they write their own autobiography. In a less spectacular way, also the humble furniture in the house of the ordinary people involves similar attitudes.

It is in this variegated context that a new cultural center now comes on the scene: we are speaking about "Bandjoun Station", a center created by Barthelemy Toguo, an artist of international renown, based in Paris and born in Cameroon. This center will be devoted to the production, collection and exhibition of contemporary art. How will this artistic milieu, this "station" where travellers from all around the world will arrive, affect all the other collections existing in Bandjoun? And how will Bandjoun Station be affected by them?

Micromuseums for Big Questions: Collecting Maritime Remains as an Everyday Political Practice

Eliseu Carbonell, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya (eliseucarbonell@gmail.com)

This paper is based on fieldwork carried out in a small town on the northeast Catalan coast of Spain, where local fishing was the main activity until the 1980s. Recently, the remains of traditional fishing - objects left on the sand - have become cultural heritage. In some towns people founded an association devoted to restoring, caring for and collecting old fishing boats and other objects, in order to preserve the town's maritime identity.

As a result of this collection, a thirty metre square museum was opened in August 2007 inside an old beach hut containing a boat pulling machine and other old fishing tackles: that is what we could call a micromuseum. However, this curatorial vision crashed with other beach uses, such as recreational fishing and other leisure uses. At the same time the Ministry of Public Works announced the construction of a seafront promenade on the same site. This announcement caused great controversy in this apparently peaceful village. Landscape, the maritime past, and public uses of the beach were hot topics that summer.

The discussion shows how the micromuseum - and the collecting activity it implies - is used by the association who promoted it to give strength and legitimacy to their own ideas about what the beach should be like, to whom should belong its use, and finally about the village's maritime or fishing identity. We explore how collecting and caring for maritime remains became an everyday political practice that people used to negotiate identity, even if that was just with a micromuseum.

Aesthetics of Care among the Elderly

Michael Rowlands, University College, London (m.rowlands@ucl.ac.uk)

Curating a life as a kind of "repair job" that serves to forget the failed bits and create a narrative of care for others is facilitated by the cared environment that finally relieves one of the obligation to sacrifice. The transformation into a "living ancestor", venerated as a holder of memory, creates shrines of material culture that family and friends may visit in a state of some reverence. Yet a similar facility for the provision of institutionalised care promotes the continued life of a renouncer, able to break with the past and take advantage of change. Here the will to be free both rejects the past and also displays irritation with those who wish to ancestralise. One can equally imagine the irritation of children and others who find the elderly irascible and unwilling to play their role. The idea that "things" do not belong to one or can be changed or disposed of at will has the added benefit that visitors may never know quite what to expect. This idea that there is nothing fixed about cared environments whatever the assumptions behind their provision aptly summarises this need to care for objects and for objects to care in the curation of personal lives.

W100

Peripheral Europe as Moralised Landscapes (MESS-EASA Workshop)

Convenors: **Bojan Baskar, University of Ljubljana (bojan.baskar@ff.uni-lj.si)**
Cathie Carmichael, University of East Anglia (cathie.carmichael@uea.ac.uk)
Discussant: **Jane Schneider**

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 430

European peripheries, as imagined by travelers and other commentators from core "Western" regions, have often been depicted as depressing (ugly, rugged, desolate, sterile, volcanic, lunar...) landscapes, always proceeding on the assumption that the landscape and the people dwelling in it determine one another and thus share basic features. Images of cursed landscapes, invested with allegorical meanings and moral implications, are central to a variety of discourses on European peripheries, inhabited by "semi-" or "non-European" Others: the Balkans, Eastern Europe, Southern Italy (or Southern Europe in general), the Celtic rim (in the past), and so forth. These derogatory depictions are, as a rule, phenomena of longer duration since they are part and parcel of imperialist projects of subjugating other populations, both external and internal, of various *+empires and nation-states. The workshop will aim at exploring, both ethnographically and historiographically, a variety of imagined geographies linked with these discourses (balkanist, mediterraneanist, meridionalist…); common procedures of their construction (e.g., inventing cultural boundaries); interactions between landscape representations, regional ecology and relief (e.g., the prominence of the highlands-lowlands dichotomy) and dominant aesthetic sensibilities in the core areas; the regional impact and other regional/local refractions (e.g., "self-balkanising") of these discourses of "intra-European" Others; contrasting perceptions and evaluation of the same regions by local communities, their own ways of constructing landscapes; and so forth.

Views of Europe: Debatable Lands

Ullrich Kockel, University of Ulster (u.kockel@ulster.ac.uk)

Taking its title partly from an art-based project I am involved with at present, partly from an art exhibition to mark the German EU presidency in 2007, this paper looks at some imagined and actual, geographical and cultural frontiers in Europe. Starting from the Celtic peripheries of the British Isles, the paper considers the Sarmatian coast and northern inland parts before moving on to peripheries in the centre of geographical and political Europe. A key focus is on how peripheries have been, and are being used as theatres for the performance of different visions of Europe, sometimes consolidating, sometimes challenging the hegemonic vision, played out by local actors as well as outsiders. This raises issues of locality and "from-here-ness", highlighting the ambivalence of authenticity and the subversive potential of the concept. In conclusion the paper considers the ethnographer's role in the process of creating, defending and destroying moralised landscapes.

"The State is Only on the Map": Narratives of Calabria

Agnieszka Pasieka (aga.pasieka@gmail.com)

The idea of this paper arose thanks to a project carried out in 2005 in a Calabrian town. The research was thought as a comparison of varied narratives on the Southern Italy. Contrasting everyday life stories with scientific and mass media discourses, I aimed at exploring different ways in which people create representations of certain social realities.

Building on this research experience, I would like to contribute to the workshop with a paper composed of two parts. In the first one I would like to present different accounts about Calabrian landscape I encountered in course of my fieldwork, putting a special attention to the comparison between "locals" and "outsiders" perspective. Then I am going to say a few words about the influence of the media on both social imaginary of Italian South as well as on self-representation of the inhabitants of the Southern regions. Finally, I would like to briefly comment on some scientific depictions of the South European landscapes.

All those reflections will constitute an exemplification of the issues I intend to talk about in the second part of my presentation. Considering variety of understandings of the very word landscape - its social, economic, cultural, and physic dimensions - I would like to follow with a discussion on contemporary ways of construction of "peripheral landscapes". This process will be analyzed with a focus on: various strategies of creation of "the Other"; conceptions of "orientalism" and "ethno-orientalism"; moral and mythical components of the narratives on landscape.

Movements of Opening and Closure in Everyday Balkanism

Stef Jansen, Manchester University (stef.jansen@manchester.ac.uk)

For sound reasons, many studies have critically deconstructed Western-imperialist representations of South-East Europe as semi-orientalist attempts to position "the West" on a superior plane. Importantly, such work on "Balkanism" has undermined misplaced attempts to explain the post-Yugoslav wars with reference to atavistic hatreds between tribes fighting their perennial vendettas in the wild Balkan mountains. Yet what is often forgotten is that Balkanist representations are widespread in the region itself, reproducing patterns of Eurocentrism well outside the EU. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia, Balkanism emerges in many different, contradictory ways, from celebratory expressions of defiant Otherness, over somewhat embarrassing yet comforting experiences of cultural intimacy, to resolute distancing practices from the less savoury dimensions of life in the region and especially from the 1990s wars and their consequences. These internal Balkanisms serve as social commentaries on the morality of violence, politics, inequality and "modernisation". Whatever their substance and political orientation, their underlying matrix converges on wider understandings of villages and cities, of mountains and plains, of purity and mixing, of authenticity and sophistication. This presentation ethnographically addresses the tensions inherent in everyday manifestations of Balkanism, placing them against the background of Yugoslav urbanisation and post-Yugoslav violence. Particular attention will be paid to the moralised contrasts between urban and rural landscapes and the role of movements of opening and closure associated with them.

Mountains, Valleys and Other Divisions in Bosnia-Herzegovina

Cathie Carmichael, University of East Anglia (cathie.carmichael@uea.ac.uk)

During the last hundred or so years, Bosnia-Herzegovina has been subjected to a number of influential geographical and anthropological theories. Jovan Cvijić placed the area within a "patriarchal" order or regime, which had been influenced by other civilizations, especially the "Turco-Oriental". He wrote extensively about the "Dinaric" characteristics within this region. Later writers continued with Cvijić's speculation about the "Dinaric" character including Dinko Tomašić and Stjepan Meštrović. More recently, the geneticist Damir Marjanović (*Annals of Human Genetics* (69) (6) 2005) has cooperated with other scientists to discuss the composition of the region, concluding that "the three main groups of Bosnia-Herzegovina ... share a large fraction of the same ancient gene pool distinctive for the Balkan area". Marjanović et al (*Documenta Praehistorica* XXXIII, 2006) have also discussed the problems associated with "nationalistic manipulations and distortions of the facts". In this paper I will discuss some of the ways in which non-scientific agendas have continued to direct the study of people and communities in this region. In particular, I stress the continued importance of understanding Bosnia-Herzegovina in terms of micro-regions and the geography of the Dinaric Karst, as well as rivers and towns.

"The Mediterranean as it Once Was" (and Will Be): Valorizing the Adriatic Seascape

Pamela Ballinger, Bowdoin College (pballing@bowdoin.edu)

This paper examines the ways in which the peripherality of the eastern Adriatic, long imagined by outsiders (as well as many locals) in negative terms as "backwards," becomes viewed as a positive resource, with backwardness reinscribed as "uncontaminated" and "natural." The analysis focuses on debates around a marine protected area (MPA) that the Croatian state declared off the island of Lošinj in 2006. The declaration of this MPA followed out of the efforts of the NGO Blue World, which contends that the waters off of Lošinj constitute a critical dolphin habitat. In the paper, I examine various perspectives on the MPA, including those of the scientists at Blue World, local tour operators, tourists to the island, and fishermen.

I situate the ongoing reconceptualisation of the waters off of Lošinj in a long history of discourses about both the Mediterranean and the Balkans as sites of archaic forms of nature and culture, primitivism, and vitality. I inquire into the historical erasures (particularly of socialist industrialisation) required to sustain this vision and the ways in which a vision of an undeveloped nature and culture becomes positioned by various social actors as forward-looking and a critical asset in Croatia's EU candidacy. At the same time, the reality of a MPA remains hotly contested in local politics, suggesting that some local actors do not embrace a newly valorised understanding of "undevelopment" as a positive resource but instead fear that the realisation of the MPA will keep the eastern Adriatic a "backwater."

Contrasting Moralities of Rural Landscapes in Southern Europe

Antonio Maria Pusceddu, University of Cagliari (tonirosso@yahoo.it)

Rural development programmes sustained by European Union agricultural policies devote much attention to rural landscapes worth of preservation as well as to people living in it. According to this view rural areas are still depositary of a traditional way

of life, ideologically represented as good and positive in oppositions to the now disrupting and polluted modern one. Rural people are depicted as guardians of a (once more) vanishing civilisation. Folklore studies and ethno-national rhetorics had before nourished such image of rural authenticity as a strong source of legitimacy - in a way that has been termed "internal orientalism".
During the last century relevant demographic and economical processes have brought about significant change in rural landscapes. Migration flows, mechanisation in agriculture, market integration have changed considerably the ecological and socio-cultural features of many areas. Southern European countries have experienced massive migration toward the northern countries, and from rural to urban areas, whereas the agricultural economy declined considerably. Anthropological studies have shown how even the smallest shepherd community had to deal with some macro-dynamics, and how the latter have forcibly influenced new strategies to fit in with the new changing conditions.
This paper will try to provide an ethnographic account of the way local views and perceptions (or moralities) of landscape can be better understood in a processual framework, and how within local communities contrasting moralities of landscape, together with internal social stratification, reveal to be quite problematical. Ethnographic materials will be provided from fieldwork in Greece (Epirus) and Italy (Sardinia). A comparison will be attempted between two different rural areas that have experienced different historical pasts.

Paysages en friche en Sardaigne / Neglected landscapes in Sardinia

Franco Lai, University of Sassari (francolai@tiscali.it)

During the modern age, travel literature often established a connection between culture and landscape. From Montaigne to Goethe and to Guido Piovene the idea of "travelling in Italy" evokes a close link among societies, cultures and landscapes. Landscapes seem the mirror - or the metaphor - of Italian peoples' moral character. From this point of view travel literature shows moralised landscapes. Even today, our glance is not neutral: for example, we tend to interpret untended lands in aesthetic and moral terms. Neglected landscapes are the product of social, economic and demographic processes that took place during the last fifty years throughout Europe. This paper is about Sardinian landscapes. It shows how views of neglected land can be interpreted as signs of different forms of social and economic organisation. In my paper I followed Gilles Clément and his concept of "third landscape" (*tiers paysage)*, abandoned spaces in rural and urban areas. I have gathered a collection of photographs taken along roads, in marginal urban areas, on the coast and in the countryside. All the images show examples of "third landscapes".

W101

Getting behind "No Man is an Island" Phrase: Volunteering between Altruism and Self-Interest

Convenors: **Dan Podjed, University of Ljubljana (dan.podjed@volja.net)**
Mariella Marzano, Forest Research (mariella.marzano@forestry.gsi.gov.uk)

28 August 2008, 11:00
Room: 6

John Donne's mediation that "No man is an island" is a starting point of the workshop, which will focus on volunteering as an essentially human activity connecting people

from different social and cultural backgrounds. Diverse aspects of volunteering - from social work to nature conservation - will be presented and discussed through ethnographic examples, with a particular focus on the variation in extent, style and context of volunteer activities in different countries.
Participants will be encouraged to present two facets of volunteer activities: self-interest and altruism. According to many explanations (not only anthropological, but also psychological, biological and economic) such activities exist not only to unselfishly help others, but also to improve an individual's knowledge and reputation. Through their activities, volunteers advance social status and climb ladders of esteem, broaden social networks and expand social capital. Taking anthropological perspectives, the workshop will thus provide a synthesis of volunteering as an activity that may act as a "social lubricant" linking individuals and groups throughout Europe and beyond.

"This is the Way We Do It": Enacting Efficient Charity

Catherine Trundle, Cambridge University (cjh74@cam.ac.uk)

This paper takes as its scene the weekly food bank at the American Church in Florence, Italy, where regular volunteers distribute food to "the needy." Based on long-term fieldwork, it explores how middle-class American immigrants interacted with economically and politically marginal immigrants from developing states, with a particular focus on how the volunteers experienced being involved in this charity work. In attempting to move beyond the dichotomy of self-interest and altruism as motivating forces for volunteering, this paper considers how following correct process, the smooth execution of technical procedure, becomes the moral imperative to act. Looking at how notions of routine, efficiency and systematic organisation enter into the running of the foodbank, this paper shows how the desire to carry out charity correctly comes to supplant desires to meet the diverse and unbounded needs of charity recipients. Within such an environment, charity recipients attempt to insert themselves, as unique cases of neediness, into the centre of such interactions, to refashion the process into one more flexible and beneficial to their own needs. From a humanist perspective, I argue that this aims to create intersubjective moments of common ground and obligation between the volunteers and recipients that recognises human agency and individual life histories.

Crowd Crystals and Birdwatchers: Charismatic Leadership in Volunteer Organisations

Dan Podjed, University of Ljubljana (dan.podjed@volja.net)

The author's starting-point is a metaphor of novelist Elias Canetti's who compared charismatic leaders to "crowd crystals." This paper focuses on the role of such leaders in the process of the mobilisation ("crystallisation") of volunteers. It discusses various definitions of charisma (e.g. Weber's and Bourdieu's) and tries to place the cryptic property in anthropological settings.
The paper's central focus is based on ethnographic research carried out with the largest Slovenian birdwatching association (DOPPS). It was established by a group of enthusiasts in the late 1970s and gradually grew into a large and influential research and nature conservation NGO. Its growth was strongly demarcated by some key figures that have been described many times as the "driving gears" of the organisation.
The paper analyses characteristics of such charismatic leaders and their role in the creation and transformation of volunteer organisations in different stages of its growth

and in changing socio-political milieu. It tries to find out why members of associations are fascinated by some individuals (who are not necessarily formal leaders), why they follow their ideas and what are the underlying reasons for their appeal. The case of the founding "father" of DOPPS is presented in-depth through an exploration of his role in establishing and reframing the association.
The paper concludes with questions about charismatic leaders in relation to volunteering, altruism and self-interest. In answering the author rejects the simplistic dichotomy of altruism and self-interest and tries to provide a more balanced view on the topic.

From Individual to Collective Action: Volunteering through the Lifelong Learning Approach

Bénédicte Halba, Iriv (contact@iriv.net)

Volunteering is a social activity, based on free will (never compulsory), unpaid (not for profit), for another different from one's parent or one's friend, meant to fulfill the common purpose (as opposed to private interests), generally in a non profit organisation (most of the time association, but also local authorities, school or hospital). It is based on individual initiative but it is developing through a collective action. Its motto could be "when there is a will, there is a way". The ways and means might be quite various: organising a protest against the building of a nuclear plant, proposing a linguistic training for migrants, developing a network on the Internet to inform on a health problem, cleaning the banks of a river... The main purpose is to defend a cause, to make oneself feel useful for the society, to dedicate one's time to a useful purpose but also to enrich one's experience, meet people you would not have the opportunity to meet elsewhere, to develop or acquire skills and competences. Altruisitic and more "selfish" motivations are quite mixed. Volunteering may be a keystone to enrich one's human and social capital. It is part of the so-called non-formal and informal learning promoted by the European Union in its programme LifeLong Learning (LLL). Through volunteering, social and civic competences may be valued; they are part of the key competences adopted in December 2006 by the Council of the European Union. We will present as a case study volunteering in a specific population: migrants in Europe.

Pensioned Norwegians in Spain: Adaption, Networking and Identities in Making

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The region around Alicante was, and is, a popular place to go for holidays. Many Norwegians spend their vacations here, and in the last twenty years a growing number of them have invested in a flat or a house in the region, and moved here for good. Some of these people are old, some have a chronic illness, and some are disabled in some way. Most of them have their livelyhood from pensions. The work-free income from Norwegian funds make it possible to start a new life in Spain.
The migration processes do not seem to be organised. It rather seems to be based on individual choices: They just decide to move, sometimes alone and sometimes with a spouse. This means that relatives and friends are left at home.
Norwegians can easily be isolated in their new homeland. But they know that, and try

actively to fight such a destiny. In Spain they have plenty of free time, and a job to do - getting a meaningful social life. It helps that many of the Norwegians here are in the same situation.
We want to show that the construction of identity is a parallel process to that of connecting and making new friends. Both processes require that you "do good" for other Norwegians here. You use whatever you master ore can impress with - as long as other wants to participate.
We think this is connected to interests, to their perception of themselves/identities, and that strategies in making the new small-scale "society" is also connected to self-interests. Doing good means you are doing something good for yourself too!
We also want to have a closer look to the fact that Norwegians here seldom include persons of other nationalities, and this might tell us about strategies other immigrants use, for example immigrants that have moved to Norway.

Selfish Giving: The Discourse of Volunteering Motivations

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This paper looks at volunteering for community care in London. In this case study, volunteers show both self-interest and their interest in others' benefit when they are engaged in volunteering, which indicates the multifunctionality of volunteering and pluralism of motives.
Nevertheless, the way volunteers present their motivational factors is significantly focused on themselves, which seems to suggest that giving is an act of self-fulfillment. Altruism is negatively perceived, as it makes the volunteers look partronising to the service users. I argue that there is a logic behind these contradictory phenomena.
By looking at volunteering motivations as a contextually constructed discourse, I explore the role of three distinct facets of volunteering: 1. an increasing awareness of volunteering as a stepping stone towards or a substitute for paid work; 2. the logic of exchange used by voluntary organisations as a strategy to promote volunteering, one that emphasises the instrumental function of volunteering as a means to pursuing self-interests; 3. the rhetoric of the political correctness of power equality between volunteers and service users, which ultimately negates altruism.
The analysis reveals that the discourse of volunteering motivations in this socio-cultural context is appropriated in ways that reflect these particular values and understandings.

Watching Nature: Birdwatchers as Volunteers for Biodiversity Monitoring

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In order to meet the demands European Governments/NGOs for biodiversity data, they increasingly rely on input from large numbers of amateur (non-professional) naturalists. However, in order to maintain a sustainable level of such volunteers for continued monitoring, it is necessary to understand what motivates people to offer their time, skills and knowledge.
This paper is based on ethnographic research into nature-based monitoring organisations or networks (http://eumon.ckff.si). We examine a specific case study from the United Kingdom as an example of how "nature enthusiasts" are recruited to monitor and document biodiversity, in this case birds, in their local area or "patch". The Northumberland and Tyneside Birdclub (NTBC) is a county association in Northeast England where members record local bird activity as a natural extension of the

"lists" or "ticks" of birds made daily as part of being a birdwatcher. In developing the necessary expertise and reputation as skilled birdwatchers, many hold intimate knowledge of their locality, representing a valuable resource for large-scale monitoring programmes run by UK NGOs like the British Trust for Ornithology (BTO).
As a form of "serious leisure", an overwhelming enthusiasm for birds is a powerful force for birdwatchers to keep personal records and participate in wider surveys to guarantee a sustainable future for birdlife. However, the authors will also explore the social worlds of dedicated "birders" including their attachment to place, membership of social networks, the accumulation of reputation and status, and how these key attributes provide the potential foundation for a network of committed volunteers.

W102

Societies and Protected Areas

Convenors: **Peter Simonič, Faculty of Arts (peter.simonic@guest.arnes.si)**
Peter Meurkens, University of Nijmegen (p.meurkens@xs4all.nl)
Discussant: **Francisco Javier Escalera Reyes**

28 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 05

More than 12% of the world's surface was designated as protected natural areas during the 20th century. In the Middle Ages, special preserves were the province of nobles. In the 19th century, protected areas derived from national mythologies and territorial divisions; outside Europe the same idea was connected with colonial enterprise and control of resources. Later, ecological and biological arguments came to the forefront, especially after the 1992 Rio de Janeiro declaration on protection of nature in situ. The European Union incorporated these values in the Nature 2000 programme.
We can conclude that the natural sciences and managers of protected areas today control this 12% of the planet's surface, protecting mainly its biological diversity. Inhabitants of "diversity islands" are presumably a matter of other interests (social, economic, cultural, etc.) and therefore attract little (natural, scientific) attention. Moreover, they can easily become victims of political and economic superstructures, which may in fact be connected with opinion makers from the natural sciences, the keepers of natural wealth and diversity.
Protected areas around the world lack anthropological attention, even though they offer excellent examples of ambivalent and contested interpretations and power relations in smaller and larger social contexts.
Inhabitants of this 12%, consisting mainly of rural areas, cannot be seen only as another resource (economic point of view) or as a threat to the environment (biological point of view). Territorial redefinition should be accompanied by analyses of local (ecological) knowledge, social networks and ideologies, economic histories and migrations, in national and international frameworks.

Are the Gredos Mountains Only to be for the Wolves? The Control and Management of a Spanish Protected Area

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The Gredos range (Sierra de Gredos in Spanish), which includes both alpine and Mediterranean ecosystems, is one of the most biologically interesting areas of

Western Europe. There have been various unsuccessful initiatives to have the area of the Gredos Mountains declared a National Park. On the 20th of June 1996 the regional parliament of Castile-León, one of the seventeen autonomous regions, which make up Spain, declared that part of the mountain range under their jurisdiction to be a Regional Park. When previously informed of the proposal to declare Gredos a park, the reaction of the majority of the inhabitants of the villages to be included in the area of the park had not been favourable. The mayors of the affected towns had signed a declaration in which they stated that the plan for the park "ignores many aspects of the socio-economic reality of our villages … with a total lack of information and participation on the part of the distinct sectors directly affected by the project." What the mayors were expressing was the fear of many local people that, if the mountains were to become a protected area, "all the sierra would be only for the wolves", as a number of them put it, in detriment to cattle-raising and agriculture. This paper examines the processes of patrimonialisation of nature in a Spanish protected area and how these changes affect social actors and their interests.

Balkans Peace Park Project

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As a contributor, five years ago, to the book, Ethnography of Protected Areas, this report follows the tremendous progress made in the interim on the cross-border Balkans Peace Park Project (BPPP) on the single mountain range, known as The Forbidden (or Accursed) Mountains which straddle the borders of Albania, Kosovo and Montenegro.
Probably one of the greatest changes in these years is the status of the actual regions, such that we are now working with three sovereign countries, whereas only three years ago only Albania was an independent country, Montenegro and Kosovo were still a part of Yugoslavia.
BPPP works with people and authorities at all levels, individuals in the region, NGOs, INGOs, municipalities, national governments and foreign government donors. The most recent development was the successful hosting by the Shkodra Qark (regional body for northern Albania) of representatives from all the above mentioned stakeholders.

Conservation in Crisis: Political Conflict and Protected Area Management in Nepal

Prabhu Budhathoki (prabhu@wlink.com.np)

For the last decade, Nepal has been facing severe political conflict, which has been detrimental to sustainable biodiversity conservation. Due to this conflict, there have been numerous direct and indirect impacts on protected areas. The impact range from destruction of park infrastructure and habitat to poaching of globally endangered species like the one-horned Asian rhinoceros. This paper presents an overview of conservation in conflicts and discusses the impact of political instability on conservation and challenges of protected area management in Nepal. It also converses how community based resource management approaches would help reduce the impact of conflict on conservation. The conflict could also provide opportunities to improve protected area governance and management practices for equitable and inclusive conservation resulting in better sustainability and improvement of livelihood of the local communities.

Farmers and/or Hunters: Negotiating Heritage in an Alpine National Park

Matej Vranješ, University of Primorska (Matej.Vranjes@fhs-kp.si)

The paper will highlight some of the contested issues regarding cultural and natural heritage preservation in the case of Trenta valley in the Triglav national park (Slovenia) - the largest, the oldest, and the most important protected area in Slovenia. The institutionalisation of the only Slovenian national park has been obviously grounded on the conception of its role of the instrument for preserving heritage of great importance for the national community and the newly born nation-state. Looking discursively, the institutionalisation of the TNP was partly based on the Slovenian Alpine "mythology" and idealisation of the Alpine "way of live". Under the veil of unquestionable concept of national heritage, this idealisation is implicitly present also in many contemporary scientific and political debates about the new law of the TNP that is to be adopted in Slovenia. These "national" conceptions are rarely confronted to the heritage as seen from the point of view of people that are existentially tied to the landscape being "nationalised". In the case of Trenta local community, the notion of heritage is being constantly renegotiated, and in many cases opposed to the heritage as conceived by diverse national institutions. The ambivalence of "national" versus "local" point of view will be presented in two contexts, related to the issue of preserving the traditional agricultural landscape and to the one of preserving hunting as a traditional spatial praxis par excellence. The interpretation of these examples will be based on ethnographic fieldwork data collected over the last five years in the region.

Local Ecological Knowledge also Comes "from Books": Cultural Change, Landscape Transformation and Conservation of Biodiversity in Two Natural Protected Areas in Portugal

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Ana Maria Carvalho, ESAB Instituto Politécnico de Bragança
Maria Elisabete Martins, Centro de Estudos de Antropologia Social

The study of social and economic change and the consequent landscape transformation in Parque Natural de Montesinho and Parque Natural de Douro Internacional (in the Northeast of Portugal) allows us to discuss the ambivalent relation between the political aims of biodiversity preservation and social reality in protected rural areas.
Ethnographic research of plants uses and nature discourses together with an analysis of social differentiation (in terms of age, gender and schooling) of ethnobotanical knowledge show us the dynamic way local people combine traditional and orally transmitted knowledge with popular or then scientific exogenous ecological knowledge, especially that learned from the media and books.
This data allows us to reflect also about the way local culture in the context of protected areas is transformed into heritage.

Protected Areas, Conflict and the Social Acceptability of Environmental Regulation

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Anthropological studies of protected areas have focussed mainly on political conflicts

between environmental authorities and local populations. Much less attention is offered to the social conditions under which environmental regulation is appropriated by local people. We address this issue through a comparative ethnographic analysis of two protected areas in Brazil and Peru. In spite of featuring a myriad of social and political conflicts, in both cases wide segments of local populations have taken the initiative to appropriate environmentalist norms.
In the Brazilian case, a conflict between landowners and agricultural workers was transformed when the land over which they fought was incorporated into a protected area. As a consequence, the Law on Agrarian Reform was replaced by Environmental Law as the main legal and discursive frame of reference in the conflict.
In the Peruvian case, an indigenous group inhabiting a National Reserve has sought to regain political control over its territory by formally applying for its own protected area within the Reserve's territory. In the process, the group's authorities have enforced environmentalist regulation within their community as a means to increase the legitimacy of their claim.
In both cases, conflict - even when directed against protected area authorities themselves - has been a vehicle rather than an obstacle for the diffusion of environmentalist norms and values. These have been appropriated either as powerful political tools; for their ability to translate claims into a new idiom with a wider moral legitimacy; or because of their utility in mediating political relations and re-actualising pre-existing conflicts.

The French Model of National Parks: Territoriality and Temporality

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Au contraire des domaines tropicaux, l'analyse des espaces protégés comme imposition d'une forme de domination sur des territoires existants est quasi absente de l'horizon des recherches sur le domaine européen.
L'invention des parcs nationaux français constitue un cas intéressant, dans la mesure où ses acteurs revendiquent souvent une conception « culturelle » de la nature. Pourtant, en France comme ailleurs, les institutions parcs n'ont pas réussi à résoudre leurs difficultés « d'acceptation » locale.
L'on peut faire l'hypothèse que les conflits à l'œuvre dans les espaces protégés soulèvent une problématique de la temporalité. Par des médiations multiples, les Parcs instaurent autoritairement un mode de rapport au temps qui se confronte aux temporalités particulières des habitants et usagers. Les sciences sociales peuvent se donner comme tâche d'explorer l'expérience différenciée de ce qui est « durée » et « durable » dans les territoires « de nature ».
A titre d'exemple, j'observerai quelques éléments de la pratique territoriale du Parc national des Cévennes, qui permettent d'interroger la temporalité mise en place par l'institution, ainsi que les résistances qui lui sont opposées.
Enfin, un retour sur la création des espaces protégés français permet de constater combien cette pluralité des temporalités est présente dans la confrontation des différents projets qui ont donné naissance à ces territoires. Cette matrice historique des parcs français, en particulier la période 1950-1970, donne un éclairage supplémentaire au problème de l'articulation entre territorialité et temporalité, en jeu dans les espaces protégés.

The Social Value of the "Paul de Arzila", Nature Reserve near Coimbra, Portugal

Luís Poupinha, INP (luisoupinha@gmail.com)

The history of civilization can be seen as a history of the relationship between man and nature, and the ways by which man tried to understand the value of nature. Nowadays, man has knowledge and a discourse about nature. This text is about what people say, how do they live and how they see the relationship between them, society and Nature, taken this as their natural geographical surroundings.
This work is done near the population of Arzila, the small village situated near Coimbra, Portugal. Arzila has, approximately, 750 inhabitants and it still maintains traditional economic activities, related to agriculture and manufactured activities. Arzila is situated near the "Paul de Arzila", one of the protected areas in Portugal because of its biodiversity. The text takes into account the several groups living in Arzila and know the Paul de Arzila, trying to identify the differences and changes in the ways people look to Nature (as they live with it) and to the actors which are working on its preservation. Our methodology is built upon life stories, field observation, ethnographic content analysis and interviews, in order to identify the structural values and representations in people's discourse regarding the concept of Nature, and also, the practices people still reproduce and the ones, which are being implemented in the referred relationship, taking into account the values it has.

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Belonging Embodied, Reciprocity Materialised: Migrants' Transnational Practices

Convenors: **Tatjana Pezdir, Faculty of Arts (tatjana.pezdir@guest.arnes.si)**
Maja Povrzanović Frykman, Malmö University (maja.frykman@mah.se)

28 August 2008, 09:00
Room: R4

The expansion of relatively cheap travel options and the enormous quantities of objects - mostly intended for everyday use - transported in overloaded cars, buses, ships and planes, plead for ethnographic descriptions and interpretations that outline relationships and processes embedded in transnational practices.
This workshop explores the travel of people and objects, led by the interest in how belonging is embodied, reciprocity materialised and social networks re-created in different locations within the transnational spaces created by migrants. The focus is on practices through which migrants accomplish inclusion in different locations and in different networks. What do they do, send or carry in order to stay connected - to be accepted, remembered, needed or appreciated? Which objects do they consider crucial to the maintenance of their private everyday normality in different locations of attachment? To what extent is involvement in personal relations and social networks achieved or proved through objects, and to what extent does this require physical presence and personal travel?
The theoretical intention is to avoid focusing on immigrants' ethnicity. While certainly not denying the reality of experiences of group belonging, our intention is rather to turn the importance of ethnicity into an empirical question. We also want to warn against the assumption that certain practices are only characteristic of migrants in conditions of disadvantage. Ethnographic insights into practices and lived experiences,

motivations and concerns with regard to particular social networks, may reveal significant similarities between migrants of varying class and ethnic backgrounds.

Follow the Container: Negotiating Belonging and Loyalties through Transnational Charity

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This paper analyzes the donation, coordination and receiving of objects by following the trajectory of a container of used computers and furniture donated by a small Ghanaian association in Denmark to educational institutions in a smaller town in Ghana. It analyzes the different meaning and decision-making processes at various stages of the journey of the container as well as from different locations and positions in the transnational space, including the sending NGO, the practical coordination of the goods in Ghana, and the recipient schools. A key question is what kinds of belonging and positions are established through charity and how these are enacted, recognised, or contested by different actors and from different perspectives. Finally, the paper analyzes the negotiations and mobilisation of competing kinds of loyalties, such as kin, ethnicity, school affiliation, nationality, and a broader sense of solidarity.

Paying off the Debt: Filipino Transnational Belonging and Engagement in Development Projects

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In this paper I will discuss the ways in which Filipino immigrants build their transnational belonging in two countries, and uncover the practices that underlie it. I want to look at the material aspects of giving and the basis of reciprocity - starting from the debt of gratitude towards one's parents and godparents, the will to help siblings and cousins, and the debt felt towards the home country.
I also want to look at objects through which transnational belonging to the Philippines and the United States is built and through which it is embodied - objects which flow between the sending and receiving country, and those which are significant in the everyday experience of the immigrants, be they clothes, devotional objects, or photographs.
My case is based on my doctoral research of Filipino immigrants' engagement in development projects at home through a non-governmental charity organization called "Gawad Kalinga". The giving achieves here the level of public giving, which goes over the privacy of family reciprocity, and builds the feeling of national belonging. The act of giving at the same time assures others of the success of the immigrant abroad, and is used for building one's status.

Significance of Remittances in Formation of Social Networks among Arabs and Bosniaks in Slovenia

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The paper addresses motivations, patterns and sorts of remittances possible, which can be defined as a set of gifts in different forms. Generally speaking, remittances refer to economic transfers between migrants on one hand and individuals or groups remaining in countries of origin on the other. The latter most often include both near and extended families. Beside economic transfers, the paper deals with the processes

of incorporation and preservation of migrants' sense of belonging to the place of origin and with processes of linking them with places of immigration. Furthermore, the authors discuss the essence of social responsibility evident in migrants' incorporation, maintenance of their sense of belonging, their image, social authority, substance, respect and inclusion into their sending societies. The focus is on migrants' motivation as well as factors existing in countries involved in transnational connections stimulating and hindering processes of remitting. The authors discuss social and demographic distribution and the importance of social pressures faced by migrants and expectations of other members of those social networks, which play an essential part in the above mentioned processes.
Comparing Arabs and Bosniaks in Slovenia is possible and reasonable because of the common Islamic tradition as a way of life in countries of origin and Slovenia. Nonetheless, the research does not focus on groups, but rather on individuals engaged in processes of establishing and maintaining social networks and processes of remitting within.

Remittances Discouraging Transnational Practices

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Based on a year-long fieldwork among a group of Bosnian refugees in Berlin, the paper tends to look at how various factors, ranging from their legal status to expectations expressed by family members remaining in their country of departure, affected stimulation for, and intensity of refugees' engagement in transnational practices. As they were granted merely the Duldung status offering temporary protection and disabling journeys outside localities officially determined by the German legislature, the refugees' connections with individuals or groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina were initially limited to telephone calls, and to financial help being sent by post.
With the war over and legal limitations suspended as they acquired permanent permits to stay in Berlin, refugees later turned to rather more regular transnational practices including travels to Bosnia and Herzegovina during summer holidays or for bigger family reunions marking annual or religious holidays. However, despite their strongly embedded sense of belonging to Bosnia-Herzegovina, the refugees were gradually dissuaded from frequent visits to the country of departure, which was predominantly caused by their family members' high expectations of financial help, geographical distance and social pressure at home. As such, the paper primarily explores how remittances discourage, rather than stimulate, members of the given refugee group from regular visits to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Objects, Scents and Tastes from a Distant Home: Goan Catholic Brahmin Families

Marta Rosales, Universidade Nova de Lisboa (marta.rosales@netcabo.pt)

During the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries a large number of Goans left their home country and migrated to Mozambique. This migration flux between the two former Portuguese colonies involved a significant number of members of the local Goan elites converted to Catholicism. The "Catholic Brahmin families" formed a strong and deeply organised community that played a significant role in the configuration and administration of the Mozambican colonial society. After independence, most of the Goan Catholic elite migrated, this time to Portugal and other European and North American contexts.
Based both on the life narratives of a limited group of families currently living in Lisbon

(Portugal) and in the observation of the objects and consumption practices existing in their homes, this paper aims to discuss how material culture and consumption practices constitute a significant field to the understanding of these migrants trajectories, negotiation processes and position strategies across the different cultural contexts that form part of their biographies.
The analysis will focus particularly on the objects and consumption practices (food, music, literature) that, like and within the families, also travelled from Goa to Mozambique and/or, afterwards, to Portugal. The discussion of the objects' participation in the families' current daily lives and domestic routines made possible the analysis of their contemporary identity displays and social positioning with the Portuguese context, but also the emergence of significant features regarding their past contexts of integration and, therefore, contributed to highlight a series of dimensions transversal to all stages of the migration process.

The Emigrated Saint: Ritual Practices of Reciprocity among Sicilian Migrants in Germany

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I conducted fieldwork among Sicilian migrants living in and around an industrial city in southwest Germany. These migrants came as "guest workers" in the 1950s, stemming originally all from Mirabella Imbaccari, an "agrotown" located in the eastern part of Sicily. In my research I focussed on a Mirabellesian saint cult, the festival of St. Joseph, which was revitalised in Germany when entire families had joined their emigrated men in the 1970s. On the day of the saint big banquets are erected inside the intimate, private space of single family households as "ex voto". The banquets are covered - next to more durable objects (like saint statues and images) - with many ephemeral objects representing elements of a particular local identity, i.e. local Sicilian dishes along with bread statues, which are imported from Sicily or are reproduced especially for that occasion by the migrant women in Germany and which are regarded as typically Mirabellesian. On the day of the saint friends and relatives (also coming from distant Sicily for that occasion) visit the banquets, experiencing a momentary reunification of the dispersed migrant's community. The ritual reaches its peak when all the dishes on the banquets are offered to "poor" people representing the "Holy Family". The example shows, in the context of ritualised reciprocity, how belonging is embodied through ritual objects (not only of ephemeral nature) regarded as emblems of a local identity.

Objects of Love

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The paper is based on the social anthropological research on transnational female migrants from the Ukraine working and living without their children in the Czech Republic.These trasnational mothers have to experience the spatial, temporal and emotional separation from their own children and at the same time be responsible for the breadwinning of their nuclear and extended families in the Ukraine. In my paper, I will "follow the thing" (Marcus 1998) with those they are trying to supply their role and identity in families. I focus on the meanings ("uses and trajectories", Appadurrai 1986) of objects, which trasnational mothers send and transfer back home. These goods are not just a form of the migrant´s remmitances, but they are embodied objects of mother´s love. Through these objects (presents, dresses, radio, TV, PC, money, etc.) they are trying to construct their new "elastic" (Sotelo 1997) forms of motherhood.

On the other hand, trasnational mothers are bringing objects (pictures, toys, clothes, etc.) that belong to their children and help them to reconstruct and evoke their own mother´s love. I examine the categories and qualities of those goods, as well as their meanings for the construction and the reconstruction of motherhood. I describe the material side of these objects (in the sense of material culture) as well as its narrative representations in biographical-narrative interviews. I argue that these "objects of love" have an important evocative role in the experiencing of trasnational mothering.

"Everything has Changed": Anchoring Transnational Practices and Incorporation

Anna Matyska, University of Tampere (anna.matyska@uta.fi)

The paper addresses the interplay of historical situatedness, class and the different modes of integration and transnationalism engaged in by the Polish migrants in Finland and their non-mobile kith and kin in Poland. I look at how the changing dynamics of the flow and consumption of goods and travel of people underpinned the constant reworking of the transnational social spaces and migrants' incorporation into the receiving communities across time. In this I am attentive to the political and economic shifts within and across Poland and Finland, including the collapse of communism and the Finnish economic crisis of the 1990s. I indicate their impact on the meaning and direction of transnational commodity exchange and travel, enacted primarily within kinship groups, and the structuring of migrants' possibilities for integration.
Temporally situated two-way transnational practices of sending goods and embodied mobility allow migrants to recreate and reinforce their links to people and places in Poland. Simultaneously through creating new intersections of "Polish" and "Finnish" social networks, they strengthen migrants' anchoring in Finland. Accordingly the transnationalism and integration emerge here as concurrent, dynamically intertwined processes. The class contingency is revealed, as it was mainly the migrants from middle and upper social strata who had the necessary cultural and professional resources to achieve positive social inclusion. The term of class is conceptualised in the context of changing social structures of pre- and post-1989 Polish society.
The paper is based on my ethnographic study of transnational families spanning Poland and Finland.

Women in Diplomacy: Their Private Transnational Practices

Lucija Katulić, Institute for Anthropological Research (lucikatulic@yahoo.com)

Diplomats' life-style implies frequent movement across national borders, and it thus incorporates continuous practices of transnational journey of people as well as material objects. Diplomacy is a migration of non-negotiable duration defined in advance, so this paper focuses on specific implications of time-limited diplomatic mandates that influence and considerably define construction of new identities and new social networks in which complete incorporation in a present social environment is not necessary. Practices through which women in diplomacy try to accomplish inclusion in social networks at different locations can be defined as personal creation of transnational spaces. This can partly be obtained through material objects that they bring to the country they are assigned to in order to maintain their private everyday normality in a new location. This work in progress intends to investigate similarities between the practices of female diplomats and those women who accompany their husbands; of single women in diplomacy as well as those who

organise transnational lives also for their children. It shifts attention from the less privileged to the multiply privileged transnational migrants, with potential insights into the similarities of their practices of negotiating normality by the means of objects and ways of communication in different places of everyday life.

Reciprocity Materialised: Ethnicity and Class as Empirical Questions

Maja Povrzanović Frykman, Malmö University (maja.frykman@mah.se)

Within the vast field of multidisciplinary research on international migration the importance of ethnography is unsurpassed in its ability to reach and represent the individual level of experience and everyday dynamics of sense-making. Ethnographic research into the interplay of sociality and materiality - experiences and memories embodied in and represented by objects - can also provide a solid foundation for critically interrogating ideas about migrants' being and belonging as primarily defined by their ethnic and class background. Ethnographic insights into material expressions of reciprocity, i.e. of migrants' involvement in personal relations and social networks achieved or proved through objects, can open up new avenues of understanding and create new conceptual lenses in studies of migration. This paper links the different contributions to this workshop together by discussing the theoretical benefits of investigating material expressions and practices of connection and belonging in the places where migrants live their everyday lives, in the places they keep returning to and on the journeys between them.

W104

Eastbound: Perspectives on Tourism in Central and Eastern Europe

Convenors: **Irena Weber, University of Ljubljana (irena.weber@guest.arnes.si)**
Tom Selwyn, London Metropolitan University (t.selwyn@londonmet.ac.uk)

28 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 533

Histories of tourism in Central and Eastern Europe reveal diverse and complex practices of tourism during the socialist period not only between different countries but also within them. Socialist ideologies that have "guided" tourists and prescribed the forms of socialist tourism were coupled with rather flexible practices that reflected the economic, social and political changes during different decades. When facing economic crises, for instance, tourism demonstrated great adaptability, not least by applying the principles of mutuality (e.g. between tourist agencies and clients or between tourists themselves).

The political and economic transition brought some abrupt and radical transformation yet this does not imply complete eradication and no continuities. The workshop thus proposes to address a broad range of ideologies and practices of tourism in Central and Eastern Europe both in the socialist and post-socialist period. Some of the pertinent issues raised may be: How does mutuality of the socialist period reflect in contemporary tourism practices? The role of privatisation and foreign investment that influence structural inequalities? In what way are heritage sites being constructed or appropriated by the local, national and global authorities? How do coastal areas (Adriatic, Baltic and the Black sea resorts) navigate the construction of new identities? How is socialist and post-socialist tourist imagery constructed in travel

guides, travelogues and fiction writing?
Comparative anthropological and historical approaches are particularly encouraged while perspectives from other disciplines are also welcome.

Struggling Anthropologically and Politically with Tourism in Central/Eastern Europe: Cases from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro

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The paper describes and analyses two programmes of research, curriculum development, and institution building work concerned with development of tourism in the Central/East European region. The first was an EC TEMPUS project in Bosnia-Herzegovina designed: 1. to train twentyfive mid career professionals in tourism and economic development and; 2. to advise local, entity, national, and international institutions in how appropriately to respond to and encourage tourism. The second is a (continuing) BC project in Montenegro aiming to raise the tourism profile of the city of Cetinje and to explore the regional (including Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Kosovo, Albania) tourism of which Cetinje is set.
The ways in which tourism enters economies of the region raises several questions pertinent to the present panel. The first follows from the fact that it is positioned by many authoritative voices (associated with governments, consultants, and international institutions) within a world that is said to be going through economic "transition". Ways of organising tourism, it is commonly argued, needs to respond to new regional and global "market" conditions - in the process leaving behind all traces of socialist modalities of organisation. The second follows. What, precisely, is the nature of this "post-socialist" "capitalist" world into which tourism development, and other kinds of development, are encouraged to take place? Thirdly, coming to the heart of the paper, where do anthropologists fit into the framework of relations between governments, the private sector, international agencies, and the "heritage" that forms the capital upon which the tourism industry is based?

Perspectives on Tourism in the Czech Republic: Old Approaches, New Dilemmas

Hana Horáková, University of Hradec Kralove/University of Pardubice (hana.horakova@uhk.cz, hana.horakova@upce.cz)

The past two decades have been marked by rapid transformations in tourism in ex-socialist countries. The paper attempts to outline key ideologies and practices of tourism in "closed" socialist Czechoslovakia that brought about unique, unparallel forms of domestic tourism. Special attention is paid to one of the most widespread forms - so-called "weekend-housing and/or cottaging tourism" that has expanded in the country since the 1950s. An analysis of its socio-cultural, political and geographical aspects will be confronted with the inquiry into the post-socialist period that has been characterized by the unprecedented development of tourism that brought a number of new tourist practices that compete with the older ones. In particular, the paper will focus on a recent tourist project called "Dutch village", i.e. the emergence of closed communities of Dutch tourists that have been built throughout the Czech Republic, mostly within the weekend-house built-up areas. Analytically, one can observe three distinctive social categories in such areas: local residents, domestic weekend/holiday makers, and foreign (Dutch) holidaymakers. Our research that is being conducted in one of the recreational areas (Lake Lipno in Southern Bohemia) aims to explain the following issues concerning this complex encounter: What cultural image do the

new tourists have about the Czech Republic as a whole and about the region in particular? What are the relations between the "guests" and the "hosts"? (How can local population be defined?) How is interculturality produced and reproduced? What is the role of local strategies of mutuality and policies of cultural diversity?

"Sustainable" Tourism and Area Studies: West Looking East, 1932 - 2007

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Sir Dudley Stamp's 1932 study of Solčavsko was undertaken under the auspices of the Le Play Society, a body which emerged from initiatives in the early part of last century to promote interdisciplinary regional studies under the slogan "Place, Work and Folk" - an analytical troika which bears more than a coincidental resemblance to the normative "environment, economy and society" of present-day sustainability discourse. The 1971-72 Brathay "Expedition" had a similar (though more explicitly recreational) agenda. Many more "recreational" field study visits to Central and Eastern Europe were undertaken by adult amateurs as well as university groups, over the half century from the mid 1920s to the mid 1970s. Although interdisciplinary area studies subsequently became distinctly unfashionable, they have enjoyed a revival, particularly in the context of the preparation of management strategies for European protected landscapes (such as the new Kamniško-Savinjsko Alps regional park) where tourism is perceived as capable of making a significant contribution to the "harmonious relationship" between people and place.
The early proponents of area studies placed much emphasis on "civics" - the contribution of "anthropological tourism" to social well-being for both the visitor and visited, on their outcomes, to a more generalised vision of social progress. We argue that the early aspirations of the Le Play Society can be manifest - in both their practical and conceptual weaknesses, as well as their strengths - in protected landscape management strategies and their preparation. The place of tourism in socioeconomic transition provides a clear illustration.

Tourism in the Karst Region in Slovenia: Redevelopment after the Decline during the Socialist Period

Jasna Fakin Bajec, Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (jasna.fakin@zrc-sazu.si)

The Karst region in Slovenia has been known worldwide for its natural and cultural phenomena, especially its underground world with numerous caves, ever since the 16th century. Initially of interest primarily for scientists, after the public opening of the caves (1633), it began to attract tourists as well. With the development of larger towns in the near vicinity (Trieste, Monfalcone, Gorizia) in the 19th and 20th centuries, the Karst became a tourist center for the bourgeois, who spent their summer holidays in rural Karst villages.
When Slovenia became part of socialist Yugoslavia, Karst tourism in villages declined. The socialist policy neglected small villages on the pretext of modernizing the countryside and building urban centers. Moreover, with nationalisation they gradually reduced or prohibited private tourist infrastructure in villages, and supported tourism in bigger towns, so-called mass tourism.
With Slovenia's independence and ensuing transition problems (many people lost their jobs) the state and local government recognized tourism as an opportunity to solve the inhabitants' social problems. Local people have faced lots of personal and

administrative problems with the development of tourism. Firstly, they were not used to a market economy, then, until recently they have not appreciated and valued the cultural and natural heritage of the Karst as an important tourist attraction.
The main aim of my paper is to present the redevelopment of tourism in the Karst region, to analyse local problems which were the consequences of socialist policy or economy and of exposure to the contemporary market economy and globalisation processes.

Welcoming the Guest: A New Attitude or an Old Habit?

Chiara Cipollari, University of Perugia (chiarac98@hotmail.com)

This paper explores ambiguities and paradoxes of tourism where host people pretend no continuities and complete eradication with socialist ideology but, at the same time, the principles of mutuality are evident in the practices.
Fieldwork was carried out in Botiza (Romania) in post-socialist period and coincided with time of transformation, in which there were few tourists and local tourism politics were hardly developed, and the current moment in which the tourism demand is growing exponentially.
In a few years people and the administration had to review local social dynamics, in order to organise the village and to deal with the increasing tourism demand. Both local families and the administration invest tourism profit to higher hosting standards and to promote the entrance of Botiza into tourism networks. Therefore, the village has gone through a process of transformation generally recognized as "modernisation." Local people are proud of it and see tourism as the major leader of this change. Continuity with socialism is openly rejected and the relationship between hosts and guests seems to avoid completely political issues.
The presence of tourists during the socialist period may only be recollected by few local narratives that tend to minimise or even forget it. Manipulation of this sort of information is common in areas that have feared laws, which would prosecute those hosting foreign people. However, the adaptation of local people to manage the village for tourist purposes reveals an ability to cope with the "other" and to adjust to diverse practices.

W105

Globalisation as Diffusion? Critical Re-Assessments and Contemporary Researches

Convenors: **João Leal, Univesidade Nova de Lisboa (joao.leal@fcsh.unl.pt)**
Jean-Yves Durand, Universidade do Minho (jydurand@yahoo.com)

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 15

Globalisation has become a major topic of contemporary anthropology. Such an interest has stimulated numerous researches about processes of restructuration and circulation of cultures around the globe, in which concepts such as hybridisation and creolisation have played an important part. The issues addressed by this growing body of literature are mostly viewed as new developments in anthropological research. Yet, it can be argued that this new interest in cultural globalisation is in some ways a return to an old topic of anthropological research: diffusion.
Having played an important role in the development of US anthropology and European ethnology, diffusionism and its contributions to anthropological thought

have been widely overlooked. The main objective of this panel is thus to critically re-assess diffusionism in the context of current anthropological researches on cultural globalisation. What can we learn from classical approaches of processes of cultural diffusion? What were their shortcomings and their accomplishments? How can we engage a critical dialogue with diffusionism? Which of its aspects can be useful today in order to study phenomena taking place on a reduced scale and which do not necessarily pertain to global dynamics?
These and other similar questions can be answered through: 1. critical analysis of the canonical texts of diffusionism; and 2. ethnographical case studies interested in a critical dialogue with the categories developed by diffusionist theory. In both cases, this panel is intended as a contribution to the ongoing calls for a critical dialogue between contemporary anthropology and the classical texts on culture.

Anthropological Understanding of Global Diffusion as Seen from Southern India

Eswarappa Kasi, University of Hyderabad (kasieswar@gmail.com)

Anthropology has a long-standing interest in cultural diffusion through space and time. Although diffusion can be seen as a homogenising factor, cultural diversity remains as striking as ever and even appears reinforced in certain contexts, such as recently globalised and liberalised Third World economies. An anthropological approach of this "Global South" needs to focus on the locals' perceptions of this phenomenon. Their insights derive from their direct experience of changes caused by diffusion in their daily life. Sweeping through regions, places, destinations, globalisation has paved the way to the emergence of new cultures, which in turn lead to new forms of cultural diffusions.

Diffusion of Culture in the Cross River Region

Ute Roeschenthaler, University of Frankfurt Main (utemroe@yahoo.co.uk)

The global diffusion of commodities, ideas, techniques, or institutions are the concern of both diffusionism and globalisation studies. Both approaches also have in common that they rarely studied actual processes of diffusion and the people involved in them. They rather used the topic to illustrate related ideas and concerns. Since issues of globalisation are often overshadowed by relations of dominance, it will be beneficial to examine processes of diffusion with the help of a case study at a side venue of the global. In the Cross River region of Southwest Cameroon and Southeast Nigeria, men's and women's associations have been disseminated in the context of the emergence of the trans-Atlantic trade in the 17th century. Associations have not originated at one place or by one author but are unique improvements, which combine ancient and new (at times global) cultural elements. The village elites acquired them by purchasing the rights in intellectual property and performance. Less imporant associations have also diffused by imitation. Their adoption across large parts of the region has created translocal, transethnic and translingual networks but each village has adapted new associations according to its own preferences. Thus, the process did not lead to a homogenisation of Cross River cultures, much in the same way as the studies of the appropriation of global goods have proclaimed. The diffusion of associations in the Cross River region will serve as the point of departure for discussing some of the assumptions of diffusionism, diffusion theory and globalisation studies.

Export Processing Zones within the Project of Modernisation: A Theoretical and Empirical Re-Evaluation of Diffusionism, Imperialism and Globalism

Patrick Neveling, Martin-Luther University, Halle (neveling@ethnologie.uni-halle.de)

The world's first Export Processing Zone, founded in Puerto Rico in 1947, triggered the dominant model for southern countries export-led development and industrialisation. For 2007 the International Labour Organisation listed more than 3500 EPZs or EPZ-like zones worldwide employing more than 60 million workers. Whereas in the 1970s, when EPZs were comparatively analysed in Fröbels theory of the New International Division of Labour, their number, the amount of employment and therefore the impact of these zones on the capitalist world economy was still limited, today their impact is much more substantial. At the same time, zones in Taiwan, Ireland and other places exist for more than thirty years and thus, particular zones have particular histories.
The paper analyses EPZs as a global institution central to the project of modernisation. Applying theories of diffusion, imperialism and globalisation to the histories of zones in Mauritius, Mexico, and China, it is suggested that EPZs offer an entry point for an archaeology of 20th century global capitalism. Secondly, as investors, workers, ideas and imaginations of relations of production have moved between the zones and institutions such as the World Export Processing Zones Association have been actively engaged in spreading information and technologies, a picture emerges that validates the concept of informal imperialism as a form of diffusion of innovation beyond cultural centres but within a system of unequal distribution of power in the capitalist world economy.

Holy Ghost Festivals in the Americas: Spontaneous Diffusionism and Ritual Differentiation

João Leal, Univesidade Nova de Lisboa (joao.leal@fcsh.unl.pt)

Holy Ghost festivals can be characterized as a travelling ritual, whose diffusion in Europe and the Americas was strongly connected to processes of globalisation of cultural forms linked to Portuguese colonisation and immigration. Having originated in 13th century continental Portugal they have reached the Azores in the 15th century and from both the Azores and continental Portugal they travelled to Brazil from the 16th century onwards. Later, between 1870 and 1930 and between 1960 and 1980, they were recreated by Azorean immigrants in the USA and Canada.
This paper uses evidence related to Holy Ghost festivals in Santa Catarina (southern Brazil) and the USA, where the origin of the festivals is linked to Azorean immigration, in order to discuss the possibility of reconstituting the mechanisms of ritual differentiation of the festivals. The paper begins by pointing out the importance of narratives of Azorean descent of the festivals in both contexts, and the role played in these narratives by an ideology of sponteaneous diffusionism. Contrasting these narratives with available historical and ethnographical data, I critically explore the possibility of building a more complex assessment of the processes of historical differentiation of the festivals in both contexts, in which contemporary discussions on cultural globalisation can critically dialogue with some of the concepts developed by diffusionist theorists.

Moral Responses to an HIV/AIDS Epidemic: A Comparison of Russian Orthodox Church and Secular NGO Discourse and Practice

Jarrett Zigon, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (jarrettzigon@yahoo.com)

Russia now has one of the fastest growing HIV rates in the world. While NGOs have been active in the country since the mid-1990s, other institutions, such as the Russian government and the Russian Orthodox Church, are just now beginning to actively respond to the growing crisis. One reason why these institutions have begun to do so is that HIV infections are beginning to spread to the general working population and women, thus adding a significant threat to the already worrying "demographic crisis."

This paper considers the different approaches taken by the Russian Orthodox Church and secular NGOs to the HIV/AIDS crisis in Russia. In particular it focuses on the transnational aspect of the moral discourses that underlie these approaches from the perspective of diffusionism. In considering the way in which the concept of human rights is utilised by each of these institutions, I will explicate the transnational influences of HIV prevention in Russia and how these influences are co-opted and integrated into Russian and Orthodox Christian understandings of the moral person. Additionally, because the majority of the funding received by these institutions comes from international funding agencies and other non-Russian sources, I will pay particular attention to how the moral discourse and practices of these institutions shift as does the source of their funding. This paper, then, is an attempt to explicate from a diffusionist perspective the transnational flow of morality as it finds expression in NGO and Russian Orthodox HIV prevention programs in St. Petersburg.

Suomen Papagaio: A Samba School in Helsinki

Anaïs Vaillant, IDEMEC (vaillant@mmsh.univ-aix.fr)

With the development of the world music market, few new musical practices inspired by foreign and distant traditions appeared massively in Europe since the 1980s. Our study is in continuity of a thesis research about batucadas, blocos, or "samba schools", groups of musicians and dancers fascinated by afro-Brazilian "cultures", groups in whom the Brazilian community is a small minority. This European batucadas establish, according to us, a new object for the anthropology, which questions interfaces between musics, territories and cultural identities. In common with the borrowing of Brazilian musics, these collective initiatives use methods of reproduction, imitation, even a kind of orthodoxy, and sometimes take the shape of hybrid objects by the appropriation and the indigenisation of these musics with others. The diffusion of Brazilian musical patterns in Europe, with an imitative practice, indeed allows the birth of new local "styles", expressing the "amateurs"'s capacities of adaptation and innovation. This communication suggests studying the case of a samba school in Helsinki during its preparation for the "carnival" of the city, which is also a competition between all Finnish samba schools. This contemporary and European example will allow us to clarify the possible forms of appropriation and hybridization in the practices and the representations of the Brazilian cultures in Finland. So, we shall try to contribute to an update of the classic theories, which underestimated the part of innovation and creativity in the processes of diffusion.

W106

"Kinning" with the Neighbours, Ritualising the Kin: Ritual Bonding and Negotiating Resources

Convenors: **Hulya Demirdirek, University of Victoria, British Columbia (hulyad@uvic.ca)**
Deema Kaneff, Birmingham University (d.kaneff@bham.ac.uk)
Chair: **Hulya Demirdirek (UVic)**
Discussants: **Eugene Hammel (University of California, Berkeley) and Deema Kaneff (University of Birmingham)**

29 August 2008, 11:00
Room: 024

There is a growing concern in anthropology with the significance of connections, which are not established through natal consanguinity and marital affinity. We invite contributions that explore the issue of ritual kin relations (such as godparenthood or closer ties with neighbours) in the context of changing economic situations. We are particularly interested in ritual kin in former socialist states where economic and political reforms have perhaps lent greater pertinence to such relationships, although we welcome ethnographic accounts from other regions as well. While always important, ritual kinship bonds now appear to be undergoing significant transformations as a consequence of deindustrialisation, rising unemployment and a dramatic increase in mobility due to labour migration. For example, in times of particular economic difficulty, obligations relating to labour and the construction and maintenance of the household are concentrated within the rural family by inviting consaguineal kin to act as godparents (once chosen on the basis of wealth or social status). However, in other contexts, the opposite strategy of distributing one's connections as broadly as possible can also be seen as a strategy for dealing with economic uncertainty. How should we approach these types of changes in ritual kin relations in the context of an increasing trend towards privatisation of resources (where presumably kin ties are strengthened)? What alternative practices of support are being developed or expanded beyond kinship relations in the context of rising inequalities between certain sectors of the population (characteristic to all neoliberal economies)? When are support networks institutionalized in the form of ritual kin relationships and under what circumstances?

Patron-Client Relations: Ritualised Okyl Ata-Ene in Kyrgyzstan

Aksana Ismailbekova, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (Ismailbekova@eth.mpg.de)

Kyrgyz patron-client relationships have been substantially modified in response to the current socio-economic conditions in the country. During the trial and error process of privatisation after 1991, an emerging moral crisis and ideological search has led to a confusion of identities and the rule of a profit-oriented ideology. This has encouraged people to seek more personal connections, which provide greater security. People respond to rapid social changes by resorting to traditions, accepting informal networks, and legitimating impersonal commercial transactions. Due to economic changes that led to social stratification, economically secure kin have excluded their economically unstable kin from their social circle. In response, the "poor" have established "patron-client" networks with non-kin local elites in order to secure their

economic interests. This relationship is encoded through "kinship terminology", and has given particular practices significant status and assumed responsibilities. "Poor" families honour wealthy businessmen, as "spiritual parents" (okyl ata-ene) of young married couples or as "milk-parents" for newborn infants. In this way, the disintegration of actual "rich-poor" kinship relations is addressed through non-kin patron-client ties that are wrapped in kinship language. Such patron-client relationships form vital links in larger social networks, and as such can be analyzed as a coping strategy for survival in response to the specificities of the "market economy". Patron-client relations - traditional patterns of Kyrgyz social relations - are increasingly disguised under the umbrella of ritual kin relations. The purpose is not to exhaustively map patron-client relations (okyl ata-ene) but to examine how they represent an adaptive response to dramatic economic, social and political changes in Kyrgyzstan's post-Soviet environment.

"Godparenthood Capitalism": Strong Ties as Anchor and Shield in Illegal Economic Practices

Monica Vasile, University of Bucharest (monica.vasile@gmx.net)

In post-socialist Romania one hears very often of corruption scandals. In these scandals, a fashionable word is "nepotism". The word nepotism has the same sense as in English, but it has also the connotation of favouring one kin in particular - "nepot" is understood to mean nephew. Thus, to be kin to somebody important opens doors to resources or to favourable court decisions. One way for expanding kin ties is godparenthood, a much-respected religious rule for Romanians. Parallel to its religious significance, godparenthood is often associated with business activities. Most choose godparents on the basis of relative wealth; godparents are those with an important job and good connections. "Good" godparents also have to be "affordable", because there is the expectation of the constant exchange of gifts, through occasions marked in the popular calendar.

I will show how ritual kin relations function as a means of illegal access to recently privatised forest resources and as a form of "backup insurance" in the case of accusations. This type of strong tie is used as an anchor, alongside other more weak ties, in order to establish oneself in a web of patron-client relationships that contributes to economic prosperity in times of the "rule of the jungle". A particularly interesting example is extended cases where the practice of godparenthood can be expanded so far as to comprise up to twenty-five pairs of godparents for one couple. In such cases, the ties become so weak that their ability to connect can lead to the deterioration of the presupposed clientelistic effect.

Next-Door Neighbour Relations: The Case of a Rural Community in Patkovac, Croatia

Danijela Birt, University of Zadar (dbirt@unizd.hr)

In the Bjelovar region, village (face to face) communities, dominate the social landscape. People are well informed about the lives of others, especially when important life-cycle rituals such as weddings, pregnancies, births and divorces take place. During these events villagers get a chance to talk about topics, which are not otherwise talked about openly. People meet each other on a daily basis - for example, dropping in to see a neighbour is for most people a normal everyday event which provides the opportunity to learn about and communicate significant daily life events, through just chatting and drinking coffee together or through helping with a

particular task or problem. The sharing of work tasks between neighbours, friends and godparents, such as harvesting wine and maize, has not only an economic but also a social dimension. In my presentation I will give examples of different forms of mutual help, and address questions such as: what encourages these relations, what kind of values are played out through such relations, what practices are favoured and deemed socially acceptable. Emphasis will be given to relations between next-door neighbours, which have a special significance and underwent particular changes as a result of the changing economic situation. Villagers mostly chose best friends and next-door neighbours as godparents. One may therefore ask: is asking someone to be a godparent a deliberate strategy to make them into a relative? The paper's findings are based on the narratives of inhabitants.

W107

From Structure to Conjucture: Social Networks and Rhizomatic Connections

Convenors: **Johan Lindquist, Stockholm University (johan.lindquist@socant.su.se)**
Maple Razsa, Colby College (mjrazsa@colby.edu)
Chair: **Johan Lindquist**
Discussant: **Don Handelman**

29 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 03

From the discipline's beginnings, anthropology has utilised a series of arborescent metaphors, the family tree of kinship being the most obvious example, stressing filiation rather than alliance, thus replicating ethnic ideologies rather than paying attention to strategic and temporary partnering. Given this form of critique, this panel asks how we, as anthropologists, should attend to the quality of the rhizomatic connections that most of us encounter in our field research, connections that always seems conjunctural and lacking in closure. What might an anthropology that is more concerned with temporary connections than stable social networks look like? Although we take Deleuze and Guattari as a point of reference, this panel has emerged, not primarily from a concern with theory, but rather through the ethnograpic research of the organizers, who have faced similar problems in very different fields - radical activism in Europe and labor recruitment in Asia - when trying to make sense of their work. In both cases we have been struck by the temporary, contingent, and seemingly endless chain of relationships that our informants are engaged in. This panel invites participants who are concerned with similar perspectives. Beyond our concern with activism and labor recruitment, other case studies might concern the recent explosion of interest surrounding social networking technologies, the latest of which is Facebook. It should be noted, however, that we are not necessarily looking for participants who are studying phenomena that are "new," but rather that the potential for taking contingency seriously is an issue we all face.

Between Groups and Rhizomes: A Pragmatic Perspective on Anthropological Means of Presentation

Marta Stojić, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (martastojic@gmail.com)

During the last two years I have been researching two phenomena: the Erased of Slovenia, a marginalized and deprived administrative category of the Slovenian population, and the organization of (il)legal migrants in European cities. Both cases show rhizomatic properties and are thus not adequately explainable with the traditional concepts of bounded groups and categories. In the ever-changing contexts of their appearance in different realms these proactive and dynamic networks are constantly expanding and recoiling their aims and forms according to the opportunities and obstacles they encounter. They are conjoining with similar constellations in order to share experiences, obtain support, and concord future steps.

Being theoreticaly orientated towards linguistic anthropology, I have found the pragmatic approach especially useful for dealing with such research problems. First of all, it challenges the very foundations of the concept of concepts, a large part of which has been shown to be context sensitive, that is, exactly what the concepts were meant to avoid. Further, it shows that bounderies of concepts are volatile and by doing so, it overarches logical distinctions between concepts and metaphors.

In this paper, the need of rethinking anthropological means of presenting social constellations will be asserted through the display of concrete research material about two social networks. Possible directions in solving the problem of (in)flexible presentations offered by pragmatic approach will be examined.

Easy Come, Easy Go: Arbitrary Encounters and Homeless Survival in Post-Soviet Russia

Tova Höjdestrand, Stockholm University (tova.hojdestrand@socant.su.se)

The paper investigates the frequent but frail encounters within a heterogeneous and shifty category of people whose main common factor is that they are excluded from the social contexts that usually render some sort of permanence to human lives: official administrative structures, conventional jobs, neighbourhoods, and, in particular, networks of family and friends. Being, in their own words, "needed by nobody", they instead survive in makeshift social environments, where ambiguous relationships are forged for the time being only to be dissolved once they have served their temporary purpose. Physical survival, as well as the experience of human warmth, are thus facilitated by arbitrary encounters that are at the same time inescapable and repelling, generous and exploiting, and as ubiquitous as they are fleeting and casual. Displacement as such fuels this shiftiness, but crucial is also a nearly universal stigmatization of "uprooted" social categories that homeless people encompass to the same extent as anyone else. The transience and unpredictability of their social existence is thus largely an effect of mutual distrust and disdain, and the fact that while in reality being "rhizomatic" to say the least, this togetherness of sorts is perpetually juxtaposed to an imagined ideal of "real" human beings as firmly rooted and cultivated in a familiar "social soil".

Indonesian Labor Brokers and Rhizomatic Connections

Johan Lindquist, Stockholm University (johan.lindquist@socant.su.se)

During the last few years there has been an increasing formalization of migration from

Indonesia to Saudi Arabia and Malaysia, in particular, where over a million Indonesians work on palm oil plantations, construction sites, and as domestic servants. This process of formalisation has led to a dramatic drop in undocumented migration and the rapid growth of Indonesian labor recruitment companies that send migrants abroad. These companies are, however, dependant on large numbers of informal petugas lapangan, or "field operatives," who are responsible for the actual recruitment of migrants in villages across Indonesia. In this paper I consider the landscape of petugas lapangan on the Indonesian island of Lombok and take their temporary, strategic, and geographically dispersed relationships as a starting point for analysis. More broadly, shifting attention away from stable networks to contingent relationships among labor brokers offers an entry-point from which to begin reconceptualising post-authoritarian Indonesia.

Temporary Connections and Stable Social Networks: The Case of Diasporic Hadhrami Arabs in Peripheral Indonesia

Martin Slama, Austrian Academy of Sciences (martin.slama@oeaw.ac.at)

Based on field research in Indonesia - in peripheral Central and North Sulawesi between August 2007 and July 2008 - the paper explores and compares temporary relations and stable social networks of Indonesians of Arab descent. Being part of a Diaspora originating from the Hadhramaut (Yemen), these Arab Indonesians can rely on a network of relatively stable social relations based on kinship and ethnicity, due to prevalent endogamy and strict patrilineal reckoning of descent, but also further fostered by their modern religious organisations. Thanks to these networks as well as their trading skills, their Diaspora could expand to relatively remote places in eastern Indonesia. This paper is particularly concerned with another side of their diasporic social networking, much less discussed in the literature, namely the obvious fact that Diasporas do not only consist of relatively stable networks but also of contingent and temporary connections. These fluid ties can be observed most easily when people are on the move and when relationships regularly transcend kin and ethnicity. Importantly, social networks and contingent relations do not necessarily contradict each other, as vast networks leave enough room for contingency and temporality within. The paper will argue, in the case of Diaspora societies such as the Hadhrami Arabs in Indonesia, that the reliability of networks often preconditions temporary relations. Which strategies did the Hadhramis as a minority group develop in the Diaspora in order to connect, especially to local society, and manage their manifold relations?

Toward the Ethnography of the Rhizomatic

Maple Razsa, Colby College (mjrazsa@colby.edu)

From 2000 to 2006, I conducted fieldwork with radical activists, primarily self-declared anarchists, in Zagreb, Croatia. Most of these activists strongly identified with, and some participated in, the wave of protests at international summits that the media dubbed the "antiglobalisation movement." Activists, on the other hand, while trying to maintain some sense of common struggle, attempted in various ways to articulate the plural and decentred nature of that in which they participated. This tension is captured in many self-designations: "movement of movements," "network of networks," "one no and a thousand yeses," "a world where many worlds fit," and the "multitude." Metaphors of networks, webs, and rhizomes were particularly prevalent. The senses of identity implied by these new metaphors of social collectivity are fundamentally at odds with the arborescent metaphors of the nationalist imagination - unified, primordial, and

organic - that were at the heart of claims to state sovereignty invoked during the wars of the former Yugoslavia and against which these activists vehemently contrasted their own political subjectivities. I reflect here on the interplay between these self-designations and my own ethnographic efforts to attend to the fluid, shifting and rhizomatic qualities of this activism. How, I ask, are ethnographers to do justice, both in our methods and our writing styles, to social and political practices that are so at odds with the traditional anthropological preoccupations with stability, structure and systematicity? Does engagement with practices opposed to organic unity help us to confront the lingering place of the culture concept in our ethnography?

W108

Class as a Subtext to Neonationalism after 1989

Convenors: **Don Kalb, Central European University/Utrecht University (kalbd@ceu.hu)**
Gabor Halmai, CEU (gaborhalmai@yahoo.com)
Chair: **Don Kalb**
Discussants: **Andrew Dawson and George Baca**

29 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 404

As neoliberal globalisation gained centre stage, the staunchest counter-movement has increasingly come in language of nationalism. From the xenophobic anti-immigrant parties of the West to Islamic fundamentalists in the Middle East and Hindu Nationalism in India, from indigenous rule in South America to anti-Communism in Eastern Europe, "nation" has served as the central metaphor with which to bring new constituencies into politics and reignite old ones. While the language of "class" has been dormant in most of these instances of political community-building, it only features explicitly in Bolivarian pseudo-socialist attempts. Similarly, social scientists have only hinted at the importance of class for their analyses of neo-nationalism. Anthropologists possess a unique vantage point to understanding this new wave of political mobilization through fieldwork and inter- and intra-regional comparison. Consequently, the session aims to tackle the following range of questions: What is the role of "class" and class based experiences in studying and explaining the recent ascent of nationalisms all over the globe? What is its relation to the language of "nation" in political mobilisation campaigns? How do the followers of these new nationalisms understand and frame their position vis-à-vis the rest of society? How has global capitalist restructuring influenced the local manifestations of nationalism - both in the sense of helping to ignite them, to frame them and to limit them? How can anthropology help us understand the growing appeal of nationalism as well as its limits as a counter-ideology in such disparate local contexts?

"Because I am not Happy that Audi is Prospering": Reshaping Workers' Nationalist Sentiments in Post-Socialist Hungary

Eszter Bartha, Eotvos Lorand University (hphbaa01@phd.ceu.hu)

The paper analyses and compares workers' experience of post-socialist change and its impact on their social and political attitudes in Hungary. It presents the results of an oral history project conducted in Rába MVG in Northwestern Hungary between 2002 and 2003. Rába belonged to the large enterprises of the socialist period and

was considered to be a "model" factory. It survived systemic change but with considerably reduced personnel. Twenty-twenty life-history interviews were made with an equal number of people who were still employed there, and with those who had lost their jobs during re-structuring. The selection of the interview partners had two main criteria: 1. equal number of men and women; 2. the age of at least forty so that the interview partners have work experience in the socialist regime. To find interview partners, I used the snowball method and newspaper advertisements.
The workers did not only find themselves in an increasingly difficult financial situation but they also had to learn to live with the constant fear of unemployment, and to accept the loss of prestige of working in a "model" factory. These "narratives of decline" did not, however, challenge capitalist order as such. The contradiction between experience and expectation was resolved with the argument that something went wrong with the implementation of capitalism leading to the search for "enemies" and the support of the ideology of the strong state.

Articulating the Right to the City: Working Class Nationalism in Cluj after the Fall of Socialism

Norbert Petrovici, Babes-Bolyai University (NorbertPetrovici@yahoo.com)

Despite the fact that the biggest electoral support for tensed ethnic debates over the city center of Cluj came from former socialist workers, they barely walk through it in their daily routines or popular celebrations. For the working class, nationalism was the language used to express and (attempt to) reverse their progressively severe post-socialist subordination. Although occupying a subordinate position in the social division of labor, from the point of view of the symbolic order, the worker was the key actor in the legitimising socialist pantheon. However, after the collapse of the system, the privatisation discourse turned the worker and the unions into an obstacle hindering the rebirth of factories as successful capitalist enterprises. In this new context, the language of nationalism and ethnicity offered the Romanian working class an "us" that attempts to cut across the class divisions in a city with a peculiar geography, where the young Romanian working class socialist neighborhoods bordered the Hungarian old middle class inner city. Ethnicity and nationalism played the role of a language/grammar of power mobilized for the purpose of redrawing the socio-spatial positional asymmetries and thus articulating the right to the city for the working class. We will try to unfold historically the link between space and class in the Central European city of Cluj, addressing the way in which the politics of locality played a crucial role in the dynamic between the working class and middle classes.

Class and Nation in Scottish Nationalism

Paul Gilfillan, Glasgow University (p.gilfillan@educ.gla.ac.uk)

Scottish nationalism is a power strategy aimed at re-constituting the political field on a national i.e. Scottish basis. The defining experience of politics for those generations born since 1960 and who came to political and historical consciousness during and after the 1980s was that politics was mediated through two nations and electorates at odds with each other for a generation. It was the difference of political ideology that made this relation of political union the problem during 1979-1997. Importantly, this political or ideological difference cannot be traced to the relationship of union nor any difference in nationality but it can be directly traced to class-based differences in political choices made at the ballot box. Because the nation became a class issue the nation became a politics of class. It is political difference then, not the political

relation of union that is the source of the 1979 generation's rejection of the relation of union and why Scottish nationalism, so understood, is not a protest vote but the pursuit of class-based "politics of being" all the way to an independent Scotland.

Class without Consciousness: Regional Identity in Northern Italy in Late Modernity

Jaro Stacul, Grant MacEwan College (staculj@macewan.ca)

Many anthropological works have highlighted the ways notions such as "nation" and "culture" can take on a political dimension in the formation of nationalist and regionalist movements as a reaction to global economic changes. Yet the role played by "class" in national or regional identity formation still remains largely unexplored. Drawing upon ethnographic information collected in rural communities in the Trentino region of northern Italy in the last few years, the paper examines the ways class consciousness is complicated by the salience of a particularistic consciousness derived from the rise of new regionalist and centre-right political forces in Italy. It illustrates the ways "class" is implied in local cultural practices, which are bound up with the development of a regional and local identity even though it no longer takes on an explicit political dimension as a subjective category. More importantly, it shows that the newly emerging political forces in the region achieved considerable appeal not because "class" was subordinated to other forms of identity such as "culture" and "territory", but because at the local level "class" was interpreted as a constituent part of cultural and territorial identity. In suggesting that in late modernity "class" continues to shape people's cultural practices even when it does not take the form of "class consciousness", the paper argues that its significance, as a cultural construct and subjective category, needs to be understood in relation to the social structures and value systems that give it meaning.

Nationalism versus European Belonging: The Usefulness of "Class" in Reading through "Identity Dilemmas" in Contemporary Serbia

Theodora Vetta, EHESS-CEU (vettadora@yahoo.com)

Since the fall of the Milosević regime and the democratic changes in 2000, many would agree with a Serbian minister that today Serbia is once again falling into a collective cultural madness. The rise of nationalist party's power as indicated by the electoral results of the last four years, the spread of a nationalist public discourse, the violent events after the proclamation of Kosovo's independence in February 2008, all produce an image of Serbian society as highly polarized among two axes of identity politics: nationalism/isolation on the one hand and European identity/democracy on the other.

Aim of this paper is to de-construct this omnipresent culture-talk by analyzing ethnographic data on nationalism supporters' discourse, practices and power relations that structure their everyday life. The concept of class can be a useful analytical tool in that it can historicize the culturally framed struggles by grounding them in the particular political and economic processes that constitute Serbia's social reality of "transition" to open market and liberal democracy. Nationalism, I will argue, gains its supporters from a wide spectrum of society, ranging from elites to under classes, not because of a pre-dominance of national identity over social differentiation; rather nationalism appeals in different ways and for different reasons to different social groups. The same could be argued for the normative and morally circumscribed pro-western democracy movement as well.

The Concept of Social Class in Ideologies of Russian Neo-Pagans

Oleg Kavykin, Institute for African Studies (atrociter@mail.ru)

As consumerist ideology is spreading in contemporary urban Russia, the counter-movement is increasingly coming in different ideological clothes with their specific languages. Some of them belong to the neo-pagan sub-cultures. Besides the ecological aspects, Russian neo-pagans deny the cultural effects of globalisation. At the same time the current increase in social division and separation (including the ethnicity-based division of labour) that leads to the decrease in post-Soviet intelligentsia's incomes gives some neo-pagans the stimuli to unite "class" and "ethnic" identities in their ideologies of anti-capitalism and anti-globalism.

The Sin of Socialism: Nationalist Mobilisation in "Transitional" Hungary

Gabor Halmai, CEU (gaborhalmai@yahoo.com)

Hungary has seen the 1990s politics of patience give way to that of protest since the 2002 elections. Nationalist mobilization has become prevalent in the face of unrelenting bouts of neoliberal reforms, as even some of the staunchest "socialist" voters have switched political allegiances to the "civic" side. At the same time, enduring networks and fear mongering against an alleged fascist threat has so far prevented the return of the "anti-communists" to power. This paper investigates the above process in two traditionally "working-class" districts of Budapest, focusing on the so-called polgári körök or civic circles, who have formed the backbone to the mass FIDESZ party in opposition.

How has the idea(l) of the "nation" become dominant in the Hungarian discourse of post-socialist and anti-neoliberal imaginaries and how does it get intertwined with past and present understandings of "class"? Furthermore, how have elites tried to disqualify any anti-neoliberal critique after 1989? Anthropological research can shed light on the workings of complex political labeling and mobilisation by looking into the micro-political relations that yield seemingly bizarre mixtures of party and activist ideologies as well as twists in personal and communal histories. How do workers become "civics" and why are they then portrayed as an angry right-wing mob?

Together, but Still Apart: Class Positions and Identities among Football Fans in Cluj-Napoca, Romania

Florin Faje, Central European University (faje_florin@student.ceu.hu)

Drawing on ethnographic research among Hungarian and Romanian football fans of the C.F.R. football club in Cluj-Napoca the current paper explores the ways in which class and ethnicity together with local and national affiliations are mobilised in shaping the identities of these fans. In a context characterized by a high degree of groupness they all contribute to situationally define and redefine the principles of solidarity as well as those of exclusion. It is my contention that the C.F.R. fans, although divided along ethnic lines, manage to find more encompassing principles of identification, which allow them to act together. Class operates in two distinct ways to facilitate this outcome: the Hungarians perceived higher social position, a consequence of their urban past, goes hand in hand with the largely middle-class actual position of the Romanian fans of the club. Sharing similar practices and dispositions, although for different reasons, these fans manage to shape and sustain similar identities, which permit the maintenance of a high degree of groupness.

Workers' Collective Identities in "Transition": Workers' Strikes and Protests in Poland, Serbia and Slovenia 1988-1992/3

Tibor Meszmann, CEU (pphmet01@phd.ceu.hu)

Assuming that workers' strikes and protests during "transitional" change from socialism are decisive in shaping workers' collective identities and experience, in this paper I try to come closer to understanding and explaining emerging collective and public identities of workers in late socialism and post-socialism. I compare workers' collective action in Poland, and two republics and later successor states of socialist Yugoslavia, Serbia and Slovenia in the 1988-1992/3 period. I assess workers' public identities and organisational requisites of workers' collective action through the analysis of workers' strikes and organised participation in strikes and protest rallies in 1988 but also in the 1989-1992/3 period. My analysis is based on statistical data on strikes, available studies in local languages, newspaper articles on strikes and interviews with worker activists.

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Happiness: Anthropological Engagements

Convenors: **Dimitrina Spencer, Oxford University (dimitrina.spencer@linacre.ox.ac.uk)**
Bojidar Alexiev, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (bojidar_alexiev@yahoo.fr)
Chair: **Jonathan Skinner**
Discussants: **Maruška Svašek and Patrick Heady**

29 August 2008, 11:00
Room: 209B

This workshop invites analyses of fieldwork encounters of joy and happiness and related emotions as constitutive of social relations and actions. We discuss emotions of happiness as embodied intersubjective experiences, practices, discourses, narratives, fantasies, emotive styles, personal transformations, survival strategies and moral dilemmas. How do we experience, observe, conceptualize, repress and write about joy and happiness? What theoretical and methodological implications emerge? What is distinctive and valuable about the anthropological approach to studying happiness; could we enrich it through including other disciplinary approaches such as, for example, psychology, literary theory, philosophy, film studies, or neuroscience? How do particular manifestations such as humour, laughter, creativity, justice, physical wellbeing, sensuality, love, sexuality, visual pleasure, morality, and others relate to mutual feelings of joy and happiness? How can we relate the experience of fear, insecurity, anxiety, suffering, or pain, to the existence or absence of happiness.

Experiencing Happiness in Anthropology: Methodological Concerns with Theoretical, Moral and Political Implications

Dimitrina Spencer, Oxford University (dimitrina.spencer@linacre.ox.ac.uk)

This paper situates the anthropological silence on happiness within the emotional regimes of academia. Even if silenced, the emotional is integral to the research process and permeates fieldwork, learning, teaching, writing and discussion. Drawing on examples from labour migration to the UK and from tango dancing, I discuss two ways in which we might gain analytically through studying happiness: firstly,

through noticing and allowing more space in theory and method for the experience of happiness and limiting victimising discourses of social suffering (without pushing forward neoliberal notions of social capital); and secondly, through engaging and analysing our own emotions in research, that is, employing radical empiricism to grasp the meanings and manifestations of mutuality.
The embodied experience of tango dancing, and particularly the intersubjective experience of the 'the tango embrace' is the key to understanding the power of mutuality in tango groups. Such research involves an immersion in shared sensuality, joy, creativity, exaltation, sexuality, and oblivion. How do we maintain the analytical value of emotions when conventional anthropological boundaries to participation dissolve?
A holistic enquiry into the experience of migration that includes joy, conviviality and happiness (re)humanises the migrant, unveils the complexity of migrant experiences and the range of absurdity in the human condition without victimising and portraying migrants simply as "units of labour." This questions the value of certain forms of morality and activism in research.

"Bollywood Makes You Happy": Visual and Other Pleasures among European Fans

Elke Mader, University of Vienna (elke.mader@univie.ac.at)

"Bolywood makes you happy" has been the slogan for marketing popular Indian cinema in Germany and Austria for several years. It has also been articulated by the fast growing audiences in other European countries. Extensive fan networks have formed particularly around the Hindi cinema megastar Shah Rukh Khan. I explore how fans experience, express, communicate and circulate happiness in relationship with Shah Rukh Khan. Drawing on film theory I analyse the relationships between fans and film star as experiences of visual sentimental pleasure. Some of these experiences could also be seen as an exercise of diverse forms of agency and communicative practices. For example, fans met the star at the Berlinale 2008 and through the encounter, they experienced and expressed lasting feelings of joy and happiness. These feelings thrive in Internet forums in fans' narratives and visual fan art. More than 400 thank you notes to Shah Rukh Khan for his presence in Berlin wrapped in little stars represent and communicate the love, joy and happiness felt by members of a fan forum through him.

Suffering, Happiness and Transformation in the Learning of Spiritual Practice

Sonja Lenk, St. Andrews University (sl242@st-andrews.ac.uk)

This paper is based on a two-year fieldwork at the Barbara Brennan School of Healing, a spiritual educational institution in the UK. The training, which I undertook myself drawing on phenomenological approaches, is a process of transformation supposed to lead to lasting happiness, fulfillment and expression of creativity and one's unique potential. During the training individuals acquire new embodied emotional practices as well as new ways of meaning making about daily affairs and the meaning of life.
The paper examines the impact of training on the daily life and family, friends and work relationships of trainees focusing on conflicts and tensions between different notions and experiences of happiness in different social settings. With the newly acquired ways of self-understanding, trainees experience new ways of relating. The shared goal in the school is to integrate the negative emotional states such as fear, anxiety, blame, separation, isolation, suffering, and hatred. Such integration is seen as the

possibility for the individual to make informed personal choices, to take responsibility for one's life and happiness and to achieve an endless capacity for love and joy and share it. However, a number of challenges arise as trainees begin to exercise their agency outside the safe confines of the school and face tensions and barriers between different ways of being-in-the-world.

Happiness, Uncertainty and Ethical Dilemmas in a Neonatal Care Unit

Jónína Einarsdóttir, University of Iceland (je@hi.is)

Premature birth is a leading cause of infant mortality in the US and Western Europe. It leaves many children with severe disability and, for this reason it has been hotly debated whether and when expensive intensive treatment for infants with extremely low birth weight should be given. These debates produce numerous ethical and emotional dilemmas. While distress surrounding these experiences has been studied well, the shared moments of happiness and joy have been neglected by research although they play an important part in the process of accepting and dealing with emotional pain, distress and uncertainty, including moral uncertainty. I examine the links between moral uncertainty, distress and joy in the daily life of parents and staff in a neonatal intensive care unit in Iceland where I conducted fieldwork in different periods between 1998 and 2002. I highlight the importance of these conflicting feelings in understanding ethical dilemmas and decision-making about treatment.

Conditions of Felicity in Collective Life

Charles Macdonald, CNRS (c.macdonald@orange.fr)

Joy, merriment and expressions of mutual happiness, especially through joking, jesting and bantering, are powerful devices for bonding in collective life. Their meanings and significance as constitutive of social ties are yet to be uncovered by anthropologists who have mostly understood such emotions as ornaments of social structures (as in the "joking relationships"). I compare ethnographic data from several groups, including the Inuit (Canada and Greenland) and the Palawan (Philippines) and analyze the data in terms of conditions of felicity in collective life. I examine different forms and experiences of laughter. In some societies, laughter is considered improper or permissible but restricted through specific norms of conduct; in other societies, uninhibited laughter is a central devise for creating interpersonal ties. I introduce some neuroscientific approaches to understanding the cognitive aspects of laughter. I also discuss the sexual subject matters in joking.

Between Momentary Happiness and Lifelong Fulfilment: Emotional Trajectories of British Migrants to Southwest France

Michaela Benson, Bristol University (M.Benson@bristol.ac.uk)

This paper explores the emotional trajectories of migration shifting between momentary happiness and lasting fulfillment in narratives and experiences of British migrants in Lot, a rural department in southwest France. The life stories and histories of migration describe experiences of instant happiness during holidays in France. These happy moments seem to have produced visions of lasting happiness that have inspired emigration projects from the UK. The decision to emigrate was usually taken at a time when people experienced different forms of dissatisfaction with their life at home, in the UK, in contrast to the glimpse of joy and happiness during the holiday. The quest for fulfillment would set in motion from the beginning of the migration journey.

Yet, most migrants shared experiences of great sadness and unhappiness, many unforeseen difficulties and longing for family and friends and even old life back in the UK. Moments of happiness in the midst of lasting sadness would fuel the incessant quest for fulfillment and a vision of happiness that is yet to be achieved. At the same time, migrants would also experience doubts if they would ever achieve their quests and they would often share experiences of disconnection to their vision. I explore the conflicts in the narratives through which migrants seem to make sense of often contradictory emotional, moral, and relational experiences during migration.

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Enacting Pasts and Futures: Memory, Identity and Imagination

Convenors: **Michalis Kontopodis, Humboldt University (michalis.kontopodis@staff.hu-berlin.de)**
Vincenzo Matera, University of Milan-Bicocca (vincenzo.matera@unimib.it)
Discussants: **Joël Candau, Alex Kozin and Elizabeth Tonkin**

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 13

Memory and identity are tied by strong mutual relations. If we agree that memory is the capacity to preserve traces of past experience that can be accessed through recall, and that identity is the sense of continuity of self through time, we can grasp one meaningful memory-identity relation in *protomemory*, i.e. everything which is memorized (embodied): habitus, procedural or implicit memory, body techniques, etc., and another in *metamemory*, that is the representation that each individual has of his own memory and, on the other hand, what he narrates about it as well as what he feels, since emotions play a crucial role not just in building the memory-identity relation but also with regard to the products of imagination. Indeed, it is quite impossible to examine memory and identity without referring to imagination, both for theoretical and empirical reasons: 1. there are multiple ways of performing pasts, presents and futures by way of interrelating them. In this sense, remembering goes always together with forgetting and memories are always already connected with (collective) visions of the future; 2. in contemporary societies, where complex phenomena are mediated by communication technologies, global geopolitical transformations and the fall of ideological references, identity-making would necessarily involve both memory and imagination.
Our workshop aims at investigating these issues; the key themes include but are not limited to: semiotic-material aspects of the creation/destruction of cultural artefacts and collective identity, time and memory in visual arts and mass media, everyday remembering/forgetting, memory and uncertainty in institutional praxis, memory and the emergence of novelty, sensorial memory, nostalgia, genealogy, and cultural heritage (monuments, memorials, museums). The Workshop consists of three interrelated sessions, which will conclude in a general discussion. We therefore strongly recommend to all participants to participate in all sessions.

"Writing Up" Imaginatively: Memory, Evocation and (Re-)Presentation

Elizabeth Tonkin, Queen's University, Belfast (elizabeth.tonkin1@btinternet.com)

Imagination is central to the production of anthropological findings, from original experience to "writing up." My examples are of emotions, as conveyed by informants

through action or recall, experienced also by researchers - and changing over time - and that finally must be transmuted into a form enabling appropriate evocations by readers and audiences.
From Malinowski on, anthropologists attempting new theoretical perspectives have had to develop new genres of narrative appropriate to their choice of ethnography and its analysis. How should we present findings centred on emotions? I consider some different possibilities, with examples including some from radio and TV.

Semiotic-Material Aspects of Memory Practices at School

Michalis Kontopodis, Humboldt University (michalis.kontopodis@staff.hu-berlin.de)

It is quite impossible to examine memory without referring to imagination. There are multiple ways of performing pasts, presents and futures by way of interrelating them. Thereby the action, which interrelates pasts, presents and futures is both semiotic and non-semiotic. It is through the interaction of humans and non-humans (photos, documents, buildings) that memories are "generated," presents are "assembled," and futures are "witnessed." This interaction between humans and non-humans can be creative leading to absolute novelty and at the same time ritualise this very novelty into a closed system or an oppressive regime. How is the progress of a student documented and memorised at school? How is remembering and forgetting of one's school performance related to one's future? What is the role of writing and of using documents, files and other materialities by such processes? Are there settings, which enable more or less open ways of interacting with one's past and with one's future? How is past memory related to identity & imagination? In my paper, I address these questions, drawing on the analysis of discursive and non-discursive action in a secondary school for students of socio-cultural minorities where I carried out a one-year ethnographical research. I use this example to study how a student's past is communicated, materialised, organised and institutionalised and how the enactment of past memories is related to enacting particular views of the future. The study examines an alternative approach on memory, identity and imagination based on "difference" (Deleuze) and on "virtuality" (Bergson).

Local Landscape as a Substratum for the Collective Memory

Katja Hrobat, University of Ljubljana (katja.hrobat@ff.uni-lj.si)

Insofar as it wants to be preserved, memory cannot do without a certain support; in the form of personality, objects or in the materiality of space. Collective memory depends on the symbolism of space, from where it also draws its history and identity. The landscape embodies the tradition of predecessors, through which the local community is bound to the place which it inhabits, and explains their existence "since the times immemorial" (Halbwachs 1971, 2001; Fabietti, Mattera 1999). Local landscape can also be understood in the sense of lieu de memoire, as a symbolic place, in which the images, abundant with meanings for a certain community, are condensed (Nora 1984). Through the sensing of place (Basso 2002), people encounter material objects in which the past is embodied, which allow for unconscious remembering and re-engagement with past experience to a greater extent than language or speech (Rowlands 1993). The landscape is perceived in terms of an event, cultural perception, which includes the practice of remembering (Ingold 2000; Casey 1996).
The main questions are: How is collective memory about the distant past constructed at the local/regional level of the landscape? How does collective memory function

in relation to "its materialisation" and toward distance in time? How is the Christian collective construction inscribed and preserved in the local landscape and how does it gain in authority in relation to pagan mythical structures? The interdisciplinary research between ethnology and archaeology is founded in extensive fieldwork in the villages of Karst, the region along the border between Slovenia and Italy.

Building Possible Pasts

Maria Leticia Ferreira, Universidade Federal de Pelotas (mazzuchi@terra.com.br)

The town of São Lourenço do Sul is located in the south of Brazil, by the river São Lourenço do Sul and was a site populated by European immigrants in the 19th century. These immigrants were Portuguese, Germans and Pomeranians. For a long time the town presented itself as German, although in fact that was a multiethnic society. Regarding Pomeranians, there was a feeling of shame, for the fact that they did not speak Portuguese nor German, and the category used to classify them was of "settlers", in other words, coarse mood peasants.
In 2004, with a new local governement, a recovery work of the Pomeranian ethnic group in the region begins, and festivities, rituals, elements of cookery, are all rescued and in a short period the local population wacthes itself inside a great "theater of memory," and some cultural traces that were kept in the ordinary life, become cultural heritage.
The political speech approaches a "rescue of the identity of this people, valuing the tourism as a source of economy.... the search for the past with the eyes on the future" (O Lourenciano, p.2, 2008).
Our research consists in verifyng the impact of these interventions in this society, and how it accepts this heritaged past as true, an invented past, shaped in the present.

Stereotypes and Emblems in the Construction of Social Imagination: The Case of a French "New City", Villeneuve d'Ascq

Michel Rautenberg, Université Jean Monnet (michel.rautenberg@orange.fr)

The general frame of this presentation is an epistemological reflection upon the means to identify and describe social imagination. Our main hypothesis is that a good way to know social imagination is to discover thr Strereotypes and Emblems which organize it. Our main theoritical ressources will be anthropologist Michael Herzfeld and historian Bronslaw Bacsko who proposed the concept of "idea image" (idée-image in French).
So as to deep into our hypothesis, we shall take the example of the city Villeneuve d'Ascq, near Lille, in the north of France, where we enquired a few years ago. This city was created in the 1970s by the decision of the French government. Quite a lot of the inhabitants, and especially the senior citizens, share some images and more or less mythical narrations of the history of the city, its identity. These images and narratives cross what we can read in local newspapers, and what we heard when enquiring the architects and politicians who created the city. But they also have quite a lot of specificities. Among those images and narratives, we shall tell about the mythical story of its birth, the link between people who came from all over the country and the well known friendly personality of the North's inhabitants, the enlistment of the "pioneers" in public life. Nowadays, we often hear that the town's identity cannot be understood without paying close attention to these specificities.

Visualizing the Past: Monuments and Commemoration in Border Areas

Kaja Širok, University of Nova Gorica (sirokkaja@gmail.com)

Can the past be visualised? How are contested pasts imprinted in border areas? My presentation shows the politics and the consequences of the tensions and conflicts between individual and collective memories of the population in the border towns of Gorizia, Italy and Nova Gorica, Slovenia. In particular, it aims to understand and analyse differences in construction and narration of (contested) memory and the politics of commemorations of new national festivities in the border region - Il Giorno del ricordo and Dan priključitve Primorske.

The examples will focus on the dynamics of different interpretations of the past and employment of elements of identity building, as well as on the contested feelings of people in the border area. The members of the two groups decided to accept the "memory division," even to the point of allowing different versions of events to become part of various forms of public memory - which in many cases implies forgetting certain events and emphasing others in order to legitimise one's identity in the border area.

The analysis of the contested border memories will be focused on the impact that long-standing historic processes, as well as recent developments and events have on the construction of the other in the region and on the processes of identity building in the border area. Particular attention will be given to the "visual memory" (monuments and its symbols, the naming of streets, etc.), which contributes to the consolidation of the identity in its linkage to the territory.

Remembering a Monumental Dismantlement

Christos Varvantakis (rudrrr@yahoo.gr)

The Palast der Republik was the parliament building of the former German Democratic Republic and an entertainment center for its folk. It is currently being dismantled in a lengthy procedure that will last for a period of three years. The extended present of the buildings removal comes in the center of this paper's interest, which intends to examine the ways in which the building becomes memory as it de-materialises. Throughout the presentation, the monumental characteristics of the dismantlement and it's physiognomy as a monument to temporality will be discussed.

Imaging and Remembering Incorporation of Disaster

Anne-Lise Middelthon, University of Oslo (a.l.o.middelthon@medisin.uio.no)

In contemporary Western societies, food is instrumentalised so as to find its main function as a means to achieve health related goals. This process of pharmacologisation links the illness and suffering of today to the eating and feeding of the (remotest) past, and the incorporations of today to the (potential) suffering and illness of the (farthest) future. Embedded in the discourse on health and food one finds statements like: "What is killing you now is what you ate - or did not eat - 30 years ago." "What makes your child suffer today is what you ate while being pregnant." When disaster strikes memories and images of the past's incorporations are transformed into images of incorporating the disaster. The paper will inquire into this process including its implications for sense of self or subjectivity. Semiotics in the Peircean tradition will inform the investigation. Emphasis will be on semiosis, the generation of interpretants including their retrospective alteration.

Symbolic Interactionism: Self-Presentation Based on Semantics of Time Related Constructs

Alexander Korolkov, Konstfack (alexkorolkov@yahoo.com)

The past and the future change as we change our uses of them in the present. We notice objects depending on their usefulness for us at the current moment. Thus, it is interesting to explore how your current identity is expressed through what you notice and how complex dilemmas might occur if you have to operate in several clashing identities, simultaneously.

Memory brings the past into the present and imagination brings the future into the present. Thus, our performance at any point is tied to a previous experience due to the mental models that navigate us through "the perceived present." We usually rely on our previous experiences and categorization to assess contextual information we are faced with. This helps us to associate particular fragments of our identity with situational contexts by means of applying template-matching schemes developed through habituation.

One of the interesting processes related to "collaboration" between memory, identity and imagination is the following sequence. We are constructing present performances through abstracting some crucial elements from the current context, "filtering" them through the past mental models and recombining them to form the definition of the situation in advance (prior to its execution). Then, we control the conduct of the other through navigation of the output construction within the defined frontstage and backstage.

Staged History in Local Settings

Anne Kathrine Larsen, Norwegian University of Science and Technology (ankala@svt.ntnu.no)

During the last few decades there has been an enormous increase in locally based historical plays in Norway. These are staged by amateurs, although professionals may hold important positions both on and behind the stage. The dramas have their origin in actual or invented historical events located in the area, and the stage is carefully selected to create an aura of authenticity to the performance. The environment creates dramatic scenery as they are mostly staged outdoors, and the audience frequently have to make an effort to travel to the site of the performance.

Although these dramas claim to represent actual or typical historical events, their underlying message is contemporary and modern. They may be marketed as timeless and/or of current interest. As they are staged annually or biannually, they constitute a regular ritual performance in the community. At the same time, minor changes are allowed for from year to year, which are widely discussed and appraised by the audience and others.

This presentation will deal not only with how the past is preserved and expressed through these plays, but how they also become mediums for creating memories for the future. They are often part of annual village festivals where local identity is in focus, and it will be of pertinence to consider the wider dramas surrounding the actual plays. In conclusion, it will be discussed why historical plays and related kinds of acting out, such as dramatisations at cultural museums and even in churches, are so popular and omnipresent today.

Changements rituels et ajustements identitaires: le cas des cérémonies bouddhistes cinghalaises contemporaines

Cecilia Gallotti, Università Milano-Bicocca (cecilia.gallotti@unimib.it)

Dans le cadre des changements des identités politique-religieuses en Sri Lanka, liés à la guerre civile qui tourmente le pays, les dispositifs rituels semblent jouer un rôle considérable, soit dans la démarche de renforcement de la mémoire culturelle e de l'identité nationale cinghalaise dans le pays d'origine, soit dans les tentatives d'ajustement identitaire des groupes migrants cinghalais dans des contextes transnationaux. À travers ce cas ethnographique on regardera de près les processus de transformation qui caractérisent les célébrations rituelles et les expériences de diversité et/ou mutualité qu'y sont impliquées. En particulier, face à la centralisation des lieux sacrés du Sri Lanka, consacrés par les autorités politiques en tant que centres de conservation de la mémoire nationale cinghalaise, il y a la décentralisation des rites pratiqués par la Diaspora cinghalaise dans les contextes d'émigration. Si d'un côté ces rites sont interprétées par les participants comme synthèse symbolique de l'identité religieuse et nationale, actuellement considérées en danger, d'autre côté ils sont réinterprétés en relation aux nécessités de changement e d'adaptation que la déterritorialisation des centres sacrés impose. A partir de cette tension on analysera les transformations sémiotiques et l'invention d'actions rituelles ainsi que la logique des ajustements identitaires que les migrants cinghalais bouddhistes pratiquent localement dans la participation aux événements rituels

La construction de la mémoire coloniale en Erythrée: les Erythréens, les Métis, les Italiens

Gabriella D'Agostino, University of Palermo (antropos@unipa.it)

Focusing on some passages of life histories collected in Asmara and based on the "memory of Italy," I study the representation of the past in order to reveal the shaping of the subjective experience by the "colonial discourse" in Eritrea. If the main aim of my essay is the understanding of the play of interactions between individuals and collectivity, one more important element I take into account is "memory" seen as a "social selection of remembering" (Halbwachs). I try to connect the social position and narrative role of single members (of the Eritrean society) to the meaning the "going back to the past" takes for them as individuals belonging to a group (an Eritrean, a Mestizo, an Italian) in relation to the past and the present. The consequence is that the logic dominant/dominated is inadequate to explain the internal articulations of the colonial context and that the focus must be shifted on individual and collective systems of expectations and on the negotiations of meaning resulting from a "past always to be recovered" and a "present always to be rebuilt."

Sensing Memories among Portuguese Muslims of Indian-Mozambican Origin

Catarina Pereira, Goldsmiths College, University of London (catarina.pereira@gold.ac.uk)

How is a collective memory conveyed and apprehended through things? Can the past be re-lived and re-produced through material and sensorial memories? How do these material and sensorial memories provide new mnemonic repertories for the forthcoming generations to imagine their past and future? With these questions, I have been undertaking a PhD research among Portuguese Muslims with Indian-

Mozambican background, currently living in Lisbon.
In this research, I have been considering the particular colonial and postcolonial past contexts, in which these people have lived in Mozambique, and their migration processes to Portugal from the 1970s onwards. Moreover, I have also been taking into account 9/11 events in these people's identity strategies, and their Muslimness constant redefinitions.
These overall processes have also been understood within the global setting landscape, where different objects and things - including mediascapes - circulate, and are available to be used and sensory apprehended, enabling users to connect to their past experiences, and to imagine new worlds (Appadurai 1998; Edwards et al. 2006; Wright 2004).
In this paper, I will be presenting preliminary data from my research, for which I have been carrying out a "sensuous ethnography of things" (Stoller 1989), both in public and private places. Furthermore, I have also been undertaking a family biographical research, based on individual in-depth interviews applied to six family households. Through these methodologies, I hope to be able to explore the inter-generational processes of transmitting embodied and sensory family memories, and its contradictions and tensions in the context of global modernity.

Between Two Culturally Diverse Countries: Constructing Georgian Identity in Israeli Society

Maya Melzer-Geva, Kinneret College on the Sea of Galilee (maya.melzergeva@gmail.com)

The Georgian immigration suffered since the 1970s from marginalisation, mainly through a negative public image created in the media and in everyday communication. This paper focuses on an exhibition held in a recognized public museum, in which a particular version of the community's history and culture was selected, and other versions silenced, in order to influence public opinion and improve the community's image. The exhibition was initiated by the intellectual elite of the Georgian community. The past was employed to present a collective identity and negotiate marginalisation and exclusion, dent into the mainstream cultural monolithic center and promote mutual legitimation. The performance of the past was constructed according to interests in the present, and hopes and aspirations of an imagined future. Intra-communal processes of inquiring identity by memorizing vis-à-vis the exhibits, is viewed as part of the dynamics. The exhibition served in the research as a micro-cultural symbolic arena for examining the actual interactions in the wider context, as well as a macro-cultural event while it was taking place and on a historic continuum of inter-cultural dynamics. I examine the unofficial motto of the exhibition: "There's no anti-Semitism in Georgia" - it's presented reasons and manifestations - as explained during and after the exhibition. The analysis will relate to overt and covert messages meant to design a "unique" profile: expressing a wish to belong and be respected by commemorating relations of amity in the past, and emphasising European cultural influence in order to create a "non-Asiatic" identity.

Forgetting and Remembering New Albanian Identities through Italian Media

Piero Vereni, Università della Calabria (piero.vereni@gmail.com)

In 1995, I met in Albania a man who at the beginning of the 1990s had sent his sons abroad (one to Greece, the other to Italy) with these words: "Now forget you are Albanians, for you have nothing to be proud of." I remember how I was impressed by

this father imposing his sons to forget fatherland.
In 1997, the Albanian collapse of "pyramid schemes" wrecked havoc on the country and pushed 12,000 Albanians to jump on boats and move to Italy. The event was widely covered by Italian media. After an Albanian boat sank following a collision with an Italian war ship, the Italian government endorsed the dispatch of a multinational force and in a few weeks law and order were reestablished. Since then Albanians almost disappeared from the Italian mediascape untill they reappeared at the beginning of the new millennium in an altogether different shape: the silly people who had lost their money and the dangerous thugs who had been trying to steal Italians' were replaced (or at least flanked) by sensual and tenacious dancers taking part in a game-show broadcast on a commercial channel. This new categorized Albanian identity could become part of self-identification since Albanians had something new to remember as their past: dance, body- and self-control, resistance. Presenting how Italian media depicted Albanians in 1997 and 2005, along with testimonies from Albanians in Italy, I aim at showing how media offer maybe the most powerful way of tying together past and future for disempowered people and groups.

"Italiani Brava Gente" ("Italians Good People"): Reflections on Myths, Nationhood and Entertainment in Contemporary Italian Public Culture

Paolo Favero, University College, London (p.favero@ucl.ac.uk)

In the past fifteen years Italy has "discovered" itself to be a country of immigration. Parallel to this it has also become an ally in the America-led "war against terror." I suggest that it is in the conjunction of these two major phenomena that Italy has, in the recent few years, sought a way to (re)formulate, and put forth with strength, a sense of nationhood, one that has historically never fully been accomplished, but that is now widely supported by the "mundane" field of popular culture (i.e. in popular televisions shows, football events, etc.).
Based on fieldwork among (mostly South Asian) migrant artists in Rome and taking off from the analysis of one of the most prototypical Italian national myth, i.e. the one of "Italians good people" (i.e. the historically resilient myth of Italians as a good charitable people) this paper aims at critically addressing the way in which a new sense of nationhood is being produced in contemporary Italian public culture in an interplay of memory, imagination, history and entertainment.

Narrating and Imagining the Ethnic Other: Discursive Practices of Differentiation and Inclusion in the Museums of Kunming, China

Marzia Varutti, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva (varutti1@etu.unige.ch)

Through an exploration of the museum representation of ethnic minorities in museums in Kunming, Yunnan Province of China, I hold that museums are actively participating in a process of memory and identity engineering as, through images and narratives, museums support collective imagination about ethnic minorities' identities and past.
I take as a departing point of my reflection the assumption that the modalities of representation of ethnic minorities in public museums are revelatory of the agency of the Chinese government in manufacturing the image of ethnic minorities - an image that is made to resonate on collective metamemories.
Drawing from the comparative analysis of displays of ethnic minorities' material culture in the museums of Kunming, I will show how the identities of ethnic minorities are conveyed through a selective process of: 1. remembering and emphasising specific

cultural elements; 2. forgetting other elements; and lastly modifying the perception of their relation to the Han majority. I develop these three points drawing from direct observations, and theoretically building upon critical approaches to the museum representation of the cultural Other in China.
I argue that museum representational practices of ethnic minorities' identities and past reveal the ambivalence of a process of nation-building that, given the ideological crisis of the Communist régime, relies on the manufacturing of collective memories and identities to fuel a sense of belonging to the Chinese nation and support a vision of its future that ultimately appears crucial to its very permanence.

Mémoire de femmes dans une vallée sidérurgique en déclin: complexification d'une identité ouvrière

Virginie Vinel, University Paul Verlaine, Metz (vinel@univ-metz.fr)

La communication rend compte d'une recherche réalisée auprès d'une quarantaine de femmes, âgées de 50 à 80 ans, résidant dans une vallée sidérurgique en déclin en Lorraine (France). Suscitée lors de récits de vie, reconstruite dans le temps de la recherche, la mémoire de ces femmes reflète une image multiple d'un univers vu jusqu'à présent sous l'angle de l'ouvrier du haut-fourneau. Ces femmes rapportent les souvenirs des tâches quotidiennes, longues et rudes jusqu'en 1960. Elles parlent aussi des activités associatives qu'elles ont contribué à créer. Elles relatent les emplois qu'elles ont occupés, souvent disqualifiés et oblitérés par l'omniprésence de l'image de l'ouvrier sidérurgique. Leur mémoire tisse les fils de l'histoire, celle de la seconde guerre mondiale qui a obligé certaines à fuir leur pays, d'autres à stopper leur scolarité ; elles rapportent aussi les temps et vécus de l'émigration que beaucoup d'entre elles ont expérimentée. Cette mémoire du point du vue féminin contribue donc à complexifier l'imaginaire de la Lorraine sidérurgique. Elle reflète l'hétérogénéité de l'identité de cette région, construite sur des vagues de migrations, déchirée par les guerres, mais aussi élaborée différemment que l'on soit homme ou femme.

HW113

Creolising Anthropology: Connectivity, Diversity, and Reflexivity in a Globalising World

Convenors: **Christina Garsten, Stockholm University (christina.garsten@socant.su.se)**
Shalini Randeria, University of Zurich (randeria@access.uzh.ch)

29 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 18

Contemporary society is a globalising society – yet one in which cultural flows filtrate unevenly and often in unforeseen and creative ways. Contemporary globalisation is at once multifaceted and internally contradictory, involving an intensification and diversification of transnational relations, enhanced opportunities for connectivity, but also intensification of cultural clashes and confrontations. Multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism, identity politics and diversity management are buzz words that bring to mind various ways of dealing with and of organising diversity, and that constitute ways of relating to the world - as well as objects of study in themselves. Contemporary global processes also involve new and creative avenues for reflexivity. Reflexivity here brings attention to the various ways of individually or collectively representing oneself,

portraying oneself, measuring oneself - and others.
To understand the state of the world today we need to pay closer attention to processes and structures extending beyond the nation-state, and the complex ways in which transnational cultural flows articulate with local processes and structures, with expert systems of knowledge and with popular culture. We also need to keep a keen eye on the ways in which these ideas, ideologies, and knowledge are mediated, reorganised, and reframed. Social anthropology has contributed to deepened knowledge of these processes of creolisation – of creative ways of interlinking cultural flows - and of the organisation of diversity, connectivity and reflexivity.
The session will be aimed at stimulating discussions around these topics, inspired by the significant contributions of Ulf Hannerz to social anthropology. The session also invites papers on the state of anthropology itself – of its connections and articulations with other disciplines and areas of research, and of possible future scenarios.

"Creole" as a Model of Culture?

Steve Coleman, National University of Ireland (scoleman@nuim.ie)

This paper critically examines recent debates on the nature of culture. In the last several years concepts such as "cultural hybridity" and "creolisation" have come to the fore in anthropological attempts to deal with what appear to be new cultural forms and practices in a post-modern idiom. In an attempt to overcome what were seen as narrowly monolithic conceptions of culture, various models have been advanced which draw on "creole" linguistics and the ethnography of "creole" societies. Types of societies, languages and/or cultures considered "mixed, hybrid, creole," formerly confined to the margins of the ethnographic record, are being brought into the spotlight and even proposed as models for a new understanding of "globalised" humanity. This process has sparked a series of fairly intense debates. Have we been witnessing a process whereby once-pristine cultures are "brought into contact" under modernity, or was the entire concept of (unitary) culture an ideological fiction to begin with? To what extent is the "creole" concept of culture beholden to that which it seeks to displace?

Appropriation or Approximation: The Emergence of Intermediate Horizons

Sybille De La Rosa, Free University Berlin (srosa@zedat.fu-berlin.de)

Constructing a model of intercultural communication faces two major challenges. First, it has to cope with the problem of understanding, and second, a model must be developed that explains how shared meaning can emerge from interaction processes and in which ways. In order to answer these two questions, the analysis of the works by Shmuel Eisenstadt, Shalini Randeria, Homi Bhabha, and H.G. Gadamer show that we have to distinguish between three forms of interaction: mimicry, appropriation, and non-appropriative communication.
Non-appropriative communication, as Gadamer developed it rudimentarily in his model of the convergence of horizons, seeks to include the other into the communicative act. Habermas modified this concept of dialogical recognition as a point of departure for his communication theory. But, speaking about intercultural communication, the problem his approach causes, is that the two concepts of understanding and judging are too closely linked together. A concept of intercultural communication instead needs to explain how understanding is possible without instantaneously judging.
A fourth leading approach seems to be Judith Butler's concept of addressing. There,

judging the other has the function of constructing an ontological difference between the judge and the judged. Interrupting the judgement instead opens up the possibility of learning about the other, and of understanding the way he or she wants to be. For a concept of intercultural communication, this leads to an interruption of the judgment, giving space for the opportunity to understand, not just a person but the basic organisational principals of a culture and its social practices.

Building Interconnectedness: Managing Flows and Ruptures in a Complex International Project

Priya Elisabeth Abraham, Ashridge Business School (priya.abraham@ashridge.org.uk)

This article based on the macro ethnographic research of a large and complex change management project in the Egyptian telecoms investigates the interconnectedness of time and space. The macro level analysis of this deterritorialised action net project focuses on multiple spacialities and temporalities including references to religion and gender.
Concretely, it will investigate participants' interactions in reference to time and space and what causes flow, i.e. the dynamic spaces of overlap and interaction and/ or rupture and in what way both, namely flow and rupture generate new cultural approaches.
It is necessary to reflect on these contemporary global processes in order to make them transparent.
Firstly, the concrete focus will lie on the analysis of the endeavours necessary to create connectivity as the highly diverse actants are dispersed over continents, and by that, they create flows and ruptures. Next, examples of "being there and doing the job" will illustrate transnational cultural flows merged into local processes and structures. Finally, financial power centres inherent to a global project of this scale will illustrate the multifaceted interconnectedness of power and systems. This project is idiosyncratic of today's globalised society.

Conceptualising the 'C-word' yet Again, or: About Historical Creolisation's Contemporary Outcome

Jacqueline Knörr, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (knoerr@eth.mpg.de)

"Creolisation" has often been terminologically equated with "hybridisation", "syncretisation" and other notions referring to processes of mixture. Also, what and who was labeled (a) "creole" has largely been determined by ideological preferences and emic labeling rather than by scientific reasoning. I argue for a more concise understanding and use of the "C-Word." Examining the social and historical context of creolisation and tracing the etymology of "creole" and its meanings through times shows that creolisation may have meant "lots of different things at different times" (Stewart 2007) but has nevertheless been distinct in that it involved indigenisation and - to varying degrees - (neo-)ethnogenesis of a - more or less - diverse and - in large parts - foreign population. Thus, historical creolisation has not been a process aimed at overcoming ethnic identities and boundaries in favor of local varieties of cultural mixture and identification but one aimed at their (re-)construction under new - and often awkward - conditions. Taking into account creolisation's - and creole terminology's - historical semantics helps unfold the latter's heuristic potentials for a

more systematic and comparative analysis, conceptualisation and differentiation of contemporary processes of interaction and mixture. By connecting the historical semantics with socio-linguistic approaches distinguishing between creole and pidgin variants of language, historical creolisation's major contemporary "outcome" - pidginisation of culture and identity - comes to light, a process prevalent particularly in postcolonial societies.

Critique at Large

Mattias Viktorin, Stockholm University (mattias.viktorin@socant.su.se)

Cultural critique has endured as a powerful mode of anthropological inquiry. The strategy to disrupt the present and "make it strange" has proved particularly productive, and abundant examples illustrate its continuous potential within the discipline. Today, however, an increasing number of contexts outside anthropology have also come to encompass facets of this approach. The contemporary Swedish Armed Forces constitutes one example. "Culture" has for instance become an important tool for the military in their attempt to reform and rethink old assumptions. Furthermore, an increasingly self-critical approach has emerged through new collaborative forms where military personnel work with NGOs such as Amnesty International. These varieties of "critique" certainly seem productive for the military. Yet it remains unclear what a critical mode of anthropological inquiry into this kind of situation would look like. A common saying within the Swedish Armed Forces is that they tend to do things "fort men fel" (fast but faulty). Perhaps as anthropologists we should instead stop here for a moment to think. In this presentation, then, my focus diverges from recent debates on the relationship between anthropology and the military. I am interested in the military primarily as a space where critique, contingency, and disruption seem to be at stake in ways that are decidedly timely. More specifically, the presentation explores how the contemporary Swedish military in fact intimates particular challenges to the anthropological conceptual toolkit. It asks how anthropology could approach such contexts in an analytically productive way that retains the intellectual vitality of cultural critique.

Desire for the Local in a Well-Founded Tower of Babel: Global Stories from a Moroccan School

Charis Boutieri, Princeton University (boutieri@princeton.edu)

This paper explores the experience of public high-school teachers in urban Morocco as they conceptualize the educational future of their students. Product of the ambivalent project of Arabisation (Morocco's de-colonising and nationalising initiative) and of the policy of rapid privatisation (which favors instruction in French), public education is intimately entangled in the ambiguities of a (post)colonial context as it transits into its more globalised form. These ambiguities involve the maintenance of Arabic as the language of identity and cultural production, which is simultaneous to the unashamed promotion of French as the language of "progress" and social mobility. Carrying their respective ideological positions as "old" and "modern", Arabic and French re-invent themselves through technological development and the social uses that ensue from it, without necessarily altering the power dynamic between them.

Through the questioning of educators as to what cultural and moral basis to build the new generation on, Morocco emerges as fundamentally indescribable along a local socio-cultural line. And even though the rallying slogans of press and public concentrate on the dualism between tradition and modernity, an emphasis on

performative paradoxes by teachers and their students shows Morocco as irreducible to absolute schisms either. This way, the multi of language is here a plurality that points to the fissures of social structure as it sketches itself "otherwise" for the future.
In a moment when the boundaries of the local burst symbolically, how do educator and ethnographer alike conceptualise their tools for organising this particular space of global diversity?

Reflexivity and Essentialism in Anthropology

Gudrun Dahl, Stockholm University (gudrun.dahl@socant.su.se)

Reflexivity is an essential aspect of anthropology both in the sense that a reflexive stance to one's position in fieldwork is an established part of the traditions of the discipline, and that theoretical development has often emanated from turning the analytical instruments used in studying culture to the discipline's own concepts and practice. Doing fieldwork outside her own social setting, the anthropologist has become aware of the cultural and historical contingency of her own concepts. In the recent decade, notions that are well known to anthropology such as social construction and reflexivity have gained a wider currency in social science. The present paper will argue that in this process of dissemination, and in the increasing preoccupation of anthropology with Western culture, some aspects of anthropological self-reflectivity have become lost and "reflexivity" has become more of a formulaic demonstration of moral standing. The dimensions along which reflexivity is expected are often represented by a standardised list of social categories which in themselves are essentialising. Rather than reflecting insights into how frames of interpretation are moulded by cultural flows and historically and socially specific contingencies - thus recognizing cultural diversity - the categorisations mobilised for the reflective exercise tend to be based on generalising and functionalist assumptions of how interest shapes ideas. The notion of social construction, simultaneously, becomes more concerned with the opposition towards naturalism, than with contextual variation.

Specters of Comparativism: Contemporary Conjurations of a "Minor" Anthropological Genre

Stuart McLean, University of Minnesota (mclea070@umn.edu)

Since the late 19th century, anthropology has identified itself increasingly both with ethnography as a research method and with the ethnographic monograph as the most widely practiced form of anthropological writing. This disciplinary endorsement of ethnographically grounded particularism has often been portrayed as a repudiation of the universalising claims associated with an earlier tradition of comparative anthropological scholarship, represented by such 19th century figures as Morgan and Tylor. Although comparativism (usually on a more restricted scale) continues to be represented in anthropology, its recent status has been that of a minority pursuit, engaged in predominantly by senior scholars with an already established record of ethnographic research and publication. In this paper, I explore some contemporary possibilities for re-inventing comparativism as a method and an anthropological genre. I argue that burgeoning global interconnection renders such a task both timely and necessary. In making this claim, I emphasise the productive and combinatorial possibilities of comparative scholarship rather than its habit of recourse to preconceived and totalising explanatory schemes. I consider some ways in which comparativism as an older (pre-ethnographic) mode of anthropological writing might be articulated with more recent discussions of hybrid texts, montage and multi-sited

ethnography as a basis for representing, reflecting on and intervening creatively and critically in transnational cultural flows and intersections. Finally, I suggest that creative re-engagement with anthropology's comparative legacies might serve as a basis for imagining new modes of anthropological writing attuned to a world characterised by often surprising and unforeseen linkages and juxtapositions.

The Local and Global within the "Western" Anthropologist: Soul-Searching through Bourdieu's Scientific Reflexivity

Manuela Ciotti (manuela.ciotti@gmail.com)

This paper problematises the conditions of anthropological knowledge production within a progressively heterogeneous global academia. With particular reference to "western" anthropologists within dominant schools, this heterogeneity raises epistemological questions. While the debates on globalisation have focused on the juxtaposition of local and global flows informing subjects of analysis - without loosing sight of their cultural specificities - surprisingly, in light of these debates "western" anthropologists' specificities have not received an equal attention. The study of informant's diversity to which anthropologists have incessantly devoted their energies has not been followed by a similar quest for self-knowledge and reflection within the latter's fast-changing body. This paper argues that this might well be a consequence of the global uniformity of investigating tools and disciplinary practices and languages. The "we" of the anthropologists - which Gupta and Ferguson (1997) prophetically began to question over a decade ago - is increasingly subsumed under this uniformity. This paper focuses on anthropologists' avenues to self-knowledge in order to understand the workings of multiple (scholarly) identities and activate epistemic resources. It reflects on the latter using Bourdieu's notion of scientific reflexivity, epitomised by the practice of "participant objectivation" - described as the objectivation of the subject and operations of objectivation. Conceived in antithesis to postmodern reflexivity, scientific reflexivity allows anthropologists to operationalise their inseparable (cultural) backgrounds and academic "unconscious" and subsequently use them in observation and analysis. By doing so, anthropologists are able to move from the "personal" to the "scientific" in order to understand and represent social worlds.

W114

Returning to the Field: Experiences and Dilemmas in Re-Studies

Convenors: **Gunilla Bjerén, Stockholm University (gunilla.bjeren@kvinfo.su.se)**
Aud Talle, University of Oslo (aud.talle@sai.uio.no)
Discussant: **Signe Howell**

28 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 5

The large anthropologist cohorts born in the 1940s are now reaching a time in life when returning to previously studied fields and topics might be attractive. We once made the heavy investment in learning languages and immersing ourselves in what was then strange contexts, often under considerable personal hardship. Some of us have lived with this experience as a living memory, almost as vivid today as at the time when events took place, others have kept in touch and returned for brief visits from time to time. Given the opportunity, the temptation to return to the field years or

decades later is difficult to resist. What happens when we do? In the words of Clifford Geertz: "When everything changes, from the small and immediate to the vast and abstract - the object of study, the world immediately around him (sic!), and the wider world around them both - there seems to be no place to stand so as to locate just what has altered and how" (After the fact, Harvard UP, 1995, p.2).
To this workshop we invite researchers who are engaged in re-studies of different kinds. Feel welcome to present results, methodological and theoretical issues and practical and personal experiences of any kind relevant to the study of change in the social and cultural world where we find our fields, and ourselves.

Aesthetics and Social Change in Okpella (Edo State), Nigeria

Jean Borgatti, Clark University (jborgatti@gmail.com)

Survey research proved an effective tool for tapping into reservoirs of local perception in Okpella, a place and a people, located north of Benin City in southern Nigeria, when informal consideration of images failed to prompt discussion of aesthetic criteria. In 1979, five years after a social and historical study of Okpella's ancestral masquerades was made, a major survey on aesthetic preference was undertaken. Four hundred individuals of different ages and genders were interviewed. In 2003, a panel study took place. A hundred of the original sample were re-interviewed along with additional young people. The survey's centerpiece was a set of "mask" images categorized as 'beautiful' (osomhotse) or "grotesque" (ulishi). Respondents saw these in paired sequences, making what is called a "forced choice" between two images. Rankings were then constructed using statistical procedures. Formal art historical analysis of the ranked images and acquired cultural knowledge provided the basis for constructing a theory, or at least an hypothesis, of what made an image "beautiful" or "grotesque," and where people focused when they make such assessments. The proposed paper looks at the questions asked in the original study (e.g., Is there an aesthetic when people choose not to voice criticism?), their relevance for today, and the independent value of the responses compared over this time period to provide valuable insight into how well formed and resilient the Okpella aesthetic has proven itself to be in the face of dramatic social change.

"Arthur Murrays" Exposed: Difference, Similarity and a Return to the Dancefloor

Jonathan Skinner, Queen's University, Belfast (j.skinner@qub.ac.uk)

This paper looks at a fieldtrip the length of California testing the Arthur Murray dance studios and their free dance introduction lessons. Each dance studio is part of a franchise offering similar services, but the teachers and locations vary. So too does the dancer: in this case, the anthropologist visited nine different studios and assumed the identity of a different type of dancer with different abilities and motives to examine the interactions on the dance floor and in the dance package hard sell. The experience revealed a student-teacher interaction based upon dominance and sexuality, knowledge and coercion, but also one dependent upon the presumed personality of the anthropologist. This dance lesson exercise highlights some of the difficulties faced by anthropologists making return studies where skills, personalities and even presentation are subject to change, thus calling into question the nature of ethnographic comparison itself.

"Women at a Loss": Twenty-Five Years Later

Aud Talle, University of Oslo (aud.talle@sai.uio.no)

This paper is a continuation of fieldwork I did among the pastoral Maasai of Kenya in the 1980s. The title of the paper suggests a longitudinal methodological approach, of which family biographies and individual life careers constitute a major part. I use this long-term engagement with the field to debate both social change as well as continuity in the context of a minority population. The paper focuses particularly on female identity making and women's management of household and family resources. Considerable changes in life circumstances have taken place in the study sites over this quarter of a century. Two factors in particular are interesting for the discussion in this paper: 1. increased sales of both male and female labour, and 2. widespread evangelisation, not least among the women. The paper especially aspires to discuss how men and women in shifting contexts of pastoral production negotiate spaces of autonomy and power. Earlier findings of female marginalisation and loss of influence within the pastoral sector will be set against recent observations.

Cornerstone of Local History: An Ethiopian Town Thirty-Five Years Later

Gunilla Bjerén, Stockholm University (gunilla.bjeren@kvinfo.su.se)

Since 1974 Ethiopia has undergone overwhelming historical events. As a consequence, the town, which I studied in 1973 today has a totally new elite with no, or shallow, roots in the place. All archives from previous regimes are gone. My humble dissertation, that was only known by hearsay when I returned in January 2008, was hoped to supply the new townspeople with a sense of their past and to provide material for tourist exhibitions and other things. In this paper, I will outline the response that I met when bringing this hope to an end while at the same time trying to fend off extravagant expectations of what the re-study would yield in terms of measurable success of "development" and increased welfare.

Making Sense of Change: How to Articulate the Past and the Present in Ethnographic Inquiry?

Manuela Cunha, Universidade do Minho (micunha@ics.uminho.pt)

Since ethnography is an intersubjective entreprise, each revisitation of "the field" brings necessarily forward the issue of the double nature of ethnography's historicity: historicity in relation to the ethnographer, historicity in relation to the ethnographed. Both ethnographer and ethnographed are enmeshed in time and evolve as it progresses. Each ethnographic inquiry is thus inevitably contingent not only on a set of circumstances but also to a unique intersubjective encounter. But does this contingency render futile any attempt to make sense of change by adding up successive visits to "the field"? Can ethnography translate into a "longitudinal study," in the manner of the ones produced in other social sciences? Does the nature of ethnography's situatedness condemn each ethnographic inquiry to merely punctuate a moment of a historical process and to dissolve itself in the duration?
The discussion of these issues will be grounded on data derived from what started as a "re-study" in a Portuguese women's prison. It will be argued that the processes affecting ethnographer and ethnographed can be taken into account as parameters for more accurately articulating the past and the present in order to make sense of change.

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Urban Marginalisation and Popular Culture

Convenors: **Rivke Jaffe, Leiden University (RJaffe@fsw.leidenuniv.nl)**
Francio Guadeloupe, Radboud University, Nijmegen (f.guadeloupe@maw.ru.nl)

28 August 2008, 11:00
Room: 233

Since the groundbreaking work of Stuart Hall and the Birmingham school of cultural studies, popular culture and the specific urban experience of marginalisation and contestation have been leading themes within the social sciences. In this panel, we seek to build upon and extend that critical work by investigating empirically the manner in which youths in cities worldwide employ popular culture to frame and negotiate social and spatial marginalisation, often critiquing "common sense" understandings of propriety and the social order. In the narration and contestation of specific urban identities and spaces, we see the linking of popular globalised representations of youth, cities and exclusion to social practices at different levels of scale. We are specifically but not exclusively interested in the global dissemination and appropriation of black popular culture - including hiphop, reggae, dancehall and reggaeton - and the emergence of discursive spaces such as the hood, the barrio, the ghetto and the street. In this, we seek to explore whether spatially constructed identities may eclipse a specifically racialised understanding of blackness, and what role capitalism and culture industries play in this process.

"Mbedd baa ngi ni! (Here's the Street)": The Representation of Urban Spaces among Young Senegalese Rappers

Cristiano Lanzano, University of Torino/University of Genova (cristianolanzano@libero.it)

Rap has emerged in Dakar (Senegal) in the late 1980s as an expression of urban middle class youth, more oriented towards foreign cultural products and with a larger access to imported media; during the following years, though, it has become widespread, gaining support among a whole generation. Belonging to a certain city area, more or less privileged, more or less marginal, has become for young rappers in Dakar an important source of legitimacy, fostering rivalries based on urban territorial disputes which can also mirror differences in style and class, and at the same time allowing the rap community members to debate political and social issues. Furthermore, "the city" is in constant confrontation with "the world" (the international hip hop community, and especially the blackness of African American youth), while geographical cleavages overlap with generational and gender data, making the creation of a new male youth identity in post-colonial Senegal even more complex.
This paper will offer some results from a PhD. research among young and beginner rap artists in Dakar; it will also present some visual material (music clips, filmed interviews) showing the special link young artists have with the urban space.

Beyond "Revolutionary Glamour": Toward a Critical Essay on Angela Davis as Cause Célèbre of American Radicalism

Brenda Tindal, Emory University (btindal@emory.edu)

Angela Davis is perhaps one of the most influential scholar-activists of the 20th century.

Yet, in the contemporary moment, through historical reductionism, anarchronism and the romanticising of the Black Power era and its couture, Davis' afro - the hairstyle she wore during the 1970s - has yielded greater attention than the socio-political episodes that launched her into radical celebrity. Rather than simply focusing on the revolutionary glamour inspired by her militant posture and infectious afro coif, this study explores the social and political processes through which Davis emerges as a cause célèbre of American Radicalism. As such, this paper explores the visual images and commentary surrounding three major episodes: 1. Davis' 1969 termination from the University of California at Los Angeles; 2. the declaration of Davis as among the FBI's 10 most wanted fugitives; and 3. her incarceration and trial from 1970 to 1972. I look specifically at the way these events are narrated and visualised in mainstream, Black Power, and Communists Party publications. In this regard, I attempt to: 1. explore the orientation of Davis' socio-political activism, namely her advocacy of Black Power and Communism and their investment in responding to the plight of marginal communities, particularly those located in urban enclaves; and 2. re-contextualize the "Afro" by examining how it has been appropriated within contemporary popular culture as an emblem of ghetto rebellion and black counter-culture, with Davis as the arbiter of this form of black revolutionary aesthetic.

Beyond Belonging: Turkish-German Popular Culture and the Restructuring of Urban Space

Kira Kosnick, J.W. Goethe University (kosnick@em.uni-frankfurt.de)

This paper discusses the attempts of Turkish-German artists to respond to the neoliberal restructuring of urban spaces and, in its wake, a transformation of diversity paradigms that entails new forms of exclusion. German-Turkish rap artists enjoyed a somewhat brief period of public fame and commercial success during the 1990s in Germany. Their music established place-based claims to local belonging during a time when multicultural paradigms guided visions of integration in German metropolitan centers. By laying claim to local belonging through particular urban territories such as "Kreuzberg," rap artists contested long-standing forms of immigrant exclusion most succinctly captured in the "foreigner" paradigm that held sway in Germany up until the 1990s. The present period, however, is marked by a neoliberal restructuring of urban formations in Germany that has grave consequences for dominant cultural conceptions of acceptable diversity and minority integration. Invocations of the "hood" and the "ghetto" have taken on different political resonance in a climate of increasing socio-economic polarisation across European urban spaces. The paper discusses the efforts of young German-Turkish artists in Berlin to situate themselves and their work against changing dominant frameworks of diversity and integration by highlighting new spatial relationships in their work.

Surinamese Maroons as Reggae Artists: Music and Marginality in Paramaribo

Rivke Jaffe, Leiden University (RJaffe@fsw.leidenuniv.nl)

This paper examines how marginalised Maroon youth in Paramaribo, the capital of Suriname, make use of musical strategies in combating stigmatisation and improving their socio-economic position. Traditionally, Surinamese Maroons, after escaping the plantations during slavery, have lived in semi-isolation in the country's dense rainforest. In recent decades, they have become increasingly urbanised, to the discontent of many in Paramaribo who view Maroons as backward, violent criminals. The fact that

many Maroons live in "bad" low-income neighborhoods within the city reinforces such ideas. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork and analysis of music lyrics and video clips, the paper discusses how young Maroons use reggae and dancehall to create and recreate physical and social spaces of their own within the city and outside the forest. They protest local conditions and inequity by drawing on regional images of marginality that have been shaped by Rastafari musicians in Jamaica. Simultaneously, they use this Caribbean frame to imagine hemispheric unity with Africans and African Americans. In the self-proclaimed ghettos of Paramaribo, young Maroons relate to global soundscapes and strategically use music to combat their urban marginality.

The Promise of a Utopian Home, or Capitalism's Commoditisation of Blackness

Francio Guadeloupe, Radboud University, Nijmegen (f.guadeloupe@maw.ru.nl)

Amidst all the noise of misogyny and bling-bling talk, black music also asserts the need for a utopian home. A home where black, brown, and white (the way we currently understand these markers) will be no more. Instead a new meta-ethnicity, urban blackness, based on one's love of black music and not upon the colour of one's skin, will render older racial categories obsolete. With the exponential rise of the culture industry however, nowadays this utopian dream is incorporated into corporate capitalism. Urban blackness is a commoditised identity marker sold to black and white youngsters who wish to be down MTV style. The manner in which black, brown, and white youngsters in European metropolises are taking on the new identity of urban blackness is the main theme that I will explore in this essay. As such it contributes to a growing body of work in cultural studies (Hall 1991, Mercer 1994) and anthropology (Nassy Brown 1998, Cornips & de Rooij 2004, Guadeloupe 2005) that alerts us to the role of commoditised black popular culture in the construction of new ethnicities and concomitant racial categorisations in the urban settings of Western Europe.

The White Negro Reconsidered: An Exercise in Ethnographic Reflexivity

Leo Couacaud, Central European University (couacaud_leo@phd.ceu.hu)

For some time now, more reflexively-minded anthropologists have been urging their colleagues to take into account their own subjective experience whilst writing up ethnography. Yet with few exceptions, this has rarely gone beyond paying lip-service to the need to turn the looking glass on the anthropologist's own culture and, as a result, the tendency has been to reduce this culture to an essentialist notion of a White Western Self. To counteract this trend - which it hardly needs pointing out commits the same fatal errors James Carrier (1992) has warned anthropologists against doing in what amounts to a reversal of Orientalism - I intend drawing upon the ideas of Norbert Elias and Michel Foucault to delineate a rough outline of what this White Western Self might actually look like. Along the lines of Norman Mailer's explanation of the White Negro in post-war American society, I will be arguing that the social restraint indicative of being incorporated into western bourgeois institutions may well explain why white males are copying the style of their more culturally creative black peers.

Vienna Street Heroes: Black Music in Parks

Danila Mayer (danila.mayer@hotmail.com)

All young people need to be with their peers. They seek to meet, and it is most important

to see and be seen (scene). Special and very obvious groups are adolescents who spend most of their time in parks and public space and places. These teenagers are regarded here as marginalised by society due to several reasons, belonging to low-income families and non-access to costly leisure time activities included. These young people, while inevitably feeling the economic pressure, act according to their means: they leave their often small homes and acquire considerable social and cultural skills by using public space and places for meeting, playing, sports, dancing, and sexual activities.
In 1997, Street Heroes for park kids were Michael Jackson, Tupac, Ronaldo, Muhammed Ali, and Michael Jordan. Graffiti and BreakDance as favorite pastimes were well established in youth centers. Via MTV, Gangster Rap (Snoop Dogg) entered parks and parties. Presently, HipHop from Germany has been modified into Viennese park style by some groups, mainly as mode of expression, aggression, and myths of male dominance. For park groups, black music cultures - mainly gangster rap - serve as models for fighting discrimination and for seeking their images of self.
The paper will present ethnographic material from various park groups, and will try to explore the meaning of Black Music for marginalised park kids in Vienna.

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Beyond Identity: New Directions in the Anthropology of Roma/ Gypsy Groups

Convenors: **Yasar Abu Ghosh, Charles University, Prague (abughosh@fhs.cuni.cz)**
László Fosztó, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (foszto@eth.mpg.de)
Chair: **Paloma Gay y Blasco**

29 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 309

"Classical" anthropologies of various Roma/Gypsy groups show a remarkable resemblance in focusing on collective identity as a vehicle of the capacity of these groups to re-invent the world and as a source of resistance. The overwhelming framework of the ethnographic accounts is linked to questions of native conceptions of belonging and difference from the surrounding population. In this workshop we invite participants to look beyond the ethnospace as a paramount context for the anthropology of Roma/Gypsy groups and to investigate the empirical evidence of strategies for circumventing identity politics on the part of various actors habitually considered Roma/Gypsy.

Difference and Identity among the Calon Gypsies in São Paulo (Brazil)

Florencia Ferrari, University College, London (florferrari@gmail.com)

Based on my fieldwork among Calon Gypsies in São Paulo, Brazil, I analyse the boundaries between Gypsies and gadjes, focusing on "mixed" marriages. Although the "native" discourse presents an ideal of ethnic endogamy, there is a considerable percentage − up to 30% in some camps and neighbourhoods − of marriages with gadjes (non-Gypsies). I examine the circumstances of a recent marriage between a Calon man and a gadji woman, exploring in detail her adaptation to Gypsy life and her relationship with the Calon family, especially with her mother-in-law. I compare this

marriage to similar situations among other gadjis and Calins. Anchored on this case, I discuss notions of belonging and difference, through the concept of "gypsyness".

Accumulation of Wealth, Economy of Prestige and Politics of Kinship in a "Traditional" Roma Community in Post-Socialist Romania

Catalina Tesar, University College, London (catalinatesar@yahoo.com)

The emergence, in the aftermath of the fall of communism in Romania, of the new economically successful Roma was tempted to be explained by the indigenous academic discourse in terms of culture/ethnicity (compliance with Gypsiness asserted through "brotherhood ties"). Drawing on the critics of the literature on resistance as well as on ethnographic data gathered in a so-called "traditional" Roma group living in central Romania, the main concern of this paper is to dismiss the idea of conceiving of Roma as homogenous subordinate groups and to move the analysis towards the loci of internal power relations. The practice of inheritance of the prestige item (o taxtaj) together with new patterns of conspicuous consumption (such as housing) and kinship strategies (cash dowry established accordingly to the monetary value of the future groom's prestige item) account for fissions and tensions inside the Cortorari (literarily Tent Dwellers) group. Ongoing internal conflicts together with social practices informed by the interaction with the dominant other as well as internalisation of the public discourse demystify the idea of a monolithic, static and independent culture of the Gypsies that was put forward by the classical literature.

Cultural Fundamentalism and the Political Imagination: The Case of "Roma"/"Gypsies"/"Nomads" in Florence, Italy (1988-2007)

Giovanni Picker, Università di Milano-Bicocca (giopicker@hotmail.com)

This paper is a socio-historical analysis of the politics of the categories "Roma"/"Gypsies"/"nomads" in the city of Florence (Italy) over the last twenty years. Since the end of the 1980s, people coming from Yugoslavia were forced to live in camps (campi nomadi) which have constantly been the sites where ethnicity has been "working." Based on my ethnographic fieldwork in 2007, the paper examines the ways in which the dialectic between the politics of categories from above (official texts, discursive practices and decision-making processes of the local council) and from below (narratives, practices and strategies of a local Roma organisation and of its single members), has made possible, in particular historical circumstances in the public discourse, a certain notion of "Roma"/"Gypsies"/"nomads" take shape. It is argued that the ground on which this dialectic has been taking place is not a political one, or a socio-economic one, but it has the ultimate reference in what Verena Stolcke (1995) calls "cultural fundamentalism." Furthermore, the relations between the accent on the cultural(ist) dimension and the negotiation of membership and belonging to the urban polity by a Roma organisation are discussed. The conclusions are an attempt to develop a critical framework of analysis which actualises Stolcke's thesis thirteen years later, in order to study the nowadays Romani social life in southern Italy.

Differentiating Gypsiness: The Case of Slovakian Roma Migrants in Slovakia and in Migration Contexts

Jan Grill, St. Andrews University (jg334@st-andrews.ac.uk)

Based on my fieldwork among one specific grouping of Roma migrants following the

Slovak accession into EU, I intend to look at the changing social ties and solidarity linking individuals to larger collectivities. In east Slovakia, migration has become both a means and symbol of "self-transforming projects" (Gardner and Osella 2003) with mobility being understood as a possible strategy enabling these migrants to circumvent variously constraining social orders. I will show that while these migrants can, through material and social uplift and modes of consumption, transform their self-representations there is also a set of newly emerging and transforming differentiation and categorisations of Gypsy migrants both in relatively homogenous Slovakian and more diverse UK context. I will show how the more "successful" migrants often perceive themselves as being more "advanced" and more "modern" on an imagined symbolic continuum while the other surrounding Roma being often labelled as backward. This self-positioning highlights how these Roma differentiate themselves from other "Gypsies" and it also shows how these migrants refuse to put their identity under one umbrella of what is considered as lost in the past or associated with previous forms of poverty. The migration experience can be then understood as a specific form of consuming modernity. These various forms of social differentiation will be illustrated through ethnographic examples of the Roma migrants' interactions with Roma from different neighbouring villages in Slovakia vis-à-vis other Roma and non-Roma groups from Central Eastern Europe living in Great Britain.

The Ambivalence of Identity: Exploring the Political Alliances and Allegiances of Catalan Gitanos

Martí Marfà i Castán, Universitat de Barcelona (marfallona@gmail.com)

This paper explores the dynamics of identity politics within different historical and political contexts. The case of Catalan gitanos in Barcelona (Spain) appears as the ethnographic account underlying a discussion on how the same configurations and performances of identity may be activated to engage in conflicting nation-state building processes, depending on the hegemony of the latter.

Catalan gitanos are an elite of gitanos that participate in the ways of living of the wider society and have an acknowledged social and economic status. During Franco's regime, they established certain alliances with the dictatorship, providing the background music for the 1960s period of economic growth and tourist development, and becoming artistic icons of the official conception of Spain. Within the democratic political scenario, their allegiances shifted to the Catalan nationalist government. They began claiming themselves and their music to be ineluctable components of the Catalan nation and its cultural heritage.

Franco's national-Catholicism and Catalan nationalism are opposite ideologies that entail conflicting conceptions of the nation and the state. However, both have been fairly hegemonic in different periods of contemporary history of Catalonia and Spain. Catalan gitanos have drawn their ethnic difference within these wider nationalistic projects, being actively involved in processes of nation-state building where they often play charismatic roles.

The paper examines the structural similarities and the differences between these two experiences, focusing on the role of music in performing and demonstrating political allegiances. Concepts such as Bauman's "ambivalence" or Warren's "destigmatization" appear as helpful analytical means to explain these phenomena.

What is this "Roma" in Roma Popular Culture? Strategies of Appropriation and the Politics of Music-Making

Gergő Pulay, Central European University (pulaygergo@gmail.com)

Besides the social exclusion and marginalisation of Roma in post-socialist Eastern Europe, the field of popular culture provides a terrain where Roma were actively contributing to the development of powerful niche-markets. Within these contexts the ethnic labeling of certain products, styles or streams of fashion rather contributed to the success then the failure of their creators. Moreover, the development of these fields are related to practices of "cultural mixing" and exchange through various forms of appropriation - hence they also imply new ways of defining the relations of Roma to their own surroundings and to otherwise "distant" social and cultural groupings which are somehow came to be understood as familiar.
Primarily based on fieldwork experiences amongst Roma performers in Hungary, the aim of this paper is to interpret certain trends in popular culture that are overcoming the oppositional definitions of "local" cultural forms (understood as "real" sources of Roma identity) and the attempts for institutionalising "national/international Gypsy cultures" (taken as unfounded and alienated from those that are supposed to be represented by them). A challenging task for an ethnographic approach of "mixing" is to understand the ways in which cultural flows are made discontinuous by the practices of selection, appropriation and re-signification. Such forms of making and "performing discontinuities" are practices by which social or cultural "distance" is transformed into "proximity." Understanding these modes of mediation and appropriation can help us to identify struggles around identification, which are going beyond the opposition of "localism" and "fake canonisation" in Roma cultural politics.

Articulations of Power: Rom Life Struggles beyond Resistance

Ada Ingrid Engebrigtsen, NOVA (aie@nova.no)

The object of this paper is to discuss the relations of power in terms of "the strategic situation" of most Rom groups in most nation states, and how this strategic situation is lived. Based on empirical data from Rom groups in Norway and Romania the paper will question the assumption of Roma as an oppressed ethnic minority. Data suggest that ethnicity is not and cannot be a strategy for most Rom Gypsies to secure their way of living. Basic Rom Gypsy claims to support their way of life would be illegitimate in the ethnicity/nationality "game." Ethnicity, seen as a political strategy for equal opportunities, is based on negotiations with governments about legitimate differences. Ethnicity discourse thus confirms the nation state as superior and the ethnic group as an aspiring, different and equal, nation. Rom gypsies reject this ideology. To understand their position one must understand their historical relations to majority populations, to governments and their current mode of subsistence. Nomadism as an analytical term, grasps the strategic situation of the Rom gypsies in Europe in ways that can challenge simple understandings of national and ethnic groups and of power relations between them.

Escaping Gypsyness: The Marginalisation of Roma through Power and Identity

Yasar Abu Ghosh, Charles University, Prague (abughosh@fhs.cuni.cz)

While a number of ethnographies of Roma/Gypsy groups sought to conceptualise internal divisions as expressions of the symbolic order, they rarely looked beyond

the immediate cultural context in order to anchor the divisions in a framework of existing power relations. Typically the pure/impure cleavage is linked uniquely to ritual conceptions of belonging whereby Roma/Gypsies supposedly envisage the working of their internal world in contrast with the outside. In this paper I will assert continuity over discontinuity in a local social context. In Tercov where a group of Roma is divided into two fractions of Gypsy-like and integrated Roma the cleavage is determined by the capacity of one fraction to impose a humiliating view on the other as Gypsies although in all possible aspects the two fractions do not show any differences. Drawing on Elias' concept of established/outsiders I will examine how a complex of ideologies, practices and histories resonate in the configuration which gives rise to a surprising phenomenon of Roma being repeatedly hunted down by an identity they wish to escape. Such an approach, I argue, should allow integrating seemingly culturally specific ideas of difference into a general mechanism of social distanciation.

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Ritual and Reflection: Tropes in Transformation and Transgression (Wenner-Gren Workshop)

Convenors: **Jens Kreinath, Wichita State University (Jens.Kreinath@wichita.edu)**
Refika Sariönder, University of Bielefeld (rsarionder@yahoo.com)

28 August 2008, 14:00
Room: 2

Although one can observe a major shift in ritual theory towards more refined models of analysis and interpretation, the question of the relation between ritual and reflection is still an unresolved issue. The goal of this workshop is to go beyond the current state of the art and to foster a reflexive anthropology on that issue. This workshop will address the role that reflection and reflexivity (that is, the reflection of reflection) in and of ritual action play in the process of practising and theorising rituals. The major aim is to make explicit the extent to which ritual theory considers ritual as a reflective and reflexive form of social practice. Besides that, it is at issue whether and how such theoretical reflections are actually reflected in the various forms of transformation and transgression in and of ritual practice. The objective is to address the issue of reflection in both ritual theory and ritual practice and to correlate both as forms of social practice on a theoretical and meta-theoretical level.

Ritual Reflexivity in the Formation of Alevi Identity

Refika Sariönder, University of Bielefeld (rsarionder@yahoo.com)

Since the end of the 1980s the Alevis of Turkey aim for institutional and legal recognition as a religious community. For this purpose, they founded their cultural and religious centres wherewith they entered the public sphere through uncovering themselves as Alevis. The Alevis maintain those traditions, which stem from a village based community life, under the urban conditions that they consider as constitutive for marking their religious identity. In reserving rooms for the practice of their traditional ritual cem, they disclosed the tradition of their ritual that was formerly kept secret. This practice of cem is nowadays made accessible also to the non-Alevi public. Not only the requirements for participation but also the introduction of new elements and the attempts for standardisation are put to disposition so that the ritual practice became

an issue of continuous negotiation and debate. It clearly became not only an identifier and identity marker for the Alevi practice, but also a public arena through which the Alevis articulate and negotiate their own identity within the public sphere as distinct from Sunni and Shiite Muslims. This transformational process of the Alevi ritual practice mirrors and triggers the dynamics in changing the Alevi ritual practice so that the cem is not merely to be seen as an organizational form for regulating social relations and executing moral sanctions. I will argue that the ritual is transformed and becomes reflexively a mirror of the self-understanding of urban Alevis in which they portray themselves and allow others to portray them in public discourse.

Ritual Transformation of "the Course of Things" as a Response to AIDS in South Africa

Jone Salomonsen, University of Oslo (jone.salomonsen@teologi.uio.no)

In his essay "The Bare Facts of Ritual", Jonathan Smith has argued that ritual should not be understood as congruous with something else, as magical imitations of desired ends or as symbolic acting out of ideas. Rather the opposite, rituals tend to be incongruent with the way things are or are likely to be by the very fact that it factors out contingency, variability and accidentality. So-called magical ritual expresses, says Smith, a realistic assessment of the fact that the world cannot be compelled, only thought about and remembered in the course of things. Ronald Grimes has contested this highly intellectual approach to ritual and showed how ritual is more than memory and reflection: as profoundly embodied practices ritual generates an oriented habitat, a gendered cosmos. Thus rites are not only about establishing, confirming or opposing views and practices that people already hold, but also about divining new ways to behave in changing circumstances. In dialogue with these two theorists, the paper will discuss how women affected by HIV-AIDS in a South African township transform "the course of things" by divining forth a new, fluid canon with a new fluid sense of authority and kinship by intertwining Zulu and Christian ritual heritage.

Catalysing Processes and Conditions in Ritual Dynamics: The Case of the Marian Pilgrimage in El Rocío

Eddy Plasquy, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (eddy.plasquy@pandora.be)

The insight that rituals are always changing has let to an increased interest in the different ways this transfer/transformation/transplacement takes place. Synchronic, diachronic and even reciprocal modes are thereby observed. This paper would like to draw the attention to a wide rage of processes and conditions, which, in varying degrees, can accelerate a ritual dynamic through their interference with the contextual factors and internal dimensions of a ritual. The image of a "catalyst" is thereby put forward to make a clear distinction between these catalysing processes and conditions and contextual elements as well as internal dimensions. The main difference between these and contextual elements lies in the fact that the latter exerts their influence only from the outside while the former becomes part of the internal dimensions of the ritual. On the other hand catalyst processes and conditions cannot be conceptualised simply as internal dimensions because their presence is linked to the new situation and their influence is highly volatile. As a true "catalyser" their dominant influence will fade away once a new ritual is established. The changes that underwent the Marian pilgrimage in the Spanish hamlet of El Rocío during the last fifty years, will be used as an example to elucidate this theoretical concept.

More specifically, the importance of the political transition (after the death of Franco in 1975) on the internal structure of the ritual and the way how this was profoundly transformed by it, will be analysed using ethnographic and historical data.

"Agreeing to Disagree": Reflexivity as Ritual Performance

Ulrike Davis-Sulikowski, University of Vienna (ulrike.davis-sulikowski@univie.ac.at)

In almost all forms of Vodun rituals, whether large collective performances or small private ceremonies, reflexivity is a central component. Rituals are basically conceived as ongoing processes of communication work between different existing domains and with effects in visible and non-visible realms, in everyday life and in non-ordinary spheres. They are institutionalised 'spaces of contest', where critical debate is as important as the actual performance to create sense and meaning for all participants, whether performers or spectators. Therefore the 'Gestalt' or the configuration of a ritual is never complete and is open to ever-changing interpretation.
Based on field-research in Benin and Haiti this paper will discuss several notions of critical discourse and reflexivity in kinetic and verbal performative expression, relating the Vodun-paradigm to selected issues in current ritual theories.

The Tactical Work of Play in a Brazilian Catholic Prayer Group

Steven Engler, Mount Royal College (sjengler@gmail.com)

Drawing on recent fieldwork, this paper describes the rituals of a women's prayer group in Brazil. At two levels, the play/non-play boundary helps maintain the social space of this "Catholic" group that practices "a little of everything." Firstly, the diocese accepts this syncretistic lay group as Catholic because its unorthodox elements are seen as playing at religion: false doctrine and infantile spirituality, but good practice. Secondly, moments of laughter and fun diffuse potential tensions arising from the group's diversity. I define syncretism in terms of meaning making and intelligibility, where social/religious boundaries offer leverage for relations of power. In this context, Droogers argues that the "as-if" of play allows religious actors to combine disparate domains of meaning. I extend this by arguing that negotiations over the play/non-play distinction itself are fundamental to the "like but unlike" of syncretism, and in religion's work at boundaries more generally.

"We are Just Simple-minded Peasants": Reflections on Transgressive and Contingent Emboidiment in Japanese Folk-Religious Performances

Klaus-Peter Köpping, University of Heidelberg (Klaus.Peter.Koepping@urz.uni-heidelberg.de)

During the ritual dances in a category of certain festivals dedicated to the powers of the mountain deity (the Hana- as well as Shimotsuki-matsuri, "Flower- and Frostmonth-Festivals", still performed between the end of November and the end of February in three provinces of the Japanese Southern Alps), the lay-performers, including the lay-priesthood commented to the researcher and among themselves repeatedly on the nature of certain expected forms of obscenity and blasphemy. They referred to governmental prohibitions several generations ago and they commented on the decline of the "true spirit" of these festivals as well as on their own powers as lay persons to invoke divinities without interference from professional priests. These discussions and side-remarks were often done in the state of drunkenness and playful

interaction with the non-local audience as well as the researcher. At the same time they also commented upon the effectivity of the festivals being dependent upon transgressive forms of behaviour. As the aim of the ritual dances is the making present of the divinities (which are "represented" by masks) leading to a transformation of the performers, the playful interactive jocularity seems to clash with the meticulousness of preparations and specific ritual aspects of the festivities which almost nobody attends. The ambiguity arising from the juxtaposition of contingencies and the ritual requirements are the starting point for discussing the importance of the reflexivity. The performer's reflections on these contingent factors seem to throw a new light on the meta-discourse of ritual theories about the effectivity of performative embodiment.

Cosmology and the Virtual

Bruce Kapferer, University of Bergen (bruce.kapferer@sosantr.uib.no)

The issue of reflexivity in ritual is a complex phenomenon. In general perspectives have been of a high intellectual kind and often extensive from approaches to theatrical drama. More recently notions of "embodiment" have started to prevail, many of the more successful orientations following in the steps of Merleau-Ponty and others similarly influenced such as Bourdieu. These approaches do not depend so much on intellection as those before, although key works in ritual (e.g. Geertz and Turner) demonstrate lines of thought that are consistent with recent "embodiment" conceptions. The paper will pursue some of the dominant perspectives in the anthropological history of ritual that underline a concentration on reflexivity. Ultimately, however, the direction of the argument will turn away from dramaturgical perspectives and reorient towards what might be termed a more "cinematic" perspective. Here the issue will turn on the nature of the subject in rite. I will develop on notions of de-centred subjectivity and the idea that the subject is distributed across a complex series of potential subjective standpoints in rites that opens towards a new understanding of the potency of ritual and shifts away from the strongly intellectualist notions that have prevailed hitherto. In this context both the technology of rite and its virtual properties will be explored that do not depend, necessarily, upon the concept of reflexivity or upon ritual as a kind of reflective apparatus.

Changing Glances: Reflecting Ritual in Early Ethnographic Cinema

Heinz-Jürgen Middendorf, Heidelberg University (heinrich.middendorf@hofgemeinschaft.de)

In anthropological literature Spencer's und Gillen's 1901 camera-work about Arrernte ritual performances in Central Australia is often conceived as "aesthetic" – in terms of its commendable artistic value or a deplorable linguistic incompetence (v. Leonardi in Carl Strehlow 1907, T.G.H. Strehlow 1971, Cantrill & Cantrill 1982, Mulvaney 1982, Long 1993, Batty, Allen & Morton 2006). Since the 1970s the controversy between observational and linguistic analysis of ritual practices in Aboriginal Australia entered an ethical arena, which condemns aesthetical categories. In addressing the "tropes" in the transformation and transgression of ritual practices it seems worth to pose the question of the inherent coherence between reflexivity und aesthetics in a new way. I will demonstrate how and why Spencer's and Gillen's pioneering cinematography is an attempt to reflect and depict the complexity of ritual performances that reaches beyond the limits of verbal communication. In intuitively developing a set of film-aesthetical rules, they were able to operate with the visual depiction of ritual movement and the problem of deep space in cinematography. The choreography

of ritual agents in the field of performance was transformed into the choreography of the filmmaker in the field of vision. Since the development of ocular centrism in Early Modern Times the latter is considered as "truthful description," the basis of scientific writing.

Reflecting the Mirror Images of Mimetic Acts: Filming and Theorizing as Refractions of Ritual Practice

Jens Kreinath, Wichita State University (Jens.Kreinath@wichita.edu)

Since the invention of film as a technology of visual reproduction, the study of mimetic acts, bodily movements, and ritual performances became of major interest in anthropological research. The spread of this technology revolutionised the forms of visual perception and enhanced the very possibilities in anthropological research. Besides the shift towards an ethnographic study of ritual, one can observe a conceptual shift in the term "ritual" itself that took place at the same time. The modern concept of ritual that emerged in the late 19th century as the bodily means of religious practice (Asad 1997) can be correlated to the enhancement of film technology and the related interest in the study of bodily movements. Beyond some of these incidents, this paper discusses various systemic features involved in filming and theorizing ritual practice as different attempts to reflect upon its formative features. In discussing the ethnographic and theoretical accounts of Jean Rouch, Alfred Gell and Howard Murphy, the argument will be made how filming and theorising itself have to be conceived as different forms of semiotic practices and mimetic acts that get an agency on their own in the very process of imitation and representation. By further tackling the theoretical issues involved in mimetic acts as proposed by James Frazer, Theodor Adorno and Michael Taussig, the attempt will be made to conceive filming and theorizing rituals as mirror images, those forms of visual and discursive representations that refracts ritual practice by way of transforming and transgressing the very conditions of agency, reflexivity and indexicality in ritual practice.

W119

Anthropologists from Abroad Study Mainstream American Culture (MAC Workshop I)

Convenors: **Dieter Haller, Ruhr Universität Bochum (Dieter.Haller@ruhr-uni-bochum.de)**
Eveline Dürr, Ludwig-Maximilians Universität, München (Eveline.Duerr@vka.fak12.uni-muenchen.de)

27 August 2008, 14:00
Room: 03

Cheerleader, cheesecakes, dating, shopping malls, baseball ... whereas aspects of MAC have long been objects of reasoning and fieldwork within US cultural anthropology, it has only recently attracted interest by European and other Non-American anthropologists.
The objective of this workshop is to address this relatively regional blind spot of European anthropology by bringing together existing scholarship. This is important because it will help us to close a knowledge gap on this specific, world-affecting region, and will also contribute to our understanding of the creation of "the West" in academia.

The aim of this workshop is to explore some of these questions and develop anthropological views on the subject. We particularly welcome field-based or theoretical contributions, which consider the cultural and social dimension of MAC.

American Conservatism and the Status of Political Belief

Erik Nilsson (erik.nilsson@socant.su.se)

Recent decades have seen substantial changes in the political landscape of the United States. Accelerating political polarisation along social and demographic lines, sometimes popularised as "culture wars", has coincided with a general movement to the right of the preferences of the electorate. A partly novel ideological configuration, encompassing facets of evangelical Christianity, expansionist foreign policy and particular forms of neoliberalism, has proved especially powerful in animating these transformations. This presentation explores some of the ways in which such influential conservative themes put people into motion politically. Based on fieldwork among conservative voters, activists and representatives in a small town in northwestern Ohio, it also deals with the problems these modes of motion potentially pose for anthropological inquiry. More specifically, at a time and place where stereotypes and realities seem destined to blur, how might anthropology productively engage with these political forms without reproducing polarities that are partly constitutive of them? Highlighting some of the displacements and tensions in everyday "conservative talk" I suggest we read the political thrust of contemporary conservatism primarily from the perspective of the existential work it is employed to perform by specific people in specific circumstances. In relation to this work the positive content of ideology - be it faith in God, in the transformative power of the market, in the nation or in the President - thus retains something of a secondary status.

Digestion as Cultural Critique: Mainstream American Culture and US "Drop Out" Diets

Lucy Pickering, Liverpool John Moores University (l.r.pickering@ljmu.ac.uk)

The words "mainstream American culture" (MAC) evoke images of shopping malls, cheerleaders and baseball, hotdogs, burgers and apple pie. In this paper I bring into view the culinary dimension of MAC through ethnography with white, middle-class Americans brought up in the West Coast suburbs. However, I explore not the practices of generating MAC through cuisine itself, but rather through its radical critique. For the people whose diets and culinary attitudes I discuss here "dropped out" of what they saw as "mainstream America[n culture]" to live its "counterculture" in rural Hawai'i. It is through this digestive critique that that their particular vision of MAC comes into view.

The range of diets practiced by Hawai'i drop outs was wide, and I focus here on the two most common: raw foodism and food combining. Both utilised very different visions of human physiology, yet I argue that what united them was a shared emphasis on minimising processing. Practitioners of these diets undertook to eat only raw food or to separate out fruit, carbohydrate and protein foods in order to reduce the strain placed upon the digestive tract; in order to minimise, I argue, the processing of food not only in cultivation and meal preparation but also digestion. It is this, which is the site of radical, embodied critique of MAC. Drawing on Levi-Strauss' culinary triangle I argue that these diets highlight what this group of "drop outs" saw as the centrally defining characteristic of MAC: over-processed, over-cooked food for an over-processed, over-cooked culture.

Listening to the Sermon in Gay Congregations

Moshe Shokeid, Tel Aviv University (shokeid@post.tau.ac.il)

For many years the study of culture and social relationships in churches, synagogues and mosques has remained a marginal field among anthropologists. Based on the continuing attendance at services, the paper discusses the content and preaching style of sermons in four major gay and lesbian congregations in New York - Dignity (Catholic), Unity (Afro-American), CBST (Jewish), and in particular, Metropolitan Community Church (Protestant).
Scripture is the typical starting point for sermons in all the congregations observed. Most, however, expand beyond that. But, the emphasis, and the mixture of religious, political, moral, and personal themes differ greatly between the four denominations and between individual preachers. The paper also inquires into the congregants' modes of interpretation, and their response to the agenda addressed by the clergy.
Listening to the sermons and observing the congregants' reaction shed light on the attraction that religious institutions continue to maintain among an urban population, many of whose members may have felt alienated from the religious experience of their upbringing.

National Images of Countries: Russia, UK and Iran in American Press Coverage

Svetlana Kobzeva, Moscow Institute for African Studies (Swetochka_24@yahoo.com)

The study of the global press coverage organized by UNESCO in the 1980s and 1990s revealed the following trends in the global press coverage: 1. the domination of the large and economically developed countries and the peripheralisation of the smaller developing countries, especially of the African and the Pacific regions; 2. the increasing dependence of the country images on the global press coverage.
This paper is primarily aimed at testing these hypotheses. The press coverage data for nine countries, including the US, China, Russia and Iraq from "News Factors in Global Press Coverage" project was compared to GDP per capita indicator. We observe a weak correlation between these two indicators. This analysis of the global press coverage reveals that the existing disparity between the countries on media coverage is not primarily associated with economic inequality, but it is that the global media community is highly sensitive to authoritarian political regimes and crises or conflicts in political contexts.
The images of Russia, United Kingdom and Iran in the three influential US newspapers "The New York Times," "US Today," and "The Wall Street Journal" were explored with content-monitoring research techniques. We have found that the image of Great Britain in the US newspapers was structurally different from both Russian and Iranian images, and it contains more terms on social and cultural life and less terms related to power and politics.

Ojibwe People and the American Discourse of Diabetes: A Case Study in the Cultural Anthropology of Native American Health

Cora Bender, University of Bremen (Corabender@aol.com)

In the United States, diabetes is seen as one of the most common serious diseases of certain ethnic groups, including many American Indian peoples who have the highest diabetes rates of all ethnic groups, including African American and Hispanic

groups. Diabetes mellitus is a chronic disorder characterized by abnormalities in the metabolism of all body fuels, as medical researchers put it. There is a growing body of medical and health care research addressing Native diabetes and discussing various approaches to prevention. Many recent studies also emphasize the need for culturally sensitive diabetes education. However, cultural anthropology has not yet contributed substantially to an understanding of the social life of diabetes. It seems that the disease in Indian communities is also a complex social and cultural process with an eminently important historical dimension. Diabetes is historically related to the import of commodity food and, thereby, to the trust relationship between the government of the United States and Native nations. Today, diabetes in Native communities can be seen as having as much impact on Native family life as once had the boarding school policy. Diabetes puts food into question and, thereby, it touches on people's intimate relations to self and others. The disease is also at the center of a discourse of health counseling provided to tribal communities usually by non-native health professionals. My paper presents preliminary results from ethnographic research on diabetes in an Ojibwe community within the conceptual framework of a media anthropology of the body in America.

W120

"America" Abroad: The Good, the Bad and the Ugly (MAC Workshop II)

Convenors: **Irene Stengs, Meertens Institute (irene.stengs@meertens.knaw.nl)**
Jackie Feldman, Ben Gurion University (jfeldman@bgu.ac.il)

27 August 2008, 09:00
Room: 03

America's economic, political and cultural force frequently result in its being thought of in "big" terms: multi-national corporations, anti-terrorism, international finance and Hollywood. Yet while Americanisation is a concept used all over the world, its connotations and implications demonstrate that it is not merely a universal solvent of local cultures. "America" is transmitted through diverse channels, is assigned a role as the cause of manifold phenomena, and becomes the object of an amazing multiplicity of desires, envies and animosities in various local contexts. Americanisation might be understood as both a point of reverence and a screen of projection (Oldenziel 2004).

Thus, understanding Americanisation implies embedding the concept in concrete historical, political and cultural settings. Highlighting such settings, practitioners and discourses we seek to problematise Americanisation, and examine the fine texture of the relationships between America and "the rest." Through ethnographic studies of "small," less visible, localised cultural sites the workshop will expose the concept of Americanisation as an ambiguous, contradictory and dynamic cultural construct.

We invite contributions towards a genealogy of the concept and an anatomy of its practice: where and when did it originate? What material objects, persons, practices and institutions are associated with America in various local cultures? What positive, negative and ambivalent values does Americanisation connote? How do discourses of Americanisation serve to legitimise various political, economic and religious processes? What elements of power, knowledge and (material and other) culture are expressed through the notions of Americanisation, and what forms of exchanges and influences do they hide?

Ambivalent Americanisation: Consumer Culture and Supermarkets in Italy

Emanuela Scarpellini, University of Milan (emanuela.scarpellini@unimi.it)

This paper deals with the first appearance of "American supermarkets" in Italy in the late 1950s. Their presence affects the traditional trade structure, formed by a net of small family-owned stores, as well as the local food industry. These new "containers" change the traditional urban environment in many ways and become symbols of a new world of affluence, mirrors of a certain image of modernity.
Part of their message lies in the kind of food they offer to consumers. New exotic products are now available from distant countries; frozen food appears for the first time; cans of every kind are at hand; international brands (promoted by an increasing advertising) are present on the shelves. Even the everyday traditional products look different: they are already prepared, washed, processed, packed and ready to use. This change in material culture deeply influences traditional patterns of consumption and the way customers prepare and conceive their meals.
The paper will analyse consumers' reactions and examine different categories of clients (according to class and gender differences) and finally the many adaptations "American supermarkets" use to adapt to a different culture and a diverse environment.

Americanisation and the Dutch Meat Industry: Rationalisation and Moral Economy

Alex Strating, University of Amsterdam (a.t.strating@uva.nl)

The production, distribution and consumption of meat in the Netherlands (and in other European countries) in the second half of the 20th century has been deeply influenced by American technologies, distribution formats and food habits. The result is an increasing standardization and homogenization of the process in which animals are turned into meat. Meat changed from a luxury product with high added value into a mass commodity with small profit margins. This process, driven by the logics of efficiency and economies of scale is an example of Americanisation of Dutch (or European) food ways.
By the 1980s this resulted in the Netherlands in the disappearance of the municipal public slaughterhouses where animals were transformed into carcasses. The meat industry now was dominated by large private companies with factories where animals were turned into anonymous and standardized meat packages. As a consequence skilled butchers have lost their central place in the production of meat to food technologists and local butcher shops were replaced by supermarkets. Meat is stripped of its animal origin and marketed as a convenient, healthy and safe commodity. This process of rationalisation is contested by interest groups, trade unions and consumers on the basis of moral (social, ethical, environmental and health) arguments. In this paper I will focus on the responses of the meat industry to these attacks and analyse how moral issues influence the process of Americanisation of the Dutch meat industry.

Americanisation and its Discontents: The Case of Czech Budweiser

Milena Veenis, Technical University Eindhoven (m.veenis@versatel.nl)

Whereas Budweiser is generally recognized as one of America's main consumptive icons, the European Union has recently recognized the beer as an authentic Czech product. The Czech brewer, Budejovicky Budvar obtained the highly valued PDO-assessment (Protected Designation of Origin), in order to protect the beer from

"fakes." As far as Budejovicky Budvar is concerned, the American Budweiser beer (made by US brewer Anheuser-Busch) is such a fake. Czech connoisseurs confirm this: the American beer tastes like cat piss and it cannot stand comparison with Czech Budweiser. The Czech brewer feeds this image by referring to Budweiser's centuries-old production process and the high quality of its local ingredients.
The question on what grounds the Czech beer can be registered as "truly Czech" seems not only to be a matter of taste, however, but also of the politics of authentication. Unquestionably motivated by economic interests, these politics also express fears for what many inhabitants of European countries perceive as the increasing American influence on their food-palettes and ways of life. Although the so-called "McDonaldisation" of societies gives rise to countermovements in both the USA and Europe, the European variants thereof are habitually framed in opposition to what is perceived as the ongoing Americanisation of Europe. This presentation analyses United States influence on European consumption patterns, by focussing on specific forms of people's quests for (culinary) authenticity.

American Emotions Meet with Polish Emotions

Paweł Krzyworzeka, University of Warsaw (pawel.krzyworzeka@uw.edu.pl)

Mary Kay Cosmetics was founded in 1963 in Dallas, Texas. Now it is one of the biggest direct selling organisations in the world with branches in more than thirty markets worldwide. The way of conducting Mary Kay business is supposed to be the same regardless of the country of operation. But, as I would like to show, using an example of Poland where Mary Kay has been present since 2003, in practice the American way of conducting business can, indeed, be negotiated. I would like to focus on one aspect of direct selling - emotional labor. Feeling rules laid down by the organisation are interpreted by Polish Beauty Consultants as distinctively American. Expressing outright joy and happiness in interactions with customers is the attitude heavily promoted by organisation. It is also being imposed on Consultants in several ways. However, Polish women who start working as Beauty Consultants in their first impulse reject these emotions labeling them as "artificial" and "unnatural." As their socialisation into new workplace progresses, they, nonetheless, learn to exercise their emotional labor in a "proper way." An important role in implementing American emotional and cultural patterns is played by Polish immigrants working as Mary Kay Consultants in the USA. The Corporation employs them not only for finding and recruiting saleswomen in Poland, but also sends them abroad for conducting business training.

Amway the Thai Way: Direct Sale and the Businesses of Faith

Irene Stengs, Meertens Institute (irene.stengs@meertens.knaw.nl)

In 1987 the American direct sale company Amway, short for the American Way, came to Thailand. Through a network of salespeople, so-called "distributors," Amway sells cosmetics, cleaning agents, household products and the like directly to individuals. Direct sale products are not for sale in shops. The direct sale system was developed in the United States in the late 1940s by inventor Ed Tupper, the founder of Tupperware. The initial idea was that women in areas with few shops could buy household products easily.
Tupperware and Avon had come to Thailand already earlier, but only in the early 1990s did the presence of direct sale companies become visible. The success of the American direct sale companies also inspired the establishment of Thai direct sale companies. These Thai sisters, like Mistene and Gifferine, sell Thai beauty and personal

care products. Moreover, the pyramidal recruitment principle became also the basis of certain modern Buddhist religious organisations, the Dhammakaya temple in particular.
There are several explanations for the success of direct sale in Thailand. First, it was directly linked to the extraordinary economic growth between 1985 and 1995, which also involved an exploding domestic consumer market. Second, direct sale products and being a distributor tapped into Thai imaginations surrounding upward social mobility and being modern. This imaginary places direct sale in the world of "occult economies" (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2000). Third, the Thai hierarchical structure of patron-client relationships provided an ideal social substrate for the equally pyramidal direct sale business.

Fire on the Mountain: Country Music and the Politics of War

Eliza Darling, Goldsmiths College, University of London (ans01ed@gold.ac.uk)

In March of 2003, a country music band called The Dixie Chicks ignited a firestorm of controversy in the US by making the following proclamation at a London concert: "Just so you know, we're on the good side with y'all. We do not want this war, this violence, and we're ashamed that the President of the United States is from Texas." The statement was remarkable not just for what it communicated about the politics of war in America, but about American perceptions of the politics of war on the other side of the pond: despite official British commitment to the invasion of Iraq, the Chicks considered "y'all" to be "on the good side," and therefore a receptive audience for denunciations of the war and the administration responsible for it.
Music has long been a crucial conduit for the transmission of America's conflicting sense of national "self" to audiences abroad, and the internationalisation of both mainstream country and the recent American folk revival has put country music as a broad church on the global map. But despite country's reputation as a deeply conservative phenomenon, it has in fact constituted a bitterly contested site of ideological struggle over the very meaning of America in the context of imperialist war in the post 9-11 era. This paper explores country music as a broker of paradoxical Americanisation in Britain and Ireland, drawing on research among producers, consumers and distributors of the genre in an attempt to understand the politics of country in "these isles."

MacDavidification? Making the Holy Land Look Right for American Protestant Pilgrims

Jackie Feldman, Ben Gurion University (jfeldman@bgu.ac.il)
Amos Ron, Kinneret College on the Sea of Galilee (amosron@gmail.com)

The Holy Land and Zion have fueled the American imagination since Puritan times. If Biblical visions of Zion shaped pioneers' understandings of America, the visions of the frontier constitute many American Protestants' expectations of Israel. Their ways of viewing and experiencing the Holy Land are conditioned through the reading of the Bible, as well as through model cities and media images diffused throughout the USA. Practices such as in situ Bible reading, the search for uncluttered nature, the viewing of the land from broad vistas, the adulation of technological progress, the penchant for archaeology and Orientalism all inscribe American Protestant understandings on the land to produce a textualized sacred landscape.
By examining the theming of Protestant sacred sites in Israel, the narrative techniques

of Jewish-Israeli guides working with American Protestant pilgrims, and the itineraries of tour companies catering to the American Christian market, we demonstrate how the Holy Land is tailored to the American Protestant gaze. The theme sites and guiding techniques reflect contemporary processes, such as the salience of media images, and the increased importance of sensory experiences in forming contemporary American identity. Yet such sites and guiding narratives are oriented, not to provide thrills, but to develop meaningful relationships with God, the Bible, and the past.
The products and performances employed increase the authority of new religious tour sites, while generating political support for the State of Israel. We also demonstrate how alternative organisations employ related tropes and techniques to garner American Christian support for the Palestinian cause.

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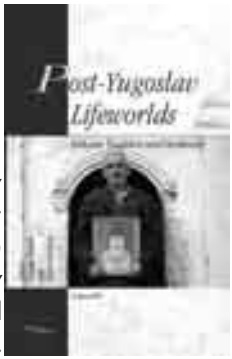

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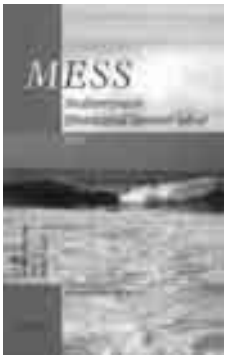

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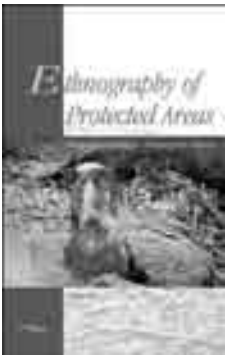

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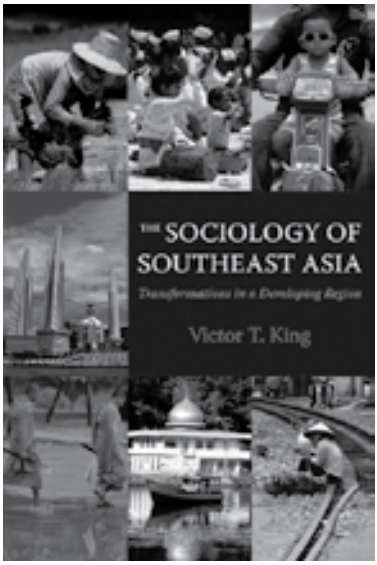

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About the Author

Victor T. King is Professor of South East Asian Studies and Executive Director of the White Rose East Asia Centre at the University of Leeds. He has published widely in the field of Southeast Asian studies, especially in the sociology of change and development and in social and cultural anthropology.

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Thursday, 14:00-15:40, Friday, 11:30-12:30, 14:00-15:40

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There will be no separate poster session. The exhibition will run parallel to the conference. Twenty minutes before starting the afternoon sessions on the second and third day of the conference, the authors will have an opportunity to discuss their posters on an individual or small group basis with the attendees.

An Anthropological Approach of Large Dams in France and Worldwide

Armelle Faure (Armelle.Faure@wanadoo.fr)

A retrospective ethnographic assesment of the social impact of the displacement caused by large dams in France involves the memory of local witnesses and a careful study of the local archives. The french large dams built in 1930-1970's have displaced about two thousand people in the Alps, Provence, the Pyrenees and the Massif Central (The Dordogne Gorges).
New insights arose while listening to the people such as the importance of rebuilding transport connections ; railways in France. Local knowledge highlights the perception of the identity of an infrastructure, and the rituals related to it, including those caused by the loss of cultural heritage. Interviews show that even among the third generation people still feel anger against the social process.
An international academic community shared interest of large dams starting in the 60's. These African dams displaced around fifty thousand people each. Displacement and resettlement became common issues on infrastructure projects. Prof. Cernea (World Bank) prepared a safeguard policy : Involuntary Resettlement. A milestone has been published : « The Future of Large Dams » (Scudder 2005). At a national level in France, the support from the international community led to publish this year the first book on large dams and on displacement.
A new generation is becoming increasingly global, using digital communication. Each engaged as social experts during the building of dams and other infrastructure. The new projects may contribute to the critical movement for a better understanding of what is at stake. In this way the situation of the so called « affected population » can be improved.

Cairo's City of the Dead: Urban vs. Rural among the Dwellers of the Cemetery

Anna Tozzi di Marco (anna_tozzi@hotmail.com)

Since 1998 I have been working on Cairo's Al Qarafa, that is the urban cemetery commonly termed "City of the dead." I lived there - because of my field work - as resident untill 2005.

I researched about the relationship between the urbanisation of the cemetery and the death and burial rituals. As you know, Cairo's City of the dead is extremely interesting because of the close cohabitation between the living and the dead as an exclusive way with which Egyptians communicate their meaning of the sacred, their perception of the dead and the afterlife.
I usually participate in international and national conferences and academic seminars in order to spread the knowledge about this necropolis that is still in use as a burial ground. Many prejudices about this cemetery and its resident community give a distorted representation of it, even among scholars. So I feel that a part of my job is to contribute with a different portrayal and interpretation of it.

Common Ground for Understanding vs. Common Language: Illustrating Experiences of Daily Life after Natural Disasters

Dikaios Sakellariou, Cardiff University (dikaiossakellariou@gmail.com)

Disasters and their impact have traditionally been discussed by non-affected people, while the experiences of affected people are rarely heard, precluding the possibility of constructing a common ground for understanding. This poster will present the concept of heteroglossia as the theoretical assumption underpinning a study aiming to construct narratives of daily life experiences after a disaster.
Different social actors occupy different vantage points and thus their experiences, and their interpretations of these, vary. To illustrate this multifactorial discourse, the Bakhtinian concept of heteroglossia will be used. Heteroglossia refers to the multiple discourses operative in every society, which regulate access to resources, including power and representation. The various vantage points people occupy, their different perspectives and the different "languages" they speak are intertwined in relationships of power.
The construction of a common language does not eradicate the possibility of misinterpretation, as it perpetuates power differentials, and also excludes people whose experience cannot be understood according to these conventions. Acknowledging heteroglossia enables us to accept the fragmented nature of reality and make sense of the multiple semantic networks within which individual experiences are grounded. The importance of narratives is that by giving lives a sense of continuity and meaning they make them legible, and thus they enable people to communicate towards a negotiated common understanding.
Narratives will illuminate how the participants make meaning of their life worlds. It is in the exploration of these multiple narratives that the hope for the establishment of a common ground for understanding and action lays.

Digging for a Living in Liberia

Anne Fitzgerald, National University of Ireland (anniefitz08@gmail.com)

This poster represents the research I have been undertaking on the theme of youth and child labour in diamond mining in Liberia. I spent four weeks in Liberia talking to diamond miners, young and older, mine owners, government mining agents and local NGOs about child/youth labour, and diamond mining as an economic activity. Child labour is condemned by the international community. Child labour is portrayed as an aberration, yet the incidence of child labour remains stubbornly high in sub-Saharan Africa. Susan Levine's study of child labour in South Africa, throws light on this situation in that she concludes that both "pre and post apartheid, child labour both waged and unwaged-figures prominently in family survival strategies" (Levine

p48). Yet, so often, western notions of a correct and proper childhood dominate the debate among the international community on the issue of child labour. What impact does the child rights debate have on those young miners in Liberia?
While these young Liberian miners spend their youth in hard labour but for very little gain in the diamond mining industry, diamonds are a girls' best friend in the developed world of the West and the rapidly developing worlds of Asia and the Middle East. What light can development thinkers throw on the increasing poverty and lack of development evident in Liberia and throughout West Africa? Development theorists, like Andre Gundar Frank, Raul Prebisch, Samir Amin and Immanuel Wallerstein postulate that the international capitalist trade system is configured in ways, which enrich the wealthy developed countries. The diamond industry is a very good example of primary product extraction in the developing world, enriching the importers of the developed world.

E-Rotic Entrepreneurs: Selling Sex in Dublin

Emma Heffernan, National University of Ireland (emma.ja.heffernan@nuim.ie)

The Dublin sex-work industry, like other service industries, is subject to the forces of globalisation. Economic growth, changes in the labour market, migration, national and EU legislative frameworks, and advances in technology, condition how women engage in sex-work. Using life histories from sex workers, this poster charts at how sex-work in Dublin has been transformed in the last fifteen years or so, in response to changes facilitated by technological advances, especially with the proliferation of mobile phones and the Internet. In the recent past, covert advertisements in magazines, offering a mere hint at what carnal delight might be on offer, have given way to explicit internet websites, allowing potential buyers to view an array of women in various locations around the city, as well as a menu of services, price lists, and graphic photos. Indeed, far from looking like an exotic enterprise, the sex industry, especially in the escort sector of the market, resembles many other branches of the service industry, in dealing with the effects of globalisation while finding new and innovate means of accessing their potential market as part of their economic strategy.

Folk Culture and Cultural Heritage in Ribatejo, Central Portugal

Pedro Sena, Universidade Nova de Lisboa (pedrosilvasena@gmail.com)

In Ribatejo, a region in central Portugal, folklore, festivals and other performances drawn from folk culture often involve displays of "campinos," local bull herdsmen who have an important role in bull raising and fighting as well as in horse breeding. Bull herdsmen are frequently presented as virile, heroic, faithful and unselfish men, and it is difficult to find an opposite image about them on (local and even national) media, literature, travel guides, ethnographic and geographic studies.
"Campinos" were made the firm symbol of the region in the period between 1840 and 1940, as folk culture was objectified, nationalised and regionalised (Handler 1988, Löfgreen 1989). And from mid 20th century on they became the centrepiece of festivals and folklore, subject of exhibitions, monuments and memorials as one of the key elements of identity discourses in Ribatejo and, only recently, part of what is considered local cultural heritage. Finally, it can be argued that local policies of identity and agendas of patrimonialisation and re-traditionalisation are part of undergoing processes of modernisation and globalisation.

Based on a multi-sited ethnography (2005-2007) and in historical analysis, this poster will bring to focus the ways through which patrimonialisation in Ribatejo, particularly of local bull herding representations and practices, are built and organised as an enactment of the past and collective memory (Candau 1996, Nora 1984-1992).

Haute Couture: The Deployment of the Spectacular in Live Performances

David Murphy, National University of Ireland (david.jo.murphy@nuim.ie)

This poster explores the experience of comunitas within the context of the Slavic black metal music scene. Due to the multi-sited-ness of this music scene, attention will be drawn to the meanings created through different forms of participation e.g. from everyday face-to-face interaction to the production of music, artwork and small scene based entrepreneurial activities.
An examination of the kinds of interaction produced when a band plays a number of shows in different regions, areas and countries, tells us something about the role of prior musical knowledge. In the case of bands from former Yugoslavia, this often sheds light on the tensions inherent and negated through shared music scene based identities. However this prior knowledge may be deemed less relevant in the context of a "crowd winning" performance and the mutual sense of "collective effervescence" forged during these occasions tells us much about the "quality" of the music performed.
Therefore this poster provides an insight into a relatively modern (early 1990s) music scene that is aesthetically misanthropic and came to prominence due to several cases of church arson, murder, suicide and other forms of violence. Yet, in practice this facilitates a high degree of (relatively) egalitarian interaction, displays novel forms of anti-reflexive reflexivity in regards to extremist hate based politics and has produced tangible and lasting "glocal" communities/neo-tribes.

Health for All – Immigrants Excluded

Henrik Wahlberg, Transcultural Center (henrik.wahlberg@sll.se)
Marco Scarpinati-Rosso, Transcultural Center (marco.scarpinati-rosso@sll.se)

Persons with medical diseases have in general been treated according to their medical needs. The explicit ambition of the health care staff has been egalitarian.
So-called liberal attitudes and policies seem to change this pattern even in bastions of social welfare - as the Scandinavian countries. Immigrants are by legislation and authority rules excluded from a large part of the medical services. The alleged reason for this is the fear of "medical tourism" and increased costs.
Immigrants are entitled only to acute medical care that cannot be postponed. The staff in the medical clinics gets a new role - to categorise the patients and to reject service to some of them.
This new role seems to change the values among the staff, from egalitarian to values that justify the selection process. Many immigrants with expired or denied visa applications decide to hide and stay and some immigrants enter the country without the required entering forms. The political establishment has in recent discussions labeled those immigrants as criminals. The conclusion that follows is that the society is not obliged to provide medical service to these immigrants because they are criminals.
The change of the attitudes and the political discussion heralds a tougher social climate in the Scandinavian countries. The matter needs to be discussed from a medical anthropological point of view.

InterMultiFemina: An Anthropological Analysis of Ethnic Minority Women's Narratives about Health and General Wellbeing

Stina Lou, Central Region Centre of Public Health (stina.lou@stab.rm.dk)
Inge Wittrup, Region Midtjylland (inge.wittrup@stab.rm.dk)

In Denmark, the general discourses on health show a lack of ethnic minority perspective. Especially, ethnic minority women's perspectives are rarely represented. This study investigates ethnic minority-women's experiences with health and wellbeing in the context of migration and exile. The method is participant observation in minority dense communities in the city of Aarhus, Denmark combined with ten semi-structured interviews with ethnic minority women. The study shows that these women experience unintelligible pains that the Danish health system is not able to recognise or treat. We propose a new understanding of these women and a starting point for a new, mutual understanding between the women and the Danish health care system: InterMultiFemina.

Itineraries and Routes: Anthropological Perspectives on Tourism and Free Climbing

Nadia Munter (University of Vienna) nadiamunter@hotmail.com

Travelling adorns. For the members of rich industrialized countries to journey may be looked at as an imposed duty. Refering to voyages suggests open mindedness, communication skills, experience, sophistication, a spirit of adventure and not least graces the Curriculum Vitae. Moreover itineraries are characterized by a thirst of adventure, the search for the great outdoors, intact nature, Shangri-la, the ultimate kick, and thrill seeking adventure.
Extrem experiences boom. Facing and confronting new and wack challenges became a mass sensation, representing a contemporary feature, which besides body awareness marks a revival of growing consciousness towards the natural environment. In this context, free climbing in particular suits for the illustration, importance and interconnection of several aspects.
My intention is to demonstrate how this trendsport is interlaced with social and cultural interactions, taking the example of a climbing area in southern Spain, which is considered to be a tip among insiders. With this contribution, I seek to portrait the perception of travelling and dwelling in this field. I explore in how far the rocky landscape represents a scene for climbers and how their performance functions as a tourist attraction at the same time. Furthermore, the poster outlines the motivations and concepts that underlie the construction of tourist spaces and illustrates the remarkable popularity of travelling and climbing in a western social setting. The work of the imagination in Appadurai's sense is inherent to both climbing and travelling and is linked to the fulfillment of dreams and desires. These activities engage people from different cultural backgrounds and may bring them into close contact. Out of this perspective I finally want to present whether travelling and climbing through landscapes may be suited for an intercultural dialogue.

La Zen et la construction sociale de l'anthropologue

Ferdinando Fava, Università degli Studi di Padova (ferdinando.fava@unipd.it)

L'objet de ce poster tient aux logiques microsociales qui gouvernent la construction de la frontière symbolique séparant la ZEN (un quartier périphérique au nord de Palerme,

Sicile, Italie) du reste de la ville. Les tropes médiatiques « d'enfer, ghetto, Bronx…» décrivent son univers social à l'aide d'un cadre narratif qui enferme les intervenants extérieurs (bénévoles, hommes politiques, travailleurs sociaux, urbanistes) dans les discours de la déviance et de la pathologie sociale et stigmatise les résidents en les dessaisissant de toute initiative personnelle mis à part, bien sûr, les comportements déviants. L'enquête de terrain analyse la construction des identités à l'intérieur d'un service social et dans l'espace résidentiel. Les récits à orientation biographique et le matériau ethnographique sont resitués dans l'unité interne d'événement et de sens de la rencontre anthropologique par l'identification, différée et processuelle, de la construction social du chercheur. Ainsi se manifestent deux sociabilités avec leur propre cohérence. Dans le service social il en résulte un récit (le quartier des agents) axé sur « la violence », « la sexualité sauvage », « la temporalité » et tissé du « jargon » professionnel (la notion de *progettualità*, de risque et de famille multiproblematique). Il sert à reproduire la hiérarchie interne et aide à gérer un clivage social tout en contribuant à le reproduire. Dans l'espace résidentiel, le récit pluriel du quartier, entrelacs de lieux et de trajectoires biographiques singulières, négocie la stigmatisation externe tout en aidant à gérer la sociabilité interne : les relations de voisinage polarisées par la gestion des signes manifestant les écarts dans la hiérarchie sociale locale, un dispositif familial centré sur la maîtrise de l'initiative personnelle qui, inhibée à l'extérieur par les contraintes structurelles, fait des rapports de genre le pivot du positionnement réciproque dans l'espace commun. La « construction sociale de l'anthropologue» joue alors comme un révélateur de ces frontières et des logiques qui les reproduisent.

Measures and Practices of the Educational System Concerning Gypsies: Results of Two Case Studies in Romania and Portugal

Maria Mendes, Universidade de Lisboa (mamendesster@gmail.com)
Stefania Toma, Romanian Institute for Researches on National Minorities (tomastefania76@yahoo.com)

It is estimated that there are twelve million Gypsies in the world and that two thirds live in Europe. The biggest communities are concentrated in Central European countries, like Bulgaria (700 800 thousand), the Czech Republic (250-300 thousand), Hungary (550-600 thousand), Romania (1 million 800 thousand-2 million 500 thousand), Slovakia (480-500 thousand) and former Yugoslavia (between 690 thousand and 1 million). It is estimated that thirty to fifty thousand Gypsies live in Portugal.
There is certain transverseness at the level of social situations, living conditions and difficulties experienced by Gypsies in several countries, as it happens in Portugal and Romania. In both contexts, Gypsies are categorised as an ethnic group, a minority group, a minority particularly vulnerable to poverty, social exclusion and possibly to marginalisation. There seems to be a certain consistency and historicity in the prejudices that are built by the majorities in these two countries regarding the Gypsies. It seems evident among the major population an attitude of general antipathy, sometimes, of not controlled but open rejection. Therefore, in this communication we would like to present and discuss some of the results of two case studies: one of them made in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area and the other in Nusfalau (Salej County) in Romania. Among the dimensions to be analysed, we will debate the impact of some political and social measures and their effect on the practices, that is, both on the Gypsies' behaviours regarding schooling and educational system, and on the practices of some of the educational system's actors (teachers, educators, education assistants). Are we facing political measures that are in consonance with the practices, that

can promote an integrated and/or a separated education? In a wider context, that of the relations between Gypsies and non-Gypsies, we will try to account for the representations, practices, obstacles and difficulties that mark the relation between Gypsies and the formal educational system. The interpretation of the results demands a reflection on the importance of the table of values of the Gypsy ingroup, about its internal structure and the relevance of informal education within itself.

Motherhood and Access: the Dialectic between Health Services and the Community in Southern Mozambique

Maria Cristina Alvarez Degregori, Medicus Mundi Catalunya (cristinalvarez_projectes@yahoo.es)
Aida David Parruque, Medicus Mundi Catalunya (matsenjua@yahoo.com)

The lack of access of women to Sexual Reproductive Health services, particularly in developing countries, contributes to the high morbidity and mortality arising from health problems that should be largely avoidable. So, at the Millennium Development Goals, "universal access" become a target to improve maternal health by 2015
Access represents the posibility to obtain reproductive health care when required. Consequently, this implies a dialectic between the supply of and the potential demand. Due to this dialectic, the pregnant woman and her cultural context becomes a key dimension, whose study and analysis are generally ignored in public health policies.
On the basis of experience with the Safe Motherhood Program in southern Mozambique, the present study uses a health and ethnographic approach to analyze the factors that affect the choices and often tortuos path, arising from obstetric complications in a society where biomedicine coexist with other medical sistems. Those choices and courses do derive not merely from kinship and gender relations and the cultural logic about maternity, disease, risks and causality but also from the socialization of experiences that individuals have with the health services. Conditioned by the context of poverty, the health system offers a fragile alternative for responding to the population's medical needs "when required". In this scenario, where access has health and cultural dimensions, the present study about access analyzes the "meetings and misses" between the health services and the population and furnishes a basis for a qualitative interpretation of the reproductive health indicators.

Moving Anthropology Student Network

The MASN Collective (sara.arko@gmail.com)

The poster is intended to embrace the ongoing Moving Anthropology Student Network (MASN) activities. Our point of departure is the creation of an international network of ethnology and socio-cultural anthropology students. Independent from institutional spheres and already established academic hierarchies, MASN provides an exciting and constructive exchange platform for sharing ideas and research experiences between students of diverse backgrounds. "Moving" in the title implies a sort of a movement: the growing membership of the network (over 1300 members) constantly fuelled with the creativity of young researchers, and the ever-changing venue of MASN conferences. Established in 2005 by students and for students, MASN has successfully organised five conferences (in Austria, Croatia, Poland, Germany and Italy), with the sixth coming up in Slovenia, in August 2008. MASN's dedication is to create and sustain a space for agency and student involvement, which is structurally often weak in studying at a University. At each conference, MASN-ers focus on diverse

anthropological topics in the form of paper presentations, workshops, roundtables, and fringe events. Besides the opportunity to widen their conceptual horizons through productive discussions, participants are offered the space to present their research experiences to international student audiences, as well as to publish their works (the MASN-Germany reader). Inspiring and fruitful new ideas emerge through informal networking, while common research explorations and projects are being developed by MASN participants. Our poster will be presented on the 10th Biennial EASA-Conference by a part of the MASN "collective" – participants of the Slovenian MASN conference.

Nature and Culture in the Watered Landscapes on a Dalmatian Island

Urška Stražišar, University of Ljubljana (urska.strazisar@siol.net)

Close attention paid to the relationship between man and his environment on island Dugi otok results in a fact that the Island's distinctive ecological feature of scarce water resources bares various social implications in the life of the islanders. The water in this respect is not only seen as a subject per se (as natural resource) but as a socio-cultural artefact and a symbolic means, interrelating environment, people, their ideas and practices. Therefore, the purpose in the research is to trace the physical as well as symbolical flows of the waters inscribed into the particular landscapes of the Island. The applied approach crosses the boundaries of the main discipline of anthropology and it pursues the principles of ethnoecology, the socio-natural junction of two sciences (and their respective fields): comparative sociology and ecology. The prospective findings would enrich the anthropological knowledge about the everyday life practices and symbolic imagery regarding water in the Adriatic region. At the same time they would be (hopefully) accepted as applicable knowledge that might contribute to the higher efficiency of the developmental projects of sustainable use and management of natural resources (water resources in particular) in the region.

The "Clothing of Light": From Magic Healing to Biophotonic Therapy

Traian Dinorel Stănciulescu, Alexandru Ioan Cuza University (tdstanciu@yahoo.com)
Aritia Poenaru, National Inventics Institute, (aritia.poenaru@yahoo.it)

The poster argues that many of the indigenous healing practices, usually considered as irrational manifestations of the primitive mentality – such as the use of plants and crystals, the synergetic power of music, dance and drawn symbols, the utilization of the magic objects and, finally, the power of the witchcraft – could be explained into the scientific terms of BIOPHOTONICS (biology + theory / technology of lasers). In this way, is possible to justify that the old therapeutic practices are based on the same type of unifying process, namely: (bio)resonance established between the human (living) body emission of light (ultra-weak bioluminescent/auric system) and the (bio) waves emitted by the different types of curing stimuli. It is exactly this mechanism that the modern quantum medicine is bio-technologically valorising. The syncretism of the ethnical practice of clothing is particularly presented, by arguing that the resonant properties of the natural textile materials, colours, decorative symbols, tailored volumes and accessories are synergetically influencing the human bio-psychical health state. Traditionally based, a modern and ecological / healthy "CLOTHING OF LIGHT" could be developed.
Anthropologically, the archetypal unity of the human being and the light – specifically manifested in all the human cultures – could represent the path towards

a NEW SYNCRETISM: magic and technology, soul and body, tradition and modernity, harmoniously together…

Visual Anthropology in the Context of Filmic Manipulations: Between Expressiveness and Objectivity

Victoria Chistyakova, Russian Institute for Cultural Research (v_chistyakova@mail.ru)

As it has been noticed by Clifford Geertz, there is still a lack of reflection on ways of representation of anthropology. If it is accepted that anthropology in the form of film exists, hence film comprises means of anthropological writing. What is it possible to consider as such a means? How do these means correspond with traditional feature-film methods? At the same time there are not only the rules coming from cinema, but also the rules coming to anthropological film from science. In other words, anthropological film has to imply communication of scientific anthropological knowledge with the help of filmic methods, but these particular filmic methods inevitably become the part of the whole message.
As it was said by Sol Worth, there is a distinction between the use of medium and the studying of how a medium is used. The last is in the focus of the current paper, and fragment of the film "Yaptik" by filmmaker Edgar Bartenev demonstrates how filmic methods can design anthropological reality.

Whose Corruption? Neo-Liberalism, Class, and the European Integration to the East

Sabina Stan, Dublin City University (sabina.stan@dcu.ie)

In the last two rounds of the European integration process, corruption served as a major signifier of the distance separating East European countries from those already inside the Union. The first were seen as emerging from decades of communist regime the economy of which rotted under the moist grip of central planning. As such, they were deemed in need of rapid transformation towards Western standards of democracy and free market. East and West, plan and market, public and private, past and future, socialism and capitalism were collapsed into a mutually reinforcing opposition which highlighted contrasting features of, on the one hand, corruption, opacity and waste, and, on the other, transparency, accountability and efficiency.
Challenging this stark opposition, the paper proposes that, rather than being simply a socialist legacy, corruption can be understood as part and parcel of neo-liberalism and of its project of restoring the power of ruling elites and classes (Harvey, 2005). Indeed, corruption contributes to this project both on the material level (by helping to channel additional resources in the hands of the corporate class) and on the ideological level (by redefining corruption as an issue external to the market, because situated in the public sector or in "other", non-market economies). But while ruling or ascending classes re-appropriate the global neo-liberal discourse in a locally specific manner, dominated classes also develop their own understandings of corruption that challenge the dominant view.

Civilisations

Revue internationale d'anthropologie et de sciences humaines

Civilisations is a peer-reviewed journal of anthropology. Published continuously since 1951, it features articles in French and English in the various fields of anthropology, without regional or time limitations. Revived in 2002 with a new editorial board and a new subtitle (*Revue internationale d'anthropologie et de sciences humaines*), *Civilisations* particularly encourage the submission of articles where anthropological approaches meet other social sciences, to better tackle processes of society making.

Editors: Prof. Pierre Petit and Dr. Joël Noret

http://www.ulb.ac.be/is/revciv.html

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Civilisations est une revue d'anthropologie à comité de lecture. Diffusée sans discontinuité depuis 1951, elle publie, en français et en anglais, des articles relevant des différents champs de l'anthropologie, sans exclusive régionale ou temporelle. Relancée depuis 2002 avec un nouveau comité éditorial et un nouveau sous-titre (*Revue internationale d'anthropologie et de sciences humaines*), la revue encourage désormais particulièrement la publication d'articles où les approches de l'anthropologie s'articulent à celles d'autres sciences sociales, révélant ainsi les processus de construction des sociétés.

Last issues:

- *Religions transnationales*, vol. *LI* (1-2)
- *Transmissions des savoirs et interactions culturelles*, vol. *LII* (1)
- *Museums, Collections, Interpretations*, vol. *LII* (2)
- *Musiques « populaires ». Catégorisations et usages sociaux*, vol. *LIII* (1-2)
- *Expériences de recherche en République Démocratique du Congo*, vol. *LIV* (1-2)
- *Confrontations et alliances dans les Amériques autochtones*, vol. *LV* (1-2)
- *Après la catastrophe*, vol. *LVI* (1-2)

Next issues:

- *Tourisme, mobilités et altérités contemporaines*, vol. *LVII* (1-2), Nov. 2008
- *Afrocentrismes américains*, vol. *LVIII* (1), Apr. 2009

Films

Room: 34

ANTHROPOLOGICAL FILM, VIDEO AND NEW MEDIA FESTIVAL

Mutterstücke/Mothers - 4 Pieces

58 min, 2006

By: Michaela Schauble, Johanna Straub, Nan Mellinger, Sandra Kulbach

Screening: **Wednesday, 27th August 2008, 9:00**
Thursday, 28th August 2008, 9:00

This documentary in four episodes sees four women in their sixties portrayed by their daughters. Reflecting this very personal bond is extremely challenging considering the lifelong, always emotional, sometimes ambiguous and often unquestioned relationship between mother and daughter. The film pursues this intimacy, revealing its silent, loving as well as colliding aspects. The unconditionally private approach is also reflected in the fact that each episode was filmed and edited by the respective daughter. Four intimate episodes, each focussing on a personal relationship, connect to a broader view on a universal issue: mothers – and their daughters. The film interweaves eight biographies and reveals aspects of a sociogram of motherhood as seen through the private lens of the next generation.

Cominando con Cecilia/Walking with Cecilia

55 min, 2007

By: Michaela Krimmer

Screening: **Wednesday, 27th August 2008, 10:00**
Thursday, 28th August 2008, 10:00

Caminando con Cecilia" is the portrait of an indigenous woman in Colombia who tries to live a self determined life. Cecilia left the village of her ancestors to be „free" in a Colombian town. Free from tradition, free from her husband, free from the terror of the Guerrilla.
But the desire to be on her indigenous home land again, where she was born and raised, makes her go back – to her village and to her own past.

Stam. Nous restons là/Stam. We are Staying

54 min, 2007

By: Anna Schiltz, Grégoire Charlotte

Screening: **Wednesday, 27th August 2008, 12:00**
Thursday, 28th August 2008, 11:00

Two filmmakers spend time getting to know Ruth and Natalia, two young Romanian women who grew up together in the Transylvanian village of Malancrav. One is a Gypsy, the other a Saxon; one left the village, the other stayed. The only thing they seem to have in common is their childhood friendship. This is a film that explores the contradictions in their relationship and questions our understanding of social and ethnic belonging, migration, money, rural life and the search for one's roots.

Ki more bit zvončar/Who Can Become a Bellman

55 min, 2008

By: Ivo Kuzmanić, Aleksej Pavlovsky

Screening: **Wednesday, 27th August 2008, 12:55**

The bellmen (zvončari) of the Kastav region are colourful Carnival characters that fill TV-screens with report segments when they start on their parades every year. For 12 years a parade of traditional Carnival groups has been taking place in Matulji on Lent Saturday, when almost all bellmen groups from the Kastav region come together. And everything is hunky-dory, everything is clear. But two bellmen groups have been quite adamant about staying away from the Matulji parade – the ones from Rukavac and Zvoneće. Unlike all other bellmen groups who travel to events around the country and the world, these two refuse to go anywhere. Their motives give rise to some fundamental questions pertaining to the modern purpose of traditional customs and appropriate modes for their modern incarnations, a topic on which not even ethnologists agree. At the same time, around Kastav new groups are appearing all the time and the bellmenship is gaining momentum, but it is increasingly integrating new occurrences that cultural globalization continuously and mercilessly brings in its wake

Lifelibrary

15 min, 2007

By: Amanda Hill Belantara

Screening: **Wednesday, 27th August 2008, 13:55**

Library is full of ambiguities and double meanings. It is an institution that has had little attention in anthropological debate or in the minds of most of its users. Upon further consideration, its seemingly unobtrusive or neutral position in the conscious thought of many brings about questions of its purpose, its use, and its history. Infamously known as the place where stuffy old maids and eccentric grey haired men flip through catalogs, rejoice in collecting library fines, and are quick to let out an annoyed hiss-like shhh! At the slightest disturbance, I was interested in learning what sound could reveal about the library. Manchester was one of the fist cities in Britain to open a public library. How will the Manchester Central Library evolve?

Everyday Life of Roma Children from Block 71

27 min, 2007

By: Ivana Todorović

Screening: **Wednesday, 27th August 2008, 14:10**

There are 600 squatter settlements in Serbia, the inhabitants of which are mostly of Roma origin. Of these, 105 are in Belgrade with seventeen more in New Belgrade. Here, Ivana Todorovic documents the life of the Stankovic family who migrated from Southern Serbia in search of better opportunities. Provided with few social services, their living conditions are rough and the children work to help support their family. An intimate window into Serbian Roma culture, the documentary sheds light on the intricacies of Roma customs and their amalgamation of cultural influences – from Roma and Serbian culture to Hispanic pop-culture. Remarkably resilient, funny and optimistic, the children speak openly about their hopes and dreams, including

educational opportunities from which they are often excluded. Charming and informative, the documentary brings an alternative and very human view of the often-beleaguered and impoverished Roma.

Keep the Dance Alive

75 min, 2007

By: Rina Sherman

Screening: **Wednesday, 27th August 2008, 15:20**

A unique voyage through the music, dance and spirit possession practices of the Ovahimba people of north-western Namibia and south-western Angola, *Keep the Dance Alive* features remarkable footage of how dance and spirit possession is integrated into everyday life from infancy to death. The documentary presents a singular vision of the Ovahimba people, that of director Rina Sherman who filmed the lives of an Omuhimba family for seven years. She focuses on how singing, rhythm and voice work together with dance and spirit possession to compose a complete imaginary universe and a dense and complex social structure

The Lost Water

25 min, 2007

By: DaKxin Bajarange

Screening: **Wednesday, 27th August 2008, 16:45**

73% of the total salt production in India comes from Gujarat State, almost 60% of which comes from Little Rann of Kutch (LRK), Gujarat.
The government of Gujarat has consistently ignored the LRK area. The salt workers of LRK, known as Agariyas, are predominantly from the Koli and Chuvaliya Koli tribes. As bonded labourers, they are not only victims of wage discrimination, they are enduring serious physical and mental health hazards due to the dangerous nature of their work. Kharaghoda village itself is home to 437 widows. Working in extreme temperatures without any protective gear, many Agariyas suffer major health complications, including blindness and skin damage due to unprotected exposure to salt. Living in abject poverty, Agariyas now face water scarcity as well as malnutrition since green vegetables are not available in this area.
The LRK area has recently been designated as a wildlife sanctuary for the threatened Indian Wild Donkey, making salt workers and salt production in LRK now illegal. Agariyas have been forced by government authorities to look outside the LRK for work, now struggling for both their ancestors' land and their livelihood.

Remembering John Marshall

16 min, 2006

By: Alice Apley, David Tamés

Screening: **Wednesday, 27th August 2008, 17:15**

A portrait of filmmaker and activist John Kennedy Marshall who began his career in the 1950s documenting the lives of the Ju/'hoansi people of Namibia—among the last remaining hunter-gatherers—for anthropological audiences. In the 1980s Marshall became an activist helping the Ju/'hoansi fight for land and water rights. He made important contributions to cinéma vérité filmmaking and leaves behind an extensive

ethnographic film archive including over 20 films on the Ju/'hoansi. Features interviews with Elizabeth Marshall Thomas, Robert Gordon, Alexandra Eliot Marshall, Cynthia Close, Sandeep Ray, Karma Foley, Jayasinhji Jhala, and Rakhi Jhala.

Chaalo, les voix du deuil?/Chaalo, the Voices of Mourning?

54 min, 2007

By: Thomas Osmond, Jean-Marc Lamoure

Screening: **Wednesday, 27th August 2008, 17:35**

This film deals with the meeting of Jean-Marc Lamour, the director of this movie, and Chaalo Magarsa, a mystic religious leader living in the rural areas of Western Ethiopia. Mister Chaalo, as he likes to be named, is a man dress like a woman, worshipping through spirit possession cults the local divinities of the area. Chaalo is the head priest of the Mo'aata, a religious group celebrating Demamiti, the female spirit who catches individuals affected by the death of one relative. Each year, in the end of the rainy season the local community gathers around the shrine of the great religious leader of the area incarnated by Damfa, the patron saint of the whole valley. During these ceremonies, the religious group led by Chaalo performs a possession ritual to express its devotion to Damfa. It is in this celebrating context that Jean-Marc Lamoure met Mister Chaalo for the first time in September 2001.č Haunted by the recent death of his brother, Jean-Marc Lamoure found an echo to his pain following the tracks of Chaalo through the sensitive path of mourning.

Ngat is Dead: Studying Mortuary Traditions

59 min, 2007

By: Christian Sur Nilsen, Ton Otto

Screening: **Wednesday, 27th August 2008, 18:30**

What does it mean when anthropologists claim to study the cultural traditions of others by participating in them? This film follows the Dutch anthropologist Ton Otto, who has been adopted by a family on the island of Baluan in the South Pacific. Due to the death of his adoptive father he has to take part in mortuary ceremonies whose form and content are however forcefully contested by different groups of relatives. Through the ensuing negotiations Ton learns how Baluan people perform and develop their traditions and not least what role he plays himself. The film is part of long-term fieldwork in which filmmaking has become integrated in the ongoing dialogue and exchange relations between the islanders and the anthropologist.

SPECIAL PROGRAMME

Dar Fur - War for Water

94 min, 2008

By: Tomo Križnar, Maja Weiss

Screening: **Wednesday, 27th August 2008, 19:30**

Dar Fur – War for Water is about a mission, which Tomo Križnar, a human rights activist and (former) Slovenian President Janez Drnovsek's special emissary in Darfur, made. While Križnar presents Slovenian peace initiative to various fractions of Sudanese

Liberation Army, he films on camera very emotional and priceless talks with main rebel leaders and with civilians. This is the first film about Darfur, which enables the rest of the World to have an insight into entality of the rebels in Darfur and events, which took place there from February to June 2006. The documentary gives us the answer, why the peace, which was signed in Abudja in Nigeria between the Sudanese governement and the only signatory on the other side, self-proclaimed SLA leader, Minni Minawi, was obviously just o political charade, which still goes on today.
This documentary tells and shows with strong argumentation, that war in Darfur is not merely a war of people in Darfur against insignificance of Sudan and against arabic greed for petroleum and natural resources, but it is above all - due to climatic changes - war for water. The richest springs of water are found in Djebel Mara in Darfur, where the Furs live (Dar Fur means home of the Fur), who are the biggest victims of this war, indeed.
By showing shocking statements of women, who were raped and with the shots of military actions and dead people, this documentary points out that big World politics is to be blamed. It tells us obout Slovenian president's unsuccessful initiative. He was stopped by Condolezza Rice's, United States Secretary of State, threatening letter in which she suggested, that small Slovenia should not interfere with big politics.

PROGRAMME CAFFE

(Coordination of Anthropological Film Festivals in Europe)

Room: 34

Peace be with You/Peace for All

26 min, Macedonia, 2007

By: Elizabeta Koneska

Screening: **Thursday, 28th August 2008, 12:00**

Orthodox Christians and affiliates of various religious groups in Islam pray in the Orthodox Church of St. Nicholas, also known as Hidir Baba, in Makedonski Brod (West Macedonia).

Through these Eyes

67 min, Canada, 2004

By: Charles Laird, Asen Balikci

Screening: **Thursday, 28th August 2008, 12:30**

At the onset of the space race in the 1960s, the US government feared its educational system was slipping behind the Soviet Union's. A controversial science initiative grew out of its response, Man: A Course of Study, a program with the ambitious goal of teaching American children what it was to be human. At the program's core was a benchmark of visual anthropology, the Netsilik Film Series, capturing a year in the life of a small Inuit community on the cusp of contact. Man: A Course of Study created a clash of values that rippled throughout the schools of America, and revealed the fragile relationship between politics and educational reform. Weaving together remarkable archival and contemporary footage, Through These Eyes revisits the politics and controversy of this unprecedented era in American educational reform and offers an historical perspective on the study of anthropology.

Allotment Happiness

19 min, Germany, 2007

By: Eva Lipphold, Anna Schäfer

Screening: **Thursday, 28th August 2008, 13:40**

German, Indian and Turkish tenants of allotment gardens are planning a summer party. In a laconical yet entertaining way - so to speak "over the garden fence - the film shows the confrontation of wishful thinking with reality and reveals both the chances and pitfalls that lie in cultural diversity. The idyll of the garden site has its unexpected twists, and the allotment bliss ("Parzellenglück") raises the topics of alien and own - between radish and silver beet.

Here To Stay

72 min, Ireland, 2006

By: Alan Grossman, Aine O'Brien

Screening: **Thursday, 28th August 2008, 14:00**

Historically a country of departure and emigration, Ireland is now one of arrival and home to new constituencies of migrant workers from Africa, Asia and Eastern Europe. Shot over a period of two years, "Here To Stay" is an ethnographic portrait of the gay Filipino nurse Fidel Taguinod who leads the viewer through a series of migrant-led events, offering insight into how trade unionism develops in a rapidly expanding, multiracial Irish society.

Making Rain

57 min, Stonia and Norway, 2007

By: Liivo Niglas, Frode Storaas

Screening: **Thursday, 28th August 2008, 15:15**

The Vumba hills in central Mozambique, bordering Zimbabwe, are the Kingdom of Mambo Chief Chirara. The Mambo's position is acknowledged by the government and, besides being the most important ritual leader in the region, the Mambo is given the right to lead court-cases on minor crimes, spirit accusations and domestic affairs. He is the head of several sub-chiefs and ritual leaders. In the northernmost corner of the Mambo's kingdom, Mbeya Gondo, a lady in her seventies, is a ritual leader. One of her most important sites for ceremonies is a well-known rock-painted cave. Mambo Chirara is not all that happy with the old lady. He thinks she acts too independently and demands too much money for her ceremonies.

Room 11, Hotel Ethiopia

23 min, Japan, 2006

By: Itsushi Kawase

Screening: **Thursday, 28th August 2008, 16:15**

This film aims to capture a sense of the life of children living on the street in Gondar. Although it is about the children's life on the streets, the entire film was shot in the filmmaker's room in the Ethiopia Hotel. This limited space allows the film to focus on communication between subjects and filmmaker and to reveal some of the ideas that

enable them to endure and survive on the streets. Through its hybrid approach, the filmmaker aims to explore new trends in visual anthropology touching upon intimacy and subjectivity.

Vjesh/Singing

57 min, Italy, 2007

By: Rossella Schillaci

Screening: **Thursday, 28th August 2008, 16:45**

The women of San Constantino and San Paolo Albanese, in Basilicata, sing with their shrill and broken voices. They sing ancient vjeshet, that are passed down from mother to daughter and tell of the flight of the Albanians, who found refuge in southern Italy five centuries ago. The stories of brave and ironical women, stories of emigration and homecoming during the course of a summer, told through simple and daily meetings that reveal the memories, joys, and harsh life of each one of them.
"The idea came to me because I wanted to understand what cultural traditions represent two communities in Lucania, above all from the women's point of view, and how various cultural impositions can be so oppressive and hard. I wanted to give an anthropological side to the documentary and I spent lots of time with the people, observing in a participatory way, following their daily life. […] Despite their initial shyness, by the end of the shooting I was struck by how much the women wanted to tell me about themselves, in a way that was both ironical and involved, that was at times touching."

The Devils Mill

55 min, Hungary, 2007

By: Janos Tari

Screening: **Thursday, 28th August 2008, 17:45**

The everyday life of migrant fun fair operators is the filter through which we view the social and economic factors of the 20th and early 21st century that define the life and work of this social group. Hungary's admittance to the EU has presented new challenges and difficulties for them, such as continuing their traditional trade and lifestyle. Interest in their services has decreased considerably, so that this once thriving form of business is now on the verge of vanishing.

School Scapes

77 min, Australia, 2007

By: David MacDougall

Screening: **Thursday, 28th August 2008, 18:45**

This film is dedicated to the simple act of looking, in which each scene is a single shot. It explores the famous, progressive Rishi Valley School in South India. The coeducational school was founded on the educational principles espoused by Jiddu Krishnamurti, who stressed the importance of observing the world around us more calmly and simply, as if with fresh eyes. SchoolScapes was made in this spirit.

Life with Slate

59 min, Norway, 2006

By: Dipesh Kharel

Screening: **Friday, 29th August 2008, 9:00**

Alampu is a beautiful and exceedingly remote village in Nepal. The majority of the villagers are Thami, one of the indigenous groups of Nepal and more than 90% are involved in the local slate mine. Their lives have an almost poetic dimension, as strong women perform the tough and arduous work alongside the men in the mountainside mines, carrying heavy slate loads to sell them in distant villages. The film shows how co-operations between the miners makes this tough life bearable, as well as intimate scenes of the life of young mining families.

Years in Hand

46 min, Russia, 2006

By: Eugeny Aleksandrov, Elena Danilko

Screening: **Friday, 29th August 2008, 10:00**

Aforetime Miass town was known as one of the gold mining and metallurgical centres of the South Ural. Oldbelievers started to settle in the town and it surrounding since 18th century. They have brought to these parts and carefully kept religious and cultural traditions. When, in the middle of the 20th century oldbelievers' monasteries had been closed, monks lived the rest of their days trying to pass their knowledge to mundane oldbelievers. Thus a record of their singing was made for the prior of the church of Interseccion, which can be heard in the film. And nun named Minadora has tried to teach parishioner of the church Lubov Mikhaylovna Deikova the ancient art of sign singing and paskhalii (calculation of dates of Orthodox church feasts with a hand).

Swing

49 min, Russia, 2006

By: Anatoly Baluev

Screening: **Friday, 29th August 2008, 10:50**

"All my terms I've earned with my fist," says the hero of the film Vladimir Suslov. That is he served all his four terms of twenty years in total for hooliganism. It is known that a side blow is called a swing. But swing also means jazz, which is the greatest passion of Suslov. He is a musician by profession – a drummer and percussionist. Vivid monologues of this peculiar Russian man reveal all his contradictory life, beginning from early childhood.

A Touch of Class (Part 1)

52 min, The Netherlands, 2006

By: Mascha and Manfred Poppenk

Screening: **Friday, 29th August 2008, 11:40**

Someone's intellectual disability is often not visible from the outside. Many intellectual disabled youths develop behaviour disturbances because of incapacity and incomprehension, which makes their lives even harder. The other way around,

many behaviourally disturbed youths actually appear to be intellectually disabled, although unnoticed. The Kingmaschool offers secondary education to children with serious learning disabilities, and provides these youths with tangible grips and access to grab their last chance at a future. With open sight the students of this school are being followed. "A touch of Class" offers the viewer in three documents a chance to form an honest opinion about this hardly elucidated side of society.

A Hospize in Amsterdam

62 min, The Netherlands, 2005

By: Steef P.M. Meyknecht

Screening: **Friday, 29th August 2008, 11:40**

In Amsterdam, at the end of Van Gogh Street, is the 'Veerhuis'. People come there to die. There is room for four residents. With family and friends, they create their own temporary environment. There are 45 or so volunteers to help them. The 'Veerhuis' has been called an "almost home from home", where the residents can create their own surroundings and own way of dying. The documentary is a record of daily life in the house.

Hans Teunissen is one of the residents. Just as they used to do at home, his wife Ellen and her daughter are preparing a nice dinner, with grandchildren running around. Actually his favourite food is meatballs and not the splendid chicory dish that his wife's daughter is making. Hans uses the telephone a lot; he makes arrangements with friends and family for them to come and say good-bye. "That takes an awful lot of energy". He is often fearful of what is ahead of him.

For two and a half years prior to the four month filming period, filmmaker/anthropologist Steef Meyknecht worked as a volunteer in the 'Veerhuis'. This participant observation was essential for him in the making of this film.

Mama Blessing

40 min, The Netherlands, 2008

By: Roswitha Eshuis

Screening: **Friday, 29th August 2008, 13:40**

Mama Blessing is a young mother who fled from Nigeria after being threatened by a Mafioso voodoo sect. In Holland she roams the streets with her children. The children are sick and underfed and are placed in a foster home. There they discover that Blessing's son Daniel has a serious developmental disorder. As a condition for receiving the necessary care and treatment, he needs to be covered by health insurance. This means that the children need to stay in a foster home. The children are caught up in the wheels of the welfare state, while Blessing is left to her own devices. Bit by bit the children estrange from her. The mother is desperately looking for a way to regain the custody over her own children.

Firekeepers

57 min, Norway, 2007

By: Rossella Ragazzi

Screening: **Friday, 29th August 2008, 14:25**

Lawra Somby and Sara Marielle Gaup are two young Sámi "yoikers". Yoiks are lyrical

musical forms which do not only describe animals, things, people or experiences: in the Sámi culture the act of yoiking brings these things and creatures into being. The film explores some of their dilemmas, the history of some of the protagonists' kin, the way they struggled against assimilation of the Norwegian government. Lawra and Sara moreover are portrayed in their attempts to communicate to their respective communities of South and North Sámi, which speak different Sámi languages.

Elää ja palaa/You Live and Burn

69 min, Finland, 2007

By: Iiris Härmä

Screening: **Friday, 29th August 2008, 15:25**

The Gypsies have lived in Finland for hundreds of years and they form a significant minority in the country. Nevertheless, their everyday life is not very well known by the majority and few people understand the issues young Gypsies struggle with. In her documentary, Iiris Härmä has followed the lives of two Gypsy siblings, Benjamin and Mirella. After a difficult childhood, they are looking for new direction in their lives and are forced to re-assess their relationship with their community as the expectations of the family contradict with their own choices. As much happiness as well as misery is experienced during the year but the two siblings stick together and fearlessly face the future, step by step. You Live and Burn is a powerful, mastered statement for a person's right to follow his own path and to be accepted as they are.

On Edge

64 min, Portugal, 2005

By: Catarina Mourão

Screening: **Friday, 29th August 2008, 16:35**

This is the story of Rui's summer. Rui is a 13 year old boy who unlike all the other kids of his age doesn't like football and fighting. He prefers to take refuge in a dream like world surrounded by dinosaurs and other animals from the forest. This is a special summer: people are expecting the European Football Cup and the possible victory of the Portuguese team will raise the morale of a country in full recession. Kids and adults are hypersensitive, feelings go over the top. TVS are put outdoors and the games of the European cup are followed by children and adults as an almost religious ritual. The film focuses on daily life in a poor housing estate in Porto and, in particular, on a group of children aged between 8 and 14. It follows their life outdoors always inventing new games. Parents are seldom home and children have space and freedom to create their own rules, games of power many times copying the models they know from home. Sometimes things get really tough, other times there is a feeling of harmony and melancholy in the neighbourhood.

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