

Contents

Foreword.....	1
Introduction	1
Theme.....	2
Organisation	2
Practical information	3
Timetable	4
Key to panels & their location	5
Monday at a glance	6
Tuesday at a glance	8
Wednesday at a glance	11
Thursday at a glance	14
Events during the week	16
Plenary abstracts.....	17
Panel abstracts	19
Participant listing.....	78

Foreword

Changes to the 'dimensions and scale of fieldwork' speak to the very nature of social anthropological enquiry.

In the wake of the ASA's highly successful Decennial Conference in Manchester last year, our Durham convenors continue our new millennium stock-taking by posing questions that challenge the continuing distinctiveness of social anthropology as a set of disciplinary practices.

On behalf of the ASA Committee, I want to welcome you most warmly to this conference and to thank Simon Coleman and Peter Collins, and all their helpers in Durham, as well as Rohan Jackson the ASA's IT and conference consultant, for the efforts they have expended to allow us an opportunity to debate issues that catalyse change in current anthropological theorising.

On behalf of the ASA membership, I extend an especially warm reception to Berg Publishers in the person of their Director, Kathryn Earle. Although Kathryn knows our conferences well, this is the first time she has attended one as the ASA's official publisher. We could not have found a partner more supportive of the ideals of the discipline, and we are delighted to embark on our new publishing venture together.

Have an enjoyable and memorable conference.

Richard Fardon, Chair ASA

Introduction

Welcome to the University of Durham for the 2004 Conference of the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and the Commonwealth. The theme of the conference this year – *Locating the field* – was designed to encourage us to reflect on the past as well as the future of our discipline, and we've been delighted by the many responses we received to our original proposal from anthropologists based not only in the UK but also in Europe and beyond.

Our programme includes almost 30 panels. As plenary speakers we welcome three anthropologists who have developed distinctive but influential profiles in the world of anthropology: Ulf Hannerz (University of Stockholm), Nigel Rapport (University of St Andrews) and Webb Keane (University of Michigan). The plenaries interweave between the panels, providing a parallel conversation on the theme of the conference and allowing us all to come together to pool our thoughts at regular intervals. We are also hosting the ASA Annual Dinner, the Association's ABM, and an opening reception where you will be welcomed by Professor Alan Bilsborough, a Pro-Vice Chancellor of the University of Durham and an anthropologist as well. Other features of note in the conference include a session for postgraduates co-ordinated by two of our own, Adam Kaul and Lisa Dikomitis. We have also arranged a short walking tour for those curious to hear about the castle, cathedral and 'Palace Green', which lie at the heart of Durham.

Behind many of the suggestions for panels lies the work of the Public Culture in Theory and Practice (PCTP) research group, which is the main socio-cultural grouping in the Department of Anthropology at Durham. The group is dedicated to the study of publics and public institutions, their forms, their cultures and their influence on our history and our future. The study of publics may include the exploration of multi-locale fieldwork, where locale can be taken to mean virtual space (e.g. a website) as much as a specific bounded territory/place. The PCTP's activities are listed at www.dur.ac.uk/anthropology/PCTPRG/index.html. In the conference we also welcome the high-profile presence of another of the department's research groups, Anthropology in Development - www.dur.ac.uk/anthropology/AID/Seminars_AID/.

We hope that you will find the programme and your visit to Durham both stimulating and enjoyable. Postgraduate helpers will be on hand to help make your visit to Grey College and Durham as hassle-free and interesting as possible. Feel free also to approach Simon Coleman and Peter Collins (co-hosts in Durham) and Rohan Jackson (Conference administrator).

On behalf of the ASA we would like to thank the Department of Anthropology at Durham and the British Academy for their generous support.

Simon Coleman, Peter Collins, Conference convenors

Theme

Contemporary anthropologists are confronted by social processes and theoretical perspectives that are said to be transforming the dimensions and scale of fieldwork. Globalisation and cultural commodification are depicted as disrupting connections between culture and place. The locus of ethnography has apparently shifted to include forms of human organisation and sociality that transcend fixed geographical locations: diasporas, social movements and virtual realities. Architectural and spatial metaphors of analysis -- structures, territories, contexts -- are therefore being challenged by more fluid images of touring cultures and cultural pluralities. 'Locality' itself has been highlighted as a problem for both informants and fieldworkers, on the grounds that it must be maintained and reproduced in relation to widening (and fragmenting) social frames and networks. Such developments have raised questions concerning the nature of ethnographic co-presence and scales of comparison. Must we now engage in multi-sited projects that reflect the mobilities and expanded agencies of those whom we study? Can we assume that it is no longer the job of the ethnographer to search for order and coherence in the ramifying social and symbolic worlds of informants? Does the development of new electronic means of communication, involving cyberspace and the creation of virtual communities, require the fieldworker to stay on the verandah and switch on a computer? Or are reports of the death of conventional fieldwork greatly exaggerated?

We wish to take a critical look at the developments summarised above. Do they actually present profound shifts within anthropological theorising and methodology? Rather than taking 'globalisation', 'space-time compression' or 'mobility' for granted, anthropologists are well-placed to examine the totalising, often homogenising, assumptions behind these notions (which often reintroduce spatial metaphors in modified form). In defining their 'field' and their 'region', anthropologists should be able to go beyond simple dichotomies of 'local' versus 'global', 'parochial' versus 'cosmopolitan', or 'static' versus 'mobile'. The older spatial metaphors that have sustained anthropological theorising require our constant and questioning attention, but need they be abandoned?

Organisation

The conference is being organised by the following people:

Convenors

Simon Coleman and Peter Collins

Administrator

Rohan Jackson, www.nomadit.co.uk

With departmental assistance from Pat Craven

Contact details

ASA 2004, Department of Anthropology, 43 Old Elvet, Durham DH1 3HN

conference@theasa.org

Practical information

Location

The conference will be taking place in Grey College of the University of Durham. Grey College is less than a mile from Durham city centre - that's a ten minute walk, or a five minute taxi ride from bus or train station or town centre (fare is £3). Please note that the college is situated up a steep drive, so ask your taxi/lift to drop you at the door! College porters are on duty until midnight - so do try and arrive before then.

A bus service runs past the College every 15 minutes.

College/city map

You will find a handy map in your delegate pack, showing the location of the college, University and city centre.

Contact number

During the conference messages can be left for delegates (during office hours) on 0191 334 5900. There will be a message board in the JCR, which you can use to communicate with colleagues.

Assistance

If you have any queries please ask a member of the conference organising team – they should be easy to spot in their purple t-shirts!

Email access

There will be approximately 12 machines available for delegate use in the college. The guest username and password will be available from the registration desk in the JCR, and from the conference team.

Tea/coffee breaks (10.30am - 11am, 3pm - 3.30pm)

The refreshments will be served in the JCR and corridor outside it, allowing you to browse the Publishers' exhibition area inside the JCR.

Lunches (12.30pm-1.30pm)

Lunches are included as part of conference registration. They will be provided from the servery in the dining room, which is upstairs above the JCR and entrance. Monday and Thursday will be sandwich-style lunches; Tuesday and Wednesday will be cooked lunches.

Breakfasts (7.45am - 8.45am) and dinners

These are also served in the dining room upstairs – but are paid for as part of the accommodation. Dinner times vary through the week – please refer to the timetable.

Parking

There is a small car park at the college which delegates can use.

Taxi companies

Mac's	0191 384 1329	Paddy's (24 hour)	0191 384 2853	Pratt's	0191 386 0700
Dunelm	0191 383 1122	City	0191 384 0433	Chas's	0191 371 1488
Park	0191 373 1578	J.D. Cabs	0191 378 2555		

Other useful information

Durham Tourist Information Centre - T: 0191 384 3720

Timetable

Times of day

Breakfast 7.45am - 8.45am; Morning 1: 9am - 10.30am; Coffee break: 10.30am - 11am;
 Morning 2: 11am - 12.30pm; Lunch: 12.30pm - 1.30pm; Afternoon 1: 1.30pm - 3pm; Tea: 3pm - 3.30pm;
 Afternoon 2: 3.30pm - 5pm.

	Mon 29 th	Tues 30 th	Weds 31 st	Thurs 1 st
Morning 1		Panels: 1*, 9*, 13, 18	Panels: 3*, 6*, 10*, 11*	Panels: 12, 15, 17, 25, 28
Morning 2	<i>Registration</i>	Panels: 1*, 9*, 21, 26	Panels: 3*, 6*, 10*, 11*	Plenary C
Lunch	<i>Registration</i>		<i>ABM</i>	<i>Conference ends</i>
Afternoon 1	Panels: 7*, 14, 16, 23	Panels: 4*, 8*, 19*, 22*	Panels: 2, 5; <i>City tour</i>	
Afternoon 2	Panels: 7*, 20, 24, 27	Panels: 4*, 8*, 19*, 22*	Plenary B	
Evening	<i>Reception</i> (6.30pm) <i>Dinner</i> (7.30pm)	<i>Dinner</i> (6.45pm) Plenary A (8pm)	<i>ASA Dinner</i> (7.30pm)	

* indicates a double session

Summary

Monday

PM: Materiality of metaphor*; Cosmologies; Returning home; Pagan places; Labour migrations; Hosts and guests; Moving image

Tuesday

AM: 'Those who can, teach'...*; Inside or outside?*; Movement, place and boundaries: representations by and of 'Gypsies'; Constructing the local; (Post-) socialist fields; Belonging to the land

PM: The 'disappearing' of anthropology*; Local knowledge in development*; Questioning diasporas*; Places and identities*

Wednesday

AM: Producing fields, selves and anthropology*; Fluid-scapes*; Communities in cyberspace*; Mobilities and modernities*

PM: Scalarity and the cross-sectional imagination; Mobilities in question

Thursday

AM: Translocalities; Placemaking; Mobilities and embodiment; Writes de passage; Postgraduate session

Key to panels & their location

Plenary A	Field worries [Ulf Hannerz]	Holgate house
Plenary B	Diaspora, cosmopolis, global refuge: three voices of the supranational city [Nigel Rapport]	Holgate house
Plenary C	Christian global [Webb Keane]	Holgate house

No.	Title	Room
1*	'Those who can, teach'... [Convenor: C-SAP]	Holgate House
2	Scalarity and the cross-sectional imagination: orders of magnitude, projection, and consequentiality in the organisation of social relationships [Convenor: Corsín-Jiménez]	Old library
3*	Producing fields, selves and anthropology [Convenors: De Neve & Unnithan-Kumar]	New library
4*	The 'disappearing' of anthropology in a surfeit of 'the social' [Convenors: Edwards, Stockl, & Strathern]	Holgate house
5	Mobilities in question: new sites/sights of feminist ethnography? [Convenors: Frohlick & Luce]	New library
6*	Fluid-scapes: places of motion and change [Convenors: Garner & Strang]	Holgate house
7*	The materiality of metaphor: tensions between landscape and 'landscapelessness' [Convenors: Laviolette & Abramson]	Holgate house
8*	Local knowledge in development: problems and prospects [Convenor: Sillitoe]	Old library
9*	Inside or outside? Locating the boundaries of anthropological practice [Convenor: Tomlinson]	Old library
10*	Communities in cyberspace	Old library
11*	Mobilities and modernities	Seminar Rm1
12	Translocalities	Seminar Rm1
13	Movement, place and boundaries: representations by and of 'Gypsies'	New library
14	Cosmologies	Seminar Rm1
15	Placemaking	Holgate house
16	Returning home	Old library
17	Mobilities and embodiment	New library
18	Constructing the local	Seminar Rm1
19*	Questioning diasporas	New library
20	Labour migrations	New library
21	(Post-) socialist fields	Seminar Rm1
22*	Places and identities	Seminar Rm 1
23	Pagan places	New library
24	Hosts and guests	Seminar Rm1
25	Writes de passage	Old library
26	Belonging to the land	New library
27	Moving image	Old library
28	Postgraduate session	Pennington

Monday at a glance

11am – 1.30pm

JCR

Registration and lunch

PARALLEL PANELS

1.30pm – 5pm

Holgate house

The materiality of metaphor: tensions between landscape and 'landscapelessness' [Convenors: Laviolette & Abramson]

Dr Kathryn Tomlinson, National Foundation for Educational Research

Mélissa Gauthier, Concordia University, Montreal

Sharika Thiranagama, University of Edinburgh

Marie-Claude Rose, Université de Montréal

Katrin Lund, Queen's University Belfast

Stephanie Koerner, University of Manchester

1.30pm – 3pm

Seminar Rm 1

Cosmologies

Dr Judith Macdonald, Anthropology Department, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand

Patrick Glass, University of Sydney

Susan Drucker-Brown, University of Cambridge

1.30pm – 3pm

Old library

Returning home

Lisa Dikomititis, University of Durham

Stef Jansen, University of Hull

Paul Basu, Department of Anthropology, University of Sussex

1.30pm – 3pm

New library

Pagan places

Jeremy Harte, Bourne Hall Museum

Helen Cornish, Goldsmiths College

Jenny Blain, Sheffield Hallam University & Robert J. Wallis, Richmond University

3.30pm – 5pm

New library

Labour migrations

Roger Ballard, Centre for Applied South Asian Studies, University of Manchester

Daromir Rudnyckyj, University of California, Berkeley

Mark-Anthony Falzon, University of Malta

3.30pm – 5pm

Seminar Rm 1

Hosts and guests

Andrew Russell and Gillian Wallace, University of Durham

Susanne Kianicka, Swiss Federal Research Institute for Forest, Snow and Landscape

Adam Kaul, University of Durham

3.30pm – 5pm

Old library

Moving image

Raymond Lucas, University of Aberdeen

Cathy Greenhalgh, London College of Communication Media School, University of the Arts London
(formerly LCP, London Institute)

Bauer S, Spiess K, Reichert R, Bernatzik B, Dalpra M, Luis Z, Vienna University

6.30pm – 7.30pm

JCR

Reception

Alan Bilsborough, a Pro-Vice Chancellor of the University of Durham - and an anthropologist - welcomes you.

7.30pm –

Dining hall

Dinner

Tuesday at a glance

PARALLEL PANELS

9am – 10.30am

New library

Movement, place and boundaries: representations by and of ‘Gypsies’

Professor Judith Okely, University of Hull

Sal Buckler, Durham University

Aspasia Theodosiou, Department of Music, Technological Institute of Epirus; Department of Social Anthropology, Manchester University

9am – 10.30am

Seminar Rm 1

Constructing the local

Dr Penny Dransart, University of Wales, Lampeter

Dr Leslie Bank, Visiting Research Fellow, Centre of African Studies, University of Cambridge

Nauja Kleist, Department of Sociology, University of Copenhagen; Visiting Research Student, Sussex Centre for Migration Research, University of Sussex

9am – 12.30pm

Holgate house

'Those who can, teach'...

[Convenor: C-SAP]

Run by Dr David Mills, C-SAP, & Dr Allen Abramson, UCL

9am – 12.30pm

Old library

Inside or outside? Locating the boundaries of anthropological practice [Convenor: Tomlinson, in association with the Network of Applied Anthropologists]

Dr Jean Sébastien Marcoux, HEC Montréal

Dr. Robin Wilson, University of Durham

Dr Simon Roberts, Ideas Bazaar

Dr Alexandra Charnock Greene, University of St Andrews

Mils Hills, Cabinet Office

Dr Simon Pulman-Jones, Independent researcher

11am – 12.30pm

Seminar Rm 1

(Post-) socialist fields

Dr Anselma Gallinat, University of Durham

Elisabeth Anstett, Laboratoire d'Anthropologie Sociale, Paris

Tom Carter, University of Wales College, Newport

Sveta Roberman, University of Edinburgh

11am – 12.30pm

New library

Belonging to the land

Andrew Whitehouse, University of St Andrews

Jenny Hockey (University of Sheffield), Leonie Kellaheer (London Metropolitan University) & David Prendergast (University of Sheffield)

Karen D. Lysaght, Dublin Institute of Technology

12.30pm – 1.30pm

Dining hall

Lunch

PARALLEL PANELS

1.30pm – 5pm

Holgate house

**The 'disappearing' of anthropology in a surfeit of 'the social'
[Convenors: Edwards, Stockl, & Strathern]**

Monica Bonaccorso, University of Cambridge

Maryon McDonald, University of Cambridge

Andrea Stöckl, Goldsmiths College, University of London

Marilyn Strathern, University of Cambridge

1.30pm – 5pm

Old library

**Local knowledge in development: problems and prospects
[Convenor: Sillitoe, in association with the Development Forum]**

Helen Newing and Lissie Wahl

Sandra Bell, Gillian Wallace and Kate Hampshire, University of Durham

Marcelin Tonye Mahop, Queen Mary Intellectual Property Research Institute

1.30pm – 5pm
New library

Questioning diasporas

Anjoom Mukadam, University of Reading & Sharmina Mawani, SOAS, University of London

Robyn Andrews, Massey University, New Zealand

Dr. M. Balzani, University of Surrey Roehampton

Katharine Charsley, University of Edinburgh

Charanpal Bal, National University of Singapore

Julia Holdsworth, University of Hull and Emmanuel Yusuf Justus

Nikoleta Katsakiori, University of Manchester

1.30pm – 5pm
Seminar Rm 1

Places and identities

Konstantinos Retsikas, University of Sussex

Dr Catherine Allerton, London School of Economics

Fiona M Harris, University of Edinburgh

Trevor H.J. Marchand, School of Oriental & African Studies

Jean de Lannoy, University of Oxford

Aleksandar Bošković, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa & Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade, Serbia and Montenegro

Dr. Susana Carro-Ripalda, Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Applied Social Sciences, University of Glasgow

6.45pm – 7.45pm
Dining hall

Dinner

PLENARY A

8pm – 9.30pm
Holgate house

Field worries

Ulf Hannerz, University of Stockholm

Wednesday at a glance

PARALLEL PANELS

9am – 12.30pm

New library

Producing fields, selves and anthropology [Convenors: De Neve & Unnithan-Kumar]

Dr Martin Mills, University of Aberdeen

Anthony Good, University of Edinburgh

Henrike Donner, London School of Economics

Simon Coleman, University of Durham

Narmala Halstead, University of Cardiff

Geert De Neve, University of Sussex

9am – 12.30pm

Holgate house

Fluid-scapes: places of motion and change [Convenors: Garner & Strang]

Patrick Laviolette, UCL

Diana Young, UCL

Martina Tyrrell, University of Aberdeen

Veronica Strang, Auckland University of Technology

Yoshitaka Ota, University College London & University of Kent

Andrew Garner, Oxford Brookes University

9am – 12.30pm

Old library

Communities in cyberspace

Denise Carter, University of Hull

Adi Kuntsman, Department of Sociology, Lancaster University

Ian James, University of St. Andrews

Gordon Fletcher, Information Systems Institute, University of Salford

Dr Julie Scott, London Metropolitan University

Nicholas Nisbett, School of Social Sciences and Cultural Studies, University of Sussex

9am – 12.30pm

Seminar Rm 1

Mobilities and modernities

Ben Knighton, OCMS

Richard Sherrington, University of Manchester

Ananda Rajah, Department of Sociology, National University of Singapore and RAI Fellow in Urgent Anthropology, Department of Anthropology, University of Durham

Katerina Kratzmann, Institut for European Ethnology, Vienna

Dr Nathalie Ortard, CNRS-LADYSS

Magdalena Nowicka, Institute of Sociology, Ludwig-Maximilians-University, Munich, Germany

Dr. Elisabeth Boesen, Center for Modern Oriental Studies Berlin

12.30pm – 1.30pm

Dining hall

Lunch

12.45pm – 1.30pm

Pennington Room

ABM

1pm – 1.30pm

College entrance

City tour

PARALLEL PANELS

1.30pm – 3pm

Old library

Scalarity and the cross-sectional imagination: orders of magnitude, projection, and consequentiality in the organisation of social relationships [Convenor: Corsín-Jiménez]

Alberto Corsín Jiménez, University of Manchester

James Leach, King's College, Cambridge

Sari Wastell, Goldsmiths

Sarah Green, University of Manchester

1.30pm – 3pm

New library

Mobilities in question: new sites/sights of feminist ethnography?

[Convenors: Frohlick & Luce]

Susan Frohlick, Department of Anthropology, University of Manitoba, Canada

Michaela Fay, Institute for Women's Studies, Lancaster University

Jacquelyne Luce, Department of Sociology/Institute for Women's Studies, Lancaster University

PLENARY B

3.30pm – 5pm

Holgate house

Diaspora, cosmopolis, global refuge: three voices of the supranational city

Nigel Rapport, University of St Andrews

7.30pm – midnight

Dining hall, then late bar

Conference dinner

Thursday at a glance

PARALLEL PANELS

9am – 10.30am

Seminar Rm 1

Translocalities

Katja Werthmann, University of Mainz, Germany

Pál Nyíri, University of Oxford

Dr. Gertrud Hüwelmeier, Institut für Ethnologie, Freie Universität Berlin

9am – 10.30am

Holgate house

Placemaking

Jo Lee and Tim Ingold, Department of Anthropology, University of Aberdeen

Katrin Lund, Queens University Belfast

Dr. John A. Harries, Centre for Canadian Studies, University of Edinburgh

9am – 10.30am

New library

Mobilities and embodiment

Helena Wulff, Stockholm University

Tamara Kohn, University of Durham

Dr Donald Macleod, Glasgow University

9am – 10.30am

Old library

Writes de passage

Bob Simpson, University of Durham

Sigríðdur Dúna Kristmundsdóttir, University of Iceland

Dr Paul Yates, Sussex Institute, EDB, University of Sussex

9am – 10.30am

Pennington Room

Postgraduate session

The session will consist of short presentations by postgraduates about their current research.

PLENARY C

11am – 12.30pm

Holgate house

Christian global

Webb Keane, University of Michigan

12.30pm – 1.30pm

Dining hall

Conference ends after lunch

Events during the week

Reception, 6.30pm Monday, JCR

Come and join us for a drink at the formal opening of this conference. You will be welcomed by Professor Alan Bilsborough, a Pro-Vice Chancellor of the University of Durham and also an anthropologist.

Publishers, JCR, all week

A selection of publishers will be displaying their titles and journals throughout the conference. Do come, browse and chat to their staff.

Network of Applied Anthropologists gathering, 9.30pm Tuesday, Old library

There will be an informal gathering of the newly established ASA Network of Applied Anthropologists following the plenary on Tuesday evening - all welcome. This Network's first activity will be the 'Inside or Outside?' panel on Tuesday morning.

ABM, 12.45pm Wednesday, Pennington Room (above Dining hall)

Annual Business meeting of the ASA - all members welcome.

City tour, 1pm-2.30pm Wednesday, from college entrance

Durham City has been the location of different and often conflicting social identities for over ten centuries. The different elements of the peninsula - Durham Castle and Cathedral, Palace Green and the College, the streets and town houses, the Famous View and the wooded slopes - have been built, modified or deliberately 'restored' by every generation. This tour will look at Durham Peninsula as a centre of religious, political and social power. We will examine how old buildings and landscapes have been re-used to carry new meanings in both past and present.

Durham Peninsula is 15 minutes walk from Grey College; we will set off from Grey at 1pm and stop at the Famous View on Prebends Bridge. From there, we will walk for 5-10 mins up to Palace Green to view the exteriors of the Castle and Cathedral.

Please note that the timing of this tour means that participants will have to take a very quick lunch!

The tour will be conducted by Dr Adrian Green, Dept of History, University of Durham and Prof Matthew Johnson, Dept of Archaeology, University of Durham.

Conference dinner, 7.30pm Wednesday, Dining hall

The annual ASA dinner with an after-dinner speech by Richard Fardon, the ASA's chair. There will be a late licence in the college Bar thereafter.

Postgraduate session, 9am Thursday

This session will consist of short presentations by postgraduates about their current research.

Photo exhibition, all week, Old library

We hope to have a small photo exhibition during the conference, by Sarah Thomas.

About the photographer

Sarah Thomas graduated in anthropology from Durham University in July 2003. Having spent much of her life in Kenya, and with the possibilities for travel this offered her, over the years she has developed a keen interest in people and cultures around the world. Her interest in photography began on her year out before starting her degree, when she traveled to Malaysia, Thailand, Cambodia, India and Nepal. Since then she has been travelling to various destinations at any opportunity to complement her degree course, recording peoples, cultural events, moods and landscapes with her camera as she went. This exhibition features a selection of her work taken in India, Ethiopia and Kenya.

Sarah has exhibited at several fundraising events at Durham University, for charities including the Tellensi Trust in South Africa and the Tany Tsilo Conservation project in Madagascar. In July 2003 she exhibited at the Royal Anthropological Institute Film Festival, where she displayed photographs from her final year fieldwork in Morocco. In September 2003 she won a photography competition for Living North magazine. A little further afield, Sarah recently held her first solo exhibition *Behind Their Eyes* in Nairobi, Kenya.

Plenary abstracts

Plenary A

Holgate house, Tues 8pm

Field worries

Ulf Hannerz, University of Stockholm

I will draw on my four field studies (among African-Americans in Washington DC; in the Cayman Islands; in a Nigerian town; and among news media foreign correspondents) to exemplify shifts in field definitions and practices in anthropology in recent decades. I will have something to say about the role of chance in the selection of fields and research problems, and about the variations in personal involvements in contemporary fields. These will be related to the moral overtones in current controversies over 'the field' in anthropology. I will end by pointing to some present threats to field work in anthropology.

Plenary B

Holgate house, Wednesday 3.30pm

Diaspora, cosmopolis, global refuge: three voices of the supranational city

Nigel Rapport, University of St Andrews

According to political theorist Brian Barry, a 'liberal' world-view as against a 'communitarian' one 'holds that there are certain rights against oppression, exploitation and injury to which every single human being is entitled to lay claim', and that 'appeals to "cultural diversity" and pluralism under no circumstances trump the value of [these basic] rights'. Opposed to the identity politics of the communitarians, it is these rights which the liberal then sets about enshrining in a legal-constitutional framework of citizenship. (To be sure, one of these rights might be to community membership --even to communities internally organized in terms of illiberal relations of dominance and submission, and in terms of all manner of notions of the good life-- but the citizenship framework guarantees, notwithstanding, that these 'cultures' do not become empires, and do not become ghettos.)

Translating such liberalism into an anthropological enterprise, this paper asks whether the current practice of diasporic lives in international cities might not inspire a programme of supranational, transcultural morality: from diaspora to cosmopolis to global refuge.

In a world of movement, the city --more exactly the cosmopolis in a global network of links-- may offer a better institutional framework, a more open image, than the nation-state for hosting 'a world of guests'. The relative smallness of cities and their numerical profusion may better ensure that people play the role of guests of social spaces, procedures and one another in a regular and routine fashion and thus resist the temptation of an unreflexive absolutism.

The cosmopolis may serve to promote an ironic detachment, which might in turn nurture a generosity of spirit, such that guest-hood becomes an everyday expectation and practice not merely associated with the diasporic, the overprivileged tourist or the underprivileged refugee.

The Network of Refuge Cities of the International Parliament of Writers makes this hope more than purely wishful thinking.

Plenary C

Holgate house, Thursday 11am

Christian global

Webb Keane, University of Michigan

As the ecclesiastical origins of the word 'ecumene' in English suggest, until quite recently a capacity to imagine the global was inseparable from the imagined communities of universalizing and proselytizing religions. If the ontological universality of religions such as Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism invites one to imagine totalities, their proselytizing impetus puts into circulation a range of material practices that make their concepts inhabitable in everyday life. In particular, proselytizing religions underwrite practices that aim to be detachable from particular social contexts and available for universal appropriation. In addition, due in part to its relationship to colonialism, the globalization of Christianity has also been linked to certain aspects of the concept of 'modernity.' Today, one third of the world's population is Christian. Drawing on the anthropology of Christianity, this talk takes up some themes from the study of religious globalization more generally. They centre on the epistemic space of conversion, the moralizing narrative of modernity, the work of purification, and the idea of agency. The study of global proselytizing religions is an especially rich ethnographic domain for exploring the tensions between abstraction and material mediations.

Panel abstracts

1. 'Those who can, teach': a workshop for postgraduate tutors and new lecturers in anthropology.....	20
2. Scalarity and the cross-sectional imagination: orders of magnitude, projection, and consequentiality in the organisation of social relationships.....	20
3. Producing fields, selves and anthropology.....	23
4. The 'disappearing' of anthropology in a surfeit of 'the social'.....	25
5. Mobilities in question: new sites/sights of feminist ethnography?.....	27
6. Fluid-scapes: places of motion and change.....	28
7. The materiality of metaphor: tensions between landscape and 'landscapelessness'.....	31
8. Local knowledge in development: problems and prospects.....	34
9. Inside or outside? Locating the boundaries of anthropological practice.....	37
10. Communities in cyberspace.....	40
11. Mobilities and modernities.....	44
12. Translocalities.....	47
13. Movement, place and boundaries: representations by and of 'Gypsies'.....	49
14. Cosmologies.....	51
15. Placemaking.....	52
16. Returning home.....	53
17. Mobilities and embodiment.....	55
18. Constructing the local.....	56
19. Questioning diasporas.....	58
20. Labour migrations.....	61
21. (Post-) socialist fields.....	63
22. Places and identities.....	65
23. Pagan places.....	69
24. Hosts and guests.....	71
25. Writes de passage.....	72
26. Belonging to the land.....	74
27. Moving image.....	75
28. Postgraduate session.....	77

1. 'Those who can, teach': a workshop for postgraduate tutors and new lecturers in anthropology

Holgate house, Tuesday 9am

Convenor: C-SAP, Centre for learning and teaching Sociology, Anthropology and Politics

Panel abstract

This workshop is aimed at both new and experienced graduate teaching assistants (TAs), and newly-appointed lecturers. As well as discussing the dynamics of small-group teaching and ways of dealing with problems that can arise (eg students not doing the reading!), it will also offer a number of practical exercises on assessment and student feedback. There will also be a chance to discuss creative alternative ways of running tutorials.

The session will end with a brief review of the contractual, support and career development issues faced by TAs and fixed-term lecturers.

The workshop will be run by David Mills (C-SAP) and Allen Abramson (UCL), and is a repeat of the workshop offered in 2003 at both UCL and the 'Future Fields' conference in Oxford. If you would like further details, please contact David.Mills@c-sap.bham.ac.uk

2. Scalarity and the cross-sectional imagination: orders of magnitude, projection, and consequentiality in the organisation of social relationships

Old library, Wednesday 1.30pm

Convenor: Corsín-Jiménez

Panel abstract

This panel aims at exploring and presenting new ethnographic and analytical vocabularies with which to account and explicate the situatedness of social life. It calls for the development of anthropological imaginaries capable of transcending our classical, 'grounded' and territorial idioms of spatiality: place, landscape, space, context, field. Grounded metaphors of locality fail to capture the capacity of social relationships to traverse various orders of social organization and meaning at once (temporal, structural, historical, mythical, imaginary), as well as of accounting for the scaling (up and down) that such excursions and cross-sectional cuttings effect on people's perceptions of themselves and their relationships to others. Different modes of relations are laden with different degrees of aperture to the world, different orders of magnitude, and different kinds and degrees of consequences. Relations are inflected by and open themselves up to the world in a cross-sectional mode: they collapse and fold unto themselves events and structures of meaning that belong to different orders, reorganizing the structure of sociality as they go along. The capacity and authority of a shaman to intervene in the affairs of others is of a different order, aperture and consequentiality than the capacity of a lecturer to effect changes in the behaviour of her students. Different hierarchical structures, sources and destinations of agency, and social qualities are summoned and put to work at the different levels and stages of the relational encounter, instantiating worlds of social life that cut across the taken-for-granted backstages and templates of society.

Social relationships scale up and down orders of meaning that transcend their occurrence in the here-and-now, weaving or colluding relational worlds that will not lend themselves to descriptions of a grounded kind (place, landscape, context, field), and that have important consequences for how people imagine and re-act to their past and future. This panel hopes to contribute towards the development of a new vocabulary that un-places the social and that in so doing can map the uncanny in the imagination and unfolding of social life.

Proportions: how relationships emerge as consequences

Alberto Corsín Jiménez, University of Manchester

My inspiration for this paper comes from reading Ortega y Gasset's extraordinary work *La idea de principio en Leibniz* ("Leibniz's idea of 'principle'"). Building on some of Ortega's ideas, this paper takes issue with the category that lies at the very heart of the anthropological project: the relation. It locates anthropology's enchantment with the 'relation' in the algebraic imagination that marked the birth of Modernism as the exemplary rational and logical mode of thought. Against the Aristotelian definition of entities (or 'things') as classificatory terms (grouped and/or separated into genus and species), the Cartesian algebraic revolution defined, or rather 'elicited' its terms by their position in a purely formal and nominal system of relations. Relationality thus understood emerges in structural orders of deictic references. Referents 'call out' one another, and their mere 'appearance' (or visibility) is proof (i.e. deixis) of their existence. This is in fact the vocabulary (*relata*, deixis, visibility, indexicality) of much current anthropology (e.g. Gell, Strathern, Viveiros de Castro, Wagner) and it is with some of its contentions that I take issue.

My concern with anthropology's application of the algebraic imagination is twofold. On both counts, I am concerned with the application of a system of logical relations to human affairs; I do not oppose its use, but want to examine its limitations and explore its possibilities.

First, I do not believe that deictic proofs are useful accounts of how social life takes effect. Not the logical, but the para-logical (analogy and homology, for example) works in human affairs. From a phenomenological point of view, social life no doubt simply 'happens' before our eyes, but this is hardly an explanation of what is going on. In logic, deictic proofs are *evidential*: self-given and self-accountable. Social life, however, is not logical, and social forms though self-given are not self-accountable. (Social life may be self-accountable, but that is an entirely different matter.) It is not deixis, then, but apodeixis that we need to use in the explanation of human affairs. The apodeictic (i.e. de-monstrative) perspective is essentially reflexive and pragmatic: it tells us how people get along and engage with the world of 'things' (*pragmata*) around them.

My second concern arises from this pragmatic, or apodeictic, way of looking at social life. Logical relationality tells us how the terms or *relata* between relations arise, but it says nothing about the *quality* of such relations. Here I argue that social categories are in fact related in the form of *proportions*: relations that are inherently magnitudinal and projective. Proportions bring together and coalesce in one directional moment orders of meaning and action otherwise kept apart. In this light, the relationship between, say, A and B is not a flat relationship (of whatever kind) but an imaginative re-scaling project. A relates to B by making itself bigger or smaller or more powerful or more beautiful; that is, by reorganizing orders of existence that are otherwise distinct, travelling and traversing such orders cross-sectionally, and in doing so gaining a sense of the proportions and possibilities that cement social life. In other words, coping with the world (dealing with the people and *pragmata* around us) is all about weighing our life-projects and proportioning them out. Unlike the neutered relationality of deictic tautology (where things are what they are because they are connected to be so), a pragmatic or proportional perspective allows for a clearer understanding of how social life emerges as consequences (where things happen because although all things relate, some (proportions) are left unbalanced – some relations weigh heavier than others).

The temporal, spiritual, and spatial aspects of regeneration on the Rai Coast of Papua New Guinea

James Leach, King's College, Cambridge

For Rai Coast Villagers on the north coast of Papua New Guinea, the recognition of personhood requires generative productivity. This can be acquired through a lifelong progression in which education, action, and effect are central. Power is located in this context: land based spirits and ancestors *are* the knowledge gained through education, and the means (power) to have an effect on others. Thus education and action relate to specific places. As it is persons themselves that are the most important outcome of any directed action (they embody other's generative work, and thus are constituted by the relations between various powers), persons both contain aspects of (located) power within themselves, and can make use of this power as if it existed as external elements in the land around them. There is a complex temporality involved here, as 'the past' is made into the present through the regeneration of persons in places. Power is both in, and out, of time. In fact, power (as the ability to generate persons) may be the a-

temporal ground upon which time as a forward movement (generating new persons) is made to appear. This paper explores the multi-layered image of the person on the Rai Coast, and necessarily complicates any simple reading of place. Place, like time, is inseparable from the ongoing generation, and regeneration, of persons. Situated-ness in this context then is placement in a temporal, spiritual, and spatial, relational matrix, and is inseparable from particular generative relations between persons and spirits. One outcome of this complex is the possibility that 'place' can be carried within persons. As knowledge and power to have effect on others, 'place' can be demonstrated anywhere. Persons are places made mobile, while places are persons in stasis. As stasis is gendered as male in this context, a complex interplay of gender, temporality, and spatiality, is made visible in this ethnography.

'Customary', State and International law: articulations of scale or level? - with ramifications for anthropological analyses

Sari Wastell, Goldsmiths

There are two ways of thinking about the relationships between local/customary, national, and international legal regimes. They are either relations of scale, i.e., movements between distinct vantages of observation (where 'grain' and 'extent' involve completely different intervals) or they are movements between levels of organisation within a single scale. The purpose of this paper is not to suggest that either formulation best captures these relationships. On the contrary, I will suggest that legal 'hierarchies' can and are imagined both as dimensions of time and space which condition observation (scale) and as linkages between disparate levels of function which organise legal and political interaction (level). However, with recourse to both my own data from work within the Swazi legal system, and with reference to a variety of other anthropological and legal sources, my aim here is to demonstrate the very distinct avenues scalar-based analysis might take - and the radically different endpoints they might reach - when legal systems are treated as existing at different points on the same scale as opposed to operating on different scales altogether. Ultimately, the decision between the two analytical strategies is an ethnographically driven one, which is to say, one which must derive from outwith law's own realm of self-definition.

An interplay between how things seem and how they are in the Balkans

Sarah Green, University of Manchester

Nobody can quite agree exactly what or where the Balkans are, or even if they exist at all, as such; they appeared and then they disappeared (during the Cold War), only to reappear again (after the Cold War). They have been variously described as a crossroads, a mosaic, a 'Macedonian Salad', a 'virus' or 'toxin' threatening the stability of Europe, if not the world. The Balkans are not a 'place' in any pragmatic ('thing-like') or scopic (visual) sense; they are a process, endless moments of simultaneously too much fragmentation and too much interrelation, across too many multiple and overlapping scales (of both magnitude and domain, to use Strathern's distinction in *Partial Connections*); they are, so one story goes, what was left over after others had battled it out and carved out their places, their relations, their ideals, their truths, leaving the Balkans being neither one thing nor the other, or perhaps altogether too much both one thing and another. The Balkans seem to constitute a gap, or proliferation of gaps, in the Euclidian patchwork of spatiality; gaps in between imagined and asserted borders and boundaries that continually reproduce, rename and redraw the marginality of the (non-empty) gaps; this results in an ongoing cross-scalar entangled mess (a fractal perhaps), a proliferation of ambiguity and disinterested neglect, of jagged edges with no centres, no beginnings and no ends.

In such gaps, how things seem become self-evidently a part of how things are; the performative character of various technologies and techniques of knowing (and not knowing), stretching across a range of scales, become obvious. This paper explores how the Balkans seem to be altogether too hybrid. If anthropology is no longer to be grounded in a spatial paradigm, metaphorically or epistemologically, then it is worth exploring how places themselves occasionally fall outside or in between such grounding. The paper argues that the Balkans are often made to stand for myriad parts of the contemporary world that lack (modern) spatiality in this sense.

3. Producing fields, selves and anthropology

New library, Wednesday 9am

Convenors: De Neve & Unnithan-Kumar

Panel abstract

The panel presents papers that critically reflect on the shifting engagement of anthropologists with fieldwork, 'field sites', informants, and the discipline itself. The papers reflect not so much on the question of the field as site, as on how we as anthropologists regard the role of fieldwork in the production of anthropological knowledge and in the making of ourselves and our discipline. The main question for the panellists therefore is: how does the ethnographer's engagement with the 'field' come to shape the discipline as well as his or her own, multiple and shifting understandings of it? The contributions intend to further shift the focus (as set, for example, by Gupta and Ferguson 1997, and Marcus 1998) from the anthropologist and the field as fixed and bounded entities towards the processes of mutual engagement between people, locations, and representations. A particular interest shared by the paper contributors is the relationship between the agency of the anthropologist and the nature of the discipline.

Cold comfort on the long road: shifting the horizons of analysis in modern Tibetan studies

Dr Martin Mills, University of Aberdeen

The diaspora that arose from the Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1950 has presented anthropologists of the region with a complex geography of ethnographic approaches, while at the same time problematising the theoretical basis for Tibetan studies as a regional discipline, creating an on-going schizogenesis between untheorised and highly localised cultural studies by ethnographers, and translocal (indeed thoroughly disembedded) studies of the Tibetan Buddhist literate traditions by textual specialists. Whilst this is hardly a new problem in South Asian studies of religion (although one rendered particularly acute in the case of the Tibetan diaspora, where textual traditions have often been entirely divorced from their sites of production), this paper argues that the problem is being replicated afresh in the domain of political analysis.

This semi-autobiographical paper covers the writer's movement from a classic one-site ethnography of religious life within a remote and long established Buddhist community in the Western Himalayas, through to the more recent study of the religious and political organisation of global diasporic communities by the Tibetan government-in-exile: ethnographic work which entailed multi-site field studies and ethnography by internet. Such a shift in ethnographic focus requires analytical displacements which often entail the adoption of larger-scale theoretical concepts, many of which particularly those involving concepts of nation, state, and globalisation - are now becoming a comfortable commonplace within modern anthropological discourse, but have nonetheless been adopted (often wholesale) from disciplines (such as International Relations) whose analytical methodologies have often been constructed precisely to edit out the kind of awkward and rich inter-personal considerations that are highlighted by long-term fieldwork in a single site. Whilst easy to work with when analysing large-scale processes, such concepts often entail methodological steps which would be simply unacceptable if applied within anthropology's more traditional domain.

This paper examines some of the theoretical consequences that have emerged from this kind of analytical appropriation in the Tibetan context, and asks whether the trade-off has been worth it. The intention here is not, however, to see such developments as wholly negative, but rather to ask whether or not the particular ways in which anthropological theory as based on the analysis of small-scale interactions can be rebuilt to aid in our understanding of (apparently) larger-scale processes.

Writing as a kind of anthropology: alternative professional genres

Anthony Good, University of Edinburgh

This paper takes a preliminary and inevitably partial look at the kinds of writing which different scholarly or professional activities entail. The four genres of writing examined are, in order: academic articles in

chemical physics; ethnographic papers in anthropology journals; development consultancy reports for the Department for International Development; and expert witness reports for the British asylum courts. For reasons to be explained, I use examples from my own past output to typify the genres to which they aspired to belong. While it seems intuitively unsurprising that different disciplines should entail their own distinct forms of writing, these examples suggest that the main differences between academic research publications in the physical and social sciences concern relatively superficial matters of presentational style and manifestations of authorial authority. On the other hand, different forms of professional activity, even when undertaken within the nominal boundaries of a single academic discipline, appear to entail more fundamental modifications of presentational structure and underlying logic.

In search of a field: reflections on locations and localities

Henrike Donner, London School of Economics

The paper will deal with the ways 'a field of study' comes about - in terms of the theoretical assumptions we make beforehand, the problematic (re-)construction of ourselves as fieldworkers once 'out there', and the mundane problems of fieldwork as a woman approaching woman in an urban and middle-class setting. While this will be a critical and not merely a descriptive account, it will provide ethnography through which the way in which the 'field' emerges can be read. In order to do so, the contribution will draw on recent discussions of politics of location, on attempts of authors such as Gupta and Ferguson to discuss fieldwork as a disciplining practice, and on some feminist reflections on fieldwork practices as well.

The multi-sited ethnographer

Simon Coleman, University of Durham

The phrase 'multi-sited ethnography' is usually taken to imply that the anthropologist examines a number of fieldwork sites that are connected through movements of people and/or cultural representations. In other words, spatial separation is emphasised and temporal distinctions diminished in work that often aims to focus on the simultaneity of linked events in distinct places. In this paper, I want to examine a slightly different idea, that of the 'multi-sited ethnographer'. By this phrase I mean to refer to the temporal and spatial journey that most anthropologists make throughout their careers, from one site to another, and then possibly another, and so on. Contemporary anthropology now accepts that the notion of the isolated, autonomous fieldwork site has been something of a convenient functionalist fiction. No site is (at least metaphorically) an island, cut off from cultural, social and political developments elsewhere. However, what has been much less examined has been the way in which one fieldwork experience may leach into and affect another, even if the two are undertaken in separate places and at completely different stages of the fieldworker's career.

I propose to examine these ideas through a form of 'three-field ethnography', reflecting on my experiences of three different sites selected at various stages of my career. In the 1980s, as a PhD student, I embarked on fieldwork within a controversial conservative Protestant ministry based in Uppsala, Sweden. Although I was not going to somewhere geographically remote, I still engaged in much of the behaviour expected of the lone ethnographer: avoiding visits to the local anthropology department and treating the ministry as my 'tribe'. In the 1990s, I started a fieldwork project on Walsingham, a pilgrimage site in Norfolk and one explicitly targetted by conservative evangelicals as 'ungodly' and idolatrous. This fieldwork has been undertaken with a colleague who is an art historian, and on some occasions staying at the site has involved taking our families with us. Finally, in 2002, I have embarked upon a new project examining the use of space and art in a hospital that is located just down the road from one of the university campuses where I work. Teaching in the morning can be replaced by fieldwork in the afternoon. The study has also involved hiring a research assistant to do much of the data gathering as well as co-operating with a research team of architects, anthropologists, NHS administrators and doctors. These projects have been initiated not only at different times of my career and at different periods of anthropological and cultural debate, but also in contexts where local expectations over the practices of ethnography have been very different. I therefore ask whether such varied forms of fieldwork can be seen as connected by certain intellectual and experiential threads associated with the constitutive practices and underlying ideological assumptions of ethnography. Or is the idea of 'fieldwork' itself an essentialising myth, constructed by anthropologists for their own purposes?

Temporality and difference: others in and of the field

Narmala Halstead, University of Cardiff

This paper considers ethnographic encounters with East Indians in Guyana and New York to probe changing ideas of temporality and difference which illustrate their forms of being modern. How East Indians are modern allows for the 'other' to emerge in various interactions and through a mode of intra-group scrutiny which is extended to the observer. This also contextualises how I, as an 'indigenous' anthropologist, am re-positioned in the field where I become visible in relation to my discipline or academic setting rather than to East Indians. Their understandings of being modern frame how my indigeniety shifts and how otherness has to be understood in different ways. This relates to how difference is managed and produced in varying cultural contexts and vis-à-vis the presence of the anthropologist.

Choosing the unknown: reflections on ignorance and reflexivity in fieldwork

Geert De Neve, University of Sussex

In this paper I engage with one particular aspect of anthropological fieldwork, that is the way in which choices are being made at particular junctures of field research. While a lot has been written about the types of knowledge anthropologists bring with them and the articulation of the anthropologist's knowledge with that of the people studied, the role of 'ignorance' (and indeed 'cluelessness') has received comparatively little attention – let alone more systematic analysis. Through reflections on the way I myself had to make a series of choices in the field, ranging from field location and research topic to field assistants and informants, I intend to show how ignorance was as much a guiding factor as my research questions or my knowledge of theory and ethnography. In particular, I will analyse the manner in which ignorance shaped my field choices in contexts where 'ad hoc' opportunities and chances arose for which often an urgent response was required. Through these reflections I hope to give 'ignorance' a more central theoretical location in conceptions of field research and the making of an ethnographer in the field.

A subtext to this paper is a preoccupation with 'reflexivity', both as it informs our choices in the field and in the way we write once we are 'back home'. While 'reflexivity' is heralded as a product of Western modernity, I intend to show that much of the anthropologist's reflexivity is as much the outcome of his or her engagement with the people they study, and often triggered by the latter's own reflections on the anthropologist's presence among them.

4. The 'disappearing' of anthropology in a surfeit of 'the social'

Holgate house, Tuesday 1.30pm

Convenors: Jeanette Edwards, University of Manchester, Andrea Stockl, Goldsmiths College, University of London & Marilyn Strathern, University of Cambridge

Panel abstract

The recent success of the social sciences in bringing 'society' to the attention of a variety of publics including clinicians, research funding bodies and policy makers has been profound. Science and Society, Ethical, Legal and Social Implications (ELSI), 'interdisciplinary' research programmes all reveal a push towards marrying 'social' and 'scientific' perspectives. There appears to be (at least in the UK) a willingness from traditionally uninterested quarters to embrace social scientific perspectives. Yet in the rush to 'the social', the specific or distinctive expertise of anthropology disappears. Anthropology readily becomes 'embedded' in other 'expert' agendas but its own distinctive 'expert' perspective is screened out. Indeed asserting its particular expertise in a world of 'experts', runs the danger of being read as merely prissy or elitist.

Topics for consideration might include:

- the bowdlerisation of anthropological research methods
- the language of anthropology not seen as technique (dismissed as jargon)
- the status of anthropological expertise in a world of 'experts'
- how is anthropology heard?

The trivialisation of social anthropology

Monica Bonaccorso, University of Cambridge

This paper explores the trivialisation of social anthropology in a variety of contexts. Drawing on current ethnographic explorations in the field of science communication amongst the media and interest groups in the UK the paper addresses how anthropology as a discipline, and as a way to see and interpret the social world is deployed to the point of being trivialised and transformed into a theory of banality. Surprisingly, this is not just perpetrated by non-anthropologists such as journalists, scientists and the 'public' but is internal to the discipline itself. In such cases, trivialisation occurs in relation to (and I would argue is limited to) subjects of study that mediate understandings of knowledge, and particularly 'social' knowledge. The media as a subject of study constitutes a perfect example as it triggers over-simplification amongst anthropologists themselves. I am not arguing that trivialisation from outside or inside the discipline is equivalent; on the contrary what makes it worth investigating is precisely its wide and differentiated spectrum. In all cases, processes of trivialisation and theories of banality are highly informative as they vividly expose certain entrenched folk conceptions of, for instance, what constitutes the 'social' and how it should be conceptualised.

Anthropology Incorporated

Maryon McDonald, University of Cambridge

Some anthropologists feel tired of not being listened to. This paper should give them new hope. It tells the story of anthropology in what might appear to be three different contexts - contexts peopled by French terrorists, by medical doctors and by EU officials. This paper describes some of the reactions of these people to my work amongst them. It also suggests that the way in which anthropology is discursively incorporated is institutionalised in the very way in which our lives are governed in Europe. This is not merely a question of the priority of hard facts and numbers over qualitative insights, and we do not have to change our methodology to be heard. We may, however, have to mind our language.

The anthropologist: 'intellectual' or 'expert'?

Andrea Stöckl, Goldsmiths College, University of London

As anthropologists working in medical and clinical settings, we are asked to cross the boundaries between the notorious 'two cultures' (C.P. Snow). This causes problems because anthropologists see themselves as 'intellectuals', i.e. commentators and interpreters on social matters. However, a debate about what constitutes 'social expertise' has recently started within anthropology. Our assigned role is that of the 'expert', when it comes to communicating with representatives of the hard sciences, a comment of an 'intellectual observer' is not desired. This leads to a confusion of the meaning of 'expertise' on both sides.

I will thus try to look at the historical development of the notion of 'the intellectual' and 'the expert' within diverse academic traditions and international backgrounds such as the French (Michel Foucault) and the Middle-European (Zygmunt Bauman, Theodor Adorno).

This should contribute to a disentanglement of ideas about epistemological differences. How much knowledge and expertise do we have to have in the researched discipline? What should be regarded as ethnographic data or seen as scientific knowledge/expertise? Should we present ourselves as 'experts on social matters'? We could risk being partners in crime of a culture in which expertise is defined as a 'superior' kind of knowledge, which goes against some anthropological ideas on belief vs. knowledge. Should we, instead, raise awareness for the necessity of the social role of the anthropologist as 'commentator and interpreter'?

Laudable aims and problematic consequences

Marilyn Strathern, University of Cambridge

Is it an idiosyncratic perception of mine, or of more general import, that one bureaucratic form of interdisciplinarity seems already -- quietly and unremarked -- to be shaping the discipline of social anthropology? If it is of general import, then it is compounded by an interdisciplinary migration of which most anthropologists are aware but ignore -- yet which, bureaucratically speaking, can be quite problematic. Of particular note are seemingly laudable attempts to bring 'society' into all kinds of endeavours.

5. Mobilities in question: new sites/sights of feminist ethnography?

New library, Wednesday 1.30pm

Convenors: Frohlick & Luce

Panel abstract

Employing rich ethnographic examples, the papers in this panel explore new feminist anthropological engagements with the politics, and multiplicities, of contemporary (gendering) mobilities. The papers explore both theoretical and methodological issues, which underscore current modes of doing multi and differently sited ethnographic research in an increasingly globalizing world. What happens within the 'field' of anthropology as the sites/sights of feminist ethnography become the global circuits of meaning, representation and being, and the ways in which women take part in trans/inter/national border crossings in new ways? Connecting a cyber ethnography of the virtual domain of the First International Women's University 2000 (ifu) to analyses of the rendering and gendering of global mountaineering subjects to the trackings of the regulation of donor sperm mobility are critical questionings of key cultural-theoretical concepts such as 'travel', 'belonging,' 'mobility', 'home', 'citizenship', and 'bodies'.

Rendering and gendering mobile subjects in a globalised world of mountaineering

Susan Frohlick, Department of Anthropology, University of Manitoba, Canada

In 2000, a state-sponsored organization in Nepal made use of a local women's mountain climbing expedition to Mount Everest to promote Nepalese women's entry into an emergent global economy. In view of mountaineering history as a male-dominated practice, especially within Nepal where very few women are involved in small- or large scale, local or international mountaineering, this particular use of a Nepali female mountaineering subject raises questions about culturally-specific gendered mobilities in an era of globalization. For instance, within the context of global tourism, what kind of new mobility does a Nepali woman mountaineer represent? How is this notion of mobility embedded in specific histories of gendered and localized travel and notions of women as national subjects? How is this celebratory representation of a gendered mobility, otherwise a dangerous and risky sport, read by different communities?

In this paper, I address these questions drawing on recent feminist critiques of globalization, which argue against conceptualizations of globalization as a penetrable and large-scale force upon passive local victims who ought to be protected by the nation-state. Carla Freeman suggests that, "local processes and small-scale actors might [instead] be seen as the very fabric of globalization." Drawing on ethnographic research in Nepal and Canada, I trace various ways in which a specific Nepali woman, and her climb to the top of Mount Everest, can be seen to embody both new and older modes of mobility. Through my own location as a multi-sited researcher, I also show how the Nepali state-sanctioned global mountaineering subject is contested outside of Nepal, and discuss what the implications of these conflicting readings might be for culturally-specific understandings of "mobility," "travel," and "globalization."

Touching base and writing home: Feminist on-line networks and the politics of belonging

Michaela Fay, Institute for Women's Studies, Lancaster University

Some would argue that we live in a Cyberworld. Much of Western life, including or perhaps especially, Western *academic* life takes place on the screen. Life on the screen is both a requirement for and an outcome of increased mobility. The "nomadic subjects" (Braidotti 1994) inhabiting intellectual discourses as well as global networks of international travel have been widely discussed by scholars of feminist and postcolonial theory as well as sociology (e.g. Ahmed 2000; Braidotti 2003; Urry 2000). New ways of mobility require, however, new ways of belonging. Furthermore, one could argue that they are the very *product* of changing conditions of possibility to belong.

This rings true and is specifically important for international feminist networks. Listservs and Email as means of communications allows "us" to shape and sustain "communities" over time and space. It is about more than just logging on. These technologies *are* mobility and dwelling at the same time.

In this paper, I want to argue that life 'on screen' functions as a particular form of dwelling in mobility and being 'on the move' – simultaneously signifying loss of permanence in the "real world" and a sense of home in the "virtual world". The paper is based on empirical data which I acquired during a cyber ethnography of the virtual domain of the International Women's University "Technology and Culture" (ifu) 2000 – www.vifu.de.

My research – participant observation and email interviews – highlights the contingent issues of home and belonging, with which the participants of the ifu, a highly educated, academically mobile 'elite' struggle and shows how these are negotiated both online and 'real'.

Between people and places: regulating gamete mobility

Jacquelyne Luce, Department of Sociology/Institute for Women's Studies, Lancaster University

In this paper, I will examine the regulation of donor sperm mobility during a period in which the use of assisted reproductive technologies (ART) increasingly involves the transregional and transnational meeting of technical knowledge, cryopreservation and in/fertility cultures, differential legislation, and actual gametes. I will draw on two examples from my on-going research in Canada and the UK, which focuses on queer women and assisted conception. In Canada, the implementation of regulations governing the importation of donor semen in 2000 significantly altered the choices available for queer women trying to conceive using sperm from a sperm bank. In the UK, the launch of ManNotIncluded™.com, a sperm donation service, was represented in the media as creating new options for lesbians wanting to get pregnant. Recent ethnographic and social research explores the disembodied 'gamete traffic' (Farquhar 1999) which has come to typify the contemporary era of assisted reproductive practice. In light of these recent amendments and challenges to the regulations, if not legislation, governing assisted reproductive technologies in Canada and the UK, in this paper I will direct my attention away from the gametes that travel and toward the particular embodiments of the people and places they travel between. How is the mobility of donor gametes, and its governance, impacted by the identifications of donors and recipients? What are the implications and effects of regulating and contesting the regulation of gamete mobility on various levels? How do notions of relatedness and cultural imaginings of genealogies contribute to images of appropriately bodied donors and recipients and 'safe' sites of importation and exportation?

6. Fluid-scapes: places of motion and change

Holgate house, Wednesday 9am

Convenors: Garner & Strang

Panel abstract

In recent years anthropology and cognate disciplines have made constructive use of spatial metaphors of analysis. What has often been emphasised by this focus on place are aspects of embedded connection,

of attachment to relatively stable metaphors enabling claims to important pasts and powers, and of metaphors that are 'grounded' in land. This panel examines the uses of spatialised metaphors that are themselves fluid, in motion and subject to constant or rapid change. These may or may not prove to lend themselves to more mobile identities and networks but nevertheless deserve our attention.

In recent research, space has been seen as a component of identity as important as ethnicity, class, race, and religion. A conceptual 'place' with which to connect is often fundamental to communities in their struggle for autonomy and identity. However, comparatively little research has focused on the metaphoric opportunities of water or the role of bodies of water in people's lives. Water, in the sea, rivers, streams, lakes and ponds, can be both firmly placed and ephemeral; a stable metaphor that is always moving and changing. The panel will address the role of water in the landscape, of water environments and seascapes in making senses of place and identity. It will question how waterscapes might challenge traditional forms of fieldwork, and examine the opportunities and limitations of metaphors which are mobile, moving and changing from moment to moment. Indeed, the ubiquity of the use of 'landscape' in publications that address themes of place and space should alert us to the assumptions of stability that often overlook the importance of water and sea in many people's lives.

The following questions will guide contributors to this panel:

- How does water provide people with metaphoric opportunities?
- If 'locality' has been highlighted as a problem for both informants and fieldworkers what challenges arise from research into aquatic worlds?
- If 'place' is a key concept in anthropology, are water or the sea considered placeless? How do mobile and constantly changing waterscapes connect to senses of place or placelessness?
- Do water and marine environments challenge our understandings of place?
- What are the relationships between fluidsapes and identity? How is ownership and access to water and its resources expressed and contested?
- How are ephemeral aspects of sea and waterscapes related to identity and place?
- How are marine and waterscapes co-opted in economic and/or leisure discourses?
- How have aquatic worlds shaped everyday modes of life?

Surfers, the materiality of waves and the protest against water pollution

Patrick Laviolette, UCL

It is a truism that water, the coastline and the sea are markers of great importance in the formulation of Cornish identity. Fishing, boating and seaside holidays have been mainstays of the peninsula for generations. Building on this maritime heritage, this paper explores both the fluidity and materiality of waves, tides and coastal seascapes through a metaphorical framework encompassing symbolic as well as literal issues of pollution. It examines Cornwall's distinct surf culture in relation to concerns over the effects of sewage and other malignant discharges on public health and the quality of the marine environment. The paper outlines the ways in which certain environmental pressure groups, charity campaigners and corporate surf companies have become involved in attempts to safeguard the ecological sustainability of coastal leisure pursuits. It does so primarily through an ethnographic case study of the 'Longlife' surf-art exhibition, competition and auction. This took place over the summer of 2003 and was co-organised by Oxbow, Third Planet and Surfers Against Sewage. On the surface, the symbolism of fluidity and pollution may appear contradictory. But through an exploration of the materiality of waves, this paper illustrates the dialectical ways in which water and the sea relate to local identity and imaginative forms of creative subversity.

Becoming green; water as country in the Western Desert

Diana Young, UCL

Australian Aboriginal conceptions of landscape are often theorised as an objectification of static form, maintaining an idealised continuity since creation by the Ancestors during the 'Dreamtime'. The surface of the land though – country - is always in the process of becoming, passing through sequences of colour and fecundity as well as becoming dust filled and dead. Rains re animate the land filling the dry creek beds, clay pans and water holes with life and quickly turning country green and odiferous. Rain though is

by no means a certainty on the Pitjantjatjara Lands and when it does appear, water does not stay long on the surface, is shifting and unstable. This paper explores the nature of the land's surface for Aboriginal people and discusses how its flux is an indicator of Ancestral presence. This flux is almost entirely reliant on water. The presence of water is conceived as an event that renews the power of sacred places and creates a temporarily visible 'double' world.

From placelessness to place: learning to know at sea

Martina Tyrrell, University of Aberdeen

The north-west coast of Hudson Bay in the Canadian territory of Nunavut is subject to dramatic seasonal change. Nine months of winter, with the sea frozen to depths of three metres or more, is followed by a brief but intense summer of open water. The sea is a part of community life throughout the year, in both its solid and fluid states. It is essential to economic life as well as leisure and travel pursuits.

In this paper I will examine the evolution in my own thinking concerning ideas of 'place'/'places' at sea. From an understanding of place that necessitated stability and constancy, through fieldwork I came to an entirely different understanding of place: one based on life-long observation and perception of the environment. Indeed I will argue, in this paper, that stability and constancy do not necessarily exist in the terrestrial 'landscape' either, and knowledge of place at sea or on the sea ice, or indeed in a fluid or inconstant environment, is not very far removed from knowledge of place on the land.

Substantial connections: water and identity in an English cultural landscape

Veronica Strang, Auckland University of Technology

As a material substance, essential to every organic process, water literally constitutes human 'being', providing a vital natural symbol of sociality and of human-environmental interdependence. Its particular qualities of fluidity and transmutability lend themselves to a stream of metaphors about flows and interconnections, and to the conceptualisation of ideas about change and transformation.

Moving constantly in and between internal and external environments, water facilitates a series of scheme transfers between models of physiological, social and ecological processes. As a central image of 'proper' flows and balances in each of these schemes, it is highly vulnerable to pollution at various levels, with concerns about the material pollution of water and individual health readily transferred to ideas about social and cultural disorder (and *vice versa*). In particular, images of water are central to discourses about individual and cultural identities and the maintenance – or breaching – of social boundaries.

Based on ethnographic research in Dorset, this paper explores these themes and considers the way that material and metaphorical engagements with water mediate individual, familial and wider collective identities within a shifting cultural 'waterscape' of social, spatial, economic and political relationships. It suggests that within a post-modern milieu, in which continuities in social connection and 'location' are radically disrupted by political and economic pressures for mobility, images of water and identity may have more utility than traditional 'grounded' metaphors of landscape and place. The analysis notes, however, that there is also an implicit moral discourse in formulations of identity, in which 'those who belong' are described with located domestic metaphors of culture and place, while 'outsiders' tend to be identified pejoratively with non-domestic images of water, nature and dis-location. Can fluid images sustain individual and cultural identities, or are they more often a way of 'othering' individuals and groups? The use of water-related metaphors to describe human sociality raises useful questions about the use of environmental metaphors to debate belonging, and the potential for fluidity in human constructions of identity.

Fishing inside the sea – an ethnography of underwater spear gun fishing in Palau, Micronesia

Yoshitaka Ota, University College London & University of Kent

Underwater spear gun fishing is one of the popular fishing methods currently used in indigenous inshore fishing in Palau, West Micronesia. Two major characteristics of this method are; firstly, the excessive physical hardship suffered by fishermen due to continuous free deep diving, and secondly, the opportunity offered to fishermen to enter and experience another sphere of the seascape, or the

underwater world. Without any diving equipment, fishermen dive deep into coral reefs in order to shoot fish with hand made spear-guns. It is argued that the practice of this fishing method appeals to local fishermen because the technique emphasizes individual skill in fishing. Other fishing methods, such as barrier reef net fishing, emphasises collective labour rather than individual skills. Nevertheless, this interpretation fails to take account of actual practice of underwater spear fishing, or more specifically the underwater world in which it takes place. Here fishermen experience and interact with the sea at the level of their skin. In a different way from other fishing practices, which are mostly practised above water, the experience of underwater spear gun fishing constitutes different bodily senses in the visibility, hearing and physicality of fishermen. I argue that this transformation of senses entailed by being inside water plays an important role for the popularity of fishing. This is revealed when we hear fishermen in Palau saying that the underwater spear gun fishing is 'a fair game' between fish and (fisher)men as they commit themselves in the world of fish.

Substance, desire and control: water in the New Forest

Andrew Garner, Oxford Brookes University

Water, like much of the 'land'-scape of the New Forest, is highly contested and subject to strongly oppositional discourses. Many of these oppositions are over rights of access and control of water resources in both in economic terms and in terms of social status. They are developed into a complex of arguments about whom the water in the Forest is for and what its significance is. This paper follows water as it flows in the landscape as streams and as it forms a key focus for visitors. It is then traced as it reappears in formal documents written by strategists and ecologists for organisations managing the environment, and again in court presentments primarily by Commoners (small scale farmers) at the Verderers Court – an ancient court still charged with overseeing aspects of the New Forest.

In these arenas water is elaborated as substance, as object of desire and as subject to attempts to control. Considerable work is going on in the forest to change the flow of water, to adjust its path and 'hold it up' in the Forest. This is elaborated in strategy documents as reversing past interventions, restoring rivers and increasing conservation values. This in turn has impacts on recreational use of the Forest and on grazing animals belonging to the Commoners. Water, as detailed in these debates, is a constructed as living and able to be vibrant or lifeless. Its substance becomes a means of describing the world as it should be, as mediating relationships between individual, local and global identities.

As a metaphor that mediates relationships, water is highly mobile, providing a wide range of metaphoric opportunities but with little apparent central consistency. Unlike trees or landscape, water, it seems, is either good or bad but rarely simply neutral.

7. The materiality of metaphor: tensions between landscape and 'landscapelessness'

Holgate house, Monday 1.30pm

Convenors: Laviolette & Abramson (UCL)

Panel abstract

The notion of placelessness has become broadly normative in the social sciences. Yet the idea of an absence of landscape, of a sense of 'landscapelessness' has gone widely un-discussed amongst scholars, political thinkers and others engaged as environmental practitioners for instance. Is this because such a term is so obviously an oxymoron? Or alternatively, is it that when we relate to concerns about spatial exclusion and alienation as well as to the loss of homeland or even to issues about the topographical imagination, we are conceptually bound? That is, tied to a paradigm in which we cannot but think in terms of the more narrow small-scale dichotomy that exists between place vs. placelessness.

Looking at metaphor in its material dimensions, we seek papers (of approx. 20 mins.) that address the tensions between place and placelessness. But in particular, the panellists should attempt to stretch such tensions. Hence, the panel will take into account whether or not whole landscapes can be arenas that

become -- or have always been -- denied, completely inaccessible, forgotten or dead. By considering what might perhaps be a more existential unease about the state of the environment, our anthropological reflections on the 'field', or the more general spatio-temporal positioning of Being in the World, the contributors to this panel will assess the relevance of a material approach to metaphor in the anthropology of landscape. We will do so by navigating between theoretical, ethnographic and material culture interpretations. This will therefore allow us to investigate a variety of perceptions for culturally formulating both the meanings of landscape and the senses of 'landscapelessness'.

Landless villages in a landless state: Meskhetian Turks without post-Soviet homelands

Dr Kathryn Tomlinson, National Foundation for Educational Research

While public discourses continue to assert the 'rootedness' of refugees and their associated longing for homeland, anthropologists have profitably questioned the emplaced nature of forced migrants. Meskhetian Turks present an interesting case of a group perceiving itself in terms of location-based metaphors with little relationship to the landscape from which these are derived. While their rightful place is seen – by national governments and international actors – to be Meskhetia in post-Soviet Georgia, I argue that the Meskhetian Turks 'displaced' across the former Soviet Union conceive of their homeland as a landless state rather than a geographical place. Moreover, although their key social groupings draw their names and members from villages in Meskhetia, Meskhetian Turks show little interest in the physicalities in question, and do not, as land-labourers, draw meaning from their relationship with the land. Political tensions have left many Meskhetian Turks in southern Russia stateless and landless, but most do not use metaphors of place or land to attempt to resolve this plight.

Commercial-scapes, material culture and lived identity on the Mexico-United States border

Mélissa Gauthier, Concordia University, Montreal

Mexico-United States border cities are some of the fastest growing urban places of the world. Rapid growth has meant accelerated change in the urban landscapes of these places. The commercial landscapes first and perhaps best reflect the contemporary dynamism of the border cities. Focusing on the twin cities of Ciudad Juarez-El Paso, this paper explores the diversity of their commercial landscapes through analysing the phenomenon of crossing the Mexico-United States border for shopping, trading and smuggling. By focusing on border landscapes as socially constructed spaces that both mirror and reinforce group identity, this paper brings out some interesting parallels between the material culture of commercial landscapes, as places of exchange but also of interaction occurring in space, and the varied repertoire of social categories and metaphors that inhabitants of the Mexico-United States border region use to define their group identity and distinguish themselves from 'others'. Indeed, one of the aspects of the border landscape that makes it an ideal setting for reflecting upon the social construction of identity is that daily life there requires residents to routinely move back and forth between two societies that feature very different systems of classification of people. It is through this idea of moving back and forth between one side of the Mexico-United States border and the other that this paper shall scrutinise the meanings of boundaries and explore the senses of 'landscapelessness' in a border region. This paper, then, discusses the emphasis on hybridisation and 'border crossing' in contemporary border studies and theory and tends toward a critique of the all too 'literary border representations' often portrayed by cultural studies.

'People alone': Sri Lankan Tamils in Colombo

Sharika Thiranagama, University of Edinburgh

In the Sri Lankan civil war, ranging now for over two decades, there has been mass displacement from the North and East of the country. This paper will focus on the experiences of some Tamils, from the Jaffna peninsula which has one of the key battlefields for much of this conflict. Displacement of Tamils from Sri Lanka has happened both internally and externally with huge diaspora communities being formed all across the world. Yet the current focus on diaspora communities and migration as a trope of departure and arrival has to a large extent ignored the particular experiences of those who are internally displaced as well as the various places they inhabit.

I focus here on the experience of people living as transients in Colombo, the capital of Sri Lanka, waiting to obtain a way of leaving for abroad or going back home. One cannot build a life there in security; it is a space of waiting. Within the imagined Sri Lankan nation, minorities cannot appropriate the space of the city. Their spaces are continually open to invasion by state forces.

This paper looks at how nations and states can dis- accommodate minorities through the very structure of everyday life and how this in turns shapes and creates a desire for a home imagined as 'refuge' and 'being with one's own people'. The idiom of place and placelessness becomes here not just a discourse about geographical dislocation but ultimately about political dislocation.

When consumption produces landscape: the case of organic food

Marie-Claude Rose, Université de Montréal

While consumption is still perceived by certain social scientists as a sub-category of practices deserving little interest -- a secondary relationship to the world -- this paper argues that the social construction of spatiality can be interestingly addressed through a sociological look at consumption. A case study on organic food consumption in Montréal (Québec), which investigates an alternative marketing procedure drawing together producers and consumers, allows us to make this point. This paper demonstrates that the social rationality organising the empirical criteria of food consumption is a privileged viewpoint to explore people's relationship to themselves, others and nature. I suggest that the social construction of food uses and exchanges are expressive of the tension between the sense of landscape and 'landscapelessness'. Among consumers concerned with their 'inscription' on the land and in the world, organic food has the feature to address directly the issue of its production's environment. Social uses and exchanges of food elaborate relational spatiality as well as the social appropriation of nature, bringing consumers to locate food consumption into a sacred, rational or relational landscape. This discussion is thus relevant as far as the various social appropriations of organic food, constructing different representations of landscape, are alternative ways of producing society and shaping contemporary economic activities. In a world where resources are limited and while it seems pressing to be thinking of a 'decreasing' society, exploring consumption from the metaphors of landscape allows us to examine the difficulties associated with the emergence of other consumption patterns in contemporary societies.

What makes a mountain?: Knowing, placing and destroying the highest peak in Spain

Katrin Lund, Queen's University Belfast

This paper examine the concept of place as a locality. To do so I bring into perspective the interplay between the residents in a village in Southern Spain and the local mountain, Mulhacén, which is the highest peak on the Iberian Peninsula. By doing so I show how places as features in the landscape are always subjects to mobility. I thus agree with Ingold (2000) where he argues that places are not situated as fixed entities but should rather be examined in relation to their histories. Augé's (1995) definition of certain places and non-places, however, can push the argument further and it becomes evident that many places are situated although not on the earth's surface. My argument is thus that places do not only have histories but are also situated in histories that move with their owners across space and time where they intersect and change directions.

Located in the Natural Park of the Sierra Nevada and the Alpujarra, Bubión is a village that has in the past thirty years been experiencing rapid economic changes through the introduction of tourism as its main economy. When living off the land people had moved seasonally between the village and the mountains but with tourism life has become more permanently based in the village. At the same time the composition of the village population has also changed drastically. Since the 1970s foreigners and people from other parts of Spain have been settling in the village. It is through the movements of these different groups, how they intersect and head in different directions, that I want to examine how the mountain peak, Mulhacén, can move and appear in various ways. What is important to note is that this transience depends on how and where the mountain is metaphorically and materially situated -- how the landscape of the locality takes on different shapes -- shrinks and expands within ever changing temporal and spatial boundaries.

Anthropologies of 'invisible' people and processes: recalcitrant 'Weltanschauungen' in an age of globalisation

Stephanie Koerner, University of Manchester

In the last decades the humanities and social sciences have experienced a 'crisis of representation' whose causes and effects are examined in diverse interdisciplinary areas of research and literature. Benjamin's (1925-1939) expression crisis of representation works together with arguments about the 'state of emergency' of contemporary social strife so that it is not actually an anomaly for Enlightenment and Romantic paradigms but a ruling principle. The task, he said, was to use this insight to challenge images that render 'invisible' the barbarity of the 'civilising' processes they legitimise. Benjamin was particularly concerned with the impacts of Kant's (1781, 1788, 1790) framework for illuminating the questions: (1) What can I know? (2) What should I do? (3) What dare I hope? (4) What is it to be human? For Kant, these questions related to one another and the fourth was crucial for understanding why. Paradoxically central to Kant's iconoclast theory of knowledge and history was his image of the sort of *Weltanschauung* required for a 'Copernican Revolution.' Likewise paradoxical has been the importance of this icon to the most influential caricatures of contrasts, especially between supposedly 'disenchanted' modern western and 'other' modes of thought for over two centuries.

Benjamin's argument was too early and too late. Recent attention focuses on images that envisage 'globalisation and multi-culturalism' as a necessary, core periphery, homogenising process (cf. Ina and Rosaldo ed. 2000). A crisis of representation is felt by those recognising features which these images share with their predecessors. The most influential hinge on treating (a) the categories, *perceiving things, time-space distancing, pre-modern/traditional, face-to-face, local spaces, and particular activities*; and (b) the categories, *de-territorialised extended things, time-space compression, modern, relations between absent others, global spaces, systems, and long-term processes* as systems of synonymous opposites. Striking too is how these images distribute the *global and multi-cultural, place and placelessness, certitude and incertitude, ought and is*. No wonder that the implications for rendering disenfranchised so-called 'minorities' invisible to the ethical faculties of franchised majorities (cf. Buchli and Lucas 2000) are giving rise to crises of representation and concerns with the 'materiality of metaphor'. This contribution engages the recalcitrance of images of the sort of *Weltanschauung* required to envisage the world as a unified totality. It traverses interstices of disciplinary boundaries between historical writing on art and science, in order to illuminate the background, lasting impact and material consequences of this metaphor. Emphasis falls on materials bearing on challenges facing anthropological inquiries into hitherto 'invisible' people and processes. I conclude with some suggestions concerning the metaphor, 'hybrid identities.'

8. Local knowledge in development: problems and prospects

Old library, Wednesday 1.30pm

Convenor: Sillitoe, in association with the Development Forum

Panel abstract

At several meetings we have heard many interesting papers on the topic of local knowledge in development (e.g. the Association of Social Anthropologists 2000 and 2003 conferences) but there has been a sense of frustration at lack of time to discuss the many challenging issues touched upon. The intention at the Durham conference is to have a session devoted to the debate of issues, in contrast to the presentation of papers.

It is increasingly accepted that local knowledge (often called indigenous/ traditional knowledge) has a part to play in development interventions, but its role is ambiguous. Its application in development is largely seen as assisting in the tackling of technological problems. But drawing on local knowledge equally raises political issues. What should be the terms of engagement?

We know that local knowledge has weaknesses in development contexts as well as strengths, both of which result from its locally situated character. It does not necessarily comprise a comprehensive

knowledge system and not all members of a community may equally share it. Consequently, even when interventions take local knowledge into account, not all persons may stand to benefit, it may inform activities that are not necessarily either socially just or sustainable. What are the implications of engaging in such work?

We assume that local knowledge should be the basis for building local capacity and competence, and that it should be applied as a counter-model to global science. But engagement with development implies that external institutions, both national and international, should intervene in the activities of local people. Local knowledge needs to interface with global scientific knowledge, each drawing on the other to effect sustainable adaptation to changing natural and socio-economic environments. On what grounds should we involve ourselves in such interventions?

These are just some preliminary ideas. We wish to invite interested participants to suggest issues and questions for discussion. Broadly, we wish to explore the ramifications of the application of local knowledge to the development process, considering new directions and approaches to this work within anthropology, their methodological implications etc. The intention is to have an informal discussion to air issues of common interest, pinpoint future research priorities etc.

Some suggested points:

- there is certainly a need to bridge the gulf between those who reject local knowledge as unscientific and retrogressive and the populists who have managed to transform it into uncontextualised 'mumbo jumbo'.
- The real value of a plant to rural communities
- The real value of information associated to the plant to rural communities
- how do community members regard those coming to them to investigate about their knowledge of the use of plant genetic resources
- How do members of rural community regard information exchange among them and with outsiders
- I would be most interested in discussing how our conceptions of, and expectations from IK might change across cultures.
- Also, in case of native researchers, like myself, what happens? Is the researcher part of the researched collectivity? etc. etc.
- the politics of indigeneity
- divergent notions of the indigenous
- wish to question the concept 'local knowledge' based on my experience with the Dogrib and their knowledge of caribou
- Local knowledge is a combination of locally/culturally specific contents and a specific, yet human universal, cognitive capacity!
- Local knowledge is not only indigenous knowledge!
- What should be the relationship between 'experts' and local communities?
- How can local knowledge systems relate to formal planning requirements?
- When is a 'scientific' (western technical) approach to sustainable natural resource management unnecessary?
- Under what circumstances, if any, should external evaluations be based on local knowledge rather than 'scientific' approaches?
- Can traditional health resources form a bridge between humanitarian interventions and sustainable development programs?

Untitled

Helen Newing and Lissie Wahl

The category of 'Communal Reserve' in the Peruvian Protected Areas system is being used increasingly by forest peoples to gain land and resource rights to extended areas. However, by law local resource use must be documented according to formal management plans, which should be directed by the beneficiaries and approved and supervised by the government authorities. This mechanism fits well with current international discourse on co-managed protected areas. However, it poses several political and structural challenges that are currently under negotiation in Peru. How far can the need for formal management plans be reconciled with indigenous and local systems of organization and knowledge? When is a technical approach to sustainable natural resource management necessary, and how far can it be reconciled with existing systems? Should government approval and supervision always be based on technical approaches? The law is contradictory on these issues, on the one hand recognizing the legitimacy of local political and knowledge systems, but on the other requiring management documents produced by qualified professionals. In my paper, I will examine these issues with reference to the six existing communal reserves in Peru.

Conflict and conservation in the Danube Delta, Romania

Sandra Bell, Gillian Wallace and Kate Hampshire, University of Durham

The Danube Delta Biosphere Reserve Authority (DDBRA) was established by the Romanian government in 1990 to manage 5800 square kilometres of wetland. Around the same time the government also signed up to the Ramsar convention which placed the Danube Delta on a list of wetlands of international importance and acknowledged the role of its reed beds as a filter for the Black Sea. The delta is a site of great concern to the world's ornithologists because it lies at the intersection of the main European migration routes for 325 species of birds. The function of the DDBRA is to implement and influence a range of conservation policies issuing from the state government. However, in the preceding nine years the management of conservation has led to increased tensions between the DDBRA and inhabitants of the eighteen scattered and often inaccessible villages of the delta. These tensions centre on the regulation of fishing, hunting and other economic activities, the imposition of restricted areas, local taxation and transport policies and issues surrounding poaching. The paper explores the apparently intractable nature of the conflict between the inhabitants and the DDBRA, the most potent causes of division and what might constitute some first steps towards resolution.

Accessing plant genetic resources and associated knowledge in rural areas: issues of concern to rural communities

Marcelin Tonye Mahop, Queen Mary Intellectual Property Research Institute

It is essential for researchers and commercial partners using plant genetic resources and associated knowledge in their activities, to seek access to these resources from the people who are ensuring the primary custody. Indeed, rural communities living in remote areas rich in plant resources are the primary custodians of biodiversity. In addition, due to their long lasting and close reliance to plants for their basic needs, they have developed a significant body of knowledge, which allow them to make use of the plants around them. Both the knowledge and plants therefore appear having substantial value to them. On the other hand, plants genetic resources and the traditional knowledge appear to be important basic assets for research and development and are therefore heavily sought by other stakeholders who will exploit them beyond the control of rural communities. This paper is a synopsis of how rural people value plant genetic resources and associated knowledge to them on the one hand as well as providing rural communities' account of their relationships with seekers of access to these resources.

9. Inside or outside? Locating the boundaries of anthropological practice

Old library, Wednesday 9am

Convenor: Tomlinson

Panel abstract

Anthropologists and the anthropological method have long been situated in broader fields than conventional academic departments. As professional consultants, social anthropologists are working in many fields that require a theoretical and practical understanding of human cultural behaviour. Insights generated by anthropologists working, for example in business management, advertising or health care, are generally lost to the discipline, and their contributions to anthropology's theoretical and methodological developments have been limited. This panel forms one of a number of developments giving voice to anthropologists who locate themselves on the boundaries of anthropology and believe that it is possible to develop special anthropological approaches to practical problem solving that can contribute to the health of the discipline as a whole.

A substantial but relatively silent body of anthropologists lecture and research in university departments other than anthropology or are funded on pretexts that require applied research outputs. This positioning can provide creative opportunities for cross-disciplinary research, but also risks falling outside of a narrower definition of 'anthropology'. Anthropology faculty members who undertake 'applied' work often find it cannot contribute to RAE submissions. At the other end of the spectrum, anthropologists employed as researchers in non-academic arenas presently have little opportunity to interact with the discipline, either with students, academics, or with each other. What are the discipline's responsibilities to such anthropologists, why have previous attempts to promote integration of academic and applied work had limited success and what hinders greater contribution on their part to the discipline's development?

Papers may address some of the following questions:

- What are the creative opportunities provided by working in academic departments other than anthropology? Or by being unattached to academia?
- What challenges are faced by those who try to bridge the boundary between academia and application? How are these challenges negotiated?
- How are such anthropologists perceived by the discipline, by themselves, by those with whom they work and by those inside academic departments?
- What impact do or could these anthropologists have on the development of university-based anthropology?
- What are the implications of work in such contexts for the anthropological concepts of the 'field' and 'fieldwork'?
- What is a professional anthropologist? What is or should be the role of the professional associations in supporting all those trained in anthropology?

This panel builds on the insights from the recent seminar series, *Applications of Anthropology*. It draws inspiration from the long-standing ambivalent engagement between those inside and outside the discipline, epitomised by the rise and more recent faltering of GAPP and Anthropology in Action. The panel also provides the occasion for the launch of a new ASA Network of Applied Anthropologists supporting links between practitioners, academics and students.

Anthropologists crossing boundaries of anthropology

Dr Jean Sébastien Marcoux, HEC Montréal

This paper discusses the increasing use of anthropology in Business Schools; a context that has traditionally not been part of the applied anthropology enterprise. Despite a historically strong pragmatic orientation and numerous links with business practitioners, Business Schools aimed at forming managers are increasingly adopting a liberal approach to teaching and researching which leaves room for

anthropology and anthropologists. Indeed, in the last 20 years, anthropology has come to exert certain 'charms' in marketing departments traditionally monopolized by economists and psychologists. Similarly, ethnography has increasingly been conceded a certain 'niche' as testified by recent developments of market research practices favouring a more sensitive approach to the study of consumption.

It would be naïve for anthropologists to believe that they will deflect Business Schools from their corporate mission. It would also be myopic not to face ethnical dilemmas surrounding, for instance, Business Schools limited access or the methodological problems relating to ethnography's new chic. Having said that, Business Schools are at the forefront of consumer society development, which justifies the need for anthropologists to have a voice in there. More importantly, anthropologists' migration in the field of Business studies raises important issues regarding career opportunities for students, the changing boundaries of academic disciplines, and, perhaps, the transformation of anthropology itself.

This paper is based on personal experience. It draws upon my own migration between anthropology and the field of Business studies. It extends a reflection undertaken during the 2002 EASA conference in Copenhagen.

Applying anthropology in Melanesia: academic enterprise cultures and mining in Papua New Guinea?

Dr. Robin Wilson, University of Durham

This paper focuses on attempts by anthropologists to bridge the divide between application and academia at the Ok Tedi Copper Mine to facilitate an equitable approach to use of knowledge, power and practice by the company within the Western province of Papua New Guinea. By tracing the emergence of international concern over the environmental and social policies of the Ok Tedi Mining Company since 1984, the paper examines the approaches taken by anthropologists in both academic and applied guises to attempts to "develop" the local Min society.

Of particular relevance to practicing anthropology in PNG are the parallel perceptions constituting the global/scientific/applied and the local/humanistic/academic. While applied consultant anthropologists linked to corporate institutions initially appear attractive and powerful to the company and independent academic anthropologists appear threatening and reactionary, such framings should not be taken for granted. The particular forms of knowledge that each approach generates need not be seen as distinct nor incompatible the multiple representations embedded in the views of different interest groups and actor-networks.

Thus, the challenges facing academic anthropologists working in applied settings in Melanesia relate to the perceptions of what anthropology is about and what it can provide to whom. In practice, anthropologists have found themselves in possession of secret knowledge, about which, ways must be found to talk in terms of that offer useful explanations. The ambiguity of applied academic anthropology introduced by financial imperatives is a diluting effect on kin and social relations and what the anthropologist can say.

Doing anthropology v. Being an anthropologist: an essential or dangerous distinction?

Dr Simon Roberts, Ideas Bazaar

This paper reflects on the practice of anthropology and the identity of anthropologists. It challenges the apparent bias of institutional anthropology that one has to *do* a certain sort of anthropology to *be* an anthropologist. Once stable ideas of what anthropologists do and what qualifies as an anthropologist are under attack both from within the academy, and from outside it. Within, job roles, remits and responsibilities are undermining previously accepted notions about what anthropologists do (Gibb 2003). From without, new exciting opportunities and enthusiastic audiences for anthropology and anthropologists present alternative ways of being and doing. With this come methodological challenges and opportunities.

This paper seeks to re-imagine what doing and being can be about for academic and applied anthropologists, and attempts to find a space for fruitful dialogue between the two. I examine the variety of practices that now characterise the doing of anthropology and the range of contexts in which it is practiced. I report on the experiences and reflections of applied anthropologists in settings as varied as government, health, design and consultancy.

Being more liberal in our interpretation and evaluation of what anthropologists can do and what constitutes an anthropologist does not entail a denial of the essence of the discipline and what makes it different and valuable, either methodologically or epistemologically. Instead, I argue that it helps us see the value of anthropology, as seen by others, and focus on its essence. In an era of changing employment prospects this essence should guide the development of the discipline institutionally. Moreover, it should also nurture dialogue between anthropological missionaries and mandarins (Mills 2003), the different groups who describe themselves as anthropologists and what they do as anthropology.

Interdisciplinary boundaries and the process of reciprocity: attempts to bridge the divide between academia and application

Dr Alexandra Charnock Greene, University of St Andrews

This paper compares two cultures of audit in Scotland. The first explores the experiences of academics inside a university preparing for another Research and Audit Exercise (RAE). The second draws on an action research project and the experiences of health professionals who are adjusting to the new culture of appraisal in medicine. Using a qualitative approach normally reserved for fieldwork outside the university this study takes a look 'inside' academia, and draws on the meanings associated with the benefits and hazards of audit, and the long-term affects this has on collegiate relationships and organisational systems. In particular, the tensions that arise between trying to improve student outcomes and making courses more client friendly.

Drawing on these experiences the study reveals worrying similarities with health professionals undertaking their first appraisal of services for young people with diabetes. While clinical standards are welcomed, these professionals appear perplexed by the dilemmas they face when trying to implement the General Medical Council's recommendations for governance, improved outcomes and 'patient-centred practice'. Similarly, how the combination of evaluation and standards appears to stifle the creative side of client-centred care.

This paper therefore, argues for a model of reciprocity between the boundaries of academia and fieldwork practice. Anthropologists working between these environments are in a prime position to contribute to a greater understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of audit. In particular, how appraisal tends towards formulaic approaches to knowledge; often at odds with people's experience of the creative enterprise of academia and application. Moreover, how the powerful rhetoric of assessment often lacks a practical knowledge base to guide action. Interaction between the different parts of anthropology will provide a valuable opportunity to combine theoretical and practical insights, and in this way to become a force for organisational change to smooth the way between policy and practice.

The Government anthropologist: concepts, consultancy & research in policy and application

Mills Hills, Cabinet Office

The majority of retail, service, consultancy and government organisations recognise the fundamental need to take account of what some used to call "the human factor". Initially rooted in the creative industries, all sectors of the economy and administration seek to invest, develop, enhance the experiences of or support their employees, consumers, stakeholders or citizens. Consequently, the fields that anthropology could now have access to have never been larger.

From deeply techie IT work through targeted and rapid research to the formulation and testing of policy and plans, new territory has been charted for anthropological input. This is, at present, almost wholly separate from the curricula of anthropology departments, which prepare people (often only after a fashion) for field-work, but not for careers. Departments are selling their alumni short (impeding not empowering) - and it isn't fair.

This presentation will observe that in the somewhat more meritocratic and open conditions that prevail now, anthropologists can play varied, authoritative, surprising and interesting roles in supporting the delivery of the competitive edge of any organisation. **But you'd never know the variety of applications open to anthropology if you looked only at academic curricula.** In asking who'll get into debt for a discipline that appears to offer only three career outcomes (teaching in an anthropology department;

'development' work or entirely sublimating the vast majority of their training in a vocational or alternative post,- e.g. accountancy), I suggest that everyone rapidly consider the implications.

Taking a somewhat radical stand, this presentation briefly notes some of the work that the author has been involved in as a defence researcher, project manager, capability group leader, policy wonk and Cabinet Office secondee. Although I often brief, present and am represented as an anthropologist, my contention will be that although our discipline's visibility to recruiters and those devising skill-sets for recruitment has never been higher, the key for any graduate, post-graduate or job-changer will be that of **personal differentiation**. Anthropology's unique selling point may be that it is a discipline that permits people to 'be themselves' more than many other allegedly professionalised ones (e.g. psychology!). This can, of course, be either a threat or an opportunity depending on the quality of the individual's work. That's a truly meritocratic state of affairs.

From doing fieldwork to working in diverse fields: differing conditions of engagement with the raw material of new anthropological knowledge

Dr Simon Pulman-Jones, Independent researcher

For anthropologists continuing their career as anthropologists outside the academy concepts of 'the field' and 'fieldwork' remain central to their work. Drawing on the author's experience of maintaining his identity as a professional anthropologist through a career in business strategy and design, this paper looks at the role of fieldwork outside the academy, from fetishised source of professional authority and differentiation to continuing source of anthropological inspiration.

If spending time in 'the field' is a primary goal of anthropologists, those working outside the academy enjoy abundant, but mixed blessings compared to their academic colleagues. Their work may require them to be frequently in the field for research, but those field experiences may be severely constrained by highly compressed timelines for both planning and execution, and by prescribed and limited objectives. Nonetheless, the cumulative experience of regular work in the field provides many practicing anthropologists with access to and knowledge of areas that are of interest to anthropology, and which might otherwise be difficult to reach.

For anthropologists working outside the academy concepts of 'the field' and 'fieldwork' are frequently at the core of their own attempts, and those of others, to define and control the work that they do, and the authority and agency of the contributions that they can make. Many anthropologists are now employed not for local area expertise gained during doctoral fieldwork, as might be the case in development anthropology, but for the forensic and explanatory potential of anthropological methods and knowledge themselves. Consequently many anthropologists working outside the academy are as engaged in thinking about the nature of anthropological evidence and the status of anthropological knowledge, as their academic colleagues, albeit in very different circumstances and to different ends.

This paper will consider the different conditions from which anthropologists working outside the academy engage with both the practical realities and the conceptual significance of 'the field' and 'fieldwork', and will argue that the discipline should embrace the field experience of those working outside as well as inside the academy.

10. Communities in cyberspace

Old library, Wednesday 9am

Virtually there: fieldwork in cyberspace

Denise Carter, University of Hull

This paper investigates how technology and culture interact to produce communities in cyberspace, and how their study has led to the opening up of new anthropological fieldsites that do not occupy geographical spaces. Building on the experiences of Markham (1998), Schaap (2002) and Miller & Slater (2000), I combine original ethnographic research in Cybertown [<http://www.cybertown.com>], a Virtual Community, with face-to-face meetings to illustrate how ethnography in cyberspace destabilises the 'traditional idea that the experience of reality is grounded in the physical, embodied world' (Markham,

1998:20). On the contrary, people 'live in' and 'construct' these new spaces in such a way as to suggest that the Internet is not a placeless cyberspace that is distinct and separate from the real world.

Cyberethnography placed me in a rather strange position, compared with other Anthropologists whose fieldwork excursions to 'exotic' places caused them to forever appear and disappear, whilst I was still here. Or rather, I was there, without needing to leave here, and if Turkle is right when she says that '...decountrifying oneself is one of the most powerful elements of fieldwork', then I had to wonder if I missed out on that experience (1995:218). I had no problems with passports, visas, language, malaria, sunstroke or cravings for baked beans, in fact I was always home in time for bed. Yet as this paper explains, fieldwork in cyberspace has its own set of problems. Going online does not simply mean switching the computer on and typing out words on a keypad. Like Markham I had to learn how to 'move, see and talk' because 'to be present in cyberspace is to learn how to be embodied there' (1998:23). However, engaging in fieldwork in cyberspace does not only involve being there, and participating as an embodied and social being. Continuing Marcus' explanation of how the identity of the anthropologist is 'profoundly related' to the particular world they are studying (1998:69), Markham's (1998) struggle with her changing sense of self, and Barry's (2000) later account of the relationship between her shifting identities and fieldwork - I make arguments about the ways in which the challenges of fieldwork in cyberspace informs contemporary ethnographic practice. By addressing these questions, this paper has the secondary aim of illustrating how my research succeeds in both pushing the boundaries of traditional ethnography further, and in confirming this new environment of cyberspace as an authentic fieldsite for anthropological and sociological research.

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National homeland, queer community, virtual diaspora: fieldwork at the crossroads

Adi Kuntsman, Department of Sociology, Lancaster University

This paper is based on my current multi-cited fieldwork in a process that takes place on- and off-line and focuses on the community of Russian speaking gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender immigrants in Israel. My field location is simultaneously national and transnational, local and located yet virtual and deterritorialized.

Online community provides new opportunities for diasporic and migrant subjects. "Cyborg-Diaspora" is a space for creating community through technology that can help disrupt dominant discourses of nation, ethnicity and culture. It could also be a space where immigrants can resist the hegemony of language of their host society. But the idea of cyborg diaspora as empowering should be accessed critically: instead of assuming empowerment one should ask who, how and when is empowered and who is excluded in this process.

For Russian gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgenders the online community provides an opportunity to resist the dominant ideas of sexuality and the homophobia of their migrant community. But while opening up some borders and boundaries, such as those of sexuality and ethnicity, the Russian queer online community reinforces and reassures others- those of class and nation. The very process of challenging some boundaries while reinforcing others is of course not unique to the studied community or to this particular website. However, cyberspace differs from an off-line community in that it offers additional opportunities to perform *and* destabilize national, ethnic, class and sexual identities.

The main aim of this paper therefore is to challenge the perception of cyberspace as a liberatory site of unlimited imagination and freedom for both the anthropologist and her subjects. By looking at the ways

nation, sexuality and immigration intersect in cyberspace and shape my own experience of fieldwork “at home yet far away from home”, I hope to suggest a critical way of examining cyber-cultures that takes into account both the freedoms and the limitations, the opportunities and the constraints. What kind of research does cyberspace allow, and what kind of relations between the ethnographer and the ‘ethnographic subjects’? Last but not least, I wish to ask- is this anthropology of- and at- home?

On a theoretical level, this paper brings together the growing field of cyber-ethnography and contemporary theories of nation(alism), diaspora and queer sexuality.

Internet and Inter-notes: virtual communities as a local form of writing social reality

Ian James, University of St. Andrews

The ethnographic study of electronic communities, or virtual worlds, represents something of a paradigm shift in anthropological practice while computer-mediated communication perhaps calls on ethnographers to break with existing disciplinary identities. Procuring information from virtual sites and participating in on-line discussions, if privately practiced, is not yet fully conventionalised in the discipline, with some notable exceptions. This paper suggests that electronic communication is gaining in importance as fieldwork increasingly ‘goes virtual’ – like fieldnotes, electronic discourse must be recognised as a form of writing that does not necessitate the anthropologist leaving the field, adopting a different persona, but furthers his or her involvement in local affairs. This was indeed my experience when, returning from anthropological fieldwork in London, I discovered a chatroom on the Internet based in the town where I carried out research. Some analyses of communication, based on face-to-face interactions, suggest that it is only ever the exchange of partial perspectives, and that there is never an exchange of the fullness of speakers’ original intentions in fleeting ‘real life’ conversation. Among interlocutors in ordinary speech, it has been argued, there is a sense of frustration that their words can never fully do justice to the complexity of meaning which such words display in their ‘native’ context. By eliminating turn-taking as a common conversational feature of speech, asynchronous electronic chatrooms, of the kind I came across relating to my fieldwork site, mean that ‘speakers’ are able to put across their view without doing too much damage to its integrity. In this sense, internet chatrooms are closer to the idea of *Gemeinschaft*, which, in its classic ethnographic portrayal by researchers Michael Young and Peter Willmott, is a type of arrangement that promotes knowledge of its individual members as multifarious personalities. For Young and Willmott it was complex society, emblematised by the suburb and the housing estate, that reduced individuals to a singular and superficial identity. I argue then that despite the newness of the medium, the Internet can be a place where old anthropological and sociological ideas maintain some purchase.

Desiring culture: understanding the place of internet search terms in contemporary culture

Gordon Fletcher, Information Systems Institute, University of Salford

This paper critically examines the shifting popularity of individual Internet search terms and how this reflects mainstream attitudes and desires in contemporary cultural practice. The paper focuses on the shifting interest in the 9/11 terrorist attacks of 2001 and the relationship of this event to searches relating to the ‘illicit’ Web. The paper argues that there is a cultural interrelationship between these quite distinct aspects of culture which can be identified from weekly lists of the most popular search terms.

The paper draws on weekly lists of popular Web-based search terms that were gathered over a 15-month period from the early September 2001 to February 2003. Two lists were collected each week. The popular ‘surge’ terms offers a list of the 300 most popular searches conducted at meta-search engines, such as webcrawler.com, over the previous 24 hours. The ‘consistent performers’ list shows the 200 most popular search terms over the past 4 weeks. Individual search terms only appear in this second list if they are of consistent interest to users of Web search engines throughout this period. Individual terms were then grouped together by the broad areas of interest that they represented. This classification was undertaken with the Universal Decimal Classification scheme in order to cover the full range of human action and endeavour.

This relationship between 9/11 terrorist oriented searches and generally pornographic terms reveals the way in which the Web blurs conventional dichotomies, but particularly distinction of public and private practice, in a ways that cannot readily be identified through conventional observation-based fieldwork techniques. The consistent interest in terms such as ‘incest’ and ‘bestiality’ [sic] as well as the cultural

knowledges that are revealed by searches for specific pornographic Web sites all reveal a prevalent but private set of cultural knowledges. These private knowledges are revealed only as a consequence of the presumed anonymity of Web users conducting these searches.

The 9/11 terrorist attacks, the anniversary of the attack and other actions associated with this original act were public, well-documented popular media intense events. Despite the public outpouring of horror and the fear that was generated by these events are represented in search engine activity as momentary 'surges' of interest. During these surges the interest in pornography – in the various guises it assumes online - declined markedly only to reappear one or two weeks with equal intensity. This activity suggests that there is a continuous, persistent and private milieu of cultural practices within mainstream contemporary culture that are momentarily punctuated and partially effaced by events of large scale public significance.

Time, place and cyberspace: locating the field in an E.U. project

Dr Julie Scott, London Metropolitan University

Whilst anthropologists are turning to multi-locational research as a means of capturing the interpenetration of local and global relations in 'the field', the European Union has long built a multi-sited focus into its programmes, which have the aim of contributing to E.U policy objectives at a regional or community-wide level through funding 'consortia' or networks of institutional partners. Participation in such projects raises not only thorny project management issues, but also problems of theoretical and methodological complexity. Are anthropological research objectives and concepts of 'the field' compatible with the categories of culture, time and place implicit in E.U. policy and practice? What is the epistemological status of ethnographic research conducted through dispersed networks of researchers? Can such collaborations produce more than a series of fragmented ethnographic accounts of spatially discrete field sites?

This paper explores a current experience of participating in an E.U. programme in order to tease out some of these issues. *Euromed Heritage II* is a programme of output-based interventions aimed at (1) promoting awareness of a shared Mediterranean cultural heritage that transcends national boundaries, and (2) strengthening regional stakeholder networks. The project *Mediterranean Voices: Oral History and Cultural Practice in Mediterranean Cities* brings together a consortium of 14 partner institutions in 13 'Mediterranean' cities, which include both parts of the divided city of Nicosia, as well as London and Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. Working with multi-disciplinary teams in each city, the main objectives of the project are the creation of a database of the intangible heritage of these 'Mediterranean' cities; the ethnographic analysis of Mediterranean urban spaces, their representation, the ways in which they are inhabited, and the connections between them; and identification of/collaboration with local groups to generate applications for the material and the networks of relationships created through the project. The paper traces the shifting location of the field as it emerges from the project's engagement with the 'Mediterranean' of contradictory E.U. policy objectives, the anthropological, historical and literary imagination, and tourism related simulacra; the *agency* of individual consortium members and their autobiographical associations with the cities and neighbourhoods of the project; the spaces created through the *processes of the project*, which include meeting places in both physical and cyberspace; and the field of *institutional relationships* and the negotiation of E.U. institutional and political culture in local settings. The paper concludes that 'the field' remains a powerful spatial metaphor for the ways in which both researchers and informants order their experience, and ends by suggesting that concepts of 'the field' need to be routinely extended to incorporate research funding regimes and the increasingly diverse institutional contexts in which anthropology is practised.

The Internet, cybercafes and the new social spaces of Bangalorean youth

Nicholas Nisbett, School of Social Sciences and Cultural Studies, University of Sussex

Based upon participant observation in a cybercafe in Bangalore, India, this paper examines the role that cybercafes, the internet and other new social spaces such as coffee shops and pubs are playing in the development of gendered identities for Bangalore's middle class youth. Discarding a dichotomous distinction between 'online' and 'offline' space, the paper argues the need for an understanding of space within a context of rapidly changing socio-cultural, political and economic environments where new spaces are being appropriated, created and shaped by Bangalorean youth, which in turn create and shape Bangalorean youth identities.

I argue that the cybercafe served as a social nexus for the group of young male friends who chose to inhabit this space; acting as a *connection* between the different life worlds, cultural styles, knowledges and social relations which these actors were bringing into that space; as a *focal point* for their friendships, peer-group activities and the performance of their masculinity; and as a *causal link* enabling these activities to come into being where they are being constrained or denied elsewhere. I have attempted to show this nexus at work in this particular *space* at particular times, to suggest that the performance of a young, male, lower-middle-class, Indian identity can take on different forms according to the social relations that are brought into that space, creating varying and contested forms of *place* (Massey 1994).

The internet and internet chat in particular have enabled another new kind of social space to appear in which young Bangaloreans, of both sexes, can meet, interact, express emotions and fall in love. Whilst identity play is engaged in both online and offline, online identities are rooted in the everyday 'offline' performance of self and hierarchies of place and culture often come into operation to restrict this identity play. Older norms of interaction have continued to operate in these new spaces but new norms, where established, have enabled the rapid development of relationships which in many cases proceed to occur as much in offline as in online space, utilising the new elite spaces of the urban landscape, such as 'British style' pubs and *Starbucks* style coffee shops. Sharing anthropological perspectives which treat the internet as embedded and real (not 'virtual') in everyday lives (e.g. Miller & Slater 2000) it is argued that there is little difference in a Bangalorean young male's performance in an online chatroom and in a new coffee-bar, especially in cases where the overall objective – for example courtship - remains the same across both spaces.

11. Mobilities and modernities

Seminar Rm 1, Wednesday 9am

Localities and pastoralist mobility: locating the Karamojong ethnographically

Ben Knighton, OCMS

Mobility is a not a new factor for people anthropology has tried to describe. Anthropology may have missed the degree of mobility and actors absent from the fieldwork, not least concerning nomadic pastoralism, whose past goes back 9,000 years. One issue the paper will cover then is the location of actors who adhere to the same cultural identity despite territorial separation. Who constructs the cultures of Karamoja? Is this done externally more than internally? What is the difference between internal notions of territoriality. Then different methods of fieldwork eg. Demography, sound recordings, PRA used in Karamoja that reflect what is considered important eg. Kinship, story, development, ecology. The mobility of the research also need reflection as there are advantages and disadvantages of following wherever people lead you or coming in and out of a particular place: in this respect time and place need to be considered together. The tentative conclusion is that mobility does not nullify the need for the ethnographer to search for order and coherence in the social and symbolic worlds of informants. To abandon the search is to do less than the actors themselves. Even if the ethnographer fails, more is learned in the attempt than the mere repetition of the first voices that are encountered.

The discomforts of 'home': influences and imaginings of rural pasts and urban futures in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Richard Sherrington, University of Manchester

Migration in Tanzania is often described as circular; that people move from their rural places of origin to the towns and cities, and then after some time, return 'home'. My own research conducted in Dar es Salaam (2001-03), the largest and most populous city in Tanzania, suggests that these past renditions of the migratory process are now incorrect. The process is much more complex than presently understood. In this paper I explore some of the complexities involved in the decision making processes of staying in the city or returning home. In particular I discuss how imaginings and memories of 'home' and visions of urban futures (in places which will never be 'home') influence those migrants planning to stay in Dar and those that will return home.

My findings suggest that most people do aim to stay in the city. For some however kinship and marriage obligations disrupt notions of autonomy and choice of place of residence as powerful agents and ideas exert their influence forcing people to return 'home' often against their own wishes. When returning home to the village people often plan to make life as comfortable as possible, and if they have the means, invest piecemeal in their home village, in an attempt to take some of the trappings of urban life with them. The majority of people who, on the other hand, plan to stay in the city do so with a belief that money is easier to obtain than in the village home places; by accessing money they aim to 'self-develop' and through certain consumption practices and displays of wealth achieve the status of 'modern person'.

Accompanying these ambitions and choices are memories and imaginings of what a better life constitutes and what, on the contrary, a worse life entails. These imaginings often evoke feelings of ambivalence towards places. Home is the place nostalgically associated with comfort, kin, and an abundance of food and drink available without the need for cash. It is also the place where money is in short supply, work is hard, and there are fewer goods and services available. The city, as 'not home', is the place where everything requires cash, food is impure, theft and violent crime are common, and where one is often surrounded by non-kin. It is also the place where services such as schools, clinics and hospitals and electricity are available. More importantly, it is the place where money is available and income-generating opportunities are greater. I argue that people are rejecting certain traits which are considered 'rural' by actively pursuing modern and urban futures. This has implications for how we should conceive of spaces designated as rural, urban, and home.

Karen refugees in the Thailand-Burma borderlands: refugee camps and imagined places

Ananda Rajah, Department of Sociology, National University of Singapore and RAI Fellow in Urgent Anthropology, Department of Anthropology, University of Durham

The Karen are an ethnic minority group in Burma who have fled the ethnic conflict and civil war in the country. Karen refugees began arriving in Thailand in 1984, reaching a peak in 1995 with the collapse of the headquarters of the insurgent Karen National Union (KNU) and Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA) after a major offensive by the Burmese Armed Forces. There are now approximately 133,000 refugees located in seven camps along the Thailand-Burma borderlands.

Karen refugee camps in Thailand are connected by formal institutional networks, informal social networks (some of which extend to villages and towns in Burma), conventional information flows and electronic means of communication. Some Karen refugee self-help organizations are in fact linked to the larger world and other refugees who have successfully sought asylum in the West through the Internet and e-mail. The largest Karen refugee camp along the Thailand-Burma borderlands functions as a cultural, educational and organizational centre, a major node in the network of refugee camps. A diversity of Karen communities (Sgaw, Pwo, Christians of various denominations, and Buddhist-animists) exists in these camps, some of which are staunchly committed to the Karen nationalist vision, whilst others seem disillusioned with this vision. Those who still retain their nationalist commitment have, as their principal geo-political referent, Kawthoolei, the quasi nation-state that Karen nationalists have aspired to for over forty years. Those disillusioned with this vision entertain new imagined communities and places — in Thailand or the West. These imagined spaces co-exist with the hard reality of refugee camps as locales of everyday life.

This paper examines the various constructions of space and place in Karen refugee experience and imagination, and undertakes a reconsideration of conventional anthropological fieldwork methods in relation to the possibilities and constraints of studying refugees in the Thailand-Burma borderlands.

'The field': materiality and imagination

Katerina Kratzmann, Institut for European Ethnology, Vienna

In my current research I am confronted with a theoretical and methodological problem, I would like to elaborate in the lecture. My recent study is about undocumented migrants in Vienna, and as you can imagine it is not that easy to locate this field. I am concerned with the question, what relationship undocumented migrants and the Austrian society have. What do they know about each other? Which dominant pictures circulate in the discourse and which consequences does this form of migration have for the nation state and it's claim for sovereignty and democracy. To find some answers to my questions I

went “into my field”, the city of Vienna, where one particular questions arose: What understanding of space underlain my research activities?

Most undocumented migrants are definitely “moving targets” (Welz) and I would like to argue the following point: my field is characterised by two things at the same time. At the one hand side it is a “meeting place” (Massey). It is nothing new that the field is not congruent with a community or one social layer in society, but it has to be emphasised that the metaphor “meeting place” stands for the simultaneous presents of divers imaginations about space and it’s meaning. And at the other hand side my field is a highly culturally encoded space, which is given ascription like: crime, danger, rough, etc. The fact that space is culturally encoded means, that certain people stay away from certain places and that certain places “belong” to certain groups. This seems to be a bit of a mystery and contradictory. How can space be both: a mixed “meeting place” and a culturally encoded space for certain people?

This two sides have both an impact on the definition of “the field”, and I would like to show in the lecture how they influence the research and it’s theoretical and methodological funding. I don’t think, that traditional methods and theories have to be dismissed completely, but it is definitely necessary to stretch the understanding of the term „the field“ in anthropology. Nowadays there is no longer a self-contained solid field, where anthropologists could go or travel to, but an unstabel constantly changing field as a process, we can analyse and describe. Space is not the vessel of culture, and the field is not the vessel for the object.

Can anthropologists study second homes or only live in them?

Dr Nathalie Ortar, CNRS-LADYSS

This paper is based on field works carried out in France and Russia on second home owners. The main topics studied are how these people build up their identity and what role the family plays. I started my field work in rural France in two villages. After working a few years on this topic in France I got the opportunity to work on the same type of population in Russia in the area of Yaroslav.

This work leads to quite a few questions:

1. What does it mean to live in more than one residence? Which house is the home in such conditions? What impact does the surrounding environment have on this population?
2. How can the anthropologist study such populations? Is this discipline appropriate to deal with such subjects? How is the fieldwork feasible?
3. How can this type of mobility be described? Is it related to a nomadic way of life or to a new way of living?
4. How is the comparison possible when the political, social and economical backgrounds are so different? Has the comparison any meaning? If it has any meaning is it possible to generalise the results?

This paper will try to answer those questions which combine the themes of the localities, mobilities and methodologies.

Construction of home and sense of belonging in a group of highly mobile employees of an international organisation

Magdalena Nowicka, Institute of Sociology, Ludwig-Maximilians-University, Munich, Germany

The paper addresses the question of construction of home and sense of belonging under the conditions of extensive mobility. In particular it asks what is a relation of the individuals to a place and how stability is being produced under the condition of liquefaction of old boundaries.

The paper presents the preliminary results of the Ph.D. research project conducted in a group of employees of an International Organisation, which is a part of the United Nations System. It runs projects and has offices in over 100 countries all around the world. The selected group is characterised by extensive mobility. All of the interviewees have changed their place of residence at least once. Most of them have moved more than once between the countries. In average, they change countries of residence at least 3-4 times during the course of their life, some of them have changed their locations over 10 times. All of them travel at least 100 days a year for business, staying abroad from 5 days to 3 weeks long.

The research has shown that the individuals locate themselves primarily within socio-technical networks and that the essential qualities of a place play little role in their decisions to settle down. The main theses of the research include the one of the non-territorial principle of fixation, flexibility of fixation, and mobile localities. The paper concentrates on the last thesis.

The paper combines the empirical evidence with the theoretical postulate of spatially conscious sociology (Sayer) and methodological cosmopolitanism (Beck). The aim was to escape the global-national-regional-local perspective and look at the localities as not spatially but socially bound. Further, the theoretical considerations were inspired by the Georg Simmel's concept of qualities of space.

Pastoral culture and world culture: the modern mobility of the Wodaabe of Central Niger

Dr. Elisabeth Boesen, Center for Modern Oriental Studies Berlin

'The nomad' has become a metaphor of the post-modern way of life. This not only because real mobility constitutes an essential quality of post-modern life but also because the nomad represents a genuine attitude of resistance and its innate creativity. One would have expected that this newly fashioned "nomadology" would also bring about a renewed interest in traditional forms of mobility like pastoral nomadism. At the same time it is understandable why these traditional nomads do not appear in contemporary reflections on mobility or translocality. Their mobility does not represent a mode of participation but a state of marginality, that is of exclusion, while their sphere of life, in the present case the Sahel and the desert, is even in a globalised world seen as a periphery or at most as a transit-space.

It is, however, remarkable that the "modern" forms of mobility which members of pastoral nomadic groups also produce have up to now been more or less ignored by academic research. For several decades Wodaabe men and women, like other Sahelian nomads, undertake seasonal travels to urban centers. One reason for this lack of interest may reside in the fact that these nomads have not been recognised in their specificity because they do not differ from peasant migrants in the quality which is crucial in the eyes of the researchers, namely their rural provenance. In the case of the Wodaabe-migrants, however, this explanation seems scarcely plausible, as their outer appearance as well as their urban activities prevent them from disappearing in the mass of migrant workers. The fact that Wodaabe urban life has been more or less ignored may also relate to the somewhat ambiguous status which they occupy in this milieu. The urban Wodaabe oscillates so to say between seasonal migrant worker, merchant, peripatetic, hunger-refugee and traveller. It therefore seems to be justified to define their mobility as "modern", that is as participation in modern or global processes of exchange. I will show, however, that in the case of the Wodaabe this association of mobility and modernity/globality is questionable. Their modern movements which lead them in part to rather modern localities, namely into the world of tourists and white expatriates, must also be understood as a manifestation of a conservative attitude to life.

12. Translocalities

Seminar Rm 1, Thursday 9am

'People of the hills': a translocal mining community in West Africa

Katja Werthmann, University of Mainz, Germany

This paper explores the emergence of a multi-ethnic, multi-national, translocal mining community in West Africa, based on fieldwork in Burkina Faso. Modern non-industrial gold mining in Burkina Faso started around 1980 during a drought that affected several West African Sahel and Savanna regions. Since then, gold mining has gradually spread over several regions of Burkina Faso, as it did in the neighbouring countries Mali, Niger, Ghana, and Benin. In Burkina Faso, gold digging is pursued both as a dry-season activity by farmers and as a full-time occupation by professional itinerant gold diggers who keep moving from mine to mine. According to IMF and other estimates, up to 200.000 people are working in gold mines in Burkina Faso. Many of them also migrate to gold mines in the neighbouring countries and vice versa. In addition, mining camps attract a wide range of providers of goods and services. During the peak season, a mining camp can comprise more than 10.000 inhabitants and thus attain urban dimensions.

Individual reasons for migration to the gold mines are diverse and range from economic pressure to the escape from criminal charges. Many people consider mining camps to be “a world apart”, where drug abuse, violence, and prostitution prevail. Therefore, everybody who works in those camps runs the risk of acquiring a bad reputation, regardless of their actual occupation. Consequently, sojourners in mining camps develop an ambivalent sense of belonging to a particular kind of non-local community. It is an “a-spatial community” that temporarily aggregates in boom regions, an “occupational community” defined by the distinct social organization of exploiting a resource, and a “symbolic community” whose members are known by a particular name: *tang ramba* – “people of the hills”.

“People of the hills” are united through the exploitation of a specific resource in different localities, through relationships that continue beyond one particular locality, and through an urban life-style in spite of the remoteness of some localities. In contrast with transnational migratory phenomena, mining communities do not constitute diasporas where ethnic, religious, or territorial identity is (re-)constructed by the “invention of tradition”. On the contrary, within the mining camps ethnic or regional origin is downplayed, while the nation-state or local rural communities may have a vested interest in the expulsion of “strangers”.

Where is the field? An anthropologist’s view of how migrants, scholars, politicians, and journalists co-produce the global imagery of new Chineseness overseas

Pál Nyíri, University of Oxford

“New migrants” is the term that has as of recently been in official use in the People’s Republic of China to denote mainly those mainland Chinese – including students – who have moved abroad in the decades since the country’s post-Mao reform began. New migrants are seen to be both educated and “patriotic”, hence suited for the leadership of overseas Chinese communities in Japan, the US, and Europe, which are judged as losing touch with the homeland and Chinese culture. Furthermore, they are seen to be a resource for China’s modernisation through the attraction of foreign investors and business partners.

“New migrants”, most of whom are in Europe, America, and Japan, are both unprecedentedly mobile – not infrequently maintaining residence permits and businesses in three or more countries and regularly returning to China – and unprecedentedly mediated. On the one hand, they have global access to both Chinese state television and Hong Kong-based satellite channels such as Phoenix and Channel V. On the other hand, they have founded a host of new print and audiovisual media, including publications explicitly positioned as “global Chinese”, like *Worldwide Chinese* (London) or *Who’s Who of Chinese Origin Worldwide* (Budapest). These publications employ Western Orientalising, and Chinese self-Orientalising, discourses of Chineseness and promote the myth of the Chinese as the thoroughly modern, yet authentic, global Asian (Ong 1997). In Hungary, where the first Chinese newspaper was launched in 1992, there were nine of them. In Japan, a Chinese-language television began broadcasting in 2000. “New migrants” have also been active creators of pulp fiction and soap operas about themselves, the so-called “new migrant literature” (Barmé 1999).

This paper examines the standardisation of content, style, and layout in print media, and content and image in soap operas, to evaluate the extent to which these products combine global tropes of mobility and globalisation with essentialisation of Chineseness to come up with the image of a globally successful Chinese patriot.

Religious maids on the move. Translocality - past and present

Dr. Gertrud Hüwelmeier, Institut für Ethnologie, Freie Universität Berlin

Since the emergence of hundreds of women’s congregations in the midst of the 19th century their members have been translocal in their activities. Catholic sisters have been engaged in founding schools and hospitals, in educating children and taking care of the sick and poor within and outside their countries of origin. Due to political conflicts in Europe and to mass migration to the US many of the European sisters left their home countries, settled in new places and moved again in order to fulfill the needs of the people. Today many of these congregations are transnational in their perspectives and orientations, in their ideas about culture, multi-ethnic membership, in their everyday lives, prayers and social work.

Based on my fieldwork in a women’s congregation with houses and convents in different parts of the world, I would like to outline processes of transformation in a religious community in a historical and

anthropological perspective. Special attention will be given to travel and new communication technologies which are challenging individual and collective identities of nuns, living dispersed all around the globe, simultaneously belonging to one community.

13. Movement, place and boundaries: representations by and of 'Gypsies'

New library, Tuesday 9am

Nomadic fieldwork as portent for others and changing times

Professor Judith Okely, University of Hull

Anthropologists have long studied nomads who are, by definition, not associated with a single locality. This has entailed travelling fieldwork and the problematising of culture linked to place. Nomads often have to negotiate with sedentarist societies (cf D. Brookes' on Iranian pastoral nomads). Even more than pastoralists or hunter-gatherers, Gypsies have to engage both politically and economically with a non-Gypsy dominant sedentarist society and surrounding cultures. Thus fieldwork among the Gypsies, Travellers or Roma necessarily entails engagement with interconnections and conflicts between cultural identities.

Gypsies have long provided key themes which anthropologists now find in the study of transnationals and multi-sited contexts. Cultural boundaries are not defined by geographical space but are re-created and constructed both through selection and rejection. The subjects are not confined as projected in the classical notion of fieldwork.

This paper explores examples from fieldwork in England from the 1970s, and recent collaborative ethnomusical research with Iren Kertez-Wilkinson among the Magyar Roma or Romungro in Hungary. Whereas Gypsies in England have retained nomadic practices, the Roma under communism were forcibly settled. Fieldwork among post communist Roma confronts new developments associated with movement and the impact of accessible communication technologies.

Circumstances have changed for the once 'typical' Gypsy Romungro musicians who performed in non-Gypsy restaurants. Some have migrated to the West. The example of the Romungro in Hungary reveals how a group, now with their own videos and a Roma radio programme in Budapest, has adapted and incorporated access to the mass media. Transformations and musical and linguistic interchanges between the Vlach Roma and Romungros are also occurring in the post communist metropolis. Fieldwork included critical examination of the mass media, as well as visual recording of private and public events in both the metropolis and a rural locality.

Paradoxically, the Stalinist insistence that nationality and accompanying rights be identified with an original territory is embellished among some post communist Roma figureheads, linguists and others who affirm an Indian origin as the exclusively authentic cultural marker. While Western social anthropology is interrogating the conflation of culture with current or original place, the Indianist ideology has been embellished through Roma web sites. Social scientists' critical scepticism, formerly confined to paper publications, is increasingly subject to hearsay surveillance and demonisation in cyberspace. New technologies thus both assist in the construction of culture and have consequences for the reading of texts. But nomadic fieldwork has its continuities.

Defying definitions – or what anthropologists and Gypsies do with 'boundaries'

Sal Buckler, Durham University

The problems and issues outlined in the theme of the conference are perhaps not problems and issues for anthropology because the world has changed in any fundamental way. Rather as anthropology vies with other disciplines, with other understandings and uses of knowledge, it has to adapt, to shift its relationship to its subject matter. One of the ways that anthropology has done this is by examining the way it represents 'others' a move which has led to anthropology becoming its own subject matter almost as much as any of the 'others' of its established past. This paper firmly links such reflexivity to the

practice of 'fieldwork' arguing that it is only through 'participant observation' or 'engaged learning' that anthropology continues to come up with new and useful understandings of the world we live in – understandings that have both practical and theoretical applications and implications.

Specifically, the paper will examine the common anthropological device of the boundary metaphor – its relevance and limitations for anthropology and ethnography today as geographical, cultural and intellectual boundaries become increasingly questioned and seem to dissolve.

My discussion draws ethnographic examples from research carried out whilst employed as a development worker with Gypsies in North East England, people who have regularly been described through the extensive use of boundary metaphors. In most ethnographic representations of Gypsies the boundaries which separate Gypsies from non-Gypsies are enacted and embodied in ways which allow some kind of definition of what a Gypsy 'is.' Similarly defining ideas about Gypsiness allow boundaries to become concretised through the actions of the non-Gypsy world – for instance by locating of Gypsy sites on the edges of towns. I argue however, that such boundaries only reflect Gypsiness as it is viewed through the lenses of non-Gypsies. I make the case that through adopting and making use of the non-boundary based metaphors preferred by the Gypsies that I worked with a different picture of Gypsiness appears. Such a picture challenges a 'scientific' anthropology that looks for definitions and categories but complements an ethnographic tradition which aims to translate and represent alternative experiences of being in the world.

Throughout I include illustrations from my experience of 'engaged learning' in 'the field' and some of the ways in which a rooting in the traditions of anthropology and ethnography have helped and/or hindered my experience as a development worker and vice versa.

Belonging in a doubly occupied place: the Parakalamos Gypsy musicians

Aspasia Theodosiou, Department of Music, Technological Institute of Epirus; Department of Social Anthropology, Manchester University

Triggered by continuous references to Parakalamos - a village on the Greek-Albanian border area in the NW of Greece- as "musicians' or gypsies' village" - this paper attempts to unfold a number of layers embedded within the process of identity formation by exploring the way place and its locatedness (both physical and symbolic) are implicated in processes of othering. The purpose is to invite reflections on the interrelations between the constitution of identity of places and the constitution of "terrains of belonging" with specific reference to the gypsy case.

Ethnographically my analysis concerns the twists the redefinition of place imposed by the formal institution of the Greek nation-state in the area involved in the Parakalamos case: not only was the place to be made "Greek", but also it was to be invested with the significance of "home" for the previously "roaming" gypsies of the area. As a result of these processes Parakalamos's constitution as a place involves the stitching together of a series of pairs (i.e. dwelling/travelling, peasants/ musicians, *balame*/gypsies etc.) and is thus marked by ambiguity/ marginality. The way the topography of the constructions of gypsiness bears on gypsies' sense of "be-longing" summons up even more complexity: with their settlement in Parakalamos marking a new departure in their local history, gypsy musicians are both part and reflection of the ambiguity that permeates representations of Parakalamos as a "doubly occupied place": being locals but not indigenous, settled but with a long history of travelling, "authentic" performers but "inauthentic musicians", gypsies are cast as "dishevelled" gypsies; they are constituted as "incomplete selves" in relation to both the other groups of gypsies and local populations.

Such a story however runs counter to most of the assumptions shared by recent studies on gypsies: against their focus on "nomadism" and/or "imagined communities" - a focus that seems to disregard the significance of place in the constitution of gypsy identifications- the paper raises the ways in which gypsies' locatedness and sense of "be-longing" might be more apt in understanding how policing their identification with place can indeed be a crucial part of the gypsy world.

14. Cosmologies

Seminar Rm 1, Monday 1.30pm

Tikopia: the gendered land

Dr Judith Macdonald, Anthropology Department, University of Waikato Hamilton New Zealand

Land and house provide the two central metaphors which underlie hierarchy, kin and gender relations in Tikopia, Solomon Islands. The specific metaphor for understanding land in Tikopia is that 'the body of the chief is the body of the land'. Indeed, an earlier chief afflicted with ringworm abdicated because he feared his imperfect skin would presage an imperfect island. However, the unexamined aspect of the metaphor is that the land is male. Male and female bodies are differently controlled in this landscape - the island as a whole, the sea and its edges, the gardens and the houses. And while the whole land is embodied in the chief, the house is the body of the male generally (paito means both the physical house and the patrilineage). This raises more general questions about defining the land as 'motherland' or 'fatherland'.

In this paper I examine the result of serious cyclones in the past few years which have devastated the island and its houses. The Tikopia have had to ask why their island has been so badly damaged and what that indicates about their traditional way of life. The current supreme chief is young and there is a regent in his place - does this have implications for disaster? I also look at the potency of the metaphor among those who have left the home island and now live in other parts of the Solomon Islands where different architecture undermines the coherence of the house metaphor. This is further complicated by the ethnic conflict which has devastated the administrative centre of the Solomons over the last four years. While the conflict involves competing Melanesian groups, not the Polynesian Tikopia, they have nonetheless been affected.

At the heart of this paper are recent discussions with Tikopia men living in Honiara (the administrative centre of the Solomon Islands) who have been holding meetings about the distribution of aid to the devastated home island. A sum of money from the estate of Raymond Firth was sufficient to buy a shipload of rice. However, as well as the practicalities of food supply, the discussions also covered the well-being of the island and the future of the people - could they continue to live on the island where the boundaries of villages, the houses and bodies of the dead that were buried in them were either eroded into the sea or buried in landslides? The central metaphors have been severely challenged by natural disaster.

Sewa symbolic geography and cosmology

Patrick Glass, University of Sydney

The Sewa of Normanby Island, D'Entrecasteaux, and the Trobriands were linked mythologically. Both societies are 'matrilineal', yet they are organised politically and in kinship terms very differently. In their key ritual feasts (*mwadale* and *milamala*) important differences come to the fore. These central rites of exchange are vital to an understanding of the representations of their respective cosmomorphs (Barraud, de Coppet, Iteanu & Jamous [1984] 1994). My interpretations of traditional Trobriand society have implications for the analysis of neighbouring Massim societies (Glass 1986, 1988, 1996). I suggest the Trobriand system effectively separated that society off from its cannibal neighbours in the *Koya*, the mountainous Islands to the South. Topileta, their androgynous god or ancestor spirit, had a multiple presence everywhere in the Trobriands and the religion constituted a secret fertility cult. The Trobriand findings are compared with the beliefs and exchange practises of the Sewa in their most important feast for the collective dead, *mwadale*. At *mwadale* Sewa origins are played out in ritual and cosmology is paramount. I suggest the cosmology is expressed primarily through the yam house (*mwadale*) design - and its multiple symbols - and the symbolic geography of Normanby Island itself. An orientation towards Bwebweso, the mountain of the spirits of the dead, is incorporated into Sewa Christianity.

Barraud, Cecile, Daniel de Coppet, Andre Iteanu & Raymond Jamous (eds)

[1984]1994 *Of Relations and the Dead: Four Societies Viewed from the Angle of Their Exchanges*. London: Berg.
Glass, Patrick

1986 The Trobriand code: an interpretation of Trobriand war shield designs. *Anthropos* 112: 47-63.

1988 Trobriand symbolic geography. *Man* (n.s.) 23: 56-76.

1996 Oedipal or Tudavan? The Trobriand nuclear complex revisited. *Canberra Anthropology* 19: 52-104.

King House and the mobile polity; moving in space and centralising power

Susan Drucker-Brown, University of Cambridge

The Mamprusi former kingdom in northeastern Ghana, though weakly centralized in comparison with some monarchical polities, is qualitatively different from neighbouring descent group based collectivities. One major difference is the unique position of the king as a source of chiefly office (*naam*) and the constitution of courts consisting of the king or chiefs and their non-royal elders. The connections established ritually between chiefs and the king create a web of dyadic relations conceived ideally as filial ties. These bonds connect the myriad small settlements of Mamprusi, spread throughout the territory, to a central point where king and his court reside. This connection is thought of independently of office-holders' location in a specific bounded territory. Villages and the capital are known to move over time, while the relationship between king and chiefs may persist.

15. Placemaking

Holgate house, Thursday 9am

Culture from the ground: walking, movement and placemaking

Jo Lee and Tim Ingold, Department of Anthropology, University of Aberdeen

This paper introduces a study of walking as a means of understanding how places are constructed through bodily movement. It engages with the concepts of mobility and locality in anthropology in a very specific sense: not so much to follow the travels of 'a culture' between pre-existing 'places', but in seeing how the mobility of people within particular environments allows for the creation of meaning. By walking, we argue, people are able to connect times and places through the grounded experience of their material environment. We focus firstly on walking as an element of personal biography, a temporal practice that is continually re-learned as the physical body changes and new environments are encountered. Differences between learning in infancy, adulthood and old age, and adjustments in relation to time of day, seasonality and the company of the walker are opened for investigation. Secondly, we focus on how the role of the senses, wayfinding and the material culture of walking are central to the phenomenological understanding of place and bodily experience. In commenting on these temporal and spatial aspects of walking, we work towards a theory of human movement as a social process, explicable neither purely in terms of the physiology of locomotion nor the symbolisation of the body. Rather, we examine how social action and interaction can be embedded in the experience of tactile and kinaesthetic contact with the ground by way of the feet. The kinds of mobility and locality that are evident in such research are not fixed, and instead are constantly emerging and changing with the activities of people in environments.

Walking and viewing: narratives of belonging in Southern Spain

Katrin Lund, Queens University Belfast

de Certeau (1984: 97) tells us how the story 'begins on ground level, with footsteps'. The aim of this paper is to follow people's footsteps in and around Bubi6n, a village located in the Alpujarra region in Southern Spain, to follow narratives of belonging in different contexts. In other words, to see how the bodily practice of walking weaves locality together; how the footsteps intersect with, and pass through the pathways of the past, bringing them into the present on a journey into the future. And since the journeys never end the stories are never fully told. They are under a constant creation and how they appear depends on the context of the walk, not only in context of the walk's direction, but also in relation to *how* you walk. Thus my argument follows Mauss' (1979 [1934]) suggestion that hinted at cultural variations of styles of walking both within and between societies. The rhythm, the speed, the pauses, the postures provide the framework of the walk and the stories that it tells which weaves together locality. It is in this context that the past becomes *visible* and weaves itself into present pathways. "What can be seen designates what is no longer there" (de Certeau, 1984: 108) and what can be seen manifests ones 'roots' in locality.

In this context I shall examine different types of walks carried out by individuals and groups, in every day as well as in ritual context. The aim is to show how residents of a place that has undergone drastic

economic changes during the past 30 years view the locality they belong to as one that is subject of stability and continuity through how they weave it together by walking.

'A field of white paper, varied only by the occasional blot of the pen': featureless landscapes and disordered subjectivities in 19th century accounts of wilderness travel

Dr. John A. Harries, Centre for Canadian Studies, University of Edinburgh

This proposed paper will be about stories of wilderness travel written by 19th century visitors to Newfoundland, Canada. In general, we will consider the ways in which the landscape was inscribed by "enlightened" travellers who visited the island and wrote of their visits in order to inform the British public of "what they will see, and taste, and hear within the rocky barriers ... of black inhospitable Newfoundland." (McCrea 1869, 8) Specifically, we will consider the problem of subjectivity and the question of how the experience of walking through the wilderness relates to the imagining the civilised subject within imperialist cultures of travel.

Scholarly writings about colonial knowledge and spatiality have emphasised the ordering effects of vision and inscription. The aim of the project of enlightened travel is to transform an unknown and inchoate landscape into a field of features described in structured association with one another. In this project of writing, subjectivities, including that of the author, emerge and find their place upon the "square and spatialised" moral, social and physical topography of colonial knowledge.

Yet within 19th century accounts of wilderness adventure the orderly and ordering enterprise of travel was often imperilled by the disordering effects of displacement and transition. Specifically, there are two recurrent motifs in stories of travels to "black inhospitable Newfoundland" which seem to render problematic the project of authoring unknown territories. The first motif is a loss of bearings. Narratives of travel through the wilds of Newfoundland are replete with episodes in which the author cannot see or cannot discern landmarks upon a featureless landscape. The second motif is the shiftiness of identity, including the identity of the author. In the wilderness appearances are unstable, people seem to be something they are not and the distinction between self and other, civilised and savage is blurred or reversed.

It is the question of how we may accommodate these motifs of blindness, confusion and misidentification within our understanding of imperialist narratives of enlightened travel that will give shape to our exploration of the authoring of the wilderness and the civilised subject. In particular, we will critically engage with a tendency within recent scholarship to read these episodes as evidence of the emancipation of the author's experience from meta-narratives of colonial knowledge. In so doing we will develop the argument that the loss of bearings and selfhood is a crucial component of a modernist mode of subjectification in which the wilderness becomes known through the experience of the traveller.

16. Returning home

Old library, Monday 1.30pm

The need to belong: Greek Cypriot refugees returning 'home'

Lisa Dikomitis, University of Durham

The Larnatsjiotes are the former inhabitants of the small village Larnakas tis Lapithou, located in the now occupied Kyrenia district in Cyprus. As a result of the Turkish invasion of 1974 Cyprus has been divided and a part of the Cypriots became refugees in their own country. Since April 2003 Greek Cypriot refugees have the possibility, for the first time in twenty-eight years, to visit their villages and houses in the north of Cyprus.

These recent changes in the field forced me to rethink my research project, as well my initial field site as my research focus. For my MA dissertation I conducted fieldwork in the divided capital Nicosia, focusing on the Larnatsjiotes' village memories. It was a mental visit to an inaccessible place.

During my PhD research I will conduct fieldwork with both the former inhabitants of Larnakas, the Larnatsjiotes, and the present inhabitants of the village, Turkish Cypriots coming from two villages in the south of Cyprus. This obviously necessitates the framing of new research questions. For example, in what ways do both groups construct and reconstruct the notions of 'home' and 'belonging'.

In this paper I focus on visits to my 'new field', the actual village of Larnakas tis Lapithou. Joining the Larnatsjiotes on their numerous visits to Larnakas gave me an insight in what ways they are recapturing their selves and how they express their sense of belonging to this particular locality. Previously the Larnatsjiotes had an image of the village that was necessarily romanticized and painted in by their discourse about loss. Now they began engaging in what can be called religious practices to transform their return to a pilgrimage.

Return to what? Homesickness amongst refugees and anthropologists

Stef Jansen, University of Hull

Many studies and policies concerning refuge and displacement contain an underlying assumption that attachment to place, and particularly a place associated with a certain 'culture', is prominent amongst survivors of involuntary displacement. Often, evidence is found in the desire to return 'home'. When repatriation is considered to be out of the question, the focus moves to the recreation of old cultural patterns in the new place. Based on multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork amongst internally displaced persons in Bosnia and amongst Bosnian refugees in Serbia, the Netherlands and Australia, this presentation develops a critique of the problematic role of place in such approaches.

My research indicates that homesickness and nostalgia was indeed paramount amongst many displaced Bosnians. However, this should not be misunderstood as a symptom of a desire to actually move to the currently existing protectorate of Bosnia-Herzegovina, even amongst those whose previous residence is now in an area controlled by military-political forces of their 'own' nationality. Most of my research subjects were well informed about the socio-economical and political transformations in the region they fled, and they saw little in common between the post-war Bosnia and the one they had fled. However, this did not mean I did not find a 'myth of return': if anything, many expressed a strong desire to return 'home', but the 'home' they yearned for was distant in temporal, not spatial terms. In other words, many refugees and displaced persons wished to travel back in time to the pre-war days, not in place to the new Bosnian context.

So why do many refugee studies and policies rely on the assumption of a desire to return? Starting from the above ethnographic material, I believe that this tendency should be seen in the light of the implicit models of knowledge present amongst those who formulate them. Focussing on anthropology, I argue that it can be understood as a corollary of a form of nostalgia present within the discipline itself. Anthropology itself, it seems, contains a sense of homesickness for its pre-1980s academic 'home': an anthropology of bounded cultures, discrete national phenomena and knowable identifiable chunks of localised culture, with all the epistemological certainty, the disciplinary security and the sense of purpose this entailed. The desire to return that I did not find amongst Bosnian refugees might thus be more prevalent amongst those who study them.

Route metaphors of roots-tourism in the Scottish Highland diaspora

Paul Basu, Department of Anthropology, University of Sussex

This paper examines three root metaphors -- which are inevitably also *route* metaphors -- through which roots-tourists in the Scottish Highland diaspora typically characterize their genealogical journeys: namely, 'homecoming', 'quest' and 'pilgrimage'. Using Turner's discussion of metaphorical process in *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors* as my point of departure, I am also concerned with a more Cliffordian exercise of unpicking the 'intertwined roots and routes' of identity formation in a modernity of multiple translocal attachments.

At one level the use of these metaphors may be seen as a way for roots-tourists to distinguish their endeavours from what are perceived as more trivial, 'pleasure-seeking' touristic practices. Less constrained by academic anxieties regarding misplaced essentialisms, I suggest that for the majority of my informants, pilgrimage (for example) is popularly understood as representing a 'sacred other' to the secular practices associated with tourism. As such, pilgrimage may be understood as an ideal of sacred travel which, as the weight of recent anthropological work on the subject has demonstrated, may not exist in practice, but which may nevertheless prove 'good to think' with. The same observation holds true for

quest and homecoming, although, as I shall argue, these represent alternative, but similarly profound, 'others' to tourism.

To merely conclude that, through their choice of descriptive metaphors, diasporic heritage-seekers in the Scottish Highlands consider themselves to be engaged in a kind of sacred (or otherwise profound) practice is not, in itself, particularly enlightening. If this reflects the denotative or primary meaning of pilgrimage, quest or homecoming in this context, then it is necessary to go beyond the 'hearth of denotation' and explore what other meanings these metaphorical referents connote. I therefore consider the connotations of each of these metaphors in turn, before demonstrating how their various 'fields of meaning' converge in the practices of roots-tourism. My contention is that by making journeys to sites associated with their family histories, roots-tourists are also (metaphorically) enacting these alternative symbolic processes, and through this metaphorical transference their journeys become structured by and infused with qualities associated with these 'other' forms. I suggest that homecoming, quest and pilgrimage together provide a more appropriate 'grammar' (including a repertoire of actions and attitudes) for roots-tourism than tourism itself is able to offer: a grammar, furthermore, which has the potential to bear fruit and empower these journeys with the capacity to effect personal transformations, rendering them quite literally 'life-changing' experiences for many participants.

17. Mobilities and embodiment

New library, Thursday 9am

Leaving home: studying mobility and emotion in Irish society through dance

Helena Wulff, Stockholm University

The notion of leaving is at the centre of a dance theatre piece titled *Back in Town* by Irish choreographer David Bolger. The piece was sparked by the late rock star Phil Lynott's song 'Dublin' where Lynott remembers how he was standing on the boat going to England, watching his home land disappearing. Emigration and exile have defined Irish society for a long time. The threat of people leaving is still there today, and many do leave, which produces strong emotions of homesickness, longing, and nostalgia. Contrary to the situation in the past, contemporary emigrants often go back and forth, however, for 'there is always something that draws you home!' as a woman dance teacher told me. And those who stay in Ireland tend to travel more now, often on a global scale, such as Dublin choreographer John Scott who identifies himself as 'a real traveller' on the basis of his annual tours with his company to France and the US, and one visit to Japan. In my study of dance and culture in Ireland, and questions of social memory, modernity, and place, these mobilities represent one end of the scope of mobility. The other end is represented by a young dance administrator in Belfast, who describes how 'young people in the countryside, they tend to travel. I've travelled 30 miles to get to a venue'. Originating from a small village in the north of Northern Ireland, however, he had never been abroad.

In this paper I discuss my methodological procedures for grasping how Ireland is constructed as a place though the mobility and its emotions of dance people, and also how this is negotiated in stories of the dance pieces. This is a multi-local mobile fieldwork which includes polymorphous engagements in the form of archival work, video watching, e-mail messages and web pages. Since 1998 I have been going to dance events for participant observation and interviews around performances, dance festivals, and competitions. This yo-yo fieldwork between Sweden and Ireland takes place for about a week every other or third month, that is when the field is being constituted. For this field is not there all the time, and it moves between Dublin, Belfast and other places on the island.

New ways to frame an answer to "Where did you do your fieldwork?"

Tamara Kohn, University of Durham

As social anthropologists treading the paths of our ancestors, many of us have searched for our own little villages or remote islands to study and understand. These villages or tribes or hamlets or islands have frequently been defined in terms of the kin relations, social structures and webs of cultural understanding that are shared within particular geographic spaces. These places also typically identify the anthropologist in the academic community. Increasingly, however, the anthropological gaze has been diverted from

what we could call the traditional locality full of subjects who are 'at home' (whether or not the anthropologist is!), to alternative localities where the subjects of the analytical gaze are not necessarily at home or to localities that may or may not be geographically defined 'occupational spaces, leisure spaces, transnational spaces, embodied spaces, virtual spaces'. This on the one hand marks a creative departure for the discipline and on the other is a conundrum for the anthropologist's professional identity and position as a teacher of anthropological field methods. In this paper, I will be thinking about these issues through an introduction to three different 'locations' of study involved in framing an anthropology of martial arts practice: the moving body that is trained and shaped through interactions with others, the mat that ritually and spatially encloses the body practice, and the 'dojo', the geographically situated home of a community of practitioners that houses a mat and gives an alternative sense of 'home' and refuge to its members and visitors. I will introduce each of these as separate but connected localities and subjects, drawing from 'multi-sited' fieldwork in the UK, France and the US with aikido masters and students. I will ask how their study may challenge but also potentially contribute to expanding ideas about anthropological method (in terms of design and execution), and how we conceptualise 'the field'.

People, places and the location of meaning: anthropology in a mobile world

Dr Donald Macleod, Glasgow University

This paper recognises the multiplicity of meanings and experiences associated with place, and is based on fieldwork and research undertaken in three different regions: a Canary Island, the Dominican Republic and South West Scotland. The research sites are relatively peripheral to centres of power and population, and they have retained a local character associated with many 'classic' studies of indigenous populations that strongly identify with their land and environment. However, these sites are also spaces through which many visitors pass (often as tourists) and briefly dwell. They are also, increasingly, places where the settlement of non-locals and foreign incomers is occurring. Consequently, there are numerous groups that have specific interactions and experiences with these particular locations.

In terms of 'locating the field' this paper argues that the field remains in the minds of the human subjects of research. They may have a particular attachment to a space or a place, but ultimately, the anthropologist is interested in their mental construction of it, their explanations, interpretations and use of the space itself. The research should not therefore be located fixedly to physical boundaries, but focus on the people living in and passing through it, over varying periods of time.

Research in this paper explores the varieties of interpretations of place given, and highlights certain patterns of understanding that relate more to social and cultural experience, than to the physical place and location itself. 'Fieldwork' does not have to be bound physically: the sense of place and its meaning is a mental experience and as such forms part of a complex relationship with the actor's personal experience and socio-cultural background. A major objective of this paper is to improve our understanding of the 'sense of place': how such constructions are created, interrelate and conflict, and the extent to which globalisation (including mobility) impacts on the development of a location physically and changes the perceptions of observers.

18. Constructing the local

Seminar Rm 1, Tuesday 9am

Mobility and locality in Isluga, northern Chile

Dr Penny Dransart, University of Wales, Lampeter

As llama herders who followed/follow horizontal and vertical cycles of movement, Isluga people in the highlands of northern Chile have long been nomadic. More recently greater numbers of families have acquired trucks and family members have travelled as far as the Netherlands in order to purchase lorries. Isluga families have started to employ Chilean creoles to assist in the transportation of goods to Bolivia, and Bolivian herders to care for their herds during their absences from the highlands. Many Isluga people now have residences in other communities, e.g. in Iquique or in a new town called Alto Hospicio, where their children attend school. This paper examines the travels of Isluga people in the context of their constructions of locality. In the Andes, concepts of space and time have long been blurred. The paper

investigates Isluga notions of 'space-time compression' in the light of people's mobility. It is based on extensive and intensive periods of fieldwork carried out over fifteen years, and it demonstrates that reports of the death of conventional fieldwork have been greatly exaggerated.

The view from the verandah: locality, fieldwork and the production of knowledge in a South African city

Dr Leslie Bank, Visiting Research Fellow, Centre of African Studies, University of Cambridge

The paper revisits and updates the *Xhosa in Town* Trilogy, a set of classic urban anthropological studies based on research in the African locations of the coastal city of East London in South Africa during the 1950s. The paper is particularly interested in the relationship between locality, fieldwork and the production of knowledge in these studies. The main aim of the original *Xhosa in Town* project was to explore the social and cultural consequences of urbanisation on the Xhosa-speaking African residents of this South African city. The studies describe two diametrically opposed responses to urbanisation in East London's African locations. They suggest that not all urban residents and labour migrants embraced modernisation, European values and Christianity, as some scholars were suggesting, but that there were many long-term city migrants, who openly rejected European and Christian values. This grouping, known as the Reds (or *abantu ababomvu*, also *amaqaba*), were said to actively reconstruct a rurality-orientated Xhosa sub-culture in the city, which was diametrically opposed to the cultural orientation of the School people (or *abantu basesikolweni*). The books illustrated both the resilience of rural values and outlooks in an urban context, as well as the speed and determination with which many urban Africans embraced new cultural influences. They became anthropological classics in the 1960s and were reprinted several times before being updated in the 1970s.

Since the 1960s, the Trilogy has generated intense debate within anthropology, especially in southern Africa, and has also attracted strong criticism for certain quarters. The Mayer's detailed and fascinating account of Red migrant life in East London's locations was seen by some as an endorsement of Apartheid since it seemed to suggest that the enduring attachment of Red migrants to their rural homestead was simply a matter of personal choice, rather a consequence of a racially enforced system of labour migration. But while debates have raged about the theoretical and political underpinnings of this work, no-one has ever tackled this work from a methodological point of view and returned to the old locations of East London where the original research was undertaken to assess the original research. This is where my paper hopes to make a contribution. It attempts to re-assess the 1950s field research of the Trilogy contributors by exploring their spatial and social strategies as fieldworkers in an attempt to discover why these studies produced the kind of knowledge they did. Why did these anthropologists see certain things and not others? And what did they not see and why? I attempt to show in the paper that the view of the city developed in this work was essentially a view from the house and the yard and that a very different understanding of the urban dynamic of these townships might have been accessible to these researchers had they spent more time in the public spaces of the verandah, the street, the tearooms, and the dancehall.

Somali-Scandinavian dreaming: visions of home and return in Somscan and UK Cooperative Associations

Nauja Kleist, Department of Sociology, University of Copenhagen; Visiting Research Student, Sussex Centre for Migration Research, University of Sussex

The paper focuses on the Somali-Scandinavian-British project called 'Somscan and UK Co-operation Associations'. The Somscan project is a transnational umbrella organisation, which stated aim is to rebuild and return to Somaliland through the collective acquisition of land and the establishment of a new 'Scandinavian' neighbourhood just outside the town of Burao. The paper explores the organisation of Somscan and their visions, dreams and problems in relation to the establishment of this new neighbourhood and their possible return. The main questions I raise here concern how the interviewed Somscan members engage in the project and why they do it – or rather how they articulate their reasons and dreams of return and their fields of belonging. Another set of questions concern the Scandinavian context: how does the status and standing of Somalis in the country of residence shape or influence their transnational engagement? As the Somalis as a whole constitute a very marginalised group in Denmark and more generally in Scandinavia and the UK, the question is whether and how these processes of marginalisation relate to their engagement in rebuilding Somaliland. These issues both relate to

discourses of gender and issues of status in Denmark and within the diaspora. The paper is based on interviews with Somalis in Denmark, Somaliland and the UK.

19. Questioning diasporas

New library, Tuesday 1.30pm

Post-diasporic Indian communities: a new generation

Anjoom Mukadam, University of Reading & Sharmina Mawani, SOAS, University of London

This paper will examine the way in which academics and policy makers continue to use terminology that acts against the interests of minority ethnic communities in the West. On the one hand there is talk of pluralism, integration, acceptance and tolerance; on the other hand there are antiquated labels imposed on individuals from these communities – terms such as ‘immigrant’ and ‘diaspora’ continue to be used when making reference to individuals who have been born and brought up in the West and for whom no journey was made from their supposed ‘homeland’. In order to fully accept and respect these individuals into the multi-ethnic societies in which they live, there is an urgent need for this terminology to be dropped and for its significance to be understood. As Lord Parekh rightly points out ‘Words are never mere words. They embody concepts, are charged with historical memories and association, and shape our understanding of, and approach to the world’.

This research has explored the shaping of a distinct identity amongst second-generation Gujaratis in London and Toronto. The formation of identity amongst individuals from minority ethnic communities is a complex phenomenon which comprises the amalgamation of components which are of the individual’s own selection and others over which they have no choice, but around which they must construct meaning. Ethnic identifiers are ‘tattooed’ on the individual from birth and coming to terms with them can be a long and harrowing task leading to identity crisis at its extreme. Ethnic identity is essential to the psychological functioning of the individual and an individual’s self-identity as well as their ethnic identity are highly influential on the individual’s behaviour and personality. It is clear in today’s multi-ethnic societies that ethnic identity may not be straightforward and that there exist multiple identities, hyphenated identities and may be even new identities that are evolving with globalisation. This paper will look closely at ethnic self-identification (label chosen by an individual to express their individual ethnic identity) and cultural adaptation strategies (lifestyle choices made by an individual who is living in the West, but who belongs to a minority ethnic community) employed by second-generation Gujaratis in order to make sense of their bilingual and bicultural lives.

Belonging Anglo-Indian style

Robyn Andrews, Massey University, New Zealand

In August 2003 I attended events held as Calcutta’s celebration of Anglo-Indian Day. In addition I attended and was a contributor to part of the events constituting the 6th World Anglo-Indian Reunion in Melbourne in January 2004. This makes me a participant-observer at this event in a very literal sense. Both of these experiences have added to my growing body of materials on the ‘devices’ used by Anglo-Indians, who are at once local and diasporic, to maintain and enhance their own sense of themselves as distinctive and as a “community”.

In this paper I describe both occasions and, drawing on the work of Brubaker and Cooper (2000), and others, analyse the complex mechanics of these devices. These events are designed, in particular, to create a ‘feeling of belonging together, what Weber called *Zusammengehrigkeitsgefhl*’ which, together with ‘commonality’ and ‘connectedness’, engender ‘groupness’ (Brubaker and Cooper 2000:20).

[Reference: Brubaker, Rogers and Frederick Cooper. 2000. "Beyond "identity"". Theory and Society 29:1-47]

Localising Diaspora: the Ahmadi Muslims and the problem of multi-sited ethnography

Dr. M. Balzani, University of Surrey Roehampton

Founded by a charismatic leader, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, in late-19th century India, the Ahmadis are a small but economically and educationally significant diasporic Muslim minority, established today in numerous cities in the West, Asia and Africa. In many Islamic countries the Ahmadis have been defined as heretics and non-Muslim and subjected to persecution. The Ahmadis have developed a reputation as political 'quietists' who are linguistically, and within limits, culturally assimilationist. They provide a unique and, in the present global climate, an invaluable perspective on the relationship of Islam and the West. Marginalised by the majority Muslim community, the Ahmadis are active translators of the *Koran* and proselytizers for the faith. Converts to Islam in many parts of the world first discover Islam through the Ahmadis.

This paper is based on fieldwork in one Ahmadi community in South West London and is primarily located in two mosques. The first mosque was built in the early 1920s in a residential street in Wandsworth and the second, in Merton, opened in 2003 and lays claim to being the largest mosque in the West capable of accommodating 10,000 worshippers. These sites are part of a fast-expanding network of mosque-building in the West and Africa which parallels and exceeds the active closure and destruction of Ahmadi mosques in Pakistan. An understanding of the local ethnographic context of the mosques in South West London requires the historical basis for Ahmadi migrations and global diasporic movements to be traced just as much as an understanding of the mundane planning regulations of local Councils. To understand the local tensions generated by the increase in worshippers at the mosque in Wandsworth one needs to track anti-Ahmadi legislation in Pakistan through to the 1980s. The building of the Merton mosque itself can then be considered a reaction both to the success of the local Ahmadis and also the organised discontent of local non-Muslim Wandsworth residents as well as an act of peaceful defiance against those who would condone the persecution of Ahmadis.

These mosques are also part of a virtual system of mosques linked through Ahmadi websites and MTA (Muslim Television Ahmadiyya) a 24 hour satellite channel broadcasting religious programmes. The ethnography is, then, an attempt to undertake a localised study of the two mosques while integrating that study within historical, international and virtual perspectives as an approach to understanding a unique form of Muslim transnationalism.

Being transnational: varying global engagements among British Pakistanis

Katharine Charsley, University of Edinburgh

Studies of South Asian populations in Britain have frequently been predicated on two spatial models: they have been envisioned as primarily an enclave encapsulated within the majority population, with a resulting focus on ethnic boundary maintenance; or, increasingly commonly, they are viewed as enmeshed in transnational linkages between their country of residence, the 'sending' country, and often additional sites across the globe. For British Pakistanis, marriage forms a central linkage between places, providing the primary route for migration from Pakistan to Britain, and sustaining bonds between relatives through kin marriage. The majority of British Pakistanis now marry Pakistani nationals, with ten thousand husbands and wives from Pakistan granted spousal entry visas for the UK in the year 2000. This paper draws on 'multi-sited' ethnographic research on such marriages, to engage with theories of transnationalism from what has been called a 'bottom up' perspective. Attempts have been made to conceptualise differing transnationalisms, but there are limits to the extent that the complexity and diversity of transnational engagements can be captured by the broad theoretical brushstrokes of much writing in this field. This study of the kinship connections that form the experiential basis of global and local relationships draws attention to the role of life-course and life events in creating variation in individuals' engagement with the transnational. In particular, for British Pakistanis, marriage is a crucial influence on their orientation towards and involvement with Pakistan, Britain, and other diasporic locations. Their own or others' weddings are also frequently occasions when young British Pakistanis travel to Pakistan. Many discussions of second or third 'generation' South Asians in Britain and America focus on their negotiation of the contrast between the behaviours expected of them at home, and in the worlds of education and work. The addition of this third space for the articulation of identity – Pakistan – as an arena which for many is the setting of important life events, augments understanding of some trends in self-presentation among young Pakistanis in Britain, and further demonstrates the benefits of a model which locates this population within both the local and the global.

Back To *Desi*: Bhangra and the re-shaping of Cultural Identity

Charanpal Bal, National University of Singapore

While diasporas and migrations represent a disjuncture in identity production in that they disembodied peoples from places, the maintenance of these identities are further problematized by the rationalities of the new host states, global flows of cultural commodities and generational progressions. Diasporic identifications across generations are, thus, not stable and unproblematic, but rather, contingent on material historical conditions and the availability of resources for transformation and expression.

This study sets its focus on third generation Punjabis in Singapore. It examines how existing diasporic identifications break down and how new identifications come to be shaped in the consumption of Bhangra music. Situated within both their parents' culture and state ideology, and being pressed to live out the cultural entailments of modern capitalism, third generations Punjabis in Singapore come to feel a contradiction between the meanings and values produced in these spheres of life as well as their own experiences of urbanity. Their consumption of Bhangra is, thus, one site where these youths re-configure their "Punjabi-ness" as distinct from parental identifications and state prescriptions.

The analysis in this study is based on Phil Cohen's (1972) approach to the study of subcultures. Firstly, the historical problematic of the Punjabi diasporic community is presented – the cultural transformations and the concealment of contradictions of first and second generation diasporic identity formation. Next, the transformation of diasporic "Punjabi-ness" and its expressions in the third generation will be more closely studied. This transformation, embedded in the consumption of Bhangra, involves the re-signification of a "Punjabi culture" once rooted in the Punjab, new patterns of relationships with the Punjab (or the 'homeland') itself, displaced resistance against the logic of capital and perceived discrimination, an attempt to reclaim a sense of community based on certain values, and the re-construction of significant Others against dominant state discourse.

All in all, this study aims to show the social actions and meanings involved in the re-shaping of diasporic identities which are not only grounded in the historically specific locality of host states, but also involve the meaningful appropriation of symbols across space and time.

* *Desi* comes from the word *Des* (or *Desh*) which means country, or more specifically, the Punjab. *Desi* is the adjectival form. *Desi*, for my respondents, refer to certain mundane cultural forms of parental "Punjabi-ness", which they appropriate for the constitution of their own cultural identity. These forms include, *dhol* beats, traditional styled vocals, *tumbi* licks, certain lyrical themes and particular onomatopoeia.

Making diaspora count: the experiences of Black Africans in Ukraine

Julia Holdsworth, University of Hull and Emmanuel Yusuf Justus

Recent changes in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union have resulted in an explosion of literature on the area. Drawing on understandings gained during long-term fieldwork in Donetsk, a large industrial city in Eastern Ukraine, this paper explores an issue that has been largely invisible to date, the experiences of black Africans, and Nigerians in particular, during the breakdown of the USSR and the subsequent period of post-soviet change.

We investigate how, in a context of extreme racism and social exclusion from the wider Ukrainian community, Nigerians create and maintain strong positive identities through community organisations which are predicated on close reference to wider Nigerian diasporas. Migration from Africa to the USSR largely occurred as a result of sponsored education programmes at university level, complemented in recent years by migrants intending to stay in Ukraine only until they gain entry to other European countries. As a consequence, the majority have been young, male and single, resulting in few family structures within which individuals can create and maintain strong positive associations.

This paper, then, explores the ways in which identification with a Nigerian 'community' is created and enacted through local, national and international organisations established by Nigerians in Ukraine. These organisations act to protect the interests of Nigerians, and other foreigners, especially as the speed of the disintegration of the USSR meant that for many years there was no Nigerian Embassy in Ukraine. They also serve to communicate and reinforce ideas pertaining to how Nigerians should act, and what it means to be Nigerian. In this way the community organisations promote aspects of shared identity and police behaviour in order to encourage conformity and protect those that are included from the aggressive behaviours of others in the wider Ukrainian context.

Placing space and the production of locality: a Mathrakian tale

Nikoleta Katsakiori, University of Manchester

This paper is based on fieldwork with Mathrakians, people who move between Mathraki, a small island off the north-western part of Greece, and New York City. In examining the impact of migration on the lives of Mathrakians I spent ten months in NYC and three months in Mathraki. In this paper I will discuss the ways in which Mathrakians construct, reproduce and maintain, albeit through tensions and ambiguities, notions of locality. The trope of *spiti* (house)/kinship was/is fundamental, amongst other things, to a territoriality of place which is both metaphorical and conceptual as well as physical and historical. For Mathrakians there is nothing arbitrary about the place called Mathraki. They constantly evoke a 'drifting away' metaphor, a nautical term which loosely means being blown off course, getting lost, as a reminder of their transnational conditions of life based upon their conceptualisation of locality, the island of Mathraki, and their specific experiences and practices with which they associate. Instead of talking being 'uprooted' Mathrakians refer to the idea of 'drifting away'. As such, movement for Mathrakians does not imply being 'uprooted' or 'dis-located'. In this context movement, although conveying a notion of a transient place, is nevertheless a location(s). I will show how for Mathrakians movement is a continual process of locating themselves.

Territoriality, as a social space where people's interactions occur, and territory, as a physical space and location, have played a crucial role in rupturing, constructing, maintaining and reproducing what Mathrakians call Mathraki in both conceptual and practical terms. For Mathrakians, locality(ies) (Mathraki/ NYC) and identity(ies) are continuous processes in the making, as their metaphor ('drifting away') repeatedly implied. Thus in this case we can simultaneously speak of deterritorialised identities mostly in the past, which are still now located and moving betwixt and between different places but they are nevertheless reterritorialised. Mathrakian relations and practices are translocal but they are embedded with and mediated through various institutional modes which maybe the household, the work place or the state, which are themselves situated in specific localities. I argue that it is at this junction where nuanced and detailed ethnographic work, which attends to complex political economic entanglements, cultural politics, and contemporary structures of feeling, is needed in order to situate, explore and evaluate symbolic imaginings, cultural practices and social relations that are continually reproduced by and through transnational processes that link distant and different places.

20. Labour migrations

New library, Monday 3.30pm

The dynamics of transgression: the development strategies of entrepreneurship from below

Roger Ballard, Centre for Applied South Asian Studies, University of Manchester

Largely as a result of the entrepreneurial efforts of the migrant workers who have moved en masse from the peripheral areas in the South to metropolitan centres in Euro-America during the course of the past half century, a powerful new counter-current has gradually begun to emerge within the structure of the global social order. Hegemonically organised transnational structures operating from above – the very stuff of the multiform processes of what is now commonly described as globalisation – are now increasingly being challenged, circumvented and in some contexts comprehensively undermined by countervailing forms transnational activity articulated from below.

Although virtually all South-North migrant flows have by now begun to generate such countervailing challenges, the bulk of the empirical data on which this paper will rely is the result of many years of ethnographic observation of developments within just one such flow: that from northern Pakistan to the industrial cities of the UK. Within that conspectus the paper will focus on two even more specific issues: firstly the strategies which Pakistani migrants have developed in response to forty years of efforts by the British immigration authorities to bring their further inward movement to an end; and secondly the strategies and informal institutional structures which settlers have developed to send remittances back to Pakistan (currently running at around £1 billion per annum) without exposing them to the massive commission charges (currently around 10%) extracted by major international banks.

In both cases the relationship between those defending their interests from above (whether in the form of the British state or the international Banking system) and the migrants pressing their way up from below is one of inherent conflict. However despite the massive resources which have been deployed by those operating above in an effort to protect their interests, Pakistani migrants have nevertheless constantly managed to find chinks in the system, and thereby to outwit their excluders. Hence all efforts to suppress their transgressive activities have so far proved nugatory.

Set against this background, the core of the paper will be an examination of the resources on which migrants have drawn (overwhelmingly reciprocities of kinship and quasi-kinship), and the way in which they have deployed those resources (in the construction of trans-local networks) in such a way as to facilitate their penetration of the barriers of immigration control, and also to construct a highly efficient global informal value transmission network.

Although constantly challenged, the success of these strategies – and many others like them – cannot be gainsaid: they have begun seriously to undermine the position of comprehensive socio-economic hegemony of which Euro-America has long been a beneficiary. Against that background the paper will reflect on how and why it is that informal networks are proving to be such an effective ‘weapon of the weak’, and on the role which anthropologists can most usefully play in a world where strategies of this kind are becoming increasingly salient.

Technologies of servitude: governmentality and Indonesian transnational labour migration

Daromir Rudnyckij, University of California, Berkeley

This paper analyses the techniques and networks that enable the transnational movement of female domestic labourers from Indonesia. Theoretically, this paper argues that governmentality is an effective concept through which to understand political economic relations *across* state borders and *outside* state institutions. Governmentality is visible not just in abstract policy prescriptions, but also in that apparently mundane methods that are intended to rationalize the training, delivery and security of migrant labourers. Empirically grounded in interviews and observational fieldwork in Indonesia, this paper describes the networks that facilitate transnational labour migration in Indonesia and demonstrates the interconnection of the ‘global’ economy with localized moral economies. In so doing it contends that transnational flows of migrant labourers are enabled by supposedly “traditional” patron-client networks. Furthermore, the paper argues that some non-governmental organizations (NGOs) promoting migrant workers’ rights are not necessarily inimical to state power, but in fact may result in its enhancement. Tactics to protect these rights may bring about greater state intervention in the lives of migrants, not less. The paper proposes two specific technologies deployed by non-state entities (human resources companies and NGOs) that facilitate transnational labour migration. The first are termed technologies of servitude and are intended to impart the skills and attitudes necessary to conduct domestic labour. The latter are technologies for rationalizing labour flows to wealthier countries of the Indian and Pacific Ocean regions.

One home or many? Conflicting discourses in a diasporic community

Mark-Anthony Falzon, University of Malta

Hindu Sindhis originated in Sind, formerly a province of British India and today part of Pakistan. Since 1860 they have participated in three waves of migration from the subcontinent. The first saw traders from the town of Hyderabad establish business posts and branches as far away as Panama and Australia. Then, in 1947, Hindus left Sind en masse as a result of the political and social turmoil of Partition; many of them established themselves in India but others joined their relatives in various parts of the world where they had been doing business for decades. Since then, thousands of Sindhis have migrated from India to Western and Gulf countries in search of professional employment or business success. As a result of these migrations Sindhis are scattered in well over one hundred countries – they can be described and recognise themselves as a diaspora.

This paper explores the notions of home and identity among Sindhis by focusing on the many discourses at the heart of this community. On the one hand, Sindhis tend to see themselves as cosmopolitan and adaptable. Their religious practice is styled as ‘open-minded’, they travel extensively, quickly adapt to new social situations, often keeping a very low profile as a community, and cultivate no particular attachment to their ancestral homeland. This discourse is more than just a type of identity – in fact, it has profound consequences on their business practices. On the other hand, a number of self-styled

'community leaders' (what I think are more accurately called 'cultural entrepreneurs') peddle the notion of allegiance to Sind as a lost homeland and some have even called for the creation of a new Sindhi state in India. They write poems about cultural loss, bemoan the loss of the Sindhi language, and are generally critical of their community because it attaches importance to business at the expense of identity.

It is interesting to note that these discourses are located within broader frameworks of meaning. Cultural entrepreneurs, for instance, often come from castes (*jati*) that historically were located close to the State as bureaucratic specialists; they have also been strongly influenced by the rise of Hindu nationalism in India. In sum, the paper aims to shed light on two apparently-conflicting yet equally-strong contemporary phenomena: the rise of cosmopolitanism and the continuing importance of national and local identities.

21. (Post-) socialist fields

Seminar Rm 1, Tuesday 11am

The long journey into the 'West' and back 'home': East Germans' narratives of their first border crossing

Dr Anselma Gallinat, University of Durham

On the ninth of November 1989 the borders of the socialist state of East Germany were declared open. The following weeks and months seemed times of euphoria and joy but also constant changes leading to the reunification of the two German states two years later. By the mid-nineties nostalgic feelings and an East German identity had arisen caused by a number of factors including, according to some authors, the hegemonic behaviour of western Germany (Berdahl 1999; Howard 1995). The paper will address this question of the development of a sense of belonging to the past and present east of Germany by returning to the events of November 1989. It will follow Green and King's argument that: 'people see what they know about and, if their knowledge changes, they see something different' (2001: 285).

The socialist state constituted an epitome of boundedness in space and, in contrast to the fast moving West, also in time. With the opening of the border, however, the formerly nearly hermetically sealed up state turned into an open space questioning where 'home' now was. The state opened towards its western counterpart, which had long been perceived as the 'other'. The East German government but also many people often referred to their country and themselves in contrast and comparison to the western sibling.

The paper explores the transition of the place East Germany to a somewhat undefined space, a possible Germany, and then to the 'east of Germany' through East Germans' narratives of their first visit of West Germany. It argues that the spatial experience of crossing the border and of visiting the 'other' side had a significant impact on their sense of home. The paper will show that despite the immense transition, which the place East Germany made during these few months the perception of it did not remain fluid, liminal or transient for the people who rather creatively used this journey to redefine their past and present place of life.

The paper will engage with current debates about 'siting culture', hybridity and movement (Clifford 1997; Hastrup & Olwig 1997) by linking notions of home and belonging (Barth 1969; Berdahl 1999; Rapport & Dawson 1998) to the relation between experience, place and movement (Green & King; Thomas et al 2001; Olwig 1993).

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A vanished archipelago: fieldwork on gulag memory in post-soviet Russia

Elisabeth Anstett, Laboratoire d'Anthropologie Sociale, Paris

Working in post-soviet contemporary Russia on an anthropological study of the Labor Camp Stalinian System by collecting testimonies on the GULag, I realized the difficulty to trace the spatial and social reality of what is now a vanished archipelago. Indeed, looking for the traces of this multi-sited long lasting institution points to a paradox : despite its "global" large scale past, the GULag experiment seems to have left very few material and local traces in post-soviet Russia. The reluctance to remember revealed by the Russian society obliges even more to ask oneself if the vanishing of the GULag territory is linked to the disaggregation of GULag memory. Is then a material territory required for remembrance and recalling? Furthermore, are geographical categories essential to anthropological researches and analysis, and does anthropology itself need to be located?

We have then chosen to focus on the Volgolags : a network of camps situated near the former forbidden city of Rybinsk, dedicated from 1936 to 1957 to the building of a serial of dams on the Volga river; each of these camps having been finally physically destroyed by drowning. Our sources are firstly interviews of Vologolag prisoners and neighbours carried out in the Yaroslavl region for the last 3 years, and secondly the archives of Memorial Fund which collects and centralizes since the end of the 1980^{ies} testimonies of victims of the soviet forced labor camp system. Together these sources show that the recall of the GULag experiment does not only deal with the traumatism raised by the material and psychological conditions in which imprisonment and forced labor were experienced, but also with long time and large scale uses of secrecy, dissimulation and denial in soviet and post-soviet society. Thus, all witnesses restore what the Volgolags were through an essential and paradoxical detour via a geographical memory which begins with non-critical but precise descriptions of spaces, territories, borders and roads. Topographical recollections show then their essentiality. They seem indeed to represent a privileged way to evoke the GULag, its internal organization and also hierarchies, social bounds and events that took place inside and outside the prison space. Anthropological analysis deals subsequently with them.

The soviet forced labor camps example reveals methodological and epistemological problems common to many contemporary anthropological fieldworks. It especially brings to light questions linked to multi-sited historical objects, and pleads in favor of multi-located networked ethnographies that could allow to make a simultaneous restitution of both local specificities and global unity of such objects.

Do different rules necessarily result in alternative fields? Considering the field in and of play

Tom Carter, University of Wales College, Newport

Baseball is a passion in Havana. Habaneros will play in any available urban space where they can create a field in which to play. These "sandlot" games result in unusual configurations of both rules and fields of baseball. Similarly, the notion of "the field" as an anthropological location in which anthropologists enter to engage in ethnographic study has become increasingly problematic over the past few years. This paper begins by briefly looking at the concept of field in other disciplines to explore possible permutations of the anthropological use of the concept. Most commonly conceptualized as a place, the field is the location an anthropologist travels to conduct research in a location from which the researcher then returns "home" to write about. But exactly what and where is this field?

From this breathless survey, I use my own ethnographic research to consider questions of what constitutes a "field". During the initial stages of research in Havana, Cuba, it quickly became apparent that predetermined definitions of "the field" were completely inadequate. Furthermore, the more I tried to draw clear boundaries, especially geographic boundaries of "the field", the more those lines became blurred by individuals deliberately transgressing such limitations. Drawing on several years of work on the entangled relationships of the Cuban state, nationalist discourses and sporting practices, I explore how "the field" has mestatized, transformed, and moved into locations, times, and questions that I never had any intention of visiting.

These experiences have led to me to consider whether the field and its boundaries are solely our own creations, artificial, arbitrary, and, therefore, effectively meaningless, that we impose on others. Are fields,

then, merely conveniences for us to simplify and make complex phenomena fathomable and classifiable or can fields be better defined, conceptualized and understood, perhaps using something other than spatial assumptions to define it? Since traditional anthropological objects of study have seemingly become more mobile with increased awareness of globalization processes, any geographically based definition of a field appears to be problematic as well. The question is whether "the field" in the anthropological sense can ever be an actual place? In other words, where exactly does/do the field(s) of Cuban baseball end? As a core tenet now being reconsidered, how we come to conceptualize and define "field" and "fieldwork" will affect every aspect of how the discipline of anthropology is practiced.

Struggling to belong: Soviet elderly immigrants WWII veterans in Israel

Sveta Roberman, University of Edinburgh

This paper explores a role that past plays in the construction of immigrants' identity in a new place.

The case study of the group of elderly immigrants from the former USSR who arrived in Israel in the wave of immigration of the nineties is in the focus of this presentation. Finding themselves in the situation of multiple marginality in the new country, the elderly immigrants are looking for ways to belong to their new society and state. In so doing, they turn to their past of Red Army soldiers in the Second World War, and that past provides an important anchor in constituting their identity in the new place - Israel. It is in the practices of commemoration of their WWII past – the foundations of museums, creating of monuments, commemorative rituals, that the identity of a person who belongs is created in the present.

In this paper I will focus on one of the arenas of commemoration – the annual veterans' Victory parade which was held in Jerusalem in late nineties and beginning of 2000s. Analysing the semiotic texture of the ritual, I will show how the official history and immigrants' memory meet, and a new historic narrative, with a veteran as its main hero, is created. Connecting between the heroic past of a veteran and her/his immigrant present, the parade creates the world of meaning in the elderly immigrants' life, and constitutes a 'moment of belonging'.

I would claim that it is the interplay of historic, social and individual contexts – the Soviet veteran ethos, immigration and the old age, militaristic and nationalistic Israeli discourse, that mobilises the soldiering identity from the past and makes it play a central role in the Soviet veterans' identity struggle in Israel.

22. Places and identities

Seminar Rm 1, Tuesday 1.30pm

Being-in-place: history, place and personhood in East Java

Konstantinos Retsikas, University of Sussex

The paper charts the ontological nature of locality through the formulation of a dialectical approach. Implicit in this formulation is the concept of locality as an always contingent and incomplete totality animated and constituted by the interconnections permeating among history, place and personhood. From this standpoint, it is argued that locality makes itself present (and felt) through the internal relations in each of its parts and the ways these cohere, in particular circumstances, to become essential attributes of being-in-the-world.

The discursive coalescence of history, place and personhood is explored in relation to a semi-urban settlement in East Java, Indonesia. Alas Niser is identified by locals and non-locals alike as a 'mixed place' and its inhabitants as a kind of people produced by the conjunction and the blending of 'Javanese' and 'Madurese' 'kindness'. Oral narratives of the locality's establishment revolve around memories of a series of diverse demographic movements, as well as, key kinship relationships as these have developed over a period of a century and a half, that postulate a certain correspondence between topography and ontology. This correspondence collapses analytical distinctions between persons and place through the idiom of their perpetual and mutual transformation.

While the idea of transformation is usually associated in the literature with a process through which space is "culturalised" and impersonal geography is turned into "home" and "dwelling", highlighting the agency

human subjects exert over their environment, I suggest that place too is an active force in constituting persons, appropriating and inscribing them with specific characteristics and capacities. The force that belongs to place itself rests on the dynamics of gathering and arranging that which it contains in a particular manner, establishing divisions and fostering interconnections that, in turn, provide the means through which humans become subjects. The inherently spatial character of both social relationships and acts of remembering underline the realisation of particular forms of personhood as achieved only through such a process of emplacement.

A traveling culture? Place and the Manggarai 'people who swing'

Dr Catherine Allerton, London School of Economics

Much contemporary anthropological work on the (ir)relevance of 'locality' is concerned with understanding its significance in the context of globalisation, diasporas and cyberspace. By contrast, this paper is concerned with an archetypal anthropological 'fieldsite': a community of shifting cultivators in the west of the Indonesian island of Flores. For over thirty years, this community has divided its houses and inhabitants between two village sites. The oldest, ancestral site occupies a solitary position in the highlands and contains a number of stone 'monuments'. By contrast, the newer site is a four-hour hike away in the more populated lowlands, and was built on the orders of government officials in 1967, a time when, throughout Indonesia, dispersed or highland communities were forced to resettle in 'model' lowland villages. Today, the inhabitants of this Manggarai community see themselves not as two villages but as a 'two-placed' village. Indeed, they sometimes call themselves *ata jéjong* or 'the people who swing', since most of them journey, more or less frequently, back and forth between the two sites.

The paper will describe the practical problems and symbolic negotiations occasioned by life in a two-placed village. More generally, the paper will analyse how Manggarai places (rooms, houses, sacred sites) cannot be conceived or understood in the absence of pathways and travel. The latter include paths of marriage that are pounded into the landscape by brides and other affines, ancestral routes involved in the imagination of agnatic links, and the modern travels of young men seeking money and experience through migrant work in Malaysia. Does traveling mean the same thing for men and women, the young and the old, those at school and those working in the fields? What is the connection between locality and identity? Can conceptions of mobility, or notions of 'traveling cultures', help us to understand the experience of the 'people who swing'?

From Longhouses to Short Houses: reproducing locality and modernity in Sarawak, Malaysia

Fiona M Harris, University of Edinburgh

This paper explores the role of architecture in representations of wider processes of changing lifeworlds. By exploring re-productions of localities through changing house form, I illustrate architectural change as a response to 'modernity' as it is 'locally' imagined. Unlike other parts of the world where 'modernity' and secularisation go hand in hand, however, religious change is also embedded in these processes. Hybrid houses are tangible signs of the variety and contradiction inherent in religious change.

While conversion to Christianity in Malaysia may be construed as an act of cultural resistance to state power and Malay hegemony, conversion to Islam involves converts in interesting engagements with re-productions of locality and identity. In Malaysia and Indonesia Islam is a primordialised aspect of 'Malayness' to the extent that to become Muslim is talked about as *masuk Melayu* or 'becoming Malay', although this is a discourse of the centre that is resisted on the periphery of state power. By examining localities divided by religion, I reveal both the salience of architectural form within the politics of identity and the multilocal nature of locality. Christians adopt new house forms in order to demonstrate new ways of living; and yet those who have become Muslim (in this particular locality) have been re-located by the state into reinvented longhouses that are more representative of global hegemony than the 'short houses' of the Catholic converts.

The ambiguity and contradictions revealed in the various house forms act as a metaphor for religious change. Collective performances of ritual both reinforce and demonstrate difference and yet within the church, mosque or *beri gawai* there is an almost Durkheimian sociality shot through with contradiction and dissent. I argue that 'religion' and ritual are a source of both unity and fracture at one and the same time and attempts to 'localise' the experiences of converts simply ignores the necessity of understanding changing lifeworlds as flow and movement between localities as much as it is about reproducing one.

An anthropology of place-making: masons, apprenticeship and meaning in Djenne, Mali

Trevor H.J. Marchand, School of Oriental & African Studies

Masons and apprenticeship were pivotal to my studies of Djenne's architecture, urban space and building tradition. For two seasons (2001 and 2002) I worked as a building labourer in order to better understand how technical skills, social identity and occult knowledge were practiced, performed and reproduced in the trade. The masons' association, the *barey ton*, provided a forum for negotiating and regulating professional standards. Secret benedictions made by individual masons guaranteed their team's safety and the prosperity of future inhabitants. The styles and decoration they sculpted denoted the socio-economic status and aesthetic tastes of patrons. Beyond the local context, the region's so-called *style-Soudanaise* architecture has been a key factor in the historical imaginings of Mali's national identity. In summary, the masons were not merely makers of functional objects arranged in some pre-given space, but they were significantly engaged in 'place-making' practices that produced their own identities as craftsmen, shaped the identities of town residents, and rendered Djenne a secure and meaningful environment.

Following Casey (1997) and Malpas (1999), I maintain that life is constituted in and through its relation to the places in which it is lived, and that "identity is directly tied to the way in which the lived relation to place comes to be articulated and expressed" (Malpas, 2001:232). In this paper I will champion the discipline's legacy of situated fieldwork and participation in the everyday phenomenological experiences of communities as necessary to an 'anthropology of place-making'. Over the past decades anthropologists have used spatial metaphors to conceptualise and discuss a plethora of human (dis)connections in the so-called 'globalising' world. The located, embodied nature of place, however, exists *a priori* any abstract notions of space and time, and therefore must remain central to our work.

My ethnographic focus will be the master-apprentice relation on the construction site where knowledge, identities and meaning were produced. The mason's knowledge was embodied in his skilled activities, social performance and the things that he made. All three manifestations were accessible to the apprentice and structured his learning within a participatory context. The long gestation of practical and social knowledge during the apprenticeship fostered an 'emplaced' understanding of structural and aesthetic possibilities that, in turn, enabled a degree of creativity acceptable to colleagues and patrons. I will argue that these innovations - typically ascribed to master masons - expanded the discursive boundaries of 'tradition' and re-inscribed Djenne with contemporary meaning, value and a sense of place for its inhabitants.

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The judge and the historians: the negotiation of the meaning of locality in South Malakula, Vanuatu

Jean de Lannoy, University of Oxford

In South Malakula, Vanuatu, social transformations resulting from migrations, conversion to Christianity, and interaction with the judicial system have created a new hierarchy of spaces (areas, islands, provinces, nation) and led people to adopt new concepts making sense of their changing relationship to space. Prior concepts of place (e.g. *naur*) reflected a unity of kinship group and place of residence. Earlier anthropologists working in the area when this unity was already ruptured were at a loss to make sense of such concepts. In the context of increasing land disputes after Independence in 1980, a series of pidgin words, some of which of vernacular origin (e.g. *nasara*), have been adopted that incorporate a notion of distance between people and their original land. These concepts also reflect the constitution of village communities based not on common origin but on a shared faith.

The paper will also focus on the discussion of these concepts in official and unofficial courts, representing a series of expanding circles to which the villages belong. The membership and location of these courts favours the emergence of new ideas about the relationship of people to place. The paper discusses changing ideas about ancient places, seen at a distance from mission villages, regional centres and towns, as well as in the emergence of new types of places.

Constructing the field: Yugoslav anthropologists' concepts of 'self' and 'other'

Aleksandar Bošković, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa & Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade, Serbia and Montenegro

The wonderful and strange world of 'the Balkans' has become especially fascinating for anthropologists and social scientists as the wars and destruction raged in Yugoslavia during the 1990s. Some of the crucial issues are the ones of *location*: for example, what and where is 'the Balkans', who decides, and based on what? Just like in some other cases of geographic and social constructions, the answers to these questions are far from clear. The paper examines receptions and evaluations of the events between 1991 and 1999, highlighting the role of anthropologists (as well as social scientists in general) in the construction and consumption of certain crucial events. The main focus is on the responses from the 'native' anthropologists and ethnologists, especially from Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia. Their perceptions of their respective ethnic groups and the ways in which these ethnic groups have been perceived and discussed by 'outsiders' (or 'Western anthropologists') are also discussed and put into the context of the more general attempts to re-organise the discipline in the region. This is also evaluated in the light of creation of other relatively recent constructions (such as 'post-socialism'), as well as their actual applicability to the understanding of the situation in the region.

'Here I am, as I promised': self, experience and relationships in a woman's pilgrimage journey in Mexico

Dr. Susana Carro-Ripalda, Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Applied Social Sciences, University of Glasgow

This proposed paper will deal with issues of the self and subjectivity in the context of travel and displacement. Based on ethnographic material collected during my doctoral fieldwork in Lake Pátzcuaro (Mexico), the paper will describe a Purhépecha woman's journey from her own village to a regional pilgrimage shrine, to which she went to visit the resident saint. My main argument is that the whole journey, rather than representing a rupture with daily life in context, and a temporary discontinuation of quotidian perceptions of self, was related to and indeed gained its meaning from a continuation of personal self-experience. The preservation of subjectivity in movement was articulated around the dynamics of certain relationships (mainly with the saint but also with others) and around the active recreation of "home" and daily contexts in other spaces. At the same time, the perceived continuity of the dynamics of quotidian experience allowed the woman a sense of self-development, again pivoted around relationships, actions and interactions which took place both at the pilgrimage site and back at her village.

Turner's vision of pilgrimage as an individual spiritual journey, a liminoid phenomenon which distanced the pilgrim from daily life experience, activity and social dynamics (Turner and Turner 1978) has been since widely challenged. Instead, some anthropologists have interpreted pilgrimage as ritual means for the constitution and symbolisation of localised collective identities (Sallnow 1981, 1987). In a previous article, I examined critically some of these theories vis-a-vis ethnographic material from my doctoral research, and concluded that, for the Purhépecha women of Lake Pátzcuaro, "pilgrimage" was more about quotidian experience and relatedness than ritualised collective identity. Thus the journey in itself represented a dynamic instance of a lifelong interactive relationship with a particular saint as agent, embedded in a constellation of other significant social relationships. In this proposed paper I will continue exploring issues of these relationships between women and saints, looking at them in the context of movement and displacement. I will address the questions of how such relationships help to articulate a sense of continuity of self through the journey, how such sense is also pivoted around active and interactive recreations of the familiar in another space, and how experiences of enjoyment and relative freedom are integrated within experience. I will also argue that it is indeed precisely this sense of fluidity of experience and relatedness which motivates the whole journey and gives it its cultural significance.

23. Pagan places

New library, Monday 1.30pm

Do elves have rights? Conflicting models of locality and the supernatural in the North Atlantic

Jeremy Harte, Bourne Hall Museum

In August 2002, the fairy thorn of Latoon in Co. Clare, Ireland, was mutilated with a chainsaw. This revenge attack followed a preservation campaign which had rerouted a multi-million euro road development. Planning, heritage, superstition, the native and the national: there is a lot of conflict over locality in Latoon, and the fairies are in the thick of it.

Relationships between people and spirits in the British Isles and Scandinavia were traditionally mediated through the identification of 'fairy places' - trees, hills, wells and stones. Until recently, these beliefs were classed as relics of prehistoric lore, or as the natural tendency of a naïve folk to see animistic powers in wild places. But the schema of fairy tree vs. road development, played out again and again at different sites in Ireland and elsewhere, needs more sophisticated interpretation. Globalisation and the requirements of capitalism and the state are clearly reviving, or even creating, the traditions which oppose them. It is not a long step from the fairies of Latoon to the trolls and eco-pixies who wrecked JCBs in road protests at the Newbury bypass. The fairy as a site of anarchic resistance has a long pedigree in guising and other carnivalesque rituals.

Who constructs these fairy landscapes, and how? Mere survivalism is not enough to explain the presence of fairy hills and other special places. This would not account for their spread into the North Atlantic colonies - first Iceland, and then Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. Taboos on the clearance of fairy land were not just picturesque superstitions. In areas with a subsistence economy, they acted as a direct tax on the food supply. The Gentry - like the human gentry whom they resembled - appropriated the surplus of peasant labour, and kept resistance at bay with carefully planned acts of random violence.

Fairies, like road protestors, construct themselves or are constructed through binary oppositions. 'They' are shaggy, violent, pagan (or Pagan) and wild; 'we' are decent civilised house-dwellers. But the fairy/human opposition is not confined to this. As the social networks of indigenous communities are enlarged, and come under strain, so cultures adopt the fairy as an icon. The musical, dancing, feuding *sí* and the tricky leprechaun are adopted as honorary Irishmen; the marginal, archaic *huldrefolk* become Icelanders. And other sub-cultures who wish to break free of this ethnicity will resist the fairies - with a chainsaw, if necessary.

Walking the past: the emergence of a sacred place

Helen Cornish, Goldsmiths College

Recent debates concerning methodology and theoretical perspectives suppose that place no longer occupies the foundational role it once did in anthropological research. This, it has been argued, becomes apparent through multi-sited fieldwork which transcends geographical locations. However, while communities may be increasingly transnational and spatially indeterminate, they are frequently associated with places which acquire a fetishistic quality, either as sites of origin or sacred locations, which serve to symbolise a sense of 'home' which is shared and unchanging.

Drawing on my multi-sited doctoral fieldwork, I will present a case-study of pagan pilgrimages in North Cornwall. What interests me is how this new and expanding religious practice is constructing legitimacy, identities and traditions; in particular developing a set of responses to place which serve to create and reinforce a sense of community among a highly disparate group of people. While there is no established hierarchy or recognised leadership among pagans, there is however, a developing sense of a shared past, through which authoritative discourses emerge. These seem to work especially effectively when associated with place.

My own research has engaged with the wider, non-geographically located pagan community who create a sense of shared practice and belonging through diverse channels of communication (the Internet, publications, books) as well as through geographical events such as conferences and seasonal festivals. These work to develop an imagined community along the lines proposed by Benedict Anderson (1983).

However, I wish to argue that Anderson's idea of an imagined community underplays the importance of real, experiential places in the expression of community.

Part of my fieldwork has focused on the Museum of Witchcraft in North Cornwall, founded in 1951 and located in Boscastle for reasons of convenience and general appropriateness, rather than because Boscastle was historically a significant centre for earlier generations of pagans. I shall show how pagan visitors have developed pilgrimage practices associated both with the Museum and sites in the surrounding countryside, which have imbued this place with historical depth and significance. In particular, it is the experience of walking through these places which produces for pagan visitors a powerful sense of belonging. The 'spirit of place' is emphasised through an understanding of the landscape as literally alive and populated by the non-human entities who occupy the Otherworld, and who become more accessible through sacred places. I see this case-study as exemplary of the way sacred places can develop for an emerging community of diverse people.

Siting sacred heritage: contestations of place and field in Pagan interpretations of sacred sites

Jenny Blain, Sheffield Hallam University & Robert J. Wallis, Richmond University

Within the many voices of today's Britain are those evoking an insistent past. Prehistory is defined in heritage texts, but adapted in practices of 'Pagans' and 'travellers' today, who draw on a 'pagan' past for guidance and justification, and produce their own narratives of site, landscape, and population. Heritage is contested, with disputes over access, practices, and knowledges, indicated in negotiations over Stonehenge and elsewhere: whose knowledge, for whom, how attained? Within 'alternative' discourses, 'scientific' knowledges may be challenged, often contextualised as abstracted and heartless or assumed to exist within a politics of deceit. Within 'scientific' accounts, 'alternative' knowledges are ignored consistently. Conventional heritage presentations of landscapes or monuments focus on providing 'testable' information to 'visitors', with 'ritual use' a catch-all term which, though problematised by some archaeologists, is routinely presented for consumption by a naive, visiting, public.

Specific landscapes of megaliths, circles, henges and chambered tombs, however, have become focal points for constitution and performance of Pagan identities, whether on larger or national (even international) scales, as at Stonehenge or Avebury, or local ones as at the small stone circles of the Peak District. Pagans frequenting 'sacred sites' often reject description as 'visitors', rather 'coming home' to landscapes within which they constitute relationships with deities, ancestors or spirits in the land.

Official or popular heritage interpretations in Britain seemingly present changing 'truths' linked with a politicised *ideal* of science as evidence abstracted from experience. Alternative and Pagan discourses draw on some heritage understandings, challenge others. 'Authenticity' forms a politicised backdrop for spiritual performance, and 'indigenous' understandings elsewhere become appropriated or paralleled by 'new-indigenous' voices in Britain.

The Sacred Sites project (www.sacredsites.org.uk) engages Pagan and heritage theorisings and practices, through ethnographic fieldwork and documentary analysis. Fieldwork follows discourse, people and conflict from the large, obviously-contested sites of Stonehenge or Avebury, to the archaeology All-Party Parliamentary Action Group, e-lists of the Stonehenge Peace Process, small-scale rituals and litter clean-ups, and protests at Stanton Moor. In presenting here our understandings of Pagan approaches to sacred sites and importance of sites for emerging Pagan identities, we explore also some obligations of representation that accrue to those researching the contested terrain of megaliths, mythscapes, identities, appropriations, and accumulations of theorised knowledges of 'the past'; how these may connect with our own involvements with 'heritage', sites and Pagan identities; and challenges of engaging with a 'field' located by place and practice, spirituality and political discourse.

24. Hosts and guests

Seminar Rm 1, Monday 3.30pm

Recasting the gaze of hosts and guests on European wetland landscapes

Andrew Russell and Gillian Wallace, University of Durham

It is common thinking that the relationships between hosts and guests often leads to the recasting of their respective gazes. Recent work has challenged the concept of the tourist gaze as a totalising entity and metaphor, favouring the term 'glance' by way of introducing the issue of interaction at both the 'global' and 'local' level. This research investigates these themes using a multi-site ethnography of European wetlands in Finland, Greece, Lithuania and Romania. Each of these wetlands is renowned for its biodiversity, and their ecological qualities form a foundation for tourism development in each area. However, cultural diversity in the different landscapes also offers something for the non-ecological tourist. As mobility has increased, so too have local discourses regarding the natural and cultural landscape changed. Hosts now travel abroad, sometimes as tourists themselves, and 'abroad' is presented to them via print and non-print media on a daily basis. They also receive national and international guests. Variations in landscapes, tourist attractions (both natural and cultural) and local discourses will be presented. The main analysis centres on what can be said generically about the changing nature of hosts and guests in each site as well as reasons for cross-cultural variations in the metaphor of changing local gazes.

Swiss alpine landscapes and senses of place: differences between views from "inside" and "outside" and underlying factors

Susanne Kianicka, Swiss Federal Research Institute for Forest, Snow and Landscape

This study is part of a project which is currently conducted to determine how different interest groups perceive and appraise the Swiss alpine landscape and its changes. In particular the connections between the meanings of "places" in the Swiss alpine landscape and the senses of place of people are investigated. The focal point is the exploration of the differences between the views from "inside" and "outside" which in this particular case imply the views of the residents of the alpine region on one hand and the views of the visitors or tourists on the other hand.

The study is based on a constructivist and discourse approach towards landscape. Thereby, alpine landscape and the meanings of its elements are understood as being socially produced and contested representations. Thus the various landscape meanings are constructs of different discourse communities and projected onto the places according to the specific imagery, expectations, preferences, beliefs and powers of the relevant interest group. In addition to addressing these principal points the study contributes to a deeper understanding of society – landscape relationships.

According to the principal question a qualitative empirical approach was chosen. The aim was an inductive evaluation of the question: Which landscape elements or changes have a particular meaning or significance for certain people and their sense of place? To increase the validity of the findings the object of the discourse analysis is text material gained from interviews (semi- and unstructured) as well as newspapers and (tourism-) promotion material.

The fieldwork is, for the purpose of comparison and thus for a higher validity of results, conducted in two small villages, Alvaneu and Savognin, in the region of Mid-Grisons of the Swiss Alps. These two originally peasant villages are situated in two neighboring valleys and are characterized by entirely different degrees of touristic development.

First results show clearly that different places carry different meanings from the outer view and the inner view. There are also differences between the various subgroups. The reason for these differences is the application of different judgment criteria by the informants. These criteria can be roughly divided into one part which concerns the form and another one which concerns the function of a particular place or process.

The results also reveal interesting relationships between the perception of authenticity and cultural heritage in the landscape and sense of place or place identity. Thus future research should deepen the understanding of the social processes which underlie the diverse perceptions of authenticity by applying

discursive methods. The way society talks about landscapes allows a comprehensive view into different dimensions of its relationship with certain places.

Key words: landscape perception, discourse analysis, sense of place, leisure activities, constructivist approach.

Between the jigs and the reels: occupying the space between tourism and traditional Irish music in Doolin, County Clare, Ireland

Adam Kaul, University of Durham

Social science studies in/on tourist destinations often simplify the relationships between local peoples (often called hosts) and tourists (often called guests), revealing the need for more qualitative ethnographic research on tourism. One way in which anthropologists and sociologists in particular have begun to problematise this relationship is to create more complex taxonomies of tourist types. I argue on the one hand that even these finer-grain taxonomies are far too simplistic, and on the other hand, that we must look closer at the categories in between the local and the tourist.

Ethnographic analyses of these in-between categories have been initiated by others, but they need to be taken further. In this paper, I will examine the in-between categories that I encountered in my recent fieldwork in a rural Irish village whose main source of income is derived from the summer tourist season. To a large extent, the relatively recent history of tourism to the region by non-local Irish and non-Irish to the village has resulted in the creation of a permanent or semi-permanent population of in-comers, called blow-ins in the local terminology.

The village is famous for its traditional Irish dance music which is performed in the form of semi-formal pub-sessions, and my research looks at the ways in which tourism has changed the meaning and performance of this folk tradition. I will discuss how this recent history of interaction between the local traditional music scene and incoming tourists and blow-ins has shaped the modern social and political life of the village. The blow-ins are heavily involved in local politics, are often economically entrepreneurial, and perhaps most importantly, have become almost the sole inheritors and propagators of the local traditional Irish music in the area. In-comers then have not only changed the shape of the village, figuratively and literally, but have also appropriated the *raison d'être* of the local tourism industry: its local tradition of Irish dance music. I argue that, to a large extent, this appropriation has been successful despite the superficial cognitive dissonance that this situation might create for the outsider. As a result, this research continues to problematise the dichotomies between tourists and locals, and challenges anthropological notions about tradition and its bearers.

25. Writes de passage

Old library, Thursday 9am

'You don't do fieldwork, fieldwork does you': between subjectivation and objectivation in anthropological fieldwork

Bob Simpson, University of Durham

In recent decades much effort has gone into 'locating the field' with the general trend being to question the appropriateness of the metaphorical 'field' as a discrete, far-away place that one enters and leaves after data has been harvested. Such questioning is driven on the one hand by a critical re-evaluation of the us/them, primitive/ civilised, north/south dualism which evolved out of earlier models of anthropological praxis. On the other hand, it is also seen as an inevitable consequence of the rapidly changing world in which we live. The cluster of technological and economic developments which we tend to subsume under the heading of globalisation create ever more complex patterns of social and cultural interpenetration. Such developments invite multi-sited and distributed approaches to the field as well as the identification of altogether new 'fields' such as cyberspace. Thus, 'fields' change in their size, shape, location, content and in terms of the repertoire of techniques one might use to access them. However, in the midst of these changing fields the anthropologist appears to remain strangely and, in my view, problematically constant.

In this paper I set out not so much to locate the anthropologist in changing fields but to locate these fields in the anthropologist. The starting point for this exercise is a consideration of Bourdieu's notion of participant-objectivation and his attempt to theorise a 'scientific-reflexivity' based on a careful accounting of the ways in which the anthropologist is assimilated through densely textured interaction into the micro-social and political worlds that constitute his or her field. In other words, how could reflection on the personal circumstances of fieldwork be pressed explicitly into the business of making sense of different social and political realities and then rendering this sense into more or less coherent ethnography.

By way of illustration of this process I recount two episodes of ethnographic fieldwork each in a very different context in Sri Lanka. The first was in 1978-80 when I undertook doctoral research into the transmission of ritual traditions among the drummer caste [*beravayo*]. The second, carried out over several visits [2000, 2002, 2003] and totalling five months was among doctors, clinicians and other professionals involved with debating and devising strategies for the regulation of new reproductive and genetic technologies. The first 'field' was of a more or less conventional character and was made up of a community set in a particular location. The second had no such community but focussed on a network of specialists with different professional and intellectual interests in the new reproductive and genetic technologies. These pieces of work are compared and contrasted with particular reference to my own positioning in relation to each of the research contexts. In each instance I demonstrate how the 'field' is in certain senses activated by the presence of the ethnographer and, as a consequence, the act of 'locating the field' becomes an exercise which deals not merely with the externalities of space, place and context but also with the internal world of the ethnographer as this perceived through categories of age, ethnicity, gender and status.

Biography as field: reflections on method and the field as location in anthropological research

Sigríðdur Dúna Kristmundsdóttir, University of Iceland

What happens to our traditional methods and field concepts when the locus of anthropological research becomes an already lived individual life? How can the insights derived from such research contribute to the reshaping of anthropological methods and our concept of what constitutes an anthropological subject. The paper is based on my research of the life and work of dr. Bjorg C. Thorlaksson (1874-1934) published as a Life and as a Collection of papers in 2001 and 2002 respectively.

The tyranny of empiricism

Dr Paul Yates, Sussex Institute, EDB, University of Sussex

Within anthropology there has been an implicit assumption that social reality and the empirical are in some sense coterminous. This belief is grounded in a realist and positivist construction of the social and has survived the rationality versus relativism debates of the mid twentieth century and the more recent extensions of social anthropology into non-linguistic semiological arenas, for example, emotionality, dance and photography. What I shall argue is that the employment of empiricism as a legitimating mythology for accounts obscures the place of the writer and of the significance of writing as opposed to fieldwork as anthropological practice. This is significant because it is the empirical that privileges the concrete metaphors of space and place whereas it is writing that celebrates the more fugitive presence of context.

The Construction of the Empirical

Fieldwork as *rite de passage* and as distinctive though not exclusive is central to anthropology as social practice and so to the identity of anthropologists. Thus, empiricism is foundational to the construction of much anthropological knowledge. This sits uneasily with a range of theoretical interests that do not rest on a clear modernist and realist foundation: from structuralism to more recent concerns with globalization and postmodernity. In this section I will elaborate this lacuna through an examination of the nature and development of empiricism as fieldwork practice and the issue of its continued foundational role where its key features are becoming more faintly perceptible.

The Reconstruction of the Writer

In this section the focus will be partly on the relationship between data and account, an issue that has been central to anthropology in recent decades since the crisis of representation. This served to focus

attention on the nature of empirical fieldwork and the status of subsequent accounts largely through problematizing the Other. I shall argue that the *soi disant* crisis can be understood as an unresolved tension between, on the one hand, a prescriptive and proscriptive realism inherent in the conception of fieldwork and on the other, ways of understanding both writing and the text drawn from philosophy and literary theory that are distinctly post-positivist or postmodern in mood. Finally, I shall argue that while there is no requirement to abandon an anthropology rooted in modernity that privileges the empirical nonetheless a reconceptualisation of the value of metaphors of space and place could release the anthropological writer from the historical burden of empiricism.

26. Belonging to the land

New library, Tuesday 11am

How farmers negotiate and conceptualise change and the outside world on the Scottish island of Islay

Andrew Whitehouse, University of St Andrews

In this paper I consider some of the relationships that farmers and crofters on the Scottish island of Islay are involved in. These include relationships with their land, with government, the outside world and other farmers. These relationships are considered in the light of the considerable economic problems that Islay farmers have faced over the last 10 years, such as the closure of the island creamery and the BSE crisis. Broader perceptions of change in farming are also discussed. By examining these relationships three sets of interconnected ideas emerge:

1. The morality of the productive relationship that farmers have with their land.
2. Farmers perceptions of the influence of the outside world in Islay.
3. The ideas that farming people have about the past, the present and the future and the processes of continuity and change that inhabit these.

The paper thus considers perceptions of continuity and change and how these perceptions come to be situated. For example, continuity can be expressed by the farmer through the productive labour that is evinced in his land whilst change tends to originate from outside and only gradually becomes normalised. Uncertain economic circumstances are also encouraging farming people in Islay to renegotiate their relationship with the outside world as they strive to diversify and to find new markets.

Blowing in the wind? Identity, materiality and the destinations of human ashes

Jenny Hockey, University of Sheffield; Leonie Kellaher, London Metropolitan University; & David Prendergast, University of Sheffield

This paper takes an example of multi-sited ethnography as its focus: an ESRC funded project on the destinations of the human ashes in the UK. Within this field it examines the ways in which relationships with the dead come to be materialised or localised via the disposal of ashes and asks where questions of closure, continuity or indeed reunification might feature within the disposal strategies of bereaved people. Thus its data relate to disembodied persons whose identities may be recreated and sustained via plant pots in the back garden; or whose essences may be released into the wind, on cliff tops and moorlands, or into the flow of water, in rivers and at sea.

Since the 1970s the volume of human ashes removed from crematoria has grown from approximately 12 % to 50%, with an overall cremation rate of about 70% of all disposals. In addition, the mobility of this residue of the corpse has made issues of dispersal and dissemination, as well as containment and integrity, central to the ways in which an embodied, spatially grounded living population relate to relatives and friends who have taken on a mobile, fluid materiality. The project asks about the extent to which this mobility represents a resource, or a source of danger?

Fieldwork is being undertaken in four sites in the UK and involves interviewing and observation among professional members of what is called the death care community; and among bereaved families who have recently disposed of the ashes of one of their members. The paper therefore engages with some of

the contradictions of this particular project. First, methodological issues associated with a traditionally localised ethnography which for practical reasons is being undertaken via a relatively structured set of interviews, involves more than one site, and is set within the anthropologists home context. And second, theoretical questions about the complex, often ambiguous nature of social identity as constituted through the material resource of an apparently sanitised residue of the corpse.

Debating the right to belong: a rhetorical critical examination of place consciousness in Northern Ireland

Karen D. Lysaght, Dublin Institute of Technology

In Northern Ireland the issue of place consciousness, or belonging in, and to place, is a theme which is one of the deepest sources of conflict which divides the two dominant ethnic groups in Northern Ireland. In this paper I wish to explore something of the connection of the working-class Protestant community to a sense of belonging-to-place. One of the recurring themes in the literature on Northern Ireland is the analysis which finds that the Protestant community have failed to create a secure sense of place-consciousness on the island of Ireland or within the polity of Northern Ireland. This situation results, in the opinion of many commentators, from the fact that to locate themselves in the landscape would possibly undermine their British identification. On examination of working-class Protestant districts, it is indeed easy to point to oppositional and contrastive identity markers – where place is seen as *our* territory, as opposed to *theirs*, where street battles can be fought by fourteen year olds with stones and where “traditional” marching routes – and the associated right to march can be the justification for a violent street politics, where loss of streets to Catholic housing or the arrival of Catholics into Protestant districts is viewed by members of this community as part of a deliberate Catholic strategy to “ethnically cleanse” the city of Protestants, and one which sees British Government complicity in the process. There is, however, another sense of the local to be found here, a sense of the local which is strong and not merely oppositional. Instead a strong identification is held to what can best be described as their genealogical connection to the built, or *fabricated* environment. This connection is seen most clearly in the connection to the industrial heritage of the city – and in particular to the shipyards of Harland and Wolfe, to the linen mills and the heavy engineering factories of Mackies and Sirrocco, to the occupational communities of tied housing with their local characters, their public bars and their two-up-two-down housing. In this paper I shall argue that the place consciousness that we find exhibited by the working-class Protestant community in Belfast is both a continuation of earlier forms of political rhetoric associated with their settler origins and also a reaction to the rhetorical strategies of 19th and 20th century Irish Nationalism.

27. Moving image

Old library, Monday 3.30pm

A methodology for the study of inscriptive practices

Raymond Lucas, University of Aberdeen

In response to the conference’s themes of virtuality and methodology, I propose to present some of my work for my thesis entitled ‘Towards a Theory of Inscription as a Thinking Tool.’

The virtualities I speak of are not those of the screen and cyber-space, but the much more fundamental virtualities of the sketch, the drawing, the notation, and the diagram. I will present the unique ‘fieldwork’ which has been essential for this study.

I have drawn upon my background in the study of architecture to this end. As a practitioner of architecture in its widest sense, I have embarked upon inscription projects that I can reflect upon theoretically, and inscription projects which can, indeed, be regarded as theory in and of themselves.

I will present a selection of these projects, and intend to show how they explore the potentially permeable barrier between different disciplines, whilst still maintaining and respecting different disciplines for what they are.

One example of this methodology is a series of around 40 drawings, entitled 'Getting Lost in Tokyo'. This drawing series worked with Shinjuku Station in the Tokyo Subway, and rendered it first as a diagram; then as notation; and finally as an architectural drawing.

This process added value at each iteration- so that the final architectural drawing bore no direct physical relation to the original space, rather approaching it on the terms of my spectatorship apparatus. This process bears some interesting fruits when analysed as a theory, exposing the relationships between diagrams, notations and drawings.

The theory illuminated by inscription is not merely reflexive: informing only the theorising of the process of drawing itself. It has, thus far, generated positions towards Benjamin's flâneur; filmic theories of spectatorship, and Bergson's dealings with time and memory.

Raymond Lucas is a PhD researcher at the department of anthropology, University of Aberdeen, and a member of the Creativity and Practice research group supervised by prof. Tim Ingold, which links anthropology at Aberdeen with fine art in Dundee. I have a background in architecture, having achieved the degree of MPhil for research in Film and Architecture at the University of Strathclyde.

Portable territory and camaraderie - the locality context for an ethnography of cinematographers in film production

Cathy Greenhalgh, London College of Communication Media School, University of the Arts London (formerly LCP, London Institute)

Anthropologists question locating a field by place and 'habitus of collectivity' when studying 'mobile individuals, disperse or fragmented social networks' and 'ethnographers may seek to leave the field' but it has 'become incorporated into their biographies, understandings and associations' (Amit, 2000). This paper relates to research carried out at Shepperton Studios and Camerimage festival in Poland, for a multi-locale ethnography of feature film cinematographers. The researcher knows the film industry milieu, set culture, technology and protocol well, but experienced culture shock re-entering as an ethnographer. An immersed participant observer researcher (a cinematographer and teacher of the practice), within a "seeping" field, with mobile informants provided a rich dialogue on the notion of location as subject and metaphor.

The cinematographer is one of the principal team who work with the director. The focus is agency and practice in the cultural production of a creative collaborative art form, i.e. making a film in an industry which has specific cognitive, cultural, power, technological and economic dynamics. The industry is characterised as 'project based work', within a freelance labour market, supported by 'dense networks of contacts', and 'semi-permanent work groups' who move from production to production (Daskalaski and Blair, 2002). Cities such as Los Angeles or London provide 'latent pools' of potential resources and distributed networks; technology, people and tacit expertise on which the business relies (Grabher, 2001).

Deleuze and Guattari, state 'How...important it is when chaos threatens, to draw an inflatable, portable territory' (1987). A paradigm of portability underpins the cinematographer's nomadic view of him/ herself at work; moving from location to location, changing climates and environs, meeting diverse peoples. Where possible, they create camaraderie by working with regular crew. In a carnivalesque act; real worlds are made artifice and "returned to normal" after filming. On location real places are treated as the fictitious place in the script. In the studio, sets replicate real places or simulate fantastical worlds. The cinematographer appropriates space, choreographing bodies and technology; "cheating" (to use filmmaking parlance) to camera lens, lighting and movement.

Postcolonial globalism to be balanced in Goa

Bauer S, Spiess K, Reichert R, Bernatzik B, Dalpra M, Luis Z, Vienna University

Postcolonial globalism and medical colonialism have allowed for a movement around the world of many sorts of "goods". In our video we document the wedding celebration between a Goan and a European and the behaviour of bride and groom and compare it with the interaction of a Goan lymphocyte and a standardized antigen cell (HTB 131) cultivated in Los Angeles and distributed to India by the American Type Culture Collection Center (ATCC). We focussed on transitional 'trickery' used in the Goan village Anjuna by the European the Goan during their wedding celebration and 'tricky escape' mechanisms between the American antigen cell, sent to India to measure lymphocyte activity of a Goan suffering from cancer. The intruders mask themselves by heaping molecules from their hosts into their surface to avoid

identification. To ensure their altered identities, to balance the foreign and to navigate through recognition and adaptation processes they use matrices, imaging, mirrors and cameras.

The video deals with the question how phenomenological dimensions of fieldwork practices may be transformed and adapted to multi-sited and fluid social, physical and biological localities (The Anjuna Balance, Video, 15 minutes)

28. Postgraduate session

Pennington Room, Thursday 9am

Postgraduate research is at the cutting edge of the anthropological project. New field methods, field sites, and fresh theoretical critiques reveal the perspective of the next generation of anthropologists. This session will provide the opportunity for postgraduates to present their findings and critiques to a larger anthropological audience, and it will provide that larger audience with the opportunity to see new directions of anthropological enquiry. The session will consist of short presentations by postgraduates about their current research.

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Dr Catherine **Allerton**, London School of Economics

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