

Department I

Director: Günther Schlee

Integration and conflict

Günther Schlee

Introduction

Cooperation and opposition are often initially explained – and rightly so – in terms of resources. Actors own a resource they can currently dispense with. Interested parties are prepared to hand over their rights to something else in order to acquire it. Or they may know someone in a position to do so and act as a broker in exchange for a commission or in the hope of gaining respect and thus potential future advantages. Taking simple relations of this kind as a starting point and progressing through indirect relations to collective actors and their institutions, Coleman established the *Foundations of Social Theory* (Coleman 1990) more than fifteen years ago when he summarised and systemised the relevant theories.

Many claim that conflict explanation has basically been achieved once the resource involved has been identified. Identification of the contested resource is indeed a major step. In *Resource Wars* (Klare 2001) Klare treats conflict according to a principle of classification applied to contested resources: one chapter on oil, one on water, etc. And what he has to say is stimulating. The warning bells should certainly go off for anyone interested in conflict prediction when a strategic resource shows signs of dwindling. In my own research in the Horn of Africa water and pasture were a frequent matter of controversy. The ‘elites’, for whom political office was at stake, took advantage of these conflicts to pursue their own agendas. Perhaps there is such a thing as conflict parasitism. Land rights also play a primary role in relations between the pastoral Fulbe and those that are settled, as explored by Dafinger and Pelican (2002). In Siberia (see below in this report) and with regard to hunter-gatherers in general, this type of conflict can take the form of hunting rights (e.g., Donahoe 2004: chap. 5).

In Dereje Feyissa’s study on the Gambela region (western Ethiopia) conflict centred around the fertile alluvial soil close to the Sobat river (Feyissa 2003), whereas the key issue for the West African miners investigated by Grätz (2003a, b) was gold and the struggle for mining rights in the face of state claims. In a more recent publication (Schlee 2004) we explore ethnic trade niches in relation to the beef market. Our conference programme has addressed the topic of resources as a princi-

ple of classification on several occasions, e.g., land,¹ animal rights,² and oil.³ What the conflict is about does not determine in a strict sense who cooperates or fights with whom. The issue, be it water, oil, pasture, or political office, does not define where the lines between friend and foe are drawn. Power, rights, interests (Is someone in possession of a resource I could benefit from? Does he carry sufficient 'weight' to make him attractive as a partner and dangerous as an opponent?) – all the explanatory categories relevant to the disposal of resources can influence the choice (or imposition) of partners and opponents, but do not make it predictable.

If the bone of contention is an oilfield, we are still no wiser as to what company is in cahoots with which government faction to obtain the rights to the field or which militia it supports for this purpose. Potential allies may be in possession of similar resources and a similar degree of power. Coalitions occur at random. If we are equal in status, similarly equipped, and there are three of us (and without institutionalised minority protection), I can draw one of the others over to my side and (via democratic majority vote or by force) rob the third of his or her rights. My partner gets some of the loot as a reward. With whom I ally is a purely random choice in this model. I simply have to be the first to make the second one an offer at the expense of the third, or else make it obvious that both of us are more compatible than either of us could possibly be with the third. In other words, I operate with identification and difference, and employ a rhetoric of inclusion and exclusion. Reference to common experience (personal or collective history) plays a role in real life situations, as do various markers such as speech, religious denomination, class, life style, age, gender, 'race', geographical origin, and kinship.⁴

So we are dealing with questions of how people define friend and foe in conflict situations (including violent conflict, possibly war). In what categories do they draw the line and if this line shifts, how? How do linguistic, religious, geographical, and political categories interact in defining social identities? We examine taxonomies, i.e., religious or linguistic taxonomies and cultural classifications, major groups and their sub-groups, and ethnic identifications from wider units to the increasingly smaller locally relevant groups. When these categories cross-cut we look at the overlapping relationships. In what context do specific identifications become more relevant? Do cross-cutting ties

¹ *The Landed and the Landless? Strategies of territorial integration and dissociation in Africa*, May 27-29 2002, see MPI for Social Anthropology Report 2002/03.

² *Collective and Multiple Forms of Property in Land and Animals: cattle, camels and reindeer*, August 19-21 2002, see MPI for Social Anthropology Report 2002/03.

³ *Oil, Integration and Conflict*, December 13-14 2004, see Appendix.

⁴ This is not new to our discussions. The authors quoted in the context of resources take these aspects into account to varying degrees.

enhance social cohesion? Do they constitute a de-escalating factor or are they also instrumental in conflict escalation?

All of these taxonomies or classifications are structures, although the extent to which they are just cognitive structures is debatable. We approach our field of study primarily by talking to people and observing their discourses.⁵ The discursive structures that emerge in the analysis are by no means identical to social structures, but exist in relation to them. So where does agency, the second of the elements in the famous 'structure and agency' dichotomy, come in? With 'agency' we also expect 'choice' to enter the field of our research interest.

Choice comes into play when alliances are formed. Here we are reminded of the examples mentioned above concerning a company's choice of a militia or forming an alliance in opposition to a third party. A decision must be taken as to the choice of ally, the extent of the alliance, and who is to be excluded. An appeal for solidarity can be phrased in terms of the specific group characteristics you want to address and probably define in the process of characterisation. You can appeal to the group identity you claim to share or one associated with status from which obligations can be derived. You can appeal to the ethos behind the identity label of the group. You can choose to ignore or deny your own identity or that of someone else if it does not suit your purpose. Affiliation or re-affiliation with a group or abandoning an alliance are situations where choice can pose a problem in the context of social identity.

Social identities can of course be ascriptive or considered as such and thus immutable. They are not a domain of unlimited arbitrariness and all-pervading choice. Choice can be subject to severe limitation. Whether identities are relatively stable or subject to opportune adjustment, however, is more a question of empirical variation than of dogma. Empirical observation has shown that some identities change faster than others and that, in some cases, social identities can be redefined or discarded altogether in favour of others, while at other times these variations are not an option. In studying these processes we look at human beings interacting in the field of identity games or identity politics as types of actors who claim a measure of freedom of choice for themselves or make use of choices to varying degrees.

In this context we tend to favour the *homo oeconomicus* more than the *homo sociologicus* model. The *homo oeconomicus* is a far more likeable and pleasant figure anyway in comparison with the *homo sociologicus*, who is merely socialised into roles he then obediently performs to perfection

⁵ Including discourse records, which are taped and often transcribed, thus allowing more time for analysis and greater scrutiny.

for the rest of his (or her⁶) life. People have a talent for manipulating social relationships to a certain extent. It could be argued that they possess varying degrees of agency. Real people do not conform to extreme types. They occupy a position somewhere in the middle of a scale with rational decision-makers at one end and role-performers guided by habits and internalised norms at the other.

Some people use choices to manipulate identities, whereas others are passively socialised into a given identity and remain there. The latter may not have the historical knowledge required to derive alternative identity constructs from the past or have the social skills to convince others. They may lack specific prerequisites crucial to changing some element of the identity they were born with or socialised into. In the question of what is given and what is possible, of structure versus agency, we need a gradualist perspective. Some structures are more stable than others and some people are more equipped to alter them. The question of how individual actions combine to alter structures so that the next round of decisions begins with a new set of 'givens' is another matter.

These are some of the issues we have focused on for several years now. We feel we have made progress in phrasing them more specifically than at the outset. On May 24-25, 2004, we invited Michael Hechter as guest speaker to our internal workshop on *The Size Factor in Identity Politics*, which addressed how group sizes impact on identity discourses. If it appears desirable to belong to a larger or smaller group or alliance due to a perceived advantage, how does this translate into inclusion and exclusion strategies or identity discourses that lead to the desired size? If you are in a strong position you evidently do not need many allies, since you get what you want anyhow and have no interest in sharing the loot⁷ with superfluous helpers. The weaker you are, the more allies you require. These considerations are akin to well-known theories such as the minimal winning coalition (Riker 1962) or the theory on 'crowding' (overuse of resources). A resource is cheaper when the cost of access or production⁸ is shared by many, which in turn – as Hechter would explain – leads to crowding, when the stress factors begin to set in. If you look at why people join or leave a group, you soon discover

⁶ Although the grammatical gender of 'homo' is male, what is said here naturally applies to both genders and to all categories of human beings.

⁷ 'Loot' is shorthand for any resource whose appropriation is the target of the actors under study.

⁸ 'Resource' in this context is more than just primary resources. A finished product can be a resource in the production of something else. In Hechter's example a country club is used for the production of well-being. It has also become quite common to speak of immaterial 'resources', which can be instrumental in the acquisition of material 'resources' in the sense of power as a resource in the oil war. This corresponds perfectly to everyday English, where a person described as 'resourceful' is one who possesses strength and energy.

that members or prospective members of groups do not make up a homogenous crowd. Notions such as 'group interest' can be problematic and are on the whole irrelevant to the type of research we want to carry out. One reason for this scepticism is that the notion of group interest does not explain the emergence of groups (as ethnogenesis does the formation of ethnic groups), which is a focus of our research. When and why do ethnic groups (e.g. religious groups, 'cultures') emerge and how do they adjust to different configurations? In this context the notion of 'group interest' is clearly misplaced. What after all constitutes the 'group interest' of a group that is undergoing compositional change? And what is the group in the process of changing its composition? Does the perception of shared interests by its members not change automatically as each group variation emerges? Furthermore, as we all know of course, there is a body of theory that deals with the different calculations made by leaders and followers in joining or not joining a group (e.g. Barth 1959). Rewards for defection, for example, are far higher for leaders, who are in a position to produce a group of people in the course of changing sides, than they are for ordinary followers, who would not expect to gain as much from their betrayal.

Identity discourses have a wealth of structural categories at their disposal. The ability of the latter to change and their artificial nature have been adequately described. What we need in order to develop a theory at this point is a theoretical approach to action and decision to the question of why a particular choice is made in a given situation. What motivates the selection or alteration of identity discourses? To explore other possible approaches we (Peter Finke, Bettina Mann, Günther Schlee) held a conference with leading theorists on the topic of *Rational Choice and the Limits of Individual Agency* from September 16th, to 18th, 2004 at the MPI for Social Anthropology.⁹

The obvious question here is whether our current approaches, including those on Rational Choice (RC), are of interest to RC theorists themselves. Are we in a position to contribute to the combination of the systematic perspective and decision theory? This could be the case for the following reasons: RC begins with individual agency and the element of choice, and these theorists have difficulty in accommodating collective and supra-individual phenomena. This mirrors our problems. Coming from agency, RC theorists have problems with structure, while we, coming from structure, have problems with agency. The place of structure in some variants of RC is little more than a constraint on choice. Structures, given categories, anything that is given or pre-exists, are all described in at least some brands of Rational Choice theory as constraints on choice. For us they are much more than that. We take structures as

⁹ For details, see appendix.

our starting point and would like to examine the mutual interaction of agency and structure more closely.

Categories and social structures change in a variety of ways as a result of agency. We can distinguish at least two types of identity change: people disclaim one identity and claim another, or an identity changes over time. Both processes can occur independently of one another, such as when people move in and out of a category (e.g. 'immigrant' or 'lower middle class' or a situationally adopted ethnic category) without producing a substantial change in the definition and content of that category (it merely changes its composition in terms of people). Alternatively the two processes can be interrelated, for example when the content of an identity under threat of being abandoned is adjusted to popular demand. Identities evolve under the influence of the discourses about them. They are ideologically re-directed and make use of different kinds of historical material.

Thus discursive strategies of talking about identities are part of agency. Slavic-speaking Muslims who belong to ethnic minorities have a religious criterion ('Muslims'), a numerical-demographic criterion and/or a class criterion ('minority'), and an ethnic/linguistic criterion at their disposal. In the context of self-definition they might favour class in one particular historical situation in their discourse and prioritise ethnicity in another. Religion has recently become more popular in the legitimate discourse, and is a universally accepted criterion to explain all sorts of clashes. The group in question (in terms of people who could be listed if we knew them all) can be identical in all three contexts. Speakers simply opt for different facets of their identity, and by appealing to different labels they also make choices between different value orientations. It is a bit like Paris, Prince of Troy, having to choose one of the three goddesses as the most beautiful and give her the apple.

The goddesses may well differ in beauty but decisive in Homer's account is the fact that he is offered three bribes, i.e. the rule of the world, victory in all battles, and the love of the most beautiful mortal woman. As incommensurable incentives (how much power is preferable to how much love?), they serve as an excellent model for choice between different dimensions of identification. Normally one religion is compared with another (you might convert if you thought a particular religion was better than the one you already had) or one language with another (a comparison that might lead you to switch to a more widely circulated language or one more appropriate to the circumstances). In this type of situation, however, where a large religious community can offer more support than affiliation to a small community of speakers of a given language can (or, in the opposite case, where linguistic nationalism¹⁰ can provide more support than affiliation to a small sect), the register

¹⁰ Or the appeal to a language family such as Pan-Slavism or Pan-Turkism.

changes. Religion takes precedence over language at one time and language over religion at another.

History is a giant factory for the re-defining of social identities. Historical change of identity can be slow and determining where agency comes into the process may be difficult. To my mind this question has not been posed very often, since those working on system theory tend to adopt macroscopic perspectives and do not really go as far as the interplay of actors, which must ultimately be the source of any form of social change in the history of ideas. Historians of ideas (*Ideengeschichtler*) treat them as evolving from each other and tend to exclude the carriers of those ideas from their analyses. Consequently there is much that we have not yet fully penetrated and analysed, and we still lack a theory of the role of agency in changing the ideological content of social identities.



Judgement of Paris. (© G. Schlee, 2005)

Agency interacts in manifold ways with social structures and their perception. The crux of the matter is that agency is situated at one end of social theorists' interest and structure at the other, with a somewhat vague gap in the middle. The question of how agency and structure interact has been phrased very well in the past. It seems to be a permanent social science problem. As far back as 1979, Giddens regretted that "those schools of thought which have been preoccupied with action

have paid little attention to, or have found no way of coping with, structural explanation or social causation; they have also failed to relate action theory to problems of institutional transformation" (1979: 49).

One could add, following Giddens, that other theories focus unilaterally on structure and disregard agency. Sociologists do not seem to have reconciled these contradictions in a manner they themselves find satisfactory. Twenty years after Giddens' work, during a talk on "Inclusion and Exclusion" (February 11, 1999) at Bielefeld University, a stronghold of system theory, Hartmut Esser complained that some sociologists concentrate on system theory while others devote their time to action theory, but that the two are never combined. Perhaps there are different types of people and styles of thinking involved.

There are those who abhor quantitative methods and stick to the qualitative, and those who abhor statistics as well as those who have no liking for mathematical modelling. For them RC is closely associated (possibly more so than in reality) with mathematical modelling. They probably detest other forms of abstract combinations of symbols, such as those used in kinship studies, too. People who express themselves only in words and never in formulas and use exclusively 'qualitative' methods will scarcely be able to penetrate RC theory deeply. So it may be that system theory and qualitative and interpretative methods on the one hand and RC theory on the other are pursued by different personality types with different styles of thinking and therefore rarely come together in one mind. A satisfactory synthesis has, unfortunately, not yet been accomplished, at least none that I am aware of.

So much for the recent theoretical considerations in our department. And now to some people.

- Youssouf Diallo is the first citizen of Burkina Faso in the Max Planck Society and the second citizen of his country ever to acquire the *Habilitation* degree. The ceremony took place at Leipzig University. The topic of his thesis will be elaborated in the "West Africa" section below.
- Jacqueline Knörr has handed in her *Habilitation* thesis entitled "Orang Betawi, Orang Jakarta, Orang Indonesia. Construction and Transformation of Ethnic, Urban and National Identity in Jakarta, Indonesia" at the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg.
- It is also a good feeling to be considered useful in a practical context. With reference to the commitment to the Somalia peace process discussed in the last report (2002-2003) the following has developed: Jutta Bakonyi is responsible for *Conflict Resolution and Reconciliation* in the EU-sponsored GTZ¹¹ project in the Bay and

¹¹ Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit GmbH/ German Technical Cooperation.

Bakool regions of Somalia entitled 'Improvement of Farming Systems Project'. She will assess this experience academically in the Max Planck Institute at a later stage. I myself accompanied this project in an advisory capacity during my two stays and reported progress to the European Commission delegation. The reports can be found under: <http://www.eth.mpg.de/people/schlee/project.html>.

- Christiane Falge will take over a DIALOG/GTZ-consultancy for capacity building in government and administration systems in Ethiopia. Those involved are the federal government, regional governments, local self-administrations, and civil society organisations. I will support her in an advisory capacity as is already the case with Jutta Bakonyi. I also joined the "Promotion of Tolerance and Improving Interethnic Relations, Russia" project of the EU TACIS¹² Programme as a consultant (outlined below under "Applied Research").
- An entire edition of *africa spectrum* (39[3], 2004) focuses on "Mobility in Africa". The focal point here was a panel organised by Tilo Grätz at the conference of the German Anthropological Association from October 2nd – 4th, 2003 in Hamburg.
- Financial support is just as welcome as recognition of the immaterial kind. Jacqueline Knörr was appointed as Associate Professor (W 2) after a competitive selection procedure by the Max Planck Society. This gave her the opportunity to establish her own Research Group "Integration and Conflict in the Upper Guinea Coast (West Africa)", which she elaborates on in a special section below.
- The Central Asia activities in this Department and elsewhere have been strengthened by a new associate professorship (W 2), to be held by Peter Finke. His report can also be found below.

References

- Barth, F. 1959. *Political Leadership among Swat Pathans*. London: Athlone Press.
- Coleman, J. S. 1990. *Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge, MA and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Dafinger, A. and M. Pelican. 2002. Land Rights and the Politics of Integration: pastoralists' strategies in a comparative view. Halle/Saale: *Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology Working Papers* 48.
- Donahoe, B. R. 2004. *A Line in the Sayans: History and divergent perceptions of property among the Tozhu and Tofa of South Siberia*. Dissertation, Depart-

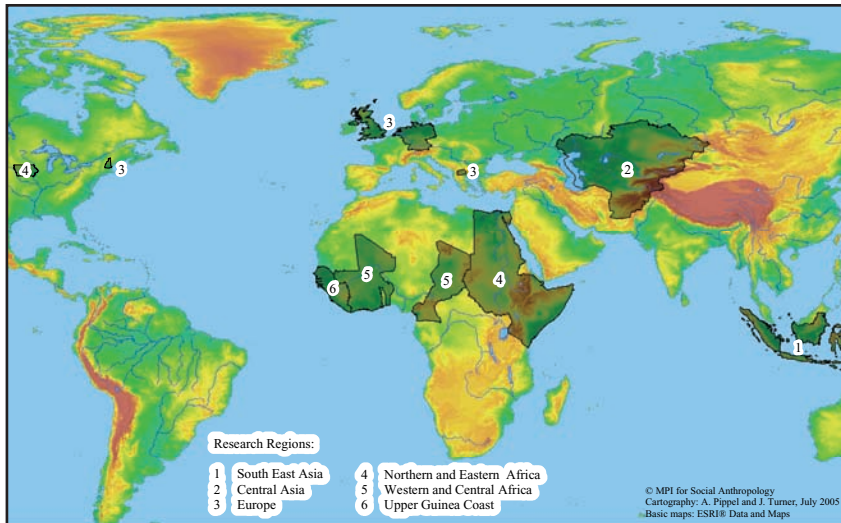
¹² TACIS: Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States.

- ment of Anthropology, Indiana University. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Microform 3133859.
- Esser, H. 1999. "Inklusion und Exklusion". Lecture held at Bielefeld University, February 11, 1999.
- Dereje Feyissa. 2003. *Ethnic Groups and Conflict: the case of the Anywaa-Nuer relations in the Gambela Region, Western Ethiopia*. Dissertation, Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg.
- Giddens, A. 1979. *New Rules of Sociological Method: a Positive Critique of Interpretative Sociologies*. London: Hutchinson.
- Hechter, M. 1987. *Principles of Group Solidarity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Grätz, T. 2003a. Gold-mining and Risk Management: a case study from northern Benin. *Ethnos* 69(2):192-208.
- Grätz, T. 2003b. Gold Mining and the Construction of Migrant Identities in West Africa. *Politique africaine* 91:155-169.
- Klare, M. T. 2001. *Resource Wars: the landscape of social conflict*. New York: Metropolitan Books.
- Riker, W. H. 1962. *The Theory of Political Coalitions*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Schlee, G. Editor. 2004. *Ethnizität und Markt*. With contributions from Jean Boutrais, Wei-Hsian Chi, Youssouf Diallo, Boris Nieswand, Michaela Pelican, Jens Rabbe. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.



(Photo: O. Weihmann, 2005)

Abdullahi Shongolo, a regular guest of the Institute, has been awarded the Head of State's Commendation (HSC-Civilian Division) by the President of the Republic of Kenya, Hon. Mwai Kibaki. In this picture he is shown wearing the medal. His publications include: "The *Gumi Gaayo* Assembly of the Boran: A traditional legislative organ and its relationship to the Ethiopian State and a modernizing world" (with an introduction by Günther Schlee), *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 199(1), 1994: 17-58; "Local war and its impact on ethnic and religious identification in Southern Ethiopia" (with Günther Schlee), *GeoJournal* 31(1), 1995: 7-17; "Oromo nationalist poetry" (with Günther Schlee) in: Hayward, R.J. and I.M. Lewis: *Voice and Power: the culture of language in North-East Africa*, University of London: School of Oriental and African Studies 1996: 229-242; "The poetics of nationalism", in Baxter P.T.W., J. Hultin and A. Triulzi: *Being and becoming Oromo*, Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet 1996: 265-290.

Research regions: general overview

Map 1: Research Regions of Department I, “Integration and Conflict”. The shaded areas in North America represent the American sites of comparative/transnational research projects.

Brief biographical data: current researchers

(as per August 1st, 2005)

Africa

North and East Africa

Bakonyi, Jutta, MA, Hamburg 2000 ("Somalia zwischen Staatsbildung und Staatszerfall: Eine Fallstudie").

Data Dea, PhD, Bergen 2003 ("The Challenges of Integrative Power: Hierarchy and political change in Dawro").

Falge, Christiane, MA, Addis Abeba/Hamburg 1997/1998 ("The Nuer as Refugees: A study on social adaption").

Dereje Feyissa, PhD, Halle/Saale 2003 ("Ethnic Groups and Conflict: The case of Anywaa-Nuer relations in the Gambela region of western Ethiopia").

Getinet Assefa, MA, Addis Abeba 1999 ("Indigenous Institutions and Local Development Initiatives: Case studies from Gurage area of Ethiopia").

Haneke, Georg, Dipl. Soz., Bielefeld 1994 ("Infrastruktur und sozialer Wandel: Sozialanthropologische Beobachtungen entlang einer Straße im Norden Kenias").

Höhne, Markus V., MA, München 2002 ("Somalia zwischen Krieg und Frieden").

Mann, Bettina, Dipl. Soz., Bielefeld 1989 ("Einheit und Varietät der islamischen Glaubenspraxis. Zur sozialen Bedeutung des Volksislam").

Nicolas, Sven, MA, Berlin 2001 ("Rituelle Performance und soziale Verantwortung").

Schlee, Günther, PhD, Hamburg 1977 ("Das Glaubens- und Sozialsystem der Rendille, Kamelnomaden Nordkenias"), *Habilitation*, Bayreuth 1985 ("Identities on the Move: Clanship and pastoralism in northern Kenya").

West and Central Africa

Behrends, Andrea, PhD, Berlin 2000 ("‘Tightrope Walking’. Innovation und Kontinuität bei Frauen aus Nordwest-Ghana. Ein Vergleich dreier Generationen").

Dafinger, Andreas, PhD, Frankfurt/Main 2000 ("Anthropologie des Raums. Zum Verhältnis sozialer und räumlicher Ordnung bei den Bisa in Burkina Faso").

Guichard, Martine, PhD, Bielefeld 1996 ("‘Les Fulbe du Bourgou n’ont vaincu personne’: de la culture politique d’une minorité ethnique beninoise").

Pelican, Michaela, MA, Bayreuth 1999 ("Die Arbeit der Mbororo-Frauen früher und heute: Eine Studie zum Wandel der sozioökonomischen Situation semi-nomadischer Fulbe-Frauen im nordwestlichen Grasland Kameruns").

Reyna, Steven P., PhD, Columbia University New York 1972 ("The Costs of Marriage: A study of some factors, effecting Northwest Barma fertility").

Upper Guinea Coast

Knörr, Jacqueline, PhD, Bayreuth 1994 ("Kreolisierung versus Pidginisierung als Kategorien kultureller Differenzierung").

Fuest, Veronika, PhD, Göttingen 1995 ("Lebensweisen gebildeter Frauen in Liberia. Eine Betrachtung ihrer sozialen und ökonomischen Strategien").

Kohl, Christoph, MA, Mainz 2003 ("Kultur, Identität, Tradition. Theoriediskussion und Fallbeispiel Fidschi").

Schroven, Anita, MA, Göttingen 2005 ("Choosing between Different Realities – Gender mainstreaming and self-images of women after armed conflict in Sierra Leone").

Asia

Central Asia

Finke, Peter, PhD, Cologne 1999 ("Transformation of a Pastoral Society. Economic and social change among the Kazaks of Western Mongolia in the post-socialist period").

Kiepenheuer-Drechsler, Barbara, MA, Tübingen 2004 ("Entwurf einer goldenen Zukunft – zur symbolischen Inszenierung der turkmenischen Nation").

Roche, Sophie, MA, Berlin 2005 ("Bürgerkrieg und Wandel rechtlicher Flexibilität. Ethnographische Fallstudie von Generationskonflikten in Vadi Rasht/Duschanbe [Tadschikistan]").

Sancak, Meltem, MA, Cologne 1999 ("Identität und Zukunftsperspektiven junger Türkinnen").

Turaeva, Rano, Diploma, Urgench 1997.

Yessenova, Saulesh, PhD, Quebec 2003 ("The Politics and Poetics of the Nation: Urban narratives of Kazakh identity").

Southeast Asia

Knörr, Jacqueline, see above.

Europe

Dimova, Rozita, PhD, Stanford 2003 ("Tainted Losses: Ethnic conflict, consumption and gender in Macedonia").

Glick Schiller, Nina, PhD, Columbia University New York 1975 ("The Formation of a Haitian Ethnic Group").

Nieswand, Boris, Dipl. Soz., Bielefeld 2000 ("Dimensionen der Fremdheit. Eine empirische Untersuchung anhand qualitativer Interviewanalysen").

Zenker, Olaf, MA, Hamburg 2002 ("Techniken zur kommunikativen Herstellung von Gruppenzugehörigkeit. Eine Gesprächsanalyse über Imagearbeit unter Obdachlosen"), M.Sc., London 1999 ("Bewitchedful thinking. Witchcraft and political instrumentalism in the Northern Province of South Africa").

Brief biographical data: former staff

Africa

North and East Africa

Nicolas, Andrea, MA, Berlin 1999 ("Amhara and Oromo Ethnic Identity in Shewa region of Ethiopia").

Wolde Tadesse, PhD, London 1999 ("Warfare and Fertility: A study of the Hor (Arbore) of Southern Ethiopia").

West and Central Africa

Diallo, Youssouf, *Habilitation*, Leipzig 2004 ("Les Fulbe des espaces interstitiels: pastoralisme, migrations et identités [Burkina Faso – Côte d'Ivoire]", PhD, Paris 1993 ("Les Fulbe du Boobola. Genèse et évolution de l'Etat de Barani").

Grätz, Tilo, PhD, Bielefeld 1998 ("Staat, lokale Machtstrukturen und politischer Wandel in Nordbenin").

Asia

Central Asia

Darieva, Tsypylma, PhD, Berlin 2002 (Producing Identity: Post-Soviet immigrant media culture in Berlin and London).

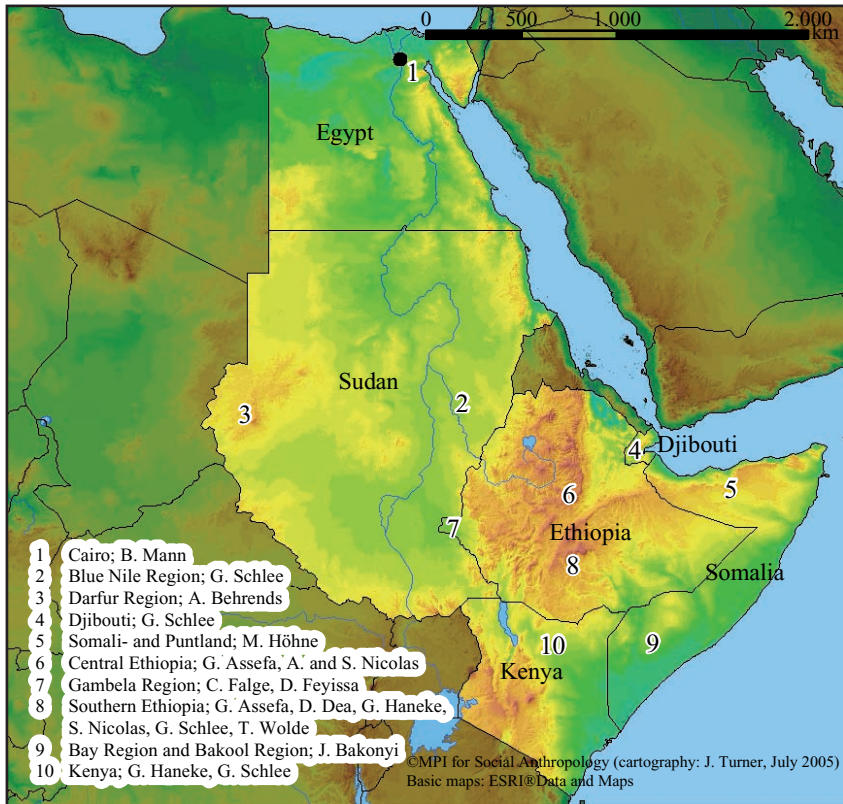
Europe

Çağlar, Ayşe, PhD, Montreal 1994 ("German Turks in Berlin: migration and their quest for social mobility").

Guldbrandsen, Thaddeus, PhD, Chapel Hill 2001 ("Bull City Futures: transformation of political action, inequality and public space in Durham, North Carolina").

Karagiannis, Evangelos, PhD, Berlin 2003 ("Flexibilität und Definitionsvielfalt pomakischer Marginalität").

North and East Africa



Map 2: Research region "North and East Africa".

Religion and integration in southwest Ethiopia

Data Dea

This project was initiated in the autumn of 2003. The main fieldwork for the project was conducted from January to September 2004 in three sites in southern Ethiopia: Dawro was the main site, but for comparative purpose shorter fieldwork was conducted in Wolaita to the east and Kaffa to the west of Dawro. Some short follow-up fieldwork was done in January-February and July-August 2005 and the materials are being analysed. The project examines the significance of various traditions of religiosity in southwestern Ethiopia with special reference to the question of integration. The focus is specifically on the interaction (confron-

tation, negotiation, tolerance) between followers of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, Evangelical Christianity, and spirit mediums. While southwest Ethiopia is the geographical locus of the project, analytically what transpires in this part of the Horn of Africa is placed in the broader historical context of the movement of religious ideas and interaction between religious institutions. In this regard, this region is rich and complex in terms of how each of the religious institutions connects a set of actors across social space (integration) while at the same time drawing boundaries between members and non-members among otherwise related persons. In recognition of such processes an important conceptual concern of this project has been to examine the nature of religious boundaries and their implications for social life, recording and analysing cases of social interaction between people who may differ on religious affiliation but who belong together on other bases of relatedness such as kinship, neighbourhood, and ethnicity. Among the questions being asked are: who is connected to whom and who is divided from whom on the basis of religion? How and where are religious boundaries made relevant? What kind of frames of integration and boundaries of interaction are made relevant and how do these relate to other such boundaries and frames? How does the competition between religious institutions relate, if at all, to the degree to which indigenous/cultural practices are tolerated or rejected by the respective world religion? How does each of these religions mobilise support (both locally and transnationally)? What is at stake in religion-based disputes? What conditions the acts of tolerance or intolerance between traditions of religiosity?

Preliminary analysis shows that in the three geographically adjacent and closely related communities of Wolaita, Dawro, and Kaffa in southwest Ethiopia we see significant variation on religious dominance. In Wolaita Evangelical Christianity is becoming dominant and at present Evangelical Christianity is spreading from Wolaita to Dawro and further west to Kaffa, among other places. Kaffa, on the western end of my three sites, is still a stronghold of the spirit mediums who maintain very peaceful relations with both the Orthodox Church and the secular state institutions. Dawro is in the middle: none of the religious institutions (Ethiopian Orthodox Church, Evangelical Christianity, and spirit mediums) are undisputedly dominant. Perhaps for this reason, it was in Dawro that I observed the most intense religious contestations between the three religious institutions, whereas the confrontation between Evangelical and Orthodox churches is much stronger in Wolaita.

The youth are intensely engaged in the practices of religiosity such as ritual observances, church services, and ceremonies (see pictures) and thus they are at the forefront of the religious confrontations.

A subject of particular importance in connection to youth religiosity is conversion. While younger people seem to be changing religion more

often than the older people, there are stereotypes and at times serious social consequences involved in doing so. As the observations so far indicate, the majority of the followers of the newly introduced religious institutions are the younger people. The process includes primary conversion (movements from one tradition to another) as well as secondary conversion (change of institutional affiliation within one religious tradition). This process has profound implications for intergenerational relations in other fields of life such as property, kinship continuity, and traditional authority.



Protestant and Orthodox youth in ritual dress of their respective churches, Wolaita.
(Photos: D. Dea, 2004)

The preliminary analysis also reveals some paradoxes in the postsocialist practices of religion in southwest Ethiopia. One such a paradox is that different interpretations and appropriations of postsocialist religious freedom has led, paradoxically, to 'repression' of certain forms of religiosity, in this case spirit mediumship in particular, but also certain ways of practicing Christianity. Secondly, while religions preach to connect believers across ethnic and national boundaries, they paradoxically divide neighbours and relatives. By doing so religion shapes in fundamental ways both the connections and the discontinuities between generations, places, and times. As my ethnography and some previous studies indicate, in contemporary religiosity issues of power, identity, meaning, and material resources are intertwined in complex ways with increasing manifestation of social disputes and violent conflicts.

The global Nuer

Christiane Falge

This project is based on multi-sited ethnography in East-Africa and the USA during 15 months of fieldwork between 2001 and 2004. Its initial focus shifted slightly from religious identity and conversion (MPI report 1999-2001) to an analysis of the disorder the global Nuer society is presently facing and the coping strategies they apply to counter it. Nuer conversion is related to the new world order as one of the reactions of marginalised people to the effects of advanced capitalism. The acceleration of missionary activity in that context results in the global salience of religion. It is also related to the simultaneous penetration of Western images to the periphery and the articulation of marginalised people's desire to adjust their living conditions by catching up with Western standards. As part of a desire for change, Nuer converts adopt and elaborate on these images through consumption and representation. They also extend their lineage-based support network into a transnational field within which remittances, ideas, and people flow between the diaspora and East Africa.



The Christmas ritual: Nuer Christians organise a church-based Christmas marching in Funyiido refugee camp. (Photo: C. Falge, 2002)

The dissertation narrates a history of war by describing the emerging 'refugee-isation' of parts of Nuer society, initially in an Ethiopian refugee camp and later in the USA. It thereby describes the creation of a state of 'disorder' and how the Nuer are trying to cope with as well as resist it. Nuer refugees adapted to a situation of absent kin, limited resources, and an alienating environment by redrawing lineage bounda-

ries on higher levels and through the formation of transnational networks. The cultural resilience that enacts itself in the strengthening of lineage ties forms an important tool in their attempt to re-order their world. Descent and the segmentary lineage systems are actually among the key factors to understanding the escalation of violence. Colonialism, the refugee camps, and state-contact induced processes which conditioned that certain violence-stabilising factors grew more important or newly occurred. The SPLA's (Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army), warlords', and the state's failure to control violence then fostered a culture of impunity that, by integrating violence into everyday forms of Nuer life (Neubert 1999) led to its disembedding (Elwert 1999). In this situation, conversion to Christianity offered an alternative identity to counter those processes as well as a means to incorporate oneself into the ethnic federal system of Ethiopia and to connect with the USA. Despite its pacifist role, however, Christianity is presently dividing Nuer society by contributing to the overall fragmentation through fission fostered by competition over modern assets such as church resources, education, leadership, and state power.

In the early 21st century the Nuer in the USA who seem to have arrived at the source of modern assets are looking back at their first decade as US migrants. As the majority of them are illiterate they had little chance to integrate themselves into US society beyond the level of representation and consumption and most of them have realised that they have few options other than making a living in the large meat-packing industries of the Midwest. In

this situation, ties to the homeland give meaning to their lives lived at the bottom of society. The lineage network becomes a fence against a threatening US state while their simultaneous attachment to the USA (through churches and mutual aid associations) and to several homeland states (through economic support and persisting tribal and lineage ties) makes them participants in nation-building processes back home. Their transnational lives show that notions of culture go beyond the container model of a nation-state (Glick Schiller and Wimmer 2002) and that processes of urbanisation and migration do not lead to universal processes of structural differentiation. This affirms the anthropologi-



Second generation of Nuer migrants in the USA (Omaha). Nuer churches in the USA serve as forums for ethnic identity. (Photo: C. Falge, 2003)

cal understanding that concepts of modernisation can not be applied universally but that local people become global in the way they want.

References

- Elwert, G. 1999. Markets of Violence. *Sociologus Supplement 1, Dynamics of Violence. Processes of Escalation and De-Escalation in Violent Group Conflicts*: 85-102.
- Glick Schiller, N., and A. Wimmer. 2002. Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration and the Social Sciences. *Global Networks* 2(4): 301-334.
- Neubert, D. 1999. Dynamics of Escalating Violence. *Sociologus Supplement 1, Dynamics of Violence. Processes of Escalation and De-Escalation in Violent Group Conflicts*: 153-174.

Shared values, institutions, and development: the case of the Gurage and the Oromo of southwestern Ethiopia

Getinet Assefa

This research is concerned with the construction of identity through mutual-aid institutions that seek to change the conditions of existence in southwestern Ethiopia. The research focuses on shared perceptions among members of the Gurage and Oromo ethnic groups. Both of these groups harness ethnic identity in order to achieve development at ethnic and other levels. The research examines the conditions under which such ethnic identifications are (re)created and changed, especially in reference to a state system that controls the production and distribution of goods and services.

In order to understand the deeper aspects of identification, the research investigates the shared values that form the basis of collective actions aimed at promoting development at the local level. It also examines the outward signs of identification to the extent that such institutions are based on people's claims to belong to one or the other group and serve as markers at the interface, in their interaction with others. In Ethiopia one such institutional model that combines the deeper and more superficial signs of identification is provided by ethnic-based associations, which have the expressed aim of undertaking community development activities. These associations at times also serve as political pressure groups. As a whole, such a model provides the link between local kinship and territorial groupings and the nation-state, although networking and identification extend to transnational levels as well.

The familiar depiction of ethnicity renders it as 'an atavistic remnant'. But under the current Ethiopian state, ethnicity is being pursued as 'a modern phenomenon' deserving accommodation within the political life of the country. In this context, the research deals with the question of how the changes in (official) recognition of ethnicity and the associ-

ated institutional changes within which ethnicity is intended to play a leading (developmental and political) role have affected ethnic identifications, and how these have, in turn, influenced policies with regard to bases of socio-political organisation in the country.

The phenomenal growth of urbanisation and the associated rural-urban migration in Ethiopia have resulted in increased population movements to new areas and various forms of interactions between different ethnic, religious, and other groups of people. Among the strategies used by people to cope with the new (urban) environment is recourse to solidarity groups and institutions which coordinate assistance to individuals in difficult situations such as bereavement or sickness. Such groups and institutions also facilitate economic support through informal financial institutions, and implement community development projects in migrants' areas of origin as well as in their new places of residence. Through these institutions, (implicit) values found in the form of generally accepted ways of socio-economic interactions and relationships are stressed to instil predispositions of cooperation and solidarity. These ways are collectively known as custom(s), but they are occasionally also expressed (explicitly) in written by-laws. The research aims to explore these values in order to contribute to our understanding of individual and social behaviour in general and of ethnic-based, development-oriented identity constructions in particular, as well as to our understanding of how these have come into contact with reactions from without (from other groups and the state) within the framework not only of development management but also in larger nation-building processes.

The research is contextualised in southwestern Ethiopia, a setting characterised by complex livelihood practices, high cultural diversity, and varying connections to centres of political power. In the institutional landscape characterising migrants' new environments and their areas of origin, the indigenous institutions on which the research focuses constitute part of a larger, non-state structural complex that coexists with the structures of the nation-state. Through decades of existence as such, these institutions have served as alternatives for people to engage in independent initiatives for socio-cultural, economic, and political empowerment. The research aims at understanding these institutional complexes, their purposes, and the ideals they use to rally membership and consequently to realise (developmental) objectives in their different forms. By exploring various socio-cultural, economic, and political contexts at different levels (local, regional, national, transnational), it tries to explain why mobilisation based on ethnic belonging or shared local origin has been considered a better way to serve the causes of development.

This research draws on anthropological approaches to ethnicity. However, rather than being caught in the rather sterile dichotomy of pri-

mordialism versus constructivism, it draws on recent theories that have emphasised the need for a comprehensive engagement with the ethnic phenomena that simultaneously takes into account content and boundary. Of particular interest for this research is understanding ethnicity as a particular social formation and as an aspect of interaction. Following this line of thought, the research approach suggests examining the historical and social circumstances in which a particular ethnic configuration develops, and a subsequent localisation in time, place, and social scale of the ethnic phenomena in question.

Furthermore, this research investigates the conditions of and variations in ethnic collective actions of different groups and how ethnic collective actions are related to developmental processes. It also examines how groups thus mobilised behave in reference to one another, without experiencing any instances of direct conflict, by engaging in competition to advance their own aims. Of particular relevance is the formulation of competition as a form of interaction between groups that are not necessarily in contact with each other, rather than of conflict as a form of contest between groups for which direct contact is a necessary condition (cf. Schlee 2003). Competition theory will also be used to examine the role of elites in creating and transforming ethnic identities among both groups. Such an instrumentalist view of ethnicity will be combined with the examination of factors causing shifts in the levels and salience of ethnic boundaries. The project will also examine why and how these boundaries are favoured over other forms of social organisation in order to give a better picture of processes of ethnic mobilisation.

References

Schlee, G. 2003. "Three Dyads Compared: Nuer/Anywaa (Ethiopia), Masai/Kamba (Kenya) and Evenki/Buryat (Siberia)", Halle/Saale: *Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology Report 2002-2003*.

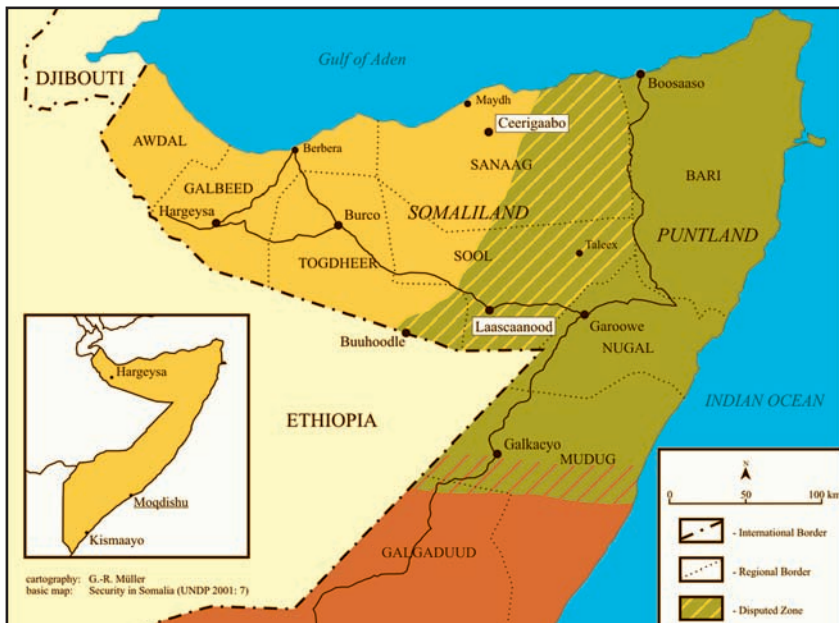
Conflicting political identities in northern Somalia

Markus V. Höhne

In the Somali civil war in the early 1990s the state collapsed. Up to now every attempt to rebuild it has failed. This, among a legion of other problems, has led to a crisis of the political identity of many Somali. The question is: how should people orientate themselves with regard to the state?

During 15 months of fieldwork in northern Somalia it emerged that the issue of political identity is connected to a crisis of national identity. With Somaliland in northwestern Somalia and Puntland in northeastern Somalia, two *de facto* states have been set up which partly fill the

state vacuum. In the last 14 years a remarkable level of peace and political order has been attained here. But between 2002 and 2004 this achievement has been called into question by several serious escalations of political and military conflicts between Somaliland and Puntland. These conflicts resulted from incompatible positions regarding the self-understanding and the political future of both *de facto* states and their populations. Somaliland is represented by its government in Hargeysa as an independent state in the borders of the former British Protectorate, comprising different clan-families and clans, which in 1991 seceded from the rest of Somalia.¹³ It claims international recognition on the grounds of territoriality complemented by a notion of a Somaliland national identity. Puntland was established in 1998. According to its constitution it is a part of the Somali state and works for the rebuilding of a single, united Somali government. Its government in Garoowe is based on an alliance of different Daarood/Harti clans. Apart from this genealogical identity the Somali national identity is adhered to.



Map 3: Map of political divisions in northern Somalia.

¹³ In *A Pastoral Democracy*, I. M. Lewis (Lewis 1961) describes the Northern Somali society as based on a segmentary lineage system, in which individuals take their position according to their (sometimes fictive) patrilineal descent. Lewis differentiates groups according to the levels of segmentation (from top downwards) as "clan-families", "clans", "sub-clans" and "diya-paying groups".

In northern Somalia the propaganda issued in the political centres but also in manifestations of political identity in daily life reflect the tensions between both the Somaliland- and the Darood/Harti-Somalian identity.

Both administrations claim the regions Sool and Sanaag as well as the city of Buuhoodle and its surroundings (see map) as their state territory. The reasoning of Hargeysa is that these territories were part of the British Protectorate of Somaliland which united in 1960 with the Italian-administered Somalilands to form the Republic of Somalia. Garroowe argues that they are predominantly inhabited by Harti clans belonging to the Darood clan family. For obvious reasons the tensions between both administrations escalated the time of the election of the former President of Puntland as new Somali President at the end of the Somali peace and reconciliation conference held in Kenya 2002-2004.¹⁴

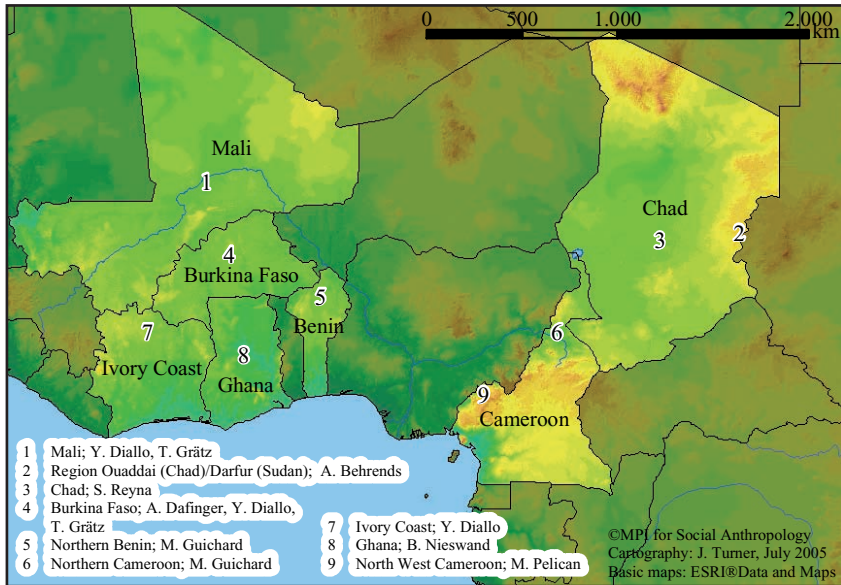
This research project examines the logic of political identification of individuals and groups in the context of re-emerging state structures in northern Somalia and how these identifications are related to conflict, especially in the politically contested regions Sool and Sanaag as well as the town of Buuhoodle.

I argue that as a result of the civil war and the subsequent developments in the study area, new identities formed on the ground. These identities are not ethnic identities in the sense that anyone in or outside northern Somalia would seriously argue that the carriers of these identities belong to different ethnic groups. They can rather be understood as political identities which are based on features resembling ethnic identities such as descent, history, individual experiences, and collective memory. These identities are also significantly connected with certain territories because the land in northern Somalia is divided between descent groups. These identities are not new in the sense that they are invented from scratch. Rather, they combine existing identity markers in a particular way and are meaningful in the current political context of the area.

A certain flexibility pertains because for each identity, certain aspects of history, clan relations, and culture are highlighted, while others are completely neglected. This allows individuals to manoeuvre to a certain extent when it serves their interests. It also causes contradictions when it comes to individual life histories and to the experiences of different generations. The identities under discussion are internally fragmented. Nevertheless, when the question of the political future of Somaliland and Somalia is at stake, the relevance of these internal fragmentations diminishes and the identities form relatively clear blocks which divide the social, political, and territorial landscape of northern Somalia today.

¹⁴ Due to tensions in southern Somalia the new government did not yet move to Somalia but resides in Kenya.

West and Central Africa



Map 4: Research region "West and Central Africa".

Conflict, violence, and integration: transnational and local fields of governance on the Chad/Sudan border

Andrea Behrends

This project on integration strategies of refugees in Dar Masalit has acquired new relevance through the recent escalation of violent conflict in Darfur, Western Sudan. The causes of this escalation cannot be understood along simple lines of explanation. Religious differences can be excluded as a factor for conflict, since the whole population of the region has long been Muslim. Moreover, the strains between sedentary farmers and nomadic herders, proposed by the Sudanese government as a source of the conflict, are unlikely by themselves to have led to this extreme kind of escalation. On the side of the local population and the rebels in Darfur, it is believed that the Sudanese government under president Al-Bashir (and his predecessors) is responsible for the recent conflict. From this point of view, the government has neglected to include all regions of the country in sharing the power and wealth. Relating to these different ways of explaining the conflict, a central thread of analysis in this project concerns patterns of identification and belonging among the people affected by the conflict. Along which lines do indi-

viduals and groups define themselves? Why does someone belong to this or the other or yet another side in the conflict? Which historical, political, religious, and other identities are instrumentalised or internalised by the actors? These questions point to a historical component about how belonging, alliances, and oppositions were negotiated in the past and today. They also point to the national and international level and to the influence of different governments and how they manifested themselves on the international border and, thereby, changed the region.

Dar Masalit ('Land of the Masalit'), the border region between Chad and the Sudan where the research took place, is of particular importance in this context. The region serves as a centrally located conduit linking these countries. The organisers of several military putsches in Chad took refuge on the Sudanese side in the past. In this same area, during the 1980s Muammar al-Qaddafi armed supporters of his policy of Arabisation from Libya against his adversary, the former Chadian dictator, Hissein Habré and against Habré's ally Jaa'far al-Nimeiri, the former president of Sudan. As a result, weapons are still abundant in the region, and the escalation of even minor conflicts is an ever-present danger. All changes on the level of central governments in the two neighbouring states have an immediate impact on the border region: thus, the fall-out between today's Sudanese president Omar al-Bashir and his former mentor and powerful Islamist leader, Hassan al-Turabi, in 1999 caused massive changes in the political landscape of Darfur, which then came to be one of the causes of the 2003 rebellion. On the other hand, the events in the border region affect the central level: the failed coup d'état against the Chadian president Idriss Déby in May 2004 is interpreted as a direct result of his failure to support the Zaghawa, his ethnic group of origin, who are among those bashed by the fighting in Darfur. But the border itself also has acquired new importance as a possible point of transit for potential refugees moving in both directions. Today, the refugee camps along the border in Chad seem to be well supplied by international aid agencies and fairly secure from attacks by the Sudanese government and mounted militia. The exact opposite was true in the early 1980s during the Habré dictatorship in Chad and above all during the famine in 1983/84. At that time, the aid agencies were in Sudan, and crossing the border in that direction promised a safe haven from murdering and plundering soldiers in Chad or from starvation. Thus, interactions among local actors and transnational linkages, including their respective influences on fields of governance, are the two central issues of this research project.

In the perspective developed in this project, political engagement and influence do not originate primarily from the state or government. Instead, the role of local actors or groups of actors is emphasised. In their interaction, all participating actors contribute to fields of governance,

which through changing channels of material distribution and the introduction of new categories of rights and entitlements have variable effects on different parts of the population. Governance relationships, the possibilities of their maintenance, and the processes of their transformation thus shift to the centre of analysis. Of importance are also mutual influence as well as the manipulation and redefinition of local discourses of meaning. In its presence or absence, the state influences different parts of society differently, especially in terms of access to state support for some groups at the expense of others.

The same is true for international organisations, which influence local conditions with or without the help of the state. The analysis of the different levels on which local, national, and international actors make decisions thus reveals a complex web of relationships that result from the intended and unintended consequences of these very interactions.

A way of solving conflicts peacefully: An Arab woman picks up her runaway calf from Masalit village craal after she has paid for the damage it has done to Masalit fields. (Photo: A. Behrends, 2001)



Pastoralism, migration, and identity: the Fulbe in Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire

Youssouf Diallo

The *Habilitation* thesis, on *Les Fulbe des espaces interstitiels: pastoralisme, migration et identités* (Burkina Faso-Côte d'Ivoire), is the final step of the project "migrations and identities" I have recently finished at the Max Planck Institute. This thesis combines ethnographic methods with a thorough investigation of written sources. It deals with conditions and forms of Fulbe migrations into Mali, Burkina Faso, and Côte d'Ivoire. It also investigates interethnic relationships as a field of interaction of Fulbe and various non-Fulbe groups and the influence of the state on these relations.

The study starts with a broad overview of Fulbe ethnogenesis and traces the historical background of pastoral mobility in pre-colonial times. Then I focus on the more recent migrations of Fulbe into southern Burkina Faso, southwestern Mali, and northern Côte d'Ivoire. The work combines the analysis of social, economic, and political organisation with the study on ethnicity and state intervention. It provides a comparison of forms of farmer-herder relations at different periods and in different places that span village communities, states, and administrative systems. Through this comprehensive approach, the study contributes to a better understanding of the integration process of Fulbe into three West African countries, which is the actual reason for their manifold migrations.

The social and cultural context of small-scale gold-mining in West Africa today

Tilo Grätz

The project addresses the social and cultural context of small-scale gold-mining in areas of immigration in West Africa today. Case studies in Benin, Mali, Ghana, and Burkina Faso are chosen as empirical background. The project focuses on the relationship of immigrants and local inhabitants in these frontier societies between modes of integration and separation, the emergence of social norms and practices concerning the access to resources, organisation of labour, patterns of settlement, and conflict resolution. Furthermore, social and cultural elements of identity processes (concerning young gold-miners), local politics (inside the local power field and in relation to the state), and aspects of risk management of gold-miners will be analysed.

Initial results (Atakora region, Northern Benin)

There is a patronage system of labour organisation dominated by relations of small entrepreneurs and comrades. The gold-miners of the Atakora are related to shaft owners and gold traders in specific risk-sharing arrangements.

Gold-mining is highly integrated into local and transnational market economies. At the same time it follows the logic of a moral economy of gold-mining, e.g. it is embedded in a network of reciprocities between gold-miners. Miners generally work in multiethnic teams. A particular ethics is maintained, including modes of sharing, modes of conduct, and the acceptance of intricate risk-minimising strategies. There are local institutions of conflict resolution (e.g. the assembly of shaft owners, mediators), which manoeuvre generally beyond the realm of state authorities, establish distinct norms, rules, and sanctions, and create a particular semi-autonomous social field.

In the adjacent communities, we have witnessed stabilising social processes since the beginning of the gold boom. The integration of immigrants is conducted partly by the local host – guest systems and joint working teams. A common corporate identity of gold-miners emerges across ethnic origins. It is based on shared professional ethics, friendship ties, and a particular lifestyle. It may enhance further integration of immigrants into the mining camps. Conflicts persist, however, between local inhabitants and immigrants over property and settlement rights.

The relationship of miners to the governmental authorities is conditioned by mutual distrust. The government follows contradictory policies between negotiation with some miners and the exclusion of others, above all trying to control the gold-trade. The future development of small-scale gold-mining remains widely open.

Friendship and kinship: on the differences and the relevance of two systems of social relationships. The case of the Fulbe societies of northern Cameroon and northern Benin

Martine Guichard

This research is part of an interdisciplinary research project between the University of Bielefeld (Departments of History [PD. Schuster] and Biology [Prof. Trillmich]), the University of Göttingen (Department of History [Prof. Rexroth]), the University of Luzern (Department of Sociology [Prof. Stichweh]) and the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (Department I, "Integration and Conflict" [Prof. Schlee]). It is funded by the Volkswagen Foundation (for an outline of the overall project entitled "Freundschaft und Verwandtschaft: Zur Unterscheidung und Relevanz zweier Beziehungssysteme", see <http://www.freundschaft-und-verwandtschaft.de>; see also Schuster et al. 2003).

Outline of the social anthropological project

The relationship between kinship and friendship has been unsatisfactorily discussed in anthropology until now. One reason for this is the traditional interest of the discipline in social institutions and in strongly formalised relationships. Particular interest has thus been given to kinship. Friendship on the other hand has been very much undervalued. Even today, it remains a social category that is neglected in research.

To date friendship has primarily been studied in 'complex' or Western societies. These societies are considered particularly appropriate fields of study because it is assumed that they are marked by the shrinking importance of kinship as a community-structuring factor. The increasing interest in friendship in the last years does not really include a shift in regional focus: works on friendship in non-Western and so-called 'simple' societies remain rare. In fact, many anthropologists are of the opin-

ion that these societies leave little room for friendship as an autonomous form of relationship. This view is nourished, among other things, by the fact that the kinship idiom is often used by the actors for describing friendships with non-kin. But this practice does not coincide with a real elimination of the difference between kin and non-kin, or more specifically between kin and friends.

The assumption that non-Western societies have a very limited space for friendship will be challenged critically here. It will be demonstrated that this form of sociability is also a central element of the social structure there. Evidence for this can already be found in earlier works on friendship. These works will also be discussed in the context of this project, which will seek further confirmation of this thesis from empirical research already conducted in the Fulbe societies of northern Cameroon and northern Benin.

Another focus of this anthropological study will be on the interpenetration of friendship and kinship and on the verification of the hypothesis that many cases of assistance that have to date been understood as kinship-based are in fact built on friendship. Since, due to a 'kinship-bias', friendship among kin has seldom been mentioned in the literature, it will be necessary to verify the thesis formulated above not only through a systematic re-evaluation of the literature but also through empirical studies. Data recently collected in northern Cameroon will be compared to data gathered in northern Benin in earlier research. These regions have been chosen because institutionalised and non-institutionalised forms of friendship can be found in both. The inhabitants of both regions are primarily farmers and cattle herders or agro-pastoralists. The latter belong to the Fulbe, who are reputed for their far-reaching friendship networks and their 'stock friendships', on the one hand. On the other hand, they are known as a prime example for the institution of hospitality: many Fulbe could hardly stay in the villages if the farmers did not accommodate them.

Because friendship and kinship have generally been studied in isolation from each other, there is hardly any data on their overlapping. In order to fill this gap and to do more justice to the multiplicity of relationships between kin, it will be useful to initially collect precise information on assistance practices among relatives in general: only then will it be possible to develop a set of principles of the 'emotional economy' of mutual assistance and then to isolate the assistance based on personal sympathy and friendship established within the sphere of kinship.

The relevance of this sphere in the selection of friends will also be studied in comparison with that of non-kin. The latter can be roughly divided into actors of the same ethnic group and ethnic strangers. The meaning of friendships between members of each of these categories will be simultaneously explored and set in relation to one another. In a

further step, the question will be discussed as to who among the kin and non-kin are in practice 'better' friends. Although there is some indication that distant relatives and non-kin would come first, this has to date never been specifically studied. A typology of locally existing friendship categories will also be developed. Finally an analysis of the strategically motivated preference of friends over kin when assistance is required will be made.

References

Schuster, P., R. Stichweh, J. Schmidt, F. Trillmich, M. Guichard, and G. Schlee. 2003. Freundschaft und Verwandtschaft als Gegenstand interdisziplinärer Forschung. Einleitung zum Themenschwerpunkt. *Sozialer Sinn. Zeitschrift für hermeneutische Forschung* 1: 3-20.

Getting along in the Grassfields: interethnic relations and identity politics in North West Cameroon

Michaela Pelican

The focus of my PhD research is on interethnic relations and identity politics in North West Cameroon. I pursue a historical and gender-sensitive approach and explore both the performative and the discursive sides of ethnicity. My study centres on members of three ethnic groups (Grassfielders, pastoral Fulbe, and Hausa), their performances and discourses of difference, and their activities across ethnic boundaries. A fourth actor is the Cameroonian state, as represented in its policies and officials.

In my thesis I discuss transformations in collective self-perception in a historical perspective. In examining the correlation of emic and etic models of ethnicity, I propose that all three groups have different but coexisting notions of their ethnic identity which provide the socio-cultural frameworks for their interaction with each other and the state. Furthermore, differences in group size, economic power, and involvement in international networks account for divergent strategies of political representation among the three groups.

In my analysis of interethnic relations I centre on confrontational events that have been stimulated by economic or political rivalry. I largely rely on retrospective accounts and local theatrical performances. As my findings indicate, state and group representatives play a crucial role in the mediation of conflict, but also sometimes are its inadvertent cause. Moreover, national political instability and international involvement have sharpened the existing potential for conflict. Regarding social processes and activities that transcend ethnic boundaries I focus on religious conversion, intermarriage, interethnic friendship, and discourses of occult economies. My analysis suggests that although these

processes contribute to the groups' integration into a transethnic regional community, they cannot prevent the perception and expression of conflict in ethnic terms. Finally, I explore individual and group strategies to ensure access to vital resources in the context of Cameroon's legally pluralistic framework and of global discourses of human, minority, and civil rights. Here it becomes obvious that privatisation and recourse to legal procedures increasingly replace interpersonal arrangements based on mutual agreement and voluntary compliance. The long-term effects of the described transformations on the groups' coexistence are still to be observed.



Role play on farmer-herder conflicts performed by actors of the SIDO forum, a Mbororo drama group based in Bamenda, at the annual meeting of the Mbororo Social and Cultural Development Association (MBOSCUA) in 2000 in Wum, North West Cameroon. (Photo: M. Pelican, 2000)

The distinctiveness of my contribution to research on ethnicity, integration, and conflict lies in my methodological approach, which includes components of visual and theatre anthropology such as video documentation, photographic analysis, and role playing. In studying public performances of identity and difference, I extensively documented visual events, such as 'traditional' celebrations, state ceremonies, market encounters, and local theatre performances. To elicit feedback from the local population, I organised a public screening of the roughly edited footage. I immensely benefited from the audience's vivid responses and their assessment of video, television, and theatre as new means of communication. Furthermore, in studying identity transfor-

mations, I confronted informants with historical and contemporary photographs. Their feedback enabled me to determine local uses of photographs in communicating social relations or substantiating political claims. My approach to studying interethnic relations and conflict through local theatrical performances has proven to be very fruitful. The benefits of basing my analysis on stage plays, rather than exclusively on observational or interview data, are rooted in the nature of drama and performance. Drama as a theatrical form uses the expression of conflict as a way of communicating its content. Moreover, in contrast to everyday life, a staged performance allows for mockery, criticism, and the candid expression of conflicting views and practices, as it has no immediate effects on actual social relations. Thus role plays devised and performed by local actors on the basis of their life-world experiences constitute a rich source of information regarding socio-economic, socio-political, and interethnic conflict.

Oil and strings

Stephen P. Reyna

At this institute, I engaged in two projects during 2004-2005, one of which contributed to the development of a new sub-discipline in anthropology, that of an anthropology of oil. A workshop, entitled *Oil, Integration and Conflict*, was co-organised with Günther Schlee and Andrea Behrends. The workshop ran from 13th to 14th December, 2004. Together with additional papers, the results of the conference will be published. In the following I briefly outline the matter of this book:

Oil, conflict and integration: towards an anthropology of oil

Our party, like the revels of the carefree summer of 1929, is ending [...] Grave troubles concerning the environment, health, security, food and water have already begun to arrive. But the mother of them all is the dwindling supply of cheap energy upon which modern civilization and global commerce utterly depend. Here is a fundamental problem that will not go away. (Ehrenfeld 2003)

The "party [...] is ending" because cheap energy is coming to an end. Cheap energy is coming to an end because oil is coming to an end. There are four facts relevant to addressing the 'fundamental problem' of oil. First, research reveals that petroleum production results in integration on, and between, the local, regional, national, and global levels of political and economic organisation. Second, studies indicate that conflict can occur frequently in these forms of integration, especially under conditions of oil scarcity. Third, oil production in the near future will be

subject to declining supply and increased demand. Fourth, this means that a looming crisis of oil poses a violent threat to global integration. So an urgent social science research priority, one upon which to some considerable extent the future depends, is investigation of the nexus between oil, integration, and conflict. This is the proposed book's subject matter. The book will achieve two goals. The first is an assessment of the current state of knowledge concerning oil, integration, and conflict. The second, based upon this knowledge and the strengths of anthropology, is the formulation of an anthropological research strategy, in collaboration with other social sciences, to advance understanding of the 'fundamental problem' of oil. The volume has three sections. The first provides an overview that orients readers in the topics under investigation. The second section explores these topics in five different world regions: the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, Russia, and Indonesia. Taken together these are the most important oil-producing regions in the world. The final section consists of a chapter that, reviewing and synthesizing the earlier chapters, offers a strategy for an anthropology of oil that strengthens the ability of social science to explain and design policy in a world experiencing a global oil crisis. Two virtues will distinguish this anthropology of oil. The first of these is an ability to account for the intensification of conflict within and between different local, national, and global levels of institutional integration. The second virtue of this anthropology of oil will be its capacity for understanding conflict intensifications in terms of the everyday cultural experience by which actors conduct the affairs of these integrated institutions – the better to know whether the party is really over.

References

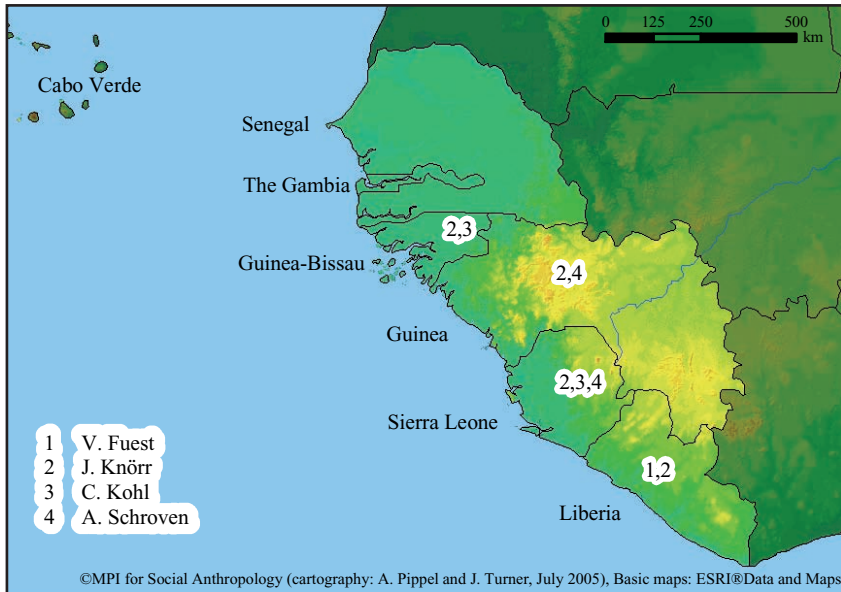
Ehrenfeld, D. 2003. The Joseph Strategy. *Orion Magazine* September/October 2003:
<http://www.oriononline.org/pages/om/03-5om/Ehrenfeld.html>.

Research Group: "Integration and Conflict in the Upper Guinea Coast (West Africa)"

Head of Research Group: Jacqueline Knörr

Senior Research Fellow: Veronika Fuest

PhD Candidates: Christoph Kohl; Anita Schroven



Map 5: Research Region "Upper Guinea Coast".

Point of departure

A new research group was established at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in August 2004 as the result of a successful application within the framework of the *C3 special programme for the promotion of excellent female researchers of the Max Planck Society*. It aims at the systematic comparison of processes of conflict and integration in the (post-)conflict countries of the Upper Guinea Coast. In the first phase our research will focus on Sierra Leone and Liberia. An extension into Guinea and Guinea-Bissau is envisaged.

The neighbouring countries of Sierra Leone and Liberia have constituted one of the most violent conflict regions in Africa in the past 15 years. The conflicts that evolved need to be considered in view of specific common particularities with regard to historical experience and cultural traditions which on their part are closely related to specific

social and political dynamics. However, the histories of these two countries also show differences, which influence the respective course of each of their conflicts and the local processes of (re-)integration and reconciliation. Thus we will study integration and conflict as interrelated dimensions of cultural tradition, social dynamics, and historical experience.

To date, attempts at explaining these conflicts in Sierra Leone and Liberia have done so in either economic, cultural, or political terms, without, however, relating these causes adequately to one another. Many existing analyses are based on theoretical models or journalistic investigation rather than on empirical research. Explanatory models developed in economics or political science often focus on the interests of different rebel groups and of international consortiums in the (illegal) exploitation of exportable resources as well as on the strategic interests of regional and international actors. These factors shall not be disregarded as irrelevant but their relevance and scope need to be put into perspective by relating them to other factors.

Studies based on empirical research have often focused on the cultural and economic logics of (young) combatants and ex-combatants. What is largely missing, though, are analyses of the development of social relationships, conflict processes, identity construction, and integrative mechanisms among the majority of the population that were not actively involved in the fighting. Conflicts about access to and control of resources are not restricted to times of war – they had been omnipresent before the wars started and have been since the wars have come to an end. Processes of (de-)regulation and (de-)legitimation of control of land, aid goods, and natural resources as well as of people appear to be multifaceted and based on differing logics.

Assumptions/hypotheses

Conflict and integration are understood as complementary dimensions of culture and society. It is not traditions and values in opposition to one another which lead to either social integration or violent interaction, depending on whether the 'good' or 'bad' ones are at work. On the contrary, it is the same traditions and values within a society that may have different outcomes at different times – e.g. conflictual or integrative social interactions. Whether it is the more integrative or the more conflictual potential of a given set of traditions and values which is socially enacted largely depends on the historical background and on the social, political, and economic context and dynamics of a given situation and setting.

Historical experience has an important impact on how values and traditions are applied in specific strategies of conflict initiation, conflict avoidance, and conflict resolution. How the latest wars in Sierra Leone

and Liberia were fought is related to how reconciliation and (re-)integration are practised there in the present-day post-war situation as well as to warfare and reconciliation/(re-)integration practices of the past. It is assumed that there have been both continuities and changes with regard to the institutions of conflict regulation. It is also assumed that different institutional frames of reference and varieties of identity constructions coexist, which are based on various historical and cultural, 'modern' and 'traditional' models and are utilised by different actors and social groups according to situation and context (normative and legal pluralism). The criteria for the inclusion and exclusion of social groups – also with reference to the definition of collective property rights – are manipulable and subject to power interests both on local and national levels.

Historical and cultural background

Of particular relevance to the region is the historical experience of the transatlantic slave trade, the resettlement of liberated slaves in Sierra Leone and Liberia, British colonial rule in the case of Sierra Leone, and the rule of a black Americo-Liberian elite in the case of Liberia.

In the course of the 18th and 19th centuries, liberated slaves were resettled in Sierra Leone and Liberia as a result of philanthropic, missionary, and economic interests. They were supported by the British (Sierra Leone) and Americans (Liberia) as local economic, social, and political elites. In both cases, these elites kept aloof from the local population outside the cities of Freetown and Monrovia by defining the latter pejoratively as 'natives', 'provincials', or 'country people'. The coastal area of Sierra Leone became a British colony in 1808, and in 1896 a British protectorate was proclaimed over the hinterland. Liberia was, as the only such country in West Africa, never to be colonised by Europeans, but ruled from the beginning of the 19th century to 1980 by the so-called Americo-Liberians. They were supported by the American government, which regarded Liberia its most important ally in West Africa. Even after they were overthrown by local forces, the existing patrimonial structures remained in place, resulting, among other things, in increased ethnic polarisation. In Sierra Leone the Krio had already been replaced in their administrative and political offices by locals in the course of the colonial period.

One result of these specific elite constellations was that the development of a post-colonial national identity was significantly hampered in both Sierra Leone and Liberia. While local elites, promoting a national consciousness, emerged in the course of the independence movements in other African colonies, in Sierra Leone and Liberia elites who were not indigenously legitimised acted as a curb on this development. A further effect was that these black elites became models of 'civilisation'

for other social groups in both countries, with formal education and Christian religion as their central traits. There is evidence that these models have changed in the course of the recent wars or are currently being reinterpreted by specific groups.

The experience of the slave trade, colonialism, and foreign rule have strongly influenced the attitudes and relations to strangers in both countries, as evidenced till today in rituals and strategies of incorporation and integration of strangers (including refugees). Large parts of Liberia and Sierra Leone are influenced historically by a 'culture of secrecy', which is represented by secret societies and linked to specific ways of dealing with knowledge and information within society at large. Initiation into the most important traditional secret societies – *Poro* for men and *Sande* or *Bundu* for women – is an important aspect of social organisation and identity which has outlasted the recent wars as well as life in exile. In the historical context of the slave trade, colonisation, and foreign sovereignty, as well as in situations of crisis and war, secrecy also functioned as a protection against both betrayal from within and infiltration and attacks from without.

There are regions in the research area, such as southeastern Liberia, where age groups form the basis of political organisation and regulation mechanisms and where secret societies have less influence. Little is known about how these differences affect the courses of conflicts or integration processes.

Research objectives

The research group provides a framework for the comparative study of conflictual and integrative aspects of the relationships between generations, genders, and the various constructions of ethnic and, as the case may be, national identity in their historical and contemporary processes and dynamics. Social, economic, and political practices are to be examined in their relationship to social and cultural values and (colonial) historical experience. Traditions and values for their part are to be investigated as to their relevance for integrative and/or conflictual social practices.

At present, possible dimensions of comparison in view of our research interests are being examined. These include social relationships and processes within and between genders; between generations in more hierarchically structured groups with secret societies on the one hand and more egalitarian societies with age group systems on the other, such as in southeastern Liberia; among national and international actors in Liberia and Sierra Leone (new and old elites); and among various social groups in rural and urban spheres, in various warlords' spheres of influence.

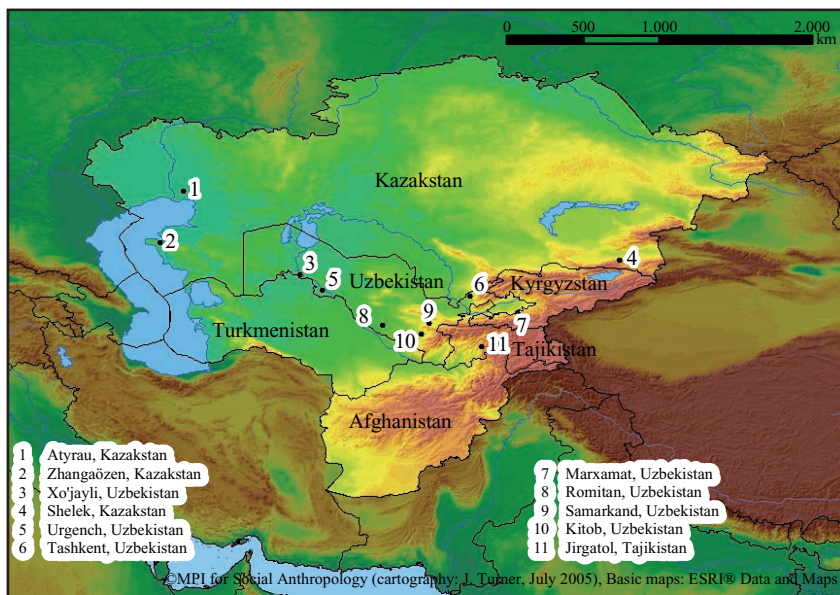
Specific themes within these dimensions of comparison might be the role of national elites in view of processes of national integration or disintegration; the role of elders, chiefs, secret society authorities, district officials, etc. in political processes and reconciliation; the role of experiential knowledge, esoteric knowledge, literacy, formal education, and Islamic and/or Christian religiosity in conflict and integration processes; the manipulation/exploitation of international development aid discourses and resources; and the definition of 'patrons' and 'clients', kinship and friendship as constructed moral communities.

The procedures applied in the resolution of conflicts and the avoidance of further violent activities include, among others, NGO-organised therapeutic consultations, public reconciliation rituals, secret society rituals, and trials of accused war criminals. The meanings these activities have acquired, their perceived efficiency as well as their social acceptance – including their understanding as 'traditional' or 'modern' – need further investigation and analysis.



Come and build a better Sierra Leone! (Photo: J. Knörr, 2005)

Central Asia



Map 6: Research region "Central Asia".

Finke, Peter: 3, 4, 7, 8, 10

Kiepenheuer-Drechsler, Barbara: 9

Sancak, Meltem: 4, 7, 8

Roche, Sophie: 11

Turaeva, Rano: 5, 6

Yessenova, Saulesh: 1, 2

Central Asia activities within Department I

Peter Finke

Introduction

Since its establishment in 1999, Central Asia has been one of the focus areas of the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology. In the case of Department I "Integration and Conflict" this was inspired by the many similarities it shares with the other two regional clusters in West and Northeast Africa, which made comparative research very attractive. These included ecological conditions, a multi-ethnic population characterised by the interaction of nomadic and sedentary groups, the dominance of Islam, and the importance of patrilineal descent groups.

Central Asia is a vast, landlocked area in the centre of the Eurasian landmass characterised by an extremely arid and continental climate. Having been the cradle of large nomadic empires, it later turned into a colonial outpost of Russia and China. The 20th century saw tremendous changes in the livelihood of the people with the establishment of a socialist economy and society and its later dissolution in favour of a West-

ern style market economy. This proved much more difficult than expected and resulted in a dramatic economic downturn in most of the countries. At the same time, the five former republics of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan initiated processes of nation-building that should define their place in the world. As all of them are ethnically heterogeneous and created along more or less artificial territorial boundaries, this could easily lead to conflicts both within and between the involved states. Many western observers therefore expected ethnic conflicts and Islamic fundamentalism to be likely responses to increasing poverty and social deprivation. A second crisis zone next to the Middle East seemed to emerge. So far, this has not come true and most parts of Central Asia have remained relatively calm. The recent events in Andijan have once again shattered the image of the region as one of instability and potentially violent conflicts.

Another common prediction was the revitalisation of local communities and informal institutions. While this is true to some degree, these had often suffered from the dominance of state institutions in the socialist period that made local arrangements dispensable. Therefore, today they lack the time horizon necessary for the development of mutual trust. In the eyes of the majority of the population it is primarily the state that is responsible for providing infrastructural services and help for the needy. For that matter, grassroots organisations develop only very slowly. At the same time, social stratification is increasing. New elites emerge (partly out of the previous one) and try to monopolise the already scarce resources. This may further weaken local institutions as social cohesion is decreasing and differences in interests become more permanent.

Research group and topics

Work on Central Asia at the Max Planck Institute has been constantly growing over the past few years. Since 2000 Peter Finke and Meltem Sancak have conducted field research in Uzbekistan on economic and social transformations and their impact on identities and personal networks. From 2003 to 2005 Tsypylma Darieva contributed to the work in Department I with a project on Uzbeks in southern Kazakhstan and how they adjust within the new nation-state. In the meantime, Department II "Postsocialist Eurasia" had also built up a strong research focus on religion in Central Asia (cf. this report for results of this group). As of 2005 several new members have joined Department I, namely Rano Turaeva, Barbara Kiepenheuer-Drechsler, Sophie Roche, and Saulesh Yessenova. At the same time, this regional focus has recently achieved the status of a distinct research group headed by Peter Finke.

In line with the overall focus of the department, the projects in Central Asia look at issues of collective identities and the impact that the political changes following the dissolution of the Soviet Union have had

on these. The interrelation between national ideologies from above – both in Soviet times and today – and local identities that feed and are fed by them is one of the central topics. The major focus of the activities has so far been on Uzbekistan. As the most populous group, the Uzbeks occupy a central position in the ethnic configuration of the region. At the same time, their ethnogenesis and contemporary boundaries are among the most complex in the region (cf. Baldauf 1991; Schoeberlein-Engel 1994). Their presence in all Central Asian states and their internal heterogeneity thus seemed an ideal opportunity for comparative research.

Since the early 1990s Peter Finke has conducted long-term field research among Kazak pastoralists in Western Mongolia (Finke 2004). Together with Meltem Sancak he has also worked on inter- and intra-ethnic differentiation in southeastern Kazakhstan (Sancak and Finke 2005) and the immigration of Kazak ‘diasporas’ from outside the former Soviet Union. Within the framework of Department I Finke’s research in Uzbekistan has focused on the historical development of ‘Uzbekness’ and the way this concept has benefited from an intermediate position between sedentary Iranians on the one hand and pastoral Turkic groups on the other. Due to this position the concept of being Uzbek almost by definition takes on a different meaning in each regional setting that is shaped by the respective historical circumstances and the local ethnic constellation. At the same time, the relative vagueness of the concept enabled individuals to change their affiliation in a way that would not have been possible among tribally organised societies such as Kazaks or Turkmens.



*Group of Kazakh women on 1 May, which is celebrated as Day of Multinational Unity.
(Photo: P. Finke, 2004)*

The national model developed for the Uzbeks in Soviet times was one that strongly favoured the sedentary ancestors and tried to bypass any hint of the nomadic past of the original bearers of the name. This has been followed by the contemporary government as well. The nation-state is then defined not so much by emphasising ethnic differences and hierarchies but by territorial commonality. It is conceptualised as the culmination of all previous civilisations in the region. The choice of specific national heroes and symbols emphasises this common cultural heritage. The Uzbeks thus become both fulfillers of an ongoing process of Turkification, which characterised the history of the region for the last thousand years, heirs to the preceding polities and cultures – including explicitly pre-Uzbek periods.

Research for this project has been conducted in four different settings within Uzbekistan, namely the Bukhara Oasis, the southeastern Ferghana Valley, the northern Kashkadarya province, and southern Karakalpakistan. Each of these sites exhibits its own peculiarities in terms of ecological and economic endowment, historical events, and ethnic configuration. Together, the four cases provide a representative cross-section of the complexity of identity formation in Uzbekistan.

Meltem Sancak has been working together with Peter Finke on the Kazak *oralman*, the so-called 'repatriates' that have moved to Kazakhstan since the latter attained independence (Sancak and Finke 2005). Her project in Uzbekistan looks at the meaning that collective identities and ethnic boundaries have in a world of rapid economic and social change. The disappearance of regular salaries and the decay of state-run infrastructure and services force people to reorganise social networks of solidarity in order to adapt them to the new situation. The boundaries of these networks may go along ethnic lines, although very often they cut across them. The project compares two different settings within Uzbekistan, one in the Bukhara Oasis and one in the Ferghana Valley, which are often considered as fundamentally opposite: Bukhara – both within and outside of Uzbekistan – as a synonym for peaceful coexistence, and the Ferghana Valley as the most serious crisis spot in the region. The objective of this project is to question this image and look for possible explanations. Without a doubt, high population density and complex border arrangements contribute to a higher level of tension in the Ferghana Valley. This is combined with a more pronounced social stratification and scarcity of land. In Bukhara, on the other hand, water is the key issue, which is organised rather on a communal level. The impact of the nation-state is crucial, both in terms of the definition of national identity, including some groups and excluding others, and in the economic realm, particularly when it comes to the distribution of resources. The project analyses these interrelated processes and the way in which local solidarity groups are re-configured within this.

The project by Rano Turaeva on Khorezmian identity ties in to these earlier projects. It is outlined in a separate report below. Barbara Kiepenheuer-Drechsler focuses on images and ideologies of the nation-state in post-Soviet Uzbekistan. In particular, she looks at the ways in which the concepts that have been developed and proposed by the political elites are accommodated or rejected by the population at large. The construction of a new national identity was among their main aims and was to replace Marxism-Leninism as an ideological underpinning. This is depicted through numerous books, slogans, celebrations, monuments, and museums. But the official ideology alone does not give an accurate account. A look at the interaction of state and social groups in society and the negotiation of identity are central aspects of this project. It is assumed that some of the elements of the official discourse appear plausible to actors on the ground, while others are less so, and that the degree of acceptance also varies within the population.

With the recruitment of new members, other countries in the region such as Tajikistan and Kazakstan also gained in importance for this Department's research. The project by Sophie Roche is concerned with generational conflicts in Tajikistan and their role within the civil war that unsettled the country in the early 1990s. Usually, this war has been described as a mixture of political antagonisms, rising Islamic fundamentalism, competing economic interests, and clan- or regionally based identities. Internal aspects within the communities have been largely ignored. In particular, the conflicts between different male generations over political and social resources are an important aspect of this. The fact that young men dominated the Islamic movement is a case in point. With the fall of the previous system, the integrative power of the traditional community has decreased, while at the same time young men often became primarily responsible for providing food and security for their families as the state withdraws. On the other hand, their influence in traditional society is still very limited before marriage. A conflict thus exists between generations, namely between those who try to maintain traditional mechanisms of control and others that demand more participation and social mobility.

Saulesh Yessenova has in the past been working on narratives of identity among rural migrants in the former capital of Kazakstan, Almaty (Esenova 2002). In particular, she has looked at the integrative power of genealogies that construct a common origin of all Kazaks. Her new project at the Max Planck Institute is on "Integration, Conflict, and Development along the Caspian in Kazakstan". As the government of Kazakstan prioritised energy-extracting enterprises in the wake of postsocialism, the Caspian region (in particular the provinces of Atyrau and Aktau, where the project is located) has emerged as a major region of industrial and political calculation in the republic. The research project examines how local actors (both disenfranchised communities and gov-

ernment power brokers) and multinational firms in Kazakhstan's Caspian region interact to negotiate discrepant aims of regional development. In covering the entire complexity of the situation including multiple players, this study pays special attention to the negotiation of economic interests, cultural perceptions, and ethnic identity among local actors, including urban-based entrepreneurs, business elite, politicians, herders, and farmers.

Perspectives

The Central Asia research within the Department "Integration and Conflict" will be both a continuation of the focus on Uzbeks in a variety of settings as well as an extension of this to other regions of Central Asia. Regarding the former, a comparison of the earlier findings among Uzbeks living in the nation-state of this name with those outside of it is planned. Is the attractiveness of being an Uzbek that was diagnosed reversed in constellations where they are not the titular group? For this purpose research will be conducted in adjacent areas of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan where Uzbeks often form local majorities. Other projects are planned to study the impact of large-scale migrations of Kazak diasporas to their 'native homeland', building on earlier research conducted by Peter Finke and Meltem Sancak.

Apart from increasing our knowledge about a part of the world that has been largely neglected by western anthropologists during the last decades, the work done in Central Asia at the MPI for Social Anthropology also contributes to general theoretical issues. Within the overall framework of Department I this involves in particular the relationship between political forces, strategic decisions, and cultural models that shape the perception of actors. It is by now common ground in anthropology to hold that ethnic boundaries are neither static and given nor arbitrarily selectable and exchangeable (Barth 1969; Elwert 1989; Erikson 1993; Schlee 2004). They present the individual with both an instrument to achieve particular goals as well as a cultural model that prescribes particular behaviour and appropriate alliances.

All the projects therefore look in one way or another at the interplay of national ideologies and concepts of group affiliation and identity at the local level. In this approach, the state is viewed not as a determining force but as one important variable which influences how people define themselves in relation to others and how resources are distributed among various actors. Central to this approach are observations concerning the calculations that people make about allegiances and the institutional frame that determines the cost-benefit ratio of various alternatives (cf. Hechter 1987; Landa 1998). A focus solely on interaction patterns between different actors and the manipulation and fluidity of social borders, however, underestimates the importance of emotional and ideological attachments that people may have to specific

groups. After all, identities are social constructs and not individual acts of will. A formal change of group membership is not necessarily equivalent to the change of one's identity as a personal attachment to others. In these projects, the analysis of self- and group interests is combined with a look at the historical and political frame as well as the cognitive dispositions of the actors.

References

- Baldauf, I. 1991. Some Thoughts on the Making of the Uzbek Nation. *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique* XXXII/1: 79-96.
- Barth, F. 1969. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Social organization of cultural difference*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Elwert, G. 1989. Ethnizität und Nationalismus. Über die Bildung von Wir-Gruppen. *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 41: 440-464.
- Eriksen T. H. 1993. *Ethnicity and Nationalism. Anthropological Perspectives*. London: Pluto Press.
- Esenova, S. 2002. Soviet Nationality, Identity, and Ethnicity in Central Asia: Historic Narratives and Kazakh Ethnic Identity. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 22(1): 11-38.
- Finke, P. 2004. *Nomaden im Transformationsprozess. Kasachen in der post-sozialistischen Mongolei*. Münster: LIT-Verlag.
- Hechter, M. 1987. *Principles of Group Solidarity*. Berkeley: The University of California Press.
- Landa, J. T. 1998. *Trust, ethnicity, and identity: beyond the new institutional economics of ethnic trading networks, contract law, and gift-exchange*. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press.
- Sancak, M. and P. Finke. 2005. Migration and Risk-Taking. A Case Study from "Kazakstan", in *Migration and Economy. Global and Local Dynamics*. Edited by Lillina Trager, pp. 127-161. Society for Economic Anthropology Monographs. Walnut Creek (CA): Altamira.
- Schlee G. 2004. Taking sides and constructing identities. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*. (N.S.) 10/1: 135-156.
- Schoeberlein-Engel, J. S. 1994. Identity in Central Asia: construction and contention in the conceptions of "Özbek", "Tâjik", "Muslim", "Samarqandi" and other groups. Unpublished PhD thesis. Harvard University.

Language and social identity: Khorezm identity in a multi-ethnic society

Rano Turaeva

Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in collaboration with Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen, Netherlands.

The project will entail empirical research and structural analysis of the Khorezm identity discourse in the context of the multi-ethnic society of Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan. Khorezm is one of the 12 provinces (*viloyat*) of Uzbekistan, each of which has its provincial centre, local government, and districts (*tuman*). Khorezm province is located in the west of Uzbekistan. The population is approximately 1.2 million people. The province is divided into ten districts with Urgench as an administrative centre. Urgench is a city of about 135 000 inhabitants.

The research questions to be answered are:

- What are the causes of internal migration in Uzbekistan – both economic and cultural?
- How does migration affect individuals' identity or identities? What are the discourses and practices of Khorezm identity in Uzbekistan? How do they correlate? What is the role of the language in the construction of Khorezm ethnic identity? How do individuals and groups use it?
- How well have Khorezmians accommodated themselves in Tashkent?

The key informants will be Khorezmians living in Tashkent and the families they left behind in Khorezm. Existing (and known) evidence among the local community in Tashkent regarding Khorezmians suggests that the core group that migrated from Khorezm has divided into several social sub-groups such as construction workers, small traders in bazaars,¹⁵ folk singers, and intellectuals.

The research will focus on the above-mentioned clusters of Khorezmian groups and will employ the 'snowball technique' within each cluster to locate other minorities with different ethnic backgrounds. By identifying other minorities who live close to Khorezmian communities, it will be possible to learn how Khorezmians interact with other groups.

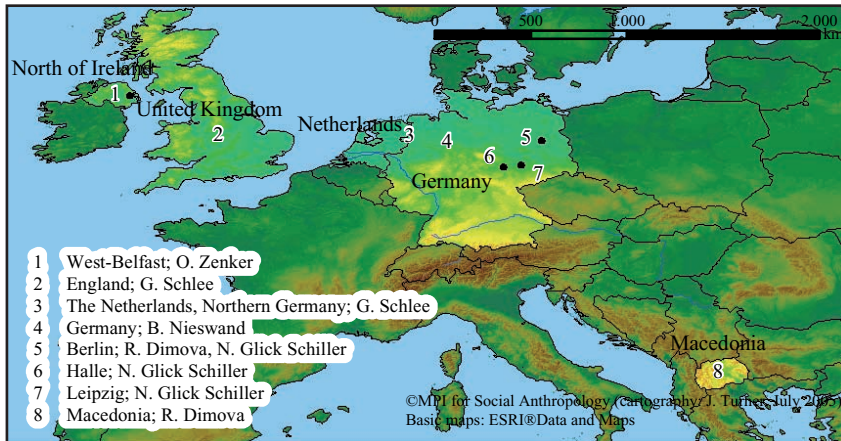
I seek to examine of groups and networks formed by these Khorezmians. If the findings show that these groups in Tashkent are in contact with each other and support each other, then these groups will be studied as a Khorezmian network to construct a more complete picture of their settlement.

¹⁵ The Khorezm region is famous for being the source of numerous traders who work in Tashkent. Low-volume trading, working in the bazaars etc., are the main sources of income for most people who live in the rural areas in Khorezm.

The genealogical trees of the families of key informants will be drawn and data will also be collected on how far the families spread geographically and which effects migration has had on their lives.

The project will also examine the role of the Khorezmian idiom in the multi-ethnic society of Tashkent where this distinct dialect is not understood by the majority. I aim to compare the role and use of the Khorezm dialect in Khorezm and outside the province.

Europe



Map 7: Research Region "Europe". Not all research sites are discussed in the present volume: see also MPI Reports 1999-2001 and 2002-2003.

Disconcerting encounters: consuming nationalism in Macedonia and *Duldung* trauma among the Bosnian diaspora in Berlin Rozita Dimova

Since I joined the MPI for Social Anthropology in 2003, I have worked on two projects. I first prepared the results of my Stanford PhD project for publication. The topic of that research is the relationship between space and ethnic tension in the town of Kumanovo. Situated near the borders with Serbia and Kosovo, this ethnically mixed town embodies the social dynamic central to nationalism in contemporary Macedonia, namely the re-articulation of class and ethnicity as embodied in commodities and the transformation of space. I analyse how ethnic Albanians and ethnic Macedonians negotiate different class and ethnic positions since the country gained independence in 1991 and how this negotiation is represented in space now. The class mobility of many Albanians, who actively participate in the market economy by opening private businesses with the financial support of the strong Albanian diaspora abroad, has altered the social distance between Albanians and Macedonians. The urban space in Kumanovo is being transformed by new and richly-decorated houses built by Albanians along with expensive cars, furniture, clothes, cell phones, and other conspicuous commodities. The abrupt reconfiguration of the social distance has caused difficulties for Macedonians in accepting the proximity that Albanians

have reached in terms of physical, but also of social space. Both ethnicities consume identical Western commodities, which erases visible differences and makes the two ethnicities ontologically similar.

The second project that I began in February 2005 is entitled "Nests of Displacement: Bosnians between Berlin and the (San Francisco) Bay Area". This is a comparative study of Bosnians who have settled in Germany and the US after the Bosnian war (1991-1995). Caught between xenophobia and the unprecedented economic recession, the German government struggles to come to grips with racism and the question of German identity. The displaced people from former Yugoslavia in Germany have become an icon of the political and legal struggles to develop a correct attitude towards refugees, migrants, and asylum-seekers. The on-going fieldwork conducted among the refugees from the former Yugoslavia in Berlin underscores the complex situation of these people created by the German legal system and the civil society sector (non-profit and non-governmental organisations involved in assisting the refugees).

I examine the contradiction between the generous welcome during the war in Bosnia Herzegovina (1992-1995) when Germany accepted approximately 320 000 people, more than any other Western country, and the temporary protection or the so-called 'tolerated status' (*Duldung*) which required an unconditional departure from Germany with the end of the war in Bosnia. The *Duldung* ordeal has become a major source of trauma for more than three thousand already severely traumatised refugees in the past 13 years, involving forced deportation, imprisonment, and constant apprehension about their legal status. The treatment of the Bosnian refugees in Germany has disclosed the need for adequate laws to accommodate this complex reality and to question the existing distinctions between foreigner, refugee, asylum seeker, guest worker, and immigrant. The research will further examine the struggle of those Bosnians who, after having to move from Germany, settled in the San Francisco Bay Area. Although the US government gave them official residence status and made them formally equal to the rest of the American citizens in terms of employment opportunities, the impersonal US resettlement procedures focusing on job placement eliminated the interpersonal acts of altruism or humanitarianism that many Bosnians found in Germany and the other European countries where they had resided prior to their displacement in the US (Franz 2003: 153).



Photo: With courtesy of Nihad Nino Pusija, Berlin 1992 (<http://www.fotofabrika.de>)

References

Franz, B. 2003. Transplanted or Uprooted? Integration Efforts of Bosnian refugees based upon Gender, Class and Ethnic Differences in New York City and Vienna. *The European Journal of Women's Studies* 10(2):135-157.

Pusija, Nihad Nino, Berlin 1992. Cycle: Refugees.
<http://www.fotofabrika.de>

Global religion as a form of non-ethnic migrant incorporation in two small-scale cities: Halle/Saale, Germany and Manchester NH, USA

Nina Glick Schiller

While there is controversy about whether ethnically-based religious congregations impede or contribute to the incorporation of migrants, most scholars assume that migrants use religion to express ethnic solidarity. Migration scholars have recently noted that ethnic organisations of immigrants are often transnational, linking migrants in both the homeland and the adopted country. These findings have further fuelled debates about integration. In these debates, little attention has been paid to migrants who espouse non-ethnic global religious identities. Only in discussions of Islamic transnational networks and organisations has non-ethnic migrant religion come to the fore. Our research focused on the beliefs and practices of Christian migrants in two small-scale cities: Halle/Saale in eastern Germany and Manchester, New Hampshire, in the New England region of the United States.

The research on Pentecostal forms of belonging was part of a broader project that examined the relationship between city scale and multiple forms of incorporation in the two cities. The term scale has emerged as a summary assessment that reflects the differential positioning of cities within regional, national, and global hierarchies determined by the flow and control of capital and structures of power. The research team consisted of Nina Schiller, Ayşe Çağlar, Thaddeus Guldbrandsen, and Evangelos Karagiannis, with support from the MacArthur Foundation, the Max Planck Institute of Social Anthropology, the Central European University, and the University of New Hampshire.

Halle/Saale is a declining industrial city of 230 000 people in Sachsen-Anhalt, Germany. Although the size of the migrant population doubled in the past decade, it was only about four percent of the population of Halle in 2004. Halle is characterised by a high rate of unemployment and its refugee population cannot find jobs. In Halle there were two Pentecostal congregations made up primarily of African migrants and led by African ministers: the Miracle Healing Church, which was predominantly Nigerian, and God's Gospel Church, which was predominantly Congolese (all church names are pseudonyms). What was striking about both congregations was their insistence that they should not be identified by national origin or as African but as Christians. Migrants claimed a right to settle in the city as part of God's plan to win the city. The Miracle Healing Church, which numbered close to 150 participants, had succeeded in recruiting a growing number of white Germans as committed members.

Manchester is similar to Halle in terms of its metropolitan size and proportion of new immigrants. However, its economy offers low wage

factory and service work for immigrants and refugees. In Manchester, a Nigerian preacher succeeded in developing the Resurrection Crusade, a network of more than twenty 'born again' churches, which took as its mission winning Manchester for God. Migrants who joined the churches of the Crusade came to them as Christians and therefore as fellow believers. The congregations of the Crusade all stressed their Christian identity, although one member church was Hispanic, one African-American, and the rest predominantly white American.



Nigerian preacher and German church member in Halle/Saale. (Photo: N. Glick Schiller, 2004)

Our research suggests that in both cities part of the appeal of the rhetoric of these religious organisations and networks to migrants was the local and global incorporation they offered in the context of the small scale of these cities, which provided newcomers with few pathways of incorporation. In both Halle/Saale and Manchester city leaders and boosters cast migrants simultaneously as dangerous others and as useful, exotic, colourful bodies that represent a necessary component for marketing their city as a global actor. In Manchester and Halle, the size and scale of the cities marked African migrants as particularly visible, despite their small numbers. By choosing to emphasise a Christian universalism rather than an ethnic particularism, some African migrants responded to the city by becoming locally and globally incorporated but in their own terms.

Ghanaian migrants in Germany and the stabilisation of transnational fields

Boris Nieswand

Ghana has changed from being one of the major countries of immigration in Sub-Saharan Africa up to the 1960s to being one of the major countries of emigration to Western Europe and North America since the 1970s. In this process an increasing number of Ghanaians, abroad and in Ghana, became integrated into transnational fields that incorporate migrants and non-migrants at different geographic places.

In contrast to social formations such as the nation-state, the transnational social fields in which Ghanaian migrants act lack objectified structures and the formal means of power to enforce their existence. Therefore, the question emerges as to how these rather fluid social formations become stabilised in the course of everyday life. Empirically, three social domains can be identified in which transnational social fields are reproduced: 1) economic incentives, 2) kinship relations, and 3) transnational status economy.

1. Due to economic processes within the last wave of globalisation the incentives to maintain transnational relations between Germany and Ghana have increased. On the one hand, the differentials in wealth, wages, and buying power between rich and poor countries in the world have increased significantly since World War II. On the other hand, Ghanaians in Germany, like other migrants in Western Europe, face economic marginalisation. This is connected to the post-industrial restructuring of the industrial countries, which has led to an internal polarisation of incomes. This process of 'double polarisation', under the conditions of declining transaction costs (i.e. air transport, communication costs, bank transactions), increases the incentives for migrants to transfer resources from Germany to Ghana and to invest in the maintenance of transnational life worlds.

2. Kin relations and reciprocity obligations are another important factor for the stabilisation and intensification of transnational relations. Migrants face the strong moral obligation to take care for their parents and close relatives in Ghana. Additionally, the 'myth of return', which is shared by most of the Ghanaians abroad, reinforces kinship ties. In particular, migrants rely on their relatives in Ghana to launch transnational projects such as building houses, which is perceived as a crucial condition for a later return. Moreover, the resource transfer in favour of the family members in Ghana enables migrants to 'return home' in a respectable way and to secure loyalty of the extended family for old age or times of need.

3. The 'paradox of migration' is identified as a factor of stabilisation of transnational social fields. Due to the deterioration of the Ghanaian economy, the majority of the migrants lacked the possibility to realise

their status aspiration based on their educational degrees in Ghana. Migration to Western Europe or North America was an exit option from which Ghanaians expected the restoration of a certain degree of status consistency. But because the labour markets in Western Europe in general, and in Germany in particular, were not very receptive to African migrants during the 1980s and 1990s, they faced a situation in which most of them had to take on low wage jobs or other precarious forms of income generation. Additionally, racial discrimination and stereotypes, which Ghanaians face in Germany, evoked wide-spread feelings of personal devaluation within the context of migration. The process by which Ghanaians are able to achieve a status increase in respect to the Ghanaian context by accepting a loss of status in Germany shall be called the 'paradox of migration'. In the absence of sufficient economic perspectives to return to Ghana, the migrants often process the 'paradox of migration' by reproducing their transnational life-world.



Transnational Connections. Kofi, a Ghanaian student, at a restaurant called "Berlin Restaurant" owned by a migrant to Germany checking his mobile phone for messages from his mother's brother living in Berlin. (Photo: B. Nieswand, 2003)

Irish identity and the Irish language in discourse and practice in Catholic West Belfast

Olaf Zenker

Based on fourteen months' fieldwork, this research project investigates the everyday construction of Irish identity in Catholic West Belfast, in which the Irish language has been playing an important role. By focusing in particular on the interplay between local discourses and practices, this project aims at contributing to a theory of processes involved in identity formation.

As interviews and surveys show, virtually all local Catholics regard themselves as being Irish and, when asked, usually describe their Irishness as the principal element in their identity. However, Irish identity largely goes without saying: it is rarely addressed in public discourse, nor does it play a significant role in daily conversations. When asked, people frequently refer to three aspects which, they would say, make somebody Irish: first, being born in Ireland (in the North or South), second, sharing a certain 'mindset', and third, participating in what is locally described as 'Irish culture', namely 'Gaelic Games', 'Irish music', 'Irish dancing', and the 'Irish language'. Catholicism is strongly rejected in discourse as having anything to do with Irish identity.

The investigation of daily practices shows, however, that a Catholic background is actually crucial to producing this sense of Irishness. This is because Northern Irish society is strongly segregated along religious lines. Catholics and Protestants tend to live and socialise within their respective areas, attend different churches and types of schools, and participate in different forms of social activities. In Catholic areas, this leads to a strong sense of Irishness, whereas in Protestant areas a sense of Britishness prevails. Everyday life circumscribed by Catholic background predisposes locals, on a practical level, to develop commonalities in outlook (the 'shared mindset') and to participate in Gaelic Games, Irish music, and Irish dancing ('Irish culture'). At the same time, living in a Catholic community also predisposes them, on the discursive level, to appropriate representations of being 'Irish', which are plausible because they refer to the very 'mindset' and 'cultural' practices, which the same religious background brings about. The Catholic background thus engenders a certain discourse on Irishness as well as the conditions under which it largely becomes 'true'.

Within this process of mutual stabilisation between discourses and practices, the Irish language has constituted an exception until quite recently. Although the language has been part of the identity discourse as 'our own language', it has largely not been practised. It was only during the 1970s that a local language revival began in West Belfast. Thousands started learning Irish, Irish-language schools were founded and language projects such as a newspaper, a bookshop, a theatre com-

pany, and a radio station came into being. This increase in language practice has to be understood in the context of the Northern Irish conflict. While local Catholics had previously regarded themselves as Irish, it was due to the 'Troubles' that their Irishness really came to the fore when they increasingly came to see local discrimination and violence as rooted in the oppression of 'the Irish' by 'British imperialism'. Given this heightened sense of Irishness, local Catholics became more and more aware of the incongruence between their identity discourses and practices regarding the Irish language. Learning Irish, and thereby adapting one's practice to discourse, has therefore emerged as a way for many local Catholics to address this contradiction in order to reaffirm what they already are: Irish.



Mural by an activist group in West Belfast, promoting the Irish language. (Photo: O. Zenker, 2004)

As this case suggests, identity formation involves interplaying discourses and practices, which stabilise each other without being totally congruent. The extent to which inconsistencies can be ignored is dependent on the relative importance of that identity: the more relevant the identity, the stronger the necessity to mutually adjust identity discourses and practices.

Applied research

Applied research in conflict resolution

Christiane Falge and Günther Schlee

In 2004, as part of her PhD project, Christiane Falge, a former PhD student at the MPI for Social Anthropology who has done extensive research in the Horn of Africa, took part in the Nuer peace conference in Fangak, Southern Sudan. Her participation in this conference was in accordance with the MPI for Comparative Public Law and International Law in Heidelberg and its involvement in the constitutional process of Southern Sudan. The conference was organised by the New Sudan Council of Churches (NSCC) in line with the IGAD-sponsored¹⁶ peace talks in Naivasha, Kenya. Its main aim was to prepare Nuer society for the coming 'interim period' that is following 20 years of civil war in Sudan. The conference, which was called by grassroots representatives from different sections of Nuer society, marked the beginning of a prolonged peace process in Sudan. The need for the conference emerged from the present level of social fragmentation and escalating violence Nuer society is facing after two decades of civil war. As part of its wider aim to prepare the society for peace, the participants analysed the factors and processes that led to the disembedding of Nuer violence and identified ways to control violence in order to re-establish social order and the predictability of conflict.

From her position in Bremen,¹⁷ Falge will maintain her cooperation with Schlee. Both of them are involved as consultants in a GTZ project on conflict resolution in Ethiopia.¹⁸ For at least the next two years, Falge and Schlee will jointly apply their anthropological expertise in this project – Falge by conducting and coordinating empirical research on

¹⁶ Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), a northeast African organisation.

¹⁷ In September 2005, Christiane Falge took up a new position as a research coordinator of a study group on migration and health, based in the *Zentrum für Europäische Rechtspolitik* (ZERP) at the University of Bremen. The study group, which is one of the "Volkswagen Study Groups on Migration and Integration", compares patterns of integration of migrants into the health-care systems of Germany, Italy, and Canada. It investigates the role of participatory practices in multicultural societies and examines legal and institutional arrangements for an equitable access to health-care services, in decision-making processes in the political system, and in the interpersonal relationship between health-care providers and recipients. The research seeks to develop a catalogue of innovative approaches for making the policy process and institutional settings of the health-care system more responsive to the needs of migrants. To this end, it involves the establishment of a permanent forum of ongoing dialogue and collaboration with policy practitioners, health-care providers, and pro-migrant organisations throughout the entire project.

¹⁸ She is also involved in a research project led by the Japanese anthropologist Eisei Kurimoto that observes the current events in Sudan. Her focus will be on the returning Nuer and the way they try to accommodate problems of reconstruction and reconstitution while returning home.

conflict prevention and resolution and Schlee by assisting and advising the project in its significance and impact (including her empirical data in his advisory function to the project). This project is part of a component of the 'Capacity Building in Governance Programme' based on an agreement between the German and Ethiopian governments' Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) and the Ethiopian Ministry of Federal Affairs (MoFA) in their joint intention to improve Ethiopia's governance capacity. The overall aim of this project is that the federal and regional governments as well as local administrations and civil society organisations act according to the principle of subsidiarity and good governance. The specific task of the sub-component Falge and Schlee are involved in is to build and promote the capacities of local disseminators who may then act as conflict advisers, dialogue leaders, and mediators. Falge's tasks will be to identify local experience and tradition versus modern know-how in conflict transformation as well as relevant actors involved locally in three intervention areas, e.g. Somali, Afar, and Southern Region.



Project workers in the field: Jutta Bakonyi between Somali project staff. (Photo: G. Schlee, 2005)

The question may also be discussed as to whether there are reasons for the violent escalation of conflict that go beyond a bounded model of 'root causes' that reduces conflict to single causes such as ethnicity, religion, or resource scarcity. In attempting to explain the escalation of violence one may use a processual approach, rather than limiting it to

causal explanations. This broader perspective considers that conflict erupts as a result of a process during which certain violence-stabilising factors grow more important or first emerge at all (Neubert 1999: 163). These factors could be related to changing norms and values, gender or intergenerational conflicts, or the loosening of traditional reconciliatory techniques in the context of state incorporation as well as processes of globalisation. While conflicts may receive much of their dynamics from the sub-national level, they also spread between different international, national, and local levels (Schlee 2004: 9). By identifying the dynamics between these and other areas of conflict, the long-term aim of the Ethiopian project is to build and establish capacities and dialogue between local actors and the government in order to implement preventative methods rather than continuing the current 'fire-engine' approach that tries to gain control over already escalating conflicts.

Our previous report (2002-2003) already discussed the Institute's involvement in the Somalia Peace process and a regional development project, the "Improvement of Farming Systems Project" in the Bay and Bakool regions, Somalia, which is sponsored by the EU and implemented by GTZ International Services. Schlee spent two weeks at Huddur in the Bakool region in 2004 and a similar period in 2005 at Dinsoor in Bay region. The continued work on the ground is now being done by Jutta Bakonyi who is responsible for the "Conflict Resolution and Reconciliation" component of that project and will later evaluate her experience in this project and additional data from future field research at the MPI. Schlee's reports on Somalia can be obtained from the MPI as hard copies or electronically (see references).

In 2004, within a EU TACIS programme on "Promotion of Tolerance and Improving Interethnic Relations, Russia", Schlee went to Moscow to share his experience on early warning and conflict resolution in North-East Africa with the corresponding organisations in Russia and the Russian Academy of Sciences (the group around Prof. Valery Tishkov). TACIS then identified the need for a handbook on conflict theory and conflict management in Russian. Schlee then edited and amended earlier publications in German and English to form one volume. The book was translated into Russian by Sergei Sokolovskii at the expense of the EU and has been widely distributed in Russia under the title *Upravlenie konfliktami: teoriia i praktika*.

References

- Neubert, D. 1999. Dynamics of Escalating Violence. *Sociologus Supplement* 1, Dynamics of Violence. Processes of Escalation and De-Escalation in Violent Group Conflicts: 153-174.
- Schlee, G. 2003. IGAD Report: *Consultancy Report to the Somali National Reconciliation Conference in Support of Committee 3 – Land and Property Rights*

as link: Consultancy Report to the Somali National Reconciliation Conference, Nov 2003 (PDF-File) on

<http://www.eth.mpg.de/people/schlee/project.html>

Schlee, G. 2004. Huddur Report: *Conflict analysis in Bakool and Bay, South-western Somalia* as link: Consultancy Report March 2004 (PDF-File) on

<http://www.eth.mpg.de/people/schlee/project.html>

Schlee, G. 2004. *Upravljenie konfliktami: teoriia i praktika*. Moskva, Deutsch-Russischer Austausch e.V.: Promotion of Tolerance and Improving Interethnic Relations, Russia (TACIS).

Schlee, G. 2005. Dinsoor Report: *Conflict Resolution and Reconciliation as a Component of the Improvement of Farming Systems Project (IFSP)* as link: Consultancy Report April 2005 (PDF-File) on

<http://www.eth.mpg.de/people/schlee/project.html>

Applied research: a study in racialisation

Nina Glick Schiller, Data Dea, and Markus V. Höhne

The announcement by the zoo in Augsburg, Germany, that it was hosting an "African Village" set off a wave of controversy that received widespread media coverage. A global protest developed, fuelled by the rapidity of e-mail communication, with concern voiced by African-German organisations, rights organisations, academic associations, a Nobel Prize winner, and concerned individuals from many countries. This report is based on attendance at the four-day event, the "African Village" in the zoo from June 9th to June 12th 2005, and interviews with the various participants.



'African Village' advertisement at the entrance of the Augsburg zoo. (Photo: M. V. Höhne, 2005)

Our findings are as follows:

- (1) The event was not a village displaying people but a market in the zoo augmented by African singing, drumming, and 'oriental' belly dancing.
- (2) The event was organised primarily to earn revenue for the zoo, the promotion company, and the exhibitors and performers.
- (3) The event organisers linked the zoo and Africans in an endeavour to attract visitors by an 'exotic' event; they perceived the zoo with its 'African panorama' as a perfect environment for an African fair.
- (4) Solidarity with African people and mutual understanding were not primary aims of the event.
- (5) After visiting the zoo, visitors frequently linked Africa, Africans, wild animals, and nature.
- (6) Organisers and visitors were not racist but they participated in and reflected a process that has been called racialisation: the daily and often taken-for-granted means by which humans are separated into supposedly biologically based and unequal categories.
- (7) The questions raised by protestors about the 'African Village' in the zoo took the defenders of the event by surprise; the defenders equated racism with the atrocities of Nazism and attacks on Jews, Sinti, and Roma and did not reflect critically on problems dating from German colonialism.
- (8) Images dating from those times contribute to contemporary exoticising, eroticising, or stereotyping of Africans and are sometimes promoted as multiculturalism.
- (9) Against this background the Augsburg zoo was an inappropriate setting to hold a market of African crafts together with forms of 'traditional' African cultural performance.
- (10) The African exhibitors and performers bore the greatest financial risk and some felt exploited by the particular circumstances of the event; however in a situation of high unemployment and unequal power, they rely on the marketing of cultural difference.
- (11) The promotion of zoos through special events relating African culture, people, and animals is not a phenomenon limited to Augsburg or Germany; it is found also in other European and US zoos.
- (12) In the current global economy, when marketing of difference is big business and when educational institutions such as zoos need to generate more revenues, there are incentives toward racialisation.
- (13) The racialisation processes facilitated by the Augsburg zoo and other zoos are not benign because they can lay the groundwork for discrimination, barriers to social mobility, persecution, and repression.

The full report can be downloaded under:

<http://www.eth.mpg.de/events/current/pdf/1120750934-01.pdf>