



MAX-PLANCK-GESELLSCHAFT

**Max Planck Institute
for Social Anthropology
Report
1999 - 2001**

Halle/S.



Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology

Report 1999 – 2001

Halle/Saale

Preface

The decision to establish the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, located in the east German city of Halle, was taken by the Senate of the Max Planck Society in June 1998. Prof. Dr. Günther Schlee, formerly Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Bielefeld, and Prof. Christopher Hann, Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Kent, were appointed founding Directors. The Institute began its work in May 1999. Housed initially in offices in the city centre, the Institute moved to its permanent buildings in December 2001, which marks the end of the period covered in this first Report.

It was hoped that the research agenda would generate synergies between the various units. Department I, "Integration and Conflict", headed by Günther Schlee, tries to gain new insights into processes of conflict and integration by examining the question of who sides or cooperates with whom and why. In this perspective conflict and integration translate into questions of identity and difference. The focus is on strategies of inclusion and exclusion, both from the perspective of their discursive "logic" and from that of their societal consequences. Department II, "Property Relations", headed by Chris Hann, adopts a broad approach to property in society. It is particularly concerned with changes in the social entitlements of citizens and groups in the "postsocialist" countries of Eurasia, and the main ethnographic focus is on decollectivisation.

As a precursor to the creation of a third Department, "Legal Pluralism", a Project Group was established in July 2001 by Profs. Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann. This group became fully operative in May 2001. It is concerned with the emergence and maintenance of plural legal systems, and how they change over time. Particular attention is paid to two neglected topics in legal anthropology: the significance of religion and religious law, and the trans-national dimensions of legal pluralism.

These research programmes and a good deal more besides are coordinated by Bettina Mann, who has also played the leading role in the compilation of this Report. Our warm thanks to her and her team.

FvB-B

KvB-B

CH

GS

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I. Structure and Organisation of the Institute

Structure and Organisation of the Institute

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Scientists and Support Staff at the MPI

Directors

Prof. Dr. Günther Schlee (managing director): Integration and Conflict
Prof. Dr. Chris Hann: Property Relations

Heads of the Project Group Legal Pluralism

Prof. Dr. Franz von Benda-Beckmann
Prof. Dr. Keebet von Benda-Beckmann

Research Scientists

Dr. Andrea Behrends	Dr. Deema Kaneff
Dr. Susanne Brandtstädter	Dr. Erich Kasten
Dr. Barbara Cellarius	Dr. Alexander King
Dr. Andreas Dafinger	Prof. Dr. Stephen R. Reyna
Dr. Youssouf Diallo	Dr. Nikolai Ssorin-Chaikov (until 31.12.00)
Dr. Julia Eckert	Dr. Tadesse, Wolde Gossa
Dr. John Eidson	Dr. Bertram Turner
Dr. Peter Finke	Dr. Thomas Widlok
Dr. Tilo Grätz	Dr. John C. Wood (temporary)
Dr. Patty Gray	Dr. Lale Yalçın-Heckmann
Dr. Martine Guichard (until 30.09.01)	Dr. John Ziker
Dr. Patrick Heady (half-time)	

Doctoral Students

Dereje Feyissa
Georg Haneke
Carolin Leutloff
Andrea Nicolas
Gordon Milligan
Boris Nieswand
Michaela Pelican
Meltem Sancak
Florian Stammeler
Davide Torsello
Aimar Ventsel

**Associated Projects
(externally funded)**

Christiane Falge
(doctoral student, Cusanus Werk)
Prof. Dr. Nina Glick Schiller
(visiting professor)

Support and Services

Research Coordinator:	Bettina Mann
Library:	Michael Ladisch (Head librarian) Anett Kirchhof (Library assistant)
Translators:	Andreas Hemming Diana Quetz
IT Group:	Dr. Armin Pippel (Head of the IT Group) Gordon Milligan (Computer systems support/programming) Harald Nagler (System administrator) Oliver Weihmann (Multi-media assistant)
Administration:	Kathrin Föllner (Head of the administration) Katja Harnisch (Accounting) Janka Mathiebe (Personnel office) Kati Broeker (Buyer)
Secretaries:	Anke Brüning Gesine Koch Viola Stanisch Viktoria Zeng
Technical Service:	Ronald Kirchhof

II. Research Programmes

Department I: Integration and Conflict

Director: Günther Schlee

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1. Introduction

At the time of writing most of the component projects of this research programme are still in the data-collection phase, which means that no final results can be presented yet. This is therefore the wrong place to expect an elegantly constructed new theory of integration and conflict in its final shape.

Advances toward a new theory (or a refined version of old theories) of integration and conflict are, however, being made. The preliminary results of the individual projects allow for the identification of conceptual tools, which emerge in a plurality of settings. Recurrent patterns have been discovered which allow for tentative typologies of cases. Close analysis of regional cases and their comparison have led to first attempts at generalisation.

The order in which this report is presented follows the sequence of these cognitive steps. It starts with the individual projects and the regional clusters they form and then proceeds to the recurrent features of the preliminary findings, which offer themselves as dimensions of comparison and thus lead to more refined research questions.

The theoretical focus of this research programme is on processes of identification and differentiation, it is mainly on the outward signs of belonging and not belonging, on the surface through which we interact with others as social beings. This is not to deny the relevance of deeper and hidden aspects such as 'values' or latent 'functions'. It is simply to compensate for the lack of attention to the surface of things in the past. Social scientists and scholars in all the arts and humanities have always had a tendency to dig deep. We may not have been superficial enough where superficiality was required. We think that on the level of outward identification, i.e. people's claims to belong to one or the other group and their categorisations of others, insights can be made. In combination with other findings about 'values', 'beliefs', 'norms', and other motive forces such as material and immaterial costs and benefits (to individuals, to groups, and to individuals who identify with groups), we can throw a new light on the workings of integration and conflict.

What constitutes social identities, i.e. the question of who belongs to whom and why, is a basic question of social science and remains thus far without a satisfactory answer. Or it can be answered in too many alternative ways, which amounts to the same thing. To explain collective identifications through group interests, as is sometimes attempted, falls short of a solution since, as groups emerge, their changing composition may lead to changing perceptions of shared interests. Any attempt to manipulate identities according to perceptions of political or economic interests has to start from pre-existing identifications. The options of those who have an influence on the formation and change of social identities at any moment of time are limited by social givens. Identity politics is the interface of action and structure, it is where fluidity meets rigidity and either modifies it or breaks over it.

The substance of identity politics is the possible ways in which people can claim to be the same as other people or to be different from them. These are myriad. The scope of identification is one of them. Identifications can be wider or narrower. Conditions can be identified under which it is advantageous for individual or collective actors to define wider identities which they share with others, for example to strengthen their own group or to widen their alliances when they feel insecure, or to keep their own numbers small, when they do not wish to share their resources or when they feel strong enough to prevail against their neighbours alone in a conflict and do not want any allies who could claim a part of the loot. Successful identity politics requires means of inclusion and means of exclusion and the capacity to switch discourse from one to the other.

One way to move up and down in scope is to include wider or smaller units of the same kind, i.e. units defined by criteria belonging to the same category, such as linguistic criteria. Dialect differences, language, and language family all provide linguistic criteria of identification. Within this category the options range from stressing minimal dialectal differences to

underlining similarities between the languages of widely dispersed languages belonging to the same families as defined by linguists and postulating the relatedness of their speakers (Pan-Slavism, Turanianism, "Bantu Philosophy...").

Anthropologists discuss another form of belonging under the heading of descent. Descent reckoning can be of different kinds (different forms of linearity, non-unilinear systems, etc.) or of different degrees of inclusiveness within one particular type. Reference to real or putative remote ancestors normally implies the inclusion of more people within one's own group than operating with shallow genealogies. Assuming similar reproduction rates between the units compared, genealogical depth correlates with demographic strength.

Religion (or to use a less culture-bound term of possibly easier universal application: belief systems) is another such category. Religion, too, follows the segmentary principle. The primary identification can either be with a worldwide religious community or with a small sect or order. Similar considerations can be applied to all other subsystems of culture or complexes of symbols: they all provide materials which can be constructed as identity markers at various levels of inclusivity.

Biological givens come into play as well, most prominent among them pigmentation. Cultural definitions of skin colour categories vary widely. People who are perceived to be white in one context are black in another and vice versa. In the Sudan a rather elaborate system comprising intermediate categories such as yellow and red is at work. There are many ways to shift the line between "us" and "them".

Taking narrower or broader criteria of the same general category to alter the inclusiveness of the intended collective identification is one way to formulate identities of different scope. Another way to do this is by changing the category of criteria. If one wants to enlarge one's group definition, one's affiliation or system of alliances in a conceptual space in which religious commonality is perceived as more widespread than the shared linguistic features, one might change from a linguistic group definition to a religious one. People who want to stress a more particular identity might move the other way in such a setting; that is, one switches from one category of criteria to another such category.¹

Yet another way to move up and down in scope is by connecting categorical distinctions by different operators: "and" or "or". To illustrate: there are more hot cakes and more sweet cakes than cakes that are both hot and sweet. In the same way "white", English speaking Protestants who only accept other weakly pigmented persons of the same language *and* creed as being of their own kind apply a more narrow type of identification than those in whom the presence of one *or* the other of these features already evokes a feeling of commonality.

¹ This is one of the ways in which Elwert (2002) uses the term switching.

Identities defined by different criteria typically do not replace each other but tend to co-exist, often in some sort of hierarchy, that is a changing or contested one. From a typology of forms of identification we can therefore move on to a typology of forms of co-existence of identities. If one visualises the categories of criteria by the dimensions of a graph, say by taking religious identifications as values along the y-axis and ethnic identifications as values along the x-axis, one will find some fields defined by given x and y values more populated than others. There are Christian Arabs and Muslim Arabs, but Buddhism rarely combines with an Arab identity, and so on.

Some ideologies postulate complete inclusion of identities defined by criteria belonging to one dimension into identities defined by criteria belonging to another dimension. Religious homogeneity can be postulated for ethnic or linguistic groups. Many Poles believe that to be a proper Pole one needs to be Catholic.² More typically, however, identities defined by criteria belonging to different dimensions cross-cut each other, as we can see with Christian and Muslim Arabs, Arab and non-Arab Christians etc. Even identities, which are depicted by their bearers as belonging to the same general category, can be found to crosscut each other.

Ethnic and clan identity both tend to be stated in a descent idiom. Nevertheless, the same clans have been found in different ethnic groups in a number of cases. Crosscutting identities have been primarily seen as binding forces: as crosscutting *ties*.³ More recently they have been shown to be used in identity games of all sorts. In conflicts they have been found to have de-escalating effects in some cases and escalating ones in other cases, depending on factors, which require further exploration.

The many ways in which social identities can change historically or situationally should not mislead us into believing that identity is an easy game to play. There are factors which limit the possibility of changing identities at will for utilitarian or other reasons.

One such limitation is the requirement of plausibility. Identity claims need to make sense in terms of what people expect. Although “invention” has become extremely fashionable for titles of books on a wide variety of social science matters in recent decades, we insist that identities are not freely invented but social constructs. And like material constructions, i.e. buildings, the source of the metaphor, social constructs also tend to be made of local materials. Their historical justifications are in most cases not just faked but selective appropriations and positional interpretations of *real* events. They also require stability and consistency. Claims need to be consistent with earlier claims, ascriptions with earlier ascriptions. The

² Hann 1996, 1998

³ Gluckman 1966

past crystallises into social structures with limited flexibility, which leaves an equally restricted room for agency.

There are also material forces at work: 'nation'-states impose their language ("a language is a dialect with an army") and their origin myths on those whom they claim as citizens. One's own potential to manipulate one's identity might be limited by ascriptions backed by powerful institutions.

All this should be kept in mind when we discuss below the myriad ways in which identities change. Structural constraints would otherwise be underemphasised.

2. Regional Aspects

The research projects implemented within the "Integration and Conflict" programme are distributed over a large area of the surface of the globe: specifically within the northwestern quarter of the Old World, comprising the northern part of sub-Saharan Africa and western Eurasia (Fig.1).

These projects are not scattered randomly across this wide area but are found in certain zones, thus forming regional clusters.

The first of these zones is the Sudanic belt, which stretches through the mostly semi-arid interior parts of Africa from the Niger to the Nile. The second zone is North-East Africa from Egypt to the Horn. Culturally, ecologically and linguistically, the Horn comprises the northern half of Kenya. The area along the Blue Nile, where some of the Institute's activities take place, forms a link between these two zones not only geographically, by belonging both to the Sudanic zone and to North-East Africa, but also in terms of the languages and populations under study there. The third regional cluster, if one can speak of a cluster comprising just two projects, is in Turkic speaking areas of Central Asia. The final regional cluster is in Europe where three projects deal with trans-national migrants. This brings the total number of clusters to four. The following list of researchers and their study areas is grouped by these clusters.

This list includes those of researchers affiliated with the Institute on a regular basis, e.g. as holders of doctoral and postdoctoral grants, holders of academic positions, or as long-term visitors. In many projects field research assistants from the groups under study, including academics with qualifications in disciplines other than anthropology and non-academics, are of great importance. Their names are numerous to be included in this brief overview. However, in other reports and publications their contributions are duly acknowledged; and indeed, in some, they figure as co-authors.



Fig. 1: Locations of the research projects of the Department "Integration and Conflict". The numbers correspond to those in the list.

Sudanic zone

1. Andrea Behrends: Wadai (Chad)
2. Andreas Dafinger: southern Burkina Faso
3. Youssouf Diallo: Mali, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast
4. Tilo Grätz: Atakora (Benin), Mali
5. Martine Guichard: Borgou (Benin), Adamaoua (Cameroon)
6. Michaela Pelican: Grasslands (Cameroon)
7. Stephen Reyna (visiting professor): Chad
8. Günther Schlee and Al-Amin Abu-Manga (visiting professor): Blue Nile area (Sudan)

North-East Africa

9. Christiane Falge (associated project sponsored by Cusanus-Werk) Gambella (Ethiopia)
10. Dereje Feyissa: Gambella (Ethiopia)
11. Georg Haneke: southern Ethiopia
12. Bettina Mann: Egypt
13. Andrea Nicolas: Oromia (Ethiopia)
14. Günther Schlee: northern Kenya, southern Oromia (Ethiopia)
15. Tadesse Wolde Gossa (from Prof. Hann's Department): south-western Ethiopia
16. John Wood (temporary): Marsabit (Kenya)

Central Asia

17. Peter Finke: Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan
18. Meltem Sancak: Uzbekistan

Europe

19. Nina Glick Schiller: Foreigners in Germany and USA (associated project mainly externally financed)
20. Boris Nieswand: Ghanaians in Germany
21. Günther Schlee: Somali in Europe

What follows is a brief description of each of these projects by the individual researchers. The relationships between these projects and the dimensions of comparison they share as well as relationships of overlapping interests and cooperation beyond the confines of the Department will then be discussed further.

3. Themes of the Individual Projects

Sudanic zone

Refugees in Dar Masalit (Chad) – strategies of integration and dissociation

Andrea Behrends

Throughout its history, Dar Masalit (the “home of the Masalit”) has been an African frontier area. In pre-colonial times it served as a buffer zone flanked by the empires of Dar Fur to the east and Ouaddāï to the west. It then became a point of contact between French and British colonial regimes in the late 19th century and, since 1912 the international border of Chad and Sudan runs through its western part. Today post-colonial national politics influences regional processes on each side of the border resulting, among other things, in continuous trans-national movements. This flow of people as labour-migrants, traders, and in particular as refugees to and from the national border is of central concern to this project.

Conflicts between Masalit farmers and formerly nomadic Arab herders have been frequent in this region since the late 1950s. In recent years there have been armed clashes on the Sudanese side of the border. As a result of these conflicts, over twenty thousand Masalit and Arab refugees have continuously crossed the border to Chad since 1997. Many of these refugees have been received by their respective relatives in Masalit and Arab villages. But some of them, in particular those who fled from more distant areas (up to fifty and more kilometres away from the border), have settled in separated sites close to existing villages, but not among the autochthonous population. In 1998 the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) began to assist in the region, initially with an “urgency programme” entitling refugees as well as the local population to receive food, soap and medical goods. By mid 2000 the UNCHR switched over to an “integration programme”, which does not include the distribution of goods, but encourages instead the formation of farming cooperatives in order to make permanent settlement in the region an attractive option for the newcomers.

This project takes a threefold approach with the aim of defining integration/dissociation strategies and changes in identity patterns of different groups along the lines of ethnic and/or national identities: First, it investigates perceptions of self and other in the relations between the autochthonous Masalit and Arab settlers. Secondly, it observes different strategies of integration and dissociation applied by refugees, both Arabs and Masalit, from Sudan to Chad. Thirdly, it analyses generational differences that cross ethnic identity and belonging. Beginning from the assumption that ethnic and national identities are constructs based on certain historical, structural and collective givens, this project proposes to review exist-

ing theoretical literature on trans-national migration and frontiers, as well as identity formation in regard to refugee situations in order to develop a theoretical contribution based on its ethnographic findings.



The Savannah landscape in southern Burkina Faso. Access to resources is negotiated between herders and farmers and encoded in the spatial order. (Photo: A. Dafinger)

Social and Spatial Orders: farmer-herdsmen relations in south-east Burkina Faso

Andreas Dafinger

Change and reproduction of cultural identities in western Africa are strongly determined by a high degree of migration and mobility that occurs in this region. The integration of migrants or the stressing of ethnic differences are the two poles that shape (and constantly reshape) ethnic attributes, social norms, and strategies. This project will analyse the causes and consequences of identity formation processes among the farming Bisa and the pastoral FulBe populations in southern Burkina Faso. Although both groups are sedentary and have been living together in the region for as long as 200 years, questions of autochthony vs. allochthony and different patterns of mobility are a main topic of interethnic discourse, and are used to maintain group differences as well as to create fields of interaction. These include economic (exchange of cattle and food), as well as social and religious relations: a restrictive, although socially quite relevant system of intermarriage, personal friendship or the rendering of religious services.

The working hypothesis is that, while institutionalised relations tend to stress differences and ethnic separation, these interactions help at the same time to construct a common identity based on locality and the shared natural environment. This notion of a common local identity is mainly expressed in individual/personal relations across ethnic groups. Thus, a major aim of the project lies in describing and analysing the normative socio-political framework that provides the background for these individual relationships and how the two fields of public and semi-private social interaction are interrelated.

A key approach in the understanding of the processes of spatial and temporal separation and integration is the analysis of the social landscape: both principles - inclusion and exclusion - are encoded in the spatial order. Certain parts of the land, such as fields or pasture grounds, would be considered permanently or temporarily off-limits for the respective other group. Other places, such as markets or watering holes, are designed to generate encounters. Another major focus of the project is to determine the rules of how "physical" space is shared and divided sequentially, i.e. in time, and geographically, i.e. in space. Questions of cognitive representations of the environment, as well as differing concepts of land-rights and access to and control of resources are analysed in detail.

A second focus of research involves the comparison of a group's internal social and political organisation. Strategies of alliance making and networking differ greatly between the two groups and determine their mutual relations. Marriage preferences, for example, play an important role in reaffirming claims of autochthony among the farming Bisa on the one hand, while they keep up the ideal of a nomadic people among the FulBe on the other. Among the Bisa, clan-exogamy, together with the preference for marrying into neighbouring groups creates a stable regional network that ties its members to the land. The preference for lineage endogamy among the FulBe, ensures a lineage's autonomy and allows them to maintain major kinship-relations even in a situation of migration.

A third major topic of the project is concerned with the transition of these local inter-group relations within the modern nation state, its administrative institutions, and global connections. In the course of the ongoing land rights reform in Burkina Faso, e.g. local notions of land-ownership (including the rights to control and access resources) become formally legalised. This aggravates local struggles for political power and, at the same time, may represent a serious challenge to the democratisation processes as traditional chieftaincies regain importance in the national political landscape.

Pastoralism, Migration and Identity: the FulBe in Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire

Youssouf Diallo

The tendency of people to continuously move for ritual, economic and political reasons is one of the most enduring characteristics of the history of the West African savannah. This project contributes to the study of the conditions and forms of the southward pastoral migration of FulBe to the sub-humid zones of Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire. Two central topics, which this study investigates, are the nature of farmer-pastoralist interactions and the role of the state in these relations.

In the past, pastoral expansion led to the cultural assimilation of non-FulBe populations and their incorporation into FulBe state formations. But the migration of FulBe pastoralists and their specific adjustment to new contexts also resulted in a partial or total assimilation for some of them into village communities and earlier state organisations (Diallo 1997). Some FulBe shifted from cattle husbandry to agriculture and changed their ethnic identification after having adopted the culture, language and traditions of their hosts, while others mixed with local populations through intermarriage and gave rise to new "ethnic groups". As a mobile group, the FulBe have always had to adjust themselves to local conditions. Their southward migration, as a relatively recent phenomenon resulting in occupation of niches in "new" pastoral spaces, will be considered from this perspective.

In this new ecological context the FulBe pastoralists do not live in isolation from sedentary farmers with whom they have various institutional arrangements. Their gradual migration into the sub-humid regions and the subsequent spread of pastoral activities in these zones give them opportunities to develop cooperation with local farmers (Senufo, Komono, Lobi, etc.) who are more or less inclined to diversify their economy. Today, in the area of study, the practice of farmers entrusting their livestock to FulBe is common. The Bobo-Bwa or the Komono of Burkina and the Senufo of northern Côte d'Ivoire, who promoted the emergence of multi-ethnic settings, encourage FulBe herders, among other socio-professional groups (blacksmiths, weavers, traders, etc.), to settle among them. The Master of the Earth and host-stranger relations represent two key socio-cultural institutions by which most of the FulBe migrants are integrated in village communities.

In addition to peaceful coexistence and cooperation, the relations between FulBe pastoralists and farmers are sometimes characterised by tensions and violent interethnic conflicts. Crop damage and natural resource competition are the main reasons for conflict between the two groups of producers. Recent studies on farmer-herder relations provide ample evidence of such hostilities.

The southward migration of FulBe has a political dimension and generates a number of social problems. The FulBe presence in the north of Côte d'Ivoire, for example, is a matter of political interest and of controversy. During the decades from 1970 and 1990, the Ivorian state launched a number of livestock projects to increase national livestock production and to reduce the country's dependence on external markets. FulBe immigrants from the neighbouring countries (Burkina Faso, Mali) were offered pastoralist infrastructures, such as free veterinary care, and were encouraged to settle in special grazing areas in northern Côte d'Ivoire. Such outside intervention to promote pastoral production later heightened tensions between pastoralists and local farmers who considered the state intervention as favouritism towards FulBe strangers. The impact of national policy on both pastoral mobility and farmer-herder relations will be considered in light of these aspects.

Gold Mining, Migration, and Risk Management: problems of emergent multi-ethnic communities in West Africa

Tilo Grätz

This project addresses the social and cultural context of non-industrial gold mining in areas of immigration in contemporary West Africa. Two case studies, in Benin and Burkina Faso, have been formulated to make this analysis.

In recent years gold-digging activities have increased all over West Africa. The discovery of new (and often illegal) sites and the reopening of known, abandoned reserves of gold exploitation has led to new waves of labour migration, especially in the dry season. The migrants seek an additional income, and many of them are quite attracted by the sudden wealth of some gold-diggers. A variety of multi-ethnic communities have emerged, and in a short period of time small camps and villages have developed into bigger settlements. The gold rush attracts traders, bar owners, prostitutes as well as priests and healers to offer their services. Prices increase but newly offered goods expand the local market, creating new consumption opportunities.

The project deals with issues of interethnic relations and multiple hierarchical relations as well as conflicts related to the exploitation of gold reserves.

There are a variety of conflicts between immigrants and local settlers who are not always able to defend exclusive rights of exploitation. The domination of a certain group in a certain region is due to a specific local political arrangement, historicising constructions of autochthony and the intervention of the state. Generally, the state of both countries, tries to end illegal gold mining and gold smuggling. After recognising, however, that deploying army or police forces was too costly and did not end

these activities, new policies were implemented, including partial legalisation and supervision of private activities. Gold mining and gold-trade today is part of an international system of economic exchange, dependent on changes on the world market and the activities of numerous intermediary gold traders. The project mainly addresses two aspects of this globalisation: the interethnic relations in these mining communities and the handling of risk by the migrants. 'Risk', in this context, refers to poverty and the probability of serious health damage and accidents. The management of these risks features very different strategies, including religious activities (prayers, charms, blessings) as well as particular modes of social organisation and solidarity.



Young gold miners working in mountain shaft, some 30m beneath the surface. The miners work in small teams under difficult conditions (near Kwatena, northern Benin). (Photo: Tilo Grätz)

Finally, there are striking differences between different groups of miners that are due not only to different levels of experience and technical expertise but also to their degree of social cohesion. Thus, the emergence of a particular moral economy of (non-industrial) gold mining and its interethnic variations will be an important aspect of this research project.

Ethnicity and Integration: the FulBe of northern Benin and northern Cameroon and their neighbours

Martine Guichard

Ethnicity is often associated with conflicts. At the same time, it may become the basis for living together peacefully. The FulBe of northern Benin and their peasant neighbours, the Bariba, provide a good illustration of this point. Both groups communicate in many settings by accentuating cultural differences. This practice reveals the importance attributed to mutual exteriority and to ethnic boundaries in their interactions. Ethnic boundaries between these two groups are quite rigid and rarely crosscut. This relative impermeability is frequently corroborated by actors on purported grounds of very limited relations of exchange. But, in fact, this view is not confirmed by observation. Exchanges are numerous and organised in such a way that they contribute to the solidification of the precarious position of the FulBe by weakening the negative effects of their strong tendency towards the pursuit of “exit options”.

One focus of the current project will be on the stabilising or integrative dimension of ethnicity. Material already collected in northern Benin will be compared with data found in the ethnographic literature dealing with various groups that place great emphasis on otherness when interacting.

A second focus will be on issues of identity dynamics among the FulBe, especially in northern Benin and northern Cameroon. In the latter region, two FulBe populations that have developed different local forms of collective identity can be found. These are the so-called “settled Fulani”, or Huya; and members of a section of the FulBe which, in the literature, are reported to be a very mobile cattle-keeping group, and which is referred to as the Mbororo.



Kind of hut mostly built by the Mbororo for temporary habitation (Bindiba, northern Cameroon).

(Photo: M. Guichard)

In each of these groups “trans-FulBeisation” processes have been recorded, such as the assimilation of members of one FulBe sub-ethnic group into another FulBe subgroup. These processes occur simultaneously to processes of FulBeisation, the incorporation of non-FulBe into a FulBe subgroup, normally the Huya. Trans-FulBeisation processes affecting the Mbororo have increased in the course of last few years. Many of them are now engaged in adjusting their sub-ethnicity to the one displayed by the Huya, who occupied a hegemonic position in the past and who have a

reputation for the great porosity of their boundaries. Their sub-ethnicity has indeed a highly incorporative character, particularly with regard to non-FulBe. Significant numbers of these populations have been absorbed into the Huya category or are involved in a process of ethnic transition. Such changes in identity are said to be easy. Nevertheless, it takes two or three generations before total assimilation will be accomplished. Theoretically speaking, this is also valid for the Mbororo. Their "FulBeness" does not function as a prerequisite to a more rapid, complete and permanent transcending of the boundaries that separate them from the Huya. In practice, even those who began to adopt elements of the Huya sub-ethnicity about eight decades ago do not seem to be on the path ending up as Huya. Thus, there is no noticeable decline in the salience of the Mbororo category.

Several key factors appear to explain this situation. Some have been examined in previous research in which the present study is rooted. The range of criteria that play an important role in the persistence versus the attenuation of differentiations between Huya and Mbororo will be analysed further. They will be discussed in a wider perspective and with respect to their relevance to other locations. In this context, careful attention will be paid to variables such as politics, economy and religion (Islam).

A third focus of this project will be on complementary arrangements that exist between the FulBe of northern Benin and northern Cameroon and their neighbours. These arrangements are of great interest because they entail integrative aspects. This is also true for contrasting cognitive representations that involve a 'we/they' divide defined in ethnic terms (e.g. perceptions of space and magical and religious conceptions). These representations, too, have a pacifying potential. They tend to mitigate interethnic conflicts and inhibit the outbreak of violence. In this respect, they have similar functions in interethnic joking relationships and friendships. On many occasions the importance of friendship ties between FulBe and non-FulBe is minimised by the actors. Obviously, both groups privilege narratives according to which such ties are either non-existent or predatory and therefore undesirable. Interethnic friendships, however, are widespread and involve many exchanges. These exchanges, as well as the relationships in the name of which they occur, are often kept hidden from public view and knowledge. Their veiled dimension makes it difficult for outsiders, including anthropologists, to evaluate what occurs in interethnic friendships or to understand what kind of support they may give. This partly explains why most of the researchers studying the FulBe and their neighbours have failed for a long time to recognise the significance of these friendships. Another reason is that friendship has received little attention in anthropology. In this discipline non-Western societies are believed to be 'based' on kinship and to have limited space for friendship. This view will be critically assessed in the last part of this project.

Ethnic Conflict and Integration: the Mbororo and their neighbouring communities in north-western Cameroon

Michaela Pelican

The Mbororo in Northwest Cameroon belong to the pastoral FulBe. They moved into and started settling the area under research in the early 20th century. Today they form a part of the cultural heritage of the North West Province and are officially recognised by the Cameroonian government, as well as by the majority of the Grassfields population.

In view of the ethnic, historical, political and socio-economic variety and complexity of the area, two research sites, namely Misaje and Bali-Nyonga, were chosen. The villages belong to the chiefdoms of the Nchaney and Chamba respectively and the majority of the population are small-scale farmers. The Mbororo communities situated in the vicinity of these villages belong to two different subgroups, the Aku and the Jafun. They differ considerably in their migration backgrounds and agro-pastoral practices. In both research areas the Hausa, a heterogeneous group of people comprising all Muslim migrants from Nigeria (except for the Mbororo), as well as local converts to Islam, form part of the ethnic setting.



The cattle market is an important forum for economic interaction and interethnic relations. Various actors of different ethnic and professional background are involved in these transactions. (Photo: M. Pelican)

The interplay of integration and conflict – the main theme of our programme – actually characterises interethnic relations in the research area. Since their arrival in the Grassfields, the relationship between the Mbororo and the neighbouring communities has been both advantageous and problematic. The competition over limited natural resources, influenced by historical, political, economic and demographic factors, as well as social, cultural and religious differences, has led to a system of mutual complementarity and, at the same time, to serious land disputes and various forms of inequality. In spite of the mediating efforts by the colonial and post-colonial governments, numerous conflicts remain unresolved and appear to have worsened in the national context of economic depression and the democratisation processes that started in the 1990s.

Interethnic interaction and communication – one of the main foci of this project – have to be analysed on two levels. First, public interaction and communication between Mbororo and members of neighbouring communities, including government officials, tend to follow a fixed model based on cultural and ethnic stereotypes. Be it a meeting called by the government authorities concerning cattle theft, the working relationship between employees of an ethnically heterogeneous NGO or the participation in a naming ceremony, each participant acts according to common patterns that do not foster mutual understanding, but rather reinforce differences and misconceptions. As long as these incidences of public interaction and communication deal with peaceful aspects of the cohabitation of the various ethnic groups, actors feel comfortable with their roles. But whenever problematic aspects such as farmer-grazer conflicts are concerned, arguments become circular and end in mutual accusations and in the deterioration of the precarious relationship.

Secondly, on a less formal level, interaction and communication between individual members of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds are much more relaxed and often accompanied by friendship. Actors make use of their multiple identities and crosscutting ties, refer to shared experiences (e.g. in school), stress religious links and converse in languages common to all of them. Cultural stereotypes are joked about and ridiculed and patterns of behaviour are even borrowed from other ethnic groups. A Hausa woman may tease her Mbororo neighbour who is married to a Hausa man because she is producing *gari* (maniok polenta) for sale, and has thereby become a '*kaado*' (Non-Mbororo). Young Mbororo husbands can be seen going to the nightclub with their native or Hausa girlfriends while their wives and children stay behind in their compounds in the bush.

Interethnic relations, like social relations in general, are based on contacts between individuals whose actions are shaped by their personal experiences as well as their social, cultural, religious, political and economic backgrounds. This research project focuses on gender and age-specific aspects of interaction and communication structures and on the

respective strategies used by the Mbororo and their neighbours. Some of the working questions arising from the field are:

- How do perceptions and conceptions of violent and non-violent behaviour differ in relation to inter- and intra-ethnic relations and how do individuals deal with them?
- Under which circumstances do interethnic friendships develop?
- How do conceptions of ethnicity and marriage affect interethnic partnerships?
- Which factors contribute to frequent religious conversion?

The methods used include participant observation, interviews, network analysis, archival and library research, as well as interactive approaches (e.g. social drama).

Power and the Regions in Chad

Stephen R. Reyna

This project formulates and applies theory pertinent to organised violence. There are three parts to the project. The first part constructs micro-level theory of the operation of structures within the individual that determine action. Such theory is concerned with neurohermeneutics. The second part of the project constructs macro-level theory of structures external to the individual that are based upon the coordination of action into practices and institutions. Such theory is concerned with force and power. The third part of the project utilises this theory to explain organised violence between approximately A.D. 1400 and the present. Emphasis is upon the increasing global nature of this violence. Specifically, the theory is applied to analyse power in Chad. Here a Muslim north has warred with a non-Muslim south for thirty years. At first glance this Thirty Year War appears to be one caused by religious animosities between different ethnic groups. More complete investigation places the war within the context of global political and economic struggles between advanced capitalist states and their opponents during the Cold War.

Ethnicity and Migration along the Blue Nile (Sudan)

Günther Schlee and Al-Amin Abu-Manga (visiting professor)

The Sudanese stretch of the Blue Nile valley is an area of immigration. Its southern half is suitable for rain fed agriculture, which is often combined with irrigated gardens along the riverbank. To the north rainfall decreases and the importance of irrigation grows. The largest irrigated farm on earth, the Gezira Scheme, extends from here all the way to the White Nile. There are other large schemes of gravity irrigation and many small

pump schemes. The Sudan has undergone a recent economic decline due to:

- the war in the South
- kleptocratic misadministration by a self-styled “Islamic” regime (some observers attach hope to recent changes), and
- international isolation (now relaxed since oil has been found).

Before this recent decline the core area of the Sudan, comprising the Blue Nile, was believed to have the potential to become the breadbasket of the whole Arab World.

Until the 1970s when airplanes took over from lorries, donkeys, and the walking stick, the area was on the overland route from West Africa to Mecca. Numerous pilgrims stayed here when they ran out of money on the way to the holy sites or settled along the Blue Nile on their way back from the *hajj*. Others did not come on a *hajj* but on a *hijra*, a religiously motivated flight modelled on the escape of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina. Large parts of the nobility of 19th century West African jihadist states such as that of Hajj ‘Umar Tall between the Senegal and the Niger and the Hausa-Fulani states of what was to become Northern Nigeria and northern Cameroon ended up here, withdrawing from the advance of French and British colonialism.



*Interviewing
Mbororo-FulBe
in the Blue Nile area.
(Photo: H. Schlee)*

In this area today, one finds largely ethnically segregated hamlets and neighbourhoods of Kanuri speakers from Borno and Kanem on Lake Chad and of Hausa or Fulfulde speakers. One also finds mixed Hausa and Fulfulde speaking settlements. Tendencies to cluster along “tribal” lines can also be observed among the Arabs, many of whom came as traders from the north. Other immigrants to the area came as pastoral nomads, some to settle, others to continue their nomadic ways. Until as late as the 1950s there was an influx of Mbororo: cattle keeping FulBe nomads who are quite different from the urban FulBe or Fulani, as they are called in Nigeria. Arabs also moved as nomads into the region: cattle-keeping Kernaana and camel-keeping Rufa’a.

The area provides an ideal setting for the study of ethnicity. According to Fredrik Barth, ethnic identities are articulated at the boundaries to other such identities. With nearly everyone in this area being an immigrant or a descendant of immigrants, one finds many local representations of wide-spread ethnic groups in new regional arrangements and combinations: new boundary situations which, according to the currently most accepted theory of ethnicity (Barth 1969) should lead to new formulations of ethnicity. To study these processes, field research is carried out by Schlee in depth in a Kenaana Arab, a "Bornu" (Kanuri), and a Ja'ali Arab neighbourhood in Barankawa village near Abu Na'ama, using participant observation, microcensus, the genealogical method, and the collection of oral traditions. The scattered Oromo migrants in and around Abu Na'ama and the seasonally present Mbororo are also studied. On a larger scale, in an area stretching from Sennar to close to Damazin in the south, in cooperation with Abu-Manga, oral traditions and settlement histories are collected.

North-East Africa

Religious Identity and Conversion among Nuer in Ethiopia and the USA

Christiane Falge

The research project deals with the process of modernisation through conversion. Nuer Christianity is characterised by indigenisation in terms of an emerging local church. This is reflected in a high level of self-ordination, revivalist movements and the nearly complete absence of white missionaries. By appropriating Christianity a new cultural space has been created which has become a catalyst for social change. In fact, contemporary Nuer seem to be impatiently trying to catch up with modernity at a heightened pace. The major catalyst for this is Christianity, which is acquired and promoted by young educated leaders of a society, which traditionally lacked formal institutions of power and leadership. This study will describe the path of the Nuer towards vernacular modernity by focusing on local conversion from 'traditional belief' to Christianity.

As a result of a UN resettlement programme, which gives refugees 'entry tickets' to the Western world, many Nuer have managed to enter the USA where they form one of the newest groups of immigrants with a time depth of barely ten years. Some of the American Nuer who left Ethiopia in the late 80s have, since 1997, started visiting their home-areas. Many come to marry, but some are also coming in order to establish churches, which have accelerated what Sharon Hutchinson (forthcoming) calls 'segmentary Christianity'. Nuer on the Ethiopian side are

now confronted with 12 different religious denominations that seem to enforce clan-cleavages. The Nuer experience of Christianity is characterised by localisation and indifference towards outsiders. Recently, Nuer in the Sudan, Ethiopia and Australia have established a cultural revivalist movement. This movement's theology associates the late Nuer prophet Ngundeng with prophets of the world religions and started forming a 'Church'. By referring to Ngundeng as the only real God for the Nuer, the movement is criticising an imposed Christianity as manifested in a white God and 'imported' denominations from America. There seems to be a general anxiety toward cultural assimilation into outside groups.

All Nuer converts are seriously involved in a discussion over the application of Christianity. While some denominations are ultra-modernist, others try to integrate tradition, the culmination of which is the Ngundeng church. By looking at inter-generational differences this study will seek to understand the elders' place as the beneficiaries of tradition in a religious space that values modernity.

Nuer have developed multiple major identities between which switching is common: Sudanese Nuer (1 Million), Ethiopian Nuer (ca. 42,000), refugees in Ethiopia (ca. 20,000) or US American Nuer (ca. 9000). At the same time they are divided into different subgroups, with their own distinctive political, cultural and religious traits. A multi-sited ethnography is employed to analyse the dynamic interplay between Nuer subgroups and their sub-divisional as well as trans-national ties. Key questions are which identity is mobilised where and whether religious identity is a unifier among these subgroups or whether it further divides society. Hence, by focussing on the emergence of new religious identities in the Sudan, Ethiopia and the United States, the project will contribute to understanding the process of Nuer modernisation.

Ethnic Conflict and Integration: the case of Gambella, western Ethiopia

Dereje Feyissa

According to official classification, more than 80 socio-linguistic groups of various sizes live in Ethiopia. The relationships among these groups include histories of conflict, accommodation and integration. By the 1980s ethnic tension had led to the proliferation of ethnic liberation movements opposed to the rigidly centralised and militarist state. With the seizure of power by the ruling EPRDF (Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front), itself an ethnic coalition, in 1991 the Ethiopian state has been radically reorganised, going from a unitary to an ethnic federal structure. Gambella National Regional state is one of the nine ethnic states in the new federal arrangement. The new political establishment has intensely

affected inter-group relations, redressing old imbalances while creating new ones.



Kong Dieu: From Makot to Addis Ababa. Kong is the leader of the Nuer community who came from southern Sudan and settled in Mokot, Itang district, Gambella region in 1983. In 1998 their settlement became subject of public debate when they asked for a political recognition. This fuelled a conflict between Anywaa and Nuer in Itang district. Subsequently attempts were made to deport the Nuer settlers. Kong then went to Addis Ababa (the national parliament) to appeal for citizenship rights where he stayed for a year. This is a picture of Kong in Addis Ababa, March 2001, showing despair and impatience. (Photo: D. Feyissa)

Gambella is located in western Ethiopia along the Sudanese border. There are five ethnic groups living in Gambella. These are the Nuer (the majority of whom live in the Sudan, for numbers see above: Christiane Falge), Anywaa, Majanger, Komo and Oppo. There is also a sizeable settler community from the neighbouring highlands who do not form an ethnic group in their own perception but are seen as separate "racial" and cultural group by the five Nilotic groups.

The research examines modes of interaction among those groups living in the study area who form distinct social entities (not only linguistically and culturally, but also in terms of livelihood strategies), analyse factors and processes which generate ethnic conflict, and explore possibilities for peaceful coexistence. This will be particularly examined in terms of the resource equation, opportunity structure, modes of political participation and the impact of the civil war in southern Sudan.

More specific questions include: How do the various ethnic groups interact in access to resources? How do they manage internal variations to compete as groups? Who defines the "rules of the game", and what do

the alignment of forces look like? How do individuals manage their multiple identities and cross-cutting alliances? What is the nature of the inter-group boundaries and how are they maintained? What is the role of history in shaping inter-group relations? How do the modes of imagining local identities function, and who are the opinion makers, particularly in the situation of the diaspora?

The study also looks at the inter-play between state and society and examines the role of the state in interethnic conflicts as the main mediator and dispenser of resources. This entails an in-depth analysis of the current experiment in ethnic federalism in Ethiopia. The fact will be emphasised, that Gambella region is a sort of experimental ground for a "mini-ethnic-state" in the new federal structure. How does it work? In this regard, the study will examine the new political edifice and the gap between the ideal and the actual and how it is affecting the local opportunity structure in terms of winners and losers.

The current debate on identity will be studied along various axes such as gender, age and regional/local variables. How do people experience being members of a certain group? Finally, the study aims at shedding some light on the demanding question of promotion of social justice. Of particular interest will be the nature and mode of economic interaction among the various groups. The prospect of integration will also be sought in the political sphere, especially in terms of the relevance and consequence of ethnicity as a predominant mode of political mobilisation vis-à-vis the current experiment of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia.

The main method of research will be progressive contextualisation. In order to paint a dynamic picture of the problem, interethnic relations will be located both at the micro/local and macro/national and international arenas. This includes analysis of historical encounters among the groups under question; the resource equation and the local opportunity structure, and the political economy of power at the national level as well as the civil war in the neighbouring southern Sudan.

Identities in Ethiopia and the Struggle for the Nation State

Georg Haneke

The Horn of Africa has been destabilised by the recent conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia and by the many internal conflicts in countries such as Somalia or Ethiopia. Beside the war against Eritrea, another reason for the difficult situation in Ethiopia is the fact that the country is ruled by the Tigrean minority with consequences for all parts of the society, including repression, monopolisation tendencies on all levels and obstruction of access to financial and political power resources for most people in Ethiopia.

The project area was the Kenyan-Ethiopian Highway in southern Ethiopia. Such a road not only divides a country and its ethnic groups but also connects the centre, the cities and the periphery. This particular road is used as a communication line bringing central state decisions and developments to far away parts of the country but also as a trade and smuggling route connecting the hinterland of Somalia to the south-eastern regions of Ethiopia. An advantage of using a road as a unit of observation is that it allows the exploration of different ways of life: the crowded capital Addis Ababa as the trade and power centre of the country, from agricultural areas and rural towns to the nomadic societies of cattle and camel herders in the south, from western consumer attitudes to traditional ways of life. Besides being the lifeline of the south, the road is used for military purposes, namely to control the area and, depending on the political circumstances, as a route for refugees.

Although Ethiopia has dozens of different 'tribes' and languages, the vast majority belong to just four main groups: the Tigre (ca. 5% of the whole population), the Amhara (ca. 15%), the Somali (ca. 15%) and the Oromo (ca. 40-50%). Other than the Somali, who are struggling for a degree of autonomy approaching independence in the Ogaden, all other ethnic groups claim Addis Ababa as their capital. The Amhara, as the former rulers and the elite of the country, claim the political power with pan-Ethiopian ideals. Many of them mistrust both the Tigre and the Oromo, and are convinced that the Amhara are the only people who are able to rule the country in the long run, as they did under the emperors. The Tigre have ruled the country since the fall of the communist regime of Mengistu (1991). They confiscated most of the weapons of the army and started controlling the rest of the country. Today, in many parts of Ethiopia they are seen as occupiers because a coalition government of different liberation fronts failed soon after the fall of the Mengistu regime. Since taking over the government in Addis Ababa, the Tigreans have started to monopolise power in every sense. Media and all levels of administration were made to toe the line, circles close to the government monopolised the economy, the absence of human rights, repression and a permanent control by the secret service became conspicuous. The largest population are the Oromo. Although the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), the military and political arm of the Oromo opposition movement, claim their own nation state, the struggle is not as strong or as successful as some of the leaders, especially those in exile, expected. The reasons for this are different levels of identity among the Oromo.

The Oromo do not seem to be as homogenous as some of the other peoples of Ethiopia might be. Although, according to many of my informants, some main criteria, such as a common language, a common history, a common system of social structure, a common consciousness of belonging to a discriminated group or common demarcations to others can be pointed out, a strong common Oromo identity does not seem to

exist. Identity markers are far stronger on micro levels such as on the family or sub-clan based daily life practices. For most people it is more important to get support from their brothers and sisters of their own family or other small units than to have a political idea of a 'Free Oromia'. On a meso-level, clans and sub-ethnicities are the most important base for any identity. The feeling of belonging to such a unit is much stronger than an uncertain belonging to the Oromo people. On the meso-level, life together with other ethnicities is organised and implies processes of negotiation, to gain access to resources for example. One proof that sub-ethnicity based identities are more important than the idea of being Oromo is the number of clashes between the former.

It is obvious that identity is multidimensional. In the case of Ethiopia the struggle for the nation state will continue in different but complicated ways, especially against a background where identities can shift easily, not only from smaller to larger units but also between other demarcations such as profession, religion, education, social status etc. The research will discuss and compare some different theoretical concepts of identity, ethnicity, nation and nationalism that can be observed in the context of struggling for the nation state in Ethiopia.

Food, Consumption and Social Identity in Urban Egypt (Cairo)

Bettina Mann

Cross-cultural studies show that food consumption is not only highly structured by culture but is also an expression of cultural and social boundaries. The consumption of food not only shapes individual identity – in terms of physical and symbolic self-formation – but sharing and incorporating food also implies the incorporation of the individual subject into a culinary system and a social group. Food and dietary rules reflect and symbolise social relations and can be a powerful means of inclusion in or exclusion from social groups. Gender, class, religion and nation are dimensions shaping the culinary field.

The project deals mainly with the food culture of middle-class families, based on fieldwork in different quarters of Greater Cairo. In the last decades, Egypt has undergone drastic political and economic change. The economic restructuring initiated by the Open-Door policy (*infatih*) was characterised by a shift from a centrally planned, highly subsidised welfare economy to a free market economy. This transformation implied not only an increasing



Goods on display. A supermarket in Cairo.

(Photo: B. Mann)

presence of commodities of the world market, but also remarkable changes in the Egyptian social topography. New standards of consumption are an expression of an altered lifestyle and increased market power. It is important to stress that whereas for the majority of the Egyptian people access to food becomes increasingly difficult, the new consumption possibilities - offered by market institutions and transmitted through media- provide parts of the middle-class with new options for their lifestyles and identity formation. Empirical results indicate that middle-class lifestyles are marked by an ongoing attempt at demarcation towards the lower strata of society, in the sense of creating distance from the poor 'Other'. However, one can hardly speak of one homogeneous middle class lifestyle. Rather, food consumption is a social arena in which competing identities are expressed and negotiated.

A second focus of the project is upon processes of building a national cuisine. National and international migration, tourism, an increasing market for culinary literature as well as a differentiated gastronomy are factors contributing to a nationally oriented landscape of culinary differences. The study tries to investigate (re) presentations of the Egyptian national cuisine using cookbooks, journals, newspapers, and observations in different branches of gastronomy.

Mediation on Demand: the institution of elders in Ada'a (central Ethiopia)

Andrea Nicolas

Under the misleading assumption that the geographical centre of a state would always dominate local culture, central Ethiopia has long been exempt from intensive anthropological research. Yet in this location, interesting non-state cultural phenomena can be observed. This includes the institution of mediation and settlement by Oromo and Amhara elders.

Special procedures and rituals can produce a reconciliation of conflicting parties, most of them families, who clash over insults, brawls, disputes about property, bride-abductions, or killings.



Four elders are waiting outside a father's compound, who's daughter was abducted for marriage by a young man. The elders try to reconcile the girl's family.
(Photo: A. Nicolas)

The prescriptive procedures differ in each of these cases and are adjusted according to the gravity and possible consequences of the particular case. The particular interest of this project is to document such regulations or models of acting and to show how and why elders apply them. In their form and language, the rituals and courses of action already contain the potential to appease. They are not as arbitrary as they might appear at a first glance. In serious cases of quarrel and bloodshed for instance, particular time intervals have to be maintained in the course of the continuing mediation activities by elders, thus leaving time for the quarrelling parties to calm down. Also, the procedure stipulates that not the perpetrator's side, but a third party – the group of elders – contact the injured's family and enter into negotiations with its representatives. This reduces the likelihood of acts of revenge and of immediate face-to-face confrontation of persons directly involved in the conflict. Certain formal speeches, promises and confessions of guilt by the perpetrating side's elders may induce the other side to yield to the request for reconciliation. A whole spectrum of communicative strategies is used in order to restore peace, since, despite their respected role in society, success of the elders' endeavours cannot be taken for granted. The aim of mediation is not primarily to punish guilty persons but to reconcile the aggrieved families or groups. In serious cases that have led to ostracism, this would mean the reintegration of the perpetrator and his relatives into local society.

This research project about the institution of elders in Ada'a involves a one-year phase of fieldwork in Ethiopia. In addition to the analysis of the already quite extensive interview material, a collection of case studies and their photographic or video documentation during participant observation in the course of the year will serve as the ethnographic base for a comprehensive study of processes and procedures of mediation.

In spite of its regional focus, the project provides theoretical and comparative perspectives for social anthropology. Not only are elders a fundamental part of local social organisation, but there is also evidence in Ada'a that members of the Oromo and Amhara ethnic groups have developed a common institution of elders that crosses ethnic borders. This is noteworthy, since in the discourse of ethnic identity politics these group borders are often conceived of as rigid and essential. Historical processes in Ada'a and the wider area of Shewa, however, have led to the emergence not only of shared institutions for both ethnic groups, but also to a composite system of laws applicable to their members. It seems worthwhile therefore, to explore how in the course of time, apparent "enemy groups" are capable of constructing institutions such as the elders' mediation that serve the explicit aim of integration and conflict settlement.

Islam and Ethnicity in Northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia

Günther Schlee

In the Horn of Africa politico-military units, i.e. those who fight together against other units of this kind, tend to speak the same language. This is a combination of features which is often referred to as 'ethnic': groups which act together and are linguistically distinct may be called 'ethnic' groups. In colonial times they were perceived as "tribes" by the colonials. These 'ethnic' or 'tribal' units show a degree of fluidity. One of the factors which shape present day ethnic identities, Oromoisation, i.e. the adoption of Oromo speech and the adjustment to Boran-Oromo political patterns, might not predate the sixteenth century as far as the area which now is northern Kenya is concerned. Another factor, Islamisation, has had high tides and ebbs over the centuries which continue presently. Both play a role in ethnogenesis and are used as distinctive features on the ethnic level: the most conspicuous difference between the Gabra and the Rendille is that the former speak Oromo and the latter do not, the most salient feature which distinguishes the speakers of other Somali and Somali-like dialects from the Rendille is that they are Muslims and the Rendille typically are not. Patrilineal clanship is a more conservative principle and ethnic groups, being of relatively recent origin, can in many cases be shown to be composed of the same old clans. Northern Kenya and southern Ethiopia are largely composed of the same ethnic groups. Interethnic relationships therefore have to be studied in this area as a whole. What Oromo and Somali do to each other in Ethiopia affects their relationship within Kenya, not to mention cross-border relationships.

Ethnicity has in recent years become increasingly politicised on the national level both in Ethiopia and in Kenya. In Ethiopia a constitution, which even concedes the right to secede to ethnic groups, and a regional order, based on component states that are ethnically based have been introduced since 1991. In Kenya, ethnic territoriality has evolved without any legal basis but apparently with backing from the very centre of power, through expulsions and massacres. This has exacerbated ethnic conflict because more than ever before is at stake in them. This leads, in combination with the spread of automatic weapons to faster escalations and higher levels of mortality than in past conflicts in this area.

The author has conducted research in this area since 1974. Much material about recent conflicts has been collected together with Abdullahi Shongolo. The Max Planck Institute offers the opportunity to put the patterns of conflict which emerge in this mosaic of peoples into the comparative perspective of a much wider mosaic of peoples.

Interethnic Relations, Property and the State in South-West Ethiopia

Tadesse, Wolde Gossa (from Prof. Hann's Department)

This project deals with an ethnically highly diverse area of southwest Ethiopia which is characterised by a high incidence of interethnic violence, especially between pastoralist groups. Interethnic relations are complicated rather than eased by the state as an intervening factor. Interethnic relations are also based upon institutions that promote integration. These include ritual cooperation, formalised friendships and trade routes which are protected by traditional norms. These aspects of conflict, integration, and collective identities, as well as its location, link this project to other work in this Department.

Another focus of the project is property relations and its primary affiliation is with the Department II. A fuller description can be found there.

Roads to Nowhere: imagining modernity in the form of heavy equipment (the Gabra, the State, and the Multinationals)

John C. Wood

This project grows out of a long-standing interest in how the Gabra, a camel-herding people in northern Kenya, manage multiple discordant identities, and the implications of these "combined" identities for persons and the groups with which they are associated.

So far, this research has focused largely on gender, specifically on an institution in which Gabra men are said to become women. The change of course is not complete: these men who are women are still men. The combination, in fact, is key; the two identities reshape each other, producing a whole that is somehow greater than its parts.

Out of this interest in gender have grown related interests in combined ethnic identities (Gabra who are also Rendille) and combinatory "stances" in the world: Gabra who are at once tied to tradition, or *ada*, and at the same time active participants in non-Gabra institutions, such as national or regional politics and market economies.

Indeed, the question of how people make a shift in worldview from one that sees the past as template for the present to one that sees an imagined future as the appropriate template has come to the foreground. How do people make these changes? How do they juggle them together? In this project, the process of answering these questions is initiated by studying Gabra understandings of a singular event in recent history.

In the late 1980s, multinational petroleum interests explored for oil in the northern deserts of Kenya. No one seems to know whether they found any. It is all a big secret of course. But the episode, both sudden and brief, must have been like a visitation from another planet for the

Gabra. The geologists and engineers landed with huge earth-moving equipment, air-conditioned trailers, barbecue pits for steaks and hamburgers, ice-cold drinks, mirrored sunglasses, helicopters and planes, radios and telephones, and lots and lots of money. Then, over the course of several months, they set about clearing absolutely straight roads to nowhere through the desert rubble. The roads were used in making accurate seismic measurements to construct images of the deep underground. They also drilled several exploratory wells. Then, as suddenly as they arrived, they left; and, just as suddenly, the flow of money they were paying labourers dried up.

Earlier fieldwork has shown that the event lingers, as you would expect, in people's memories and imaginations. Some, lucky enough to have gotten jobs, invested their income in livestock and became relatively wealthy. Others became drunks. Most seem to have ignored the whole enterprise as best they could. A number have not known quite what to do with themselves, having touched the metallic substance of modernity and the external world. Lately, Gabra have begun to explain certain misfortunes, particularly a number of deaths by cancer, to something that the explorers did to the land or left behind in it.

It is intended, in addition to finding out as much as possible about what the oil companies say they did, to collect an assortment of Gabra narratives and other discourses about the episode and what has happened since. It will be examined what these discourses reveal about how the episode shaped or reshaped Gabra understandings of themselves, what happened to them, and their relationship with the world beyond. Following the ideas of Bakhtin, Fabian, and Taussig on dialogic memory, meaning construction, modernity, and mimesis and alterity, it will be explored how Gabra have re-contextualised this bold and extraordinary visitation, which came suddenly with little or no warning, and then vanished, but apparently not completely.

Central Asia

Ethnic Identity and Differentiation Among Turkic-Speaking Groups in Central Asia

Peter Finke

Ethnic identity and interethnic relations in former Soviet Central Asia seem something of a puzzle. Instead of expected clashes between the former colonised Turkic- and Iranian-speaking Muslims and the former Russian colonisers, conflicts have mainly arisen between different indigenous ethnic groups. Furthermore, it was not the gaining of independence, as is still the common view in the west, which gave rise to these conflicts, since most of them occurred in the last years of Soviet rule and have

eased since its breakdown. In order to understand the origins of integration and conflict in post-Soviet Central Asia this research project investigates the patterns of identity building and mutual differentiation among a number of Turkic-speaking groups.

Three topics will be considered in this project. The first concerns ethnogenetic processes and trans-ethnic connections. The coming into being of what we today refer to as the Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Uzbeks, and Uygurs is closely interwoven; although the actual processes underlying their similarities and differences are largely unclear. It is assumed that Turkic groups, once differentiated in a former period, intermingled again later. In addition, Iranian and Mongolian groups also took part in this formation processes. Early clan names of heterogeneous origin are still to be found among different Turkic groups indicating their interrelated ethnogenesis. Trans-ethnic identification and interaction among these clans have not been documented but may nevertheless exist. Other reasons for trans-ethnic identities may include affiliation to Sufi brotherhoods or former party membership.

A second topic will be contemporary patterns of interaction between the mentioned groups, all of which are Sunni Muslims. Seemingly, the main contradiction is between former pastoralists, i.e. the Kazakhs and the Kyrgyz, with a strong Mongolian influence, and the sedentary Uzbeks and Uygurs, who are closer to the Iranian world. For ecological reasons, the interaction between these two types of societies seldom had the form of "patch-work" living - as is typical in many parts of the Middle East - but rather had nomads and sedentary people being regionally separated. For this reason, interaction takes place mainly in transitional areas or because of recent migration as, for example, in the case of the Uygurs in southeastern Kazakhstan.

The third point of investigation will be that of internal integrity versus differentiation. Internal integration in pastoralist society is maintained through clan segmentation. Its meaning and dangers for the process of nation building are currently heavily disputed in both Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. Among both Uzbeks and Uygurs internal differentiation has traditionally been organised according to regional origin, i.e. Bukharaliq, Ferganaliq, Kashgarliq etc. No concept of common identity seems to have existed until the early 20th century at which time both groups were artificially created as nations from above. It would be one challenge to study to what degree this has been a successful policy, or whether regional identities still play a



A Kyrgyz yurt restaurant in front of the Soviet architectural heritage. Is it the renewed meaning of national emblems or just a decision of practicality? (Photo: P. Finke)

more important role. A second type of internal differentiation may be caused by the migration of parts of an ethnic group within Central Asia. A third type of differentiation may be encountered with subgroups not fully absorbed into the major ethnic group to this day, as seems to be the case with the Kypchak-Uzbeks, the Taranchi or the Muslim Kalmyks in Kyrgyzstan.

Intra- and Inter-Ethnic Relations in Central Asia

Meltem Sancak

The collapse of the Soviet Union, and the independence of the five Central Asian republics (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan) raised expectations of political, economic and social conflict in this region. The focus of attention has been given to possible tensions among the different ethnic groups in these new independent republics. All Central Asian States are aware of their multi-ethnic structure, therefore to imagine that each republic consists of just one ethnic group is nothing but utopian. (i.e. in 1989 the non-titular people constituted 60.1 per cent of the population in Kazakhstan, 47.6 in Kyrgyzstan).

Post-Soviet Central Asian republics are trying, in addition to economic and political transformations, to legitimise the creation of a nation-state, while at the same time governing their multi-ethnic population. With independence, members of the titular groups started to acquire a dominant and privileged status in different spheres, such as Kazakhs in Kazakhstan, Uzbeks in Uzbekistan. They are said to enjoy easier access to resources and better opportunities for upward social mobility. However, in order to understand the nature of daily interactions and conflicts in the region it is necessary to consider socio-economic, political, and historical factors. This is because conflict-generating factors, i.e. inequalities and disparities, do not necessarily follow ethnic lines.

Multi-ethnic communities are often associated with conflict. In this research project possible relationships between ethnicity and conflict will be the focus of study. The major objective will be to discover ways to compare conflict generating factors within the same, and between different, ethnic groups. Intra-ethnic variations and internal differentiations should be taken into account and analysed carefully for a better understanding of the interethnic relations and their construction.

Identity is not exclusively determined by belonging to a certain ethnic group. Locality, as well as other aspects, can be significant identity generating factors. Therefore the conditions under which identity is constructed and ethnic interaction (cooperation and conflict) takes place have to be considered carefully in order to understand the decision-making process of the individual. The research will also focus on concepts

such as ethnicity as property and how it is inherited against a background of intra- and interethnic relations.



An Uzbek guest room (mexmonxona). Large houses which can accommodate numerous guests are a central issue in Uzbek culture. In general, men and women gather separately in the presence of guests.

(Photo: M. Sancak)

Europe

Ghanaians in Germany

Boris Nieswand

Ghana has become one of the major countries of emigration from West Africa since the late 1960s. In the 1990s it was estimated that 10-20% of all Ghanaian citizens were living abroad, which would correspond to between 2 and 4 million people based on the current size of the Ghanaian population. The long-term flow of migration has strong but ambiguous effects. On the one hand especially qualified people, such as teachers, engineers, nurses and doctors have left the country, negatively influencing economic and other developments. On the other hand the remittances from, and the trade-relations with, Ghanaians abroad have become more and more important for the economic growth of Ghana and the wellbeing of many families.

The migrants and their everyday practices have a strong impact on the recent social and political situation of Ghana. New possibilities of telecommunication and fast and cheap air transport provide trans-national migrants with a global infrastructure. On the basis of these technical opportunities new economic, social and political relations are emerging between Ghanaians abroad and those in the homeland, which seems to provide a good case to study forms of an emerging trans-nationalism and the changes that are entailed by it.

Over 22,000 persons with Ghanaian passports, reside legally in Germany, which means that they form the largest group originating from Africa south of the Sahara among immigrants in this country. In Europe, Germany is second only to Great Britain in number of Ghanaians. It is an

open question, why and how so many Ghanaians came to a non-English speaking country with weak colonial ties to Ghana. In addition to the examination of trans-national connections, special interest will be paid to “local migrants’ cultures” and their central institutions such as churches, afro-shops and alumni organisations.

Within the framework of the empirical research, which is conducted in both Germany and Ghana, the concept of ‘social space’ shall be used heuristically. Social spaces can be identified at two different but reflexively connected levels. Firstly social space can be considered as the space, in which interaction takes place and which is created by interaction. In a world connected by telephones, the Internet and airplanes social spaces become increasingly incongruent with physical space. Secondly, especially within diasporic discourses place may become primarily a matter of imagination. The home village and the home country are just as much objects of imagination as is Germany or the world.

Furthermore it is assumed that the dynamics of integration and disintegration of social units and space are one of the central theoretical problems in analysing migration processes. But integration has at least two different meanings that are relevant in this framework. Firstly, integration refers to the in/out-group processes, which create social cohesion and expectations of similarity and internal solidarity. The production of we-groups on a local level as well as the maintenance of social relations over long distances will be studied in the context of Ghanaian migrants in Germany. Secondly, integration refers to a basic order of shared codes and implicit assumptions that enable interaction. Implicit rules of interaction within ‘trans-national social spaces’ shall be a focus of examination.

It is well known in the social sciences that migration has catalytic effects on identity. The relation of identity and diaspora affects the sending country as well as the receiving country. Diasporic life seems to stimulate the construction of identities. The dynamic process of identification and constructing identity discourses – linked to the homeland on the one hand and to the adopted land on the other – opens up a complex field for scientific research.

Homeland Ties and the Incorporation of Foreigners, Halle, Germany and Manchester, USA

Nina Glick Schiller

This study investigates immigrant incorporation and homeland ties in two small cities that have seen themselves as culturally and racially homogenous and that are now facing an influx of immigrants, Halle, in Sachsen-Anhalt, Germany and Manchester, in New Hampshire, USA. The particular focus of interest is the institutional nexus that the city offers to newcomers and the ways in which these institutions serve to reinforce or

reconfigure the identities of persons who were born outside the territorial borders of the country in which they are settling or whose parents came from elsewhere. In the United States such persons are generally considered 'immigrants', while in Germany they are considered 'foreigners', whether or not the individuals themselves have an intention or a desire to settle permanently in their new home, and whatever complex set of political and economic motivations have caused them to leave home. In both settings, an institutional nexus and a legal set of rights and restrictions encompass such individuals and provide the context in which settlement occurs, personal networks are reconstituted, home ties are reinforced or abrogated, and identities are reconstructed. In both settings the local institutional nexus may connect newcomers not only to their new location of settlement but also to representatives of the state they left behind or to religious, political, cultural or economic organisations or networks of their homeland.

The research explores the following questions: (1) What kind of reception do newcomers and their children receive from the political, educational, economic and religious institutions of the city, including the local representatives of federal bureaucracies, the voluntary organisations pledged to provide services, the police and the media; (2) To what degree do newcomers try to become incorporated into the city, to what degree do they succeed in their incorporative efforts and how are their incorporative efforts facilitated, mediated or countered by their homeland ties; and (3) What kinds of identities do newcomers assume in the process of settlement and integration and the reconnection with family, region or nation left behind.

Pressing questions of both theory and public policy of the nation-state within a world restructured by globalisation are at the heart of this proposal. 'Globalisation' can be defined as the intensified integration of the world through systems of production, distribution, and communication. Logically, globalisation processes that bind together places, economies and people in common networks of communication might be expected to make both loyalty to nation and identification with a territorially based state passé. Instead, globalisation and the revitalisation of identities linked to locality seem to go hand in hand. In countries of immigrant settlement around the world immigrants and a vocal section of their children become well incorporated in their new land but also become long distance nationalists, committed to taking action on behalf of their homelands.

'Long distance nationalism' can be defined as a set of ideas about belonging that link together people living in various geographic locations and motivates or justifies their taking action in relationship to an ancestral territory and its government. While the fact that continuation of home ties and the growth of long distance nationalism among immigrants reinforces rather than contradicts contemporary processes of glob-

alisation has become apparent, there is little understanding of just why this is the case. It is clear that similar processes of identification have developed in countries with very different institutions, laws and histories of immigration such as the United States and Germany.

The preliminary research indicates that these seemingly different institutional frameworks contain within them similar processes of identification, differentiation and the constitution of alterity. However, to understand the extent and importance of this similarity it is important to compare the initial establishment of the nexus between newcomers and the institutions they find in their location of settlement. Yet, to date, almost all research on immigrant incorporation and homeland ties has been conducted in cities where immigrant institutions and homeland networks are well established. This research by examining the institutional nexus in smaller cities without recent histories of immigrant incorporation, is exploring systematically the relationship between the development of patterns of incorporation and the development of social fields and ideologies that link immigrants to their native land.

Somali Migrants in Europe

Günther Schlee

The Somali have the reputation of being a highly mobile and very enterprising people. The majority of them are pastoral nomads. If Somalia still existed, it would be the only country on earth with a nomadic majority (just over 50 percent). Possibly under the influence of these pastoral traditions but in different economic specialisations, Somali have spread all over east Africa and Yemen, in the service of British colonialism but also prior to and independently of it. Migration to Europe and North America started on a small scale in the form of students and other people looking for training opportunities, some of whom found employment and/or marriage partners and stayed in the target countries. Out-migration increased under the oppressive (in the north, genocidal) regime of Siad Barre and culminated after the collapse of Somalia in 1991. Apart from recent migrants, there are also old Somali communities in other African countries, namely Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Kenya. Migrants in Europe come from all these places, but permission to stay is often made conditional on plausible claims of coming from Somalia and having been affected by the civil war there.

The project was formulated while the author was still at Bielefeld University. It owes to Bielefeld links to globalisation theory and the sociology of knowledge. The early versions (1996, 1998) of it, were, in fact named "Globalisation from below: strategies and mental maps of African migrants in Europe" (www.eth.mpg.de/People/Schlee/Project01.pdf). In this framework a study of another group of African migrants, Ghanaians in

Germany, was also proposed. This component has now evolved into Boris Nieswand's doctoral dissertation project (above). Key factors underlying globalisation processes, such as diminishing transportation and telephone costs and new communication media, affect the lives of Somali migrants (highly educated and illiterate people alike) a great deal. In the field of knowledge one of the central questions is: What is Somali specific knowledge and what is migrant specific knowledge? Some skills and strategies might stem from Somali traditions while others might be adjustments to the diaspora situation and shared by migrants of other origins.

Within Somali communities, and by comparison to other groups, one can observe quite different patterns of integration, both internal and with the host societies. Pre-1991 migrants tend to differ from post-1991 ones. Clan politics and the divisions of Somalia are also reflected by the Somali diaspora.

A key participant in this project is the wife of the author, who is a Kenyan Somali. Most of the networking is done through her and her linguistic and social skills are intensively used.

4. Dimensions of Comparison

Conflict versus Integration / Conflict as Integration

The theme of the research programme of Department I is "Integration and Conflict". Wherever groups of people who consider themselves to be different from one another enter into contact with one another, be it through migration, markets or media networks, the question arises as to how and within what fields of action they can and want to communicate and interact with one another. If these groups fit into overarching, systemic connections, one speaks of integration, whereas interaction that openly aims at damaging the opponent, whether violently or beneath the level of violence, is known as a conflict. In the conceptual pair "integration and conflict", "conflict" may be understood as the counterpart and opposite of "integration"; where integration fails, conflicts arise. From certain perspectives however, this contrast vanishes. If one sees how even in open warfare, opponents become similar in terms of their rhetoric and symbolism down to the details of their attire and threatening gestures, how they traverse the same degrees of escalation in reacting to one another and how they end in the same generalised barbarisms, then one recognises that conflicts too, are systems of communication into which one can be integrated. Opponents who have been in deadlock for a long time are finally only distinguished from one another in that they negate one another by having a plus or a minus: A negates B and B negates A. Through their warlike engagement with each other, the enemies have become integrated into the same system of symbols, they have become

culturally similar to each other. It goes without saying that this does not mean social or political integration. What they share are the forms and expressions of enmity and maybe the arms used to fight each other.

How similarities are developed through conflict can be shown in the case of Northern Ireland, where among Catholics and Protestants (not so different from each other initially if compared to levels of cultural variation found in Africa) similar forms of marches, parades, socialisation of young militants, and a similar form of iconography, e.g. murals, have evolved in response to each other. In the case of former Yugoslavia as well, violent ethno-nationalism has evolved in response to each other.

In the context of this research programme, processes of learning from the enemy, or becoming like the enemy (below and above the threshold of violence) have to be taken into account in the projects dealing with Ethiopia for example. Here the very process of defining oneself as an ethnic group and claiming special rights in a given area often appears to be triggered or even necessitated by one's neighbours doing the same. Open access to resources – agricultural, mineral, or political – only works if practiced by all users. If some actors start with “enclosure” (to remain in the imaginary of the commons), the others will be forced to do the same. Self-representations directed at a global audience (minority discourses, victimologies) may also be learned by ethnic or other political movements from each other (Falge and Feyissa working on Ethiopia/southern Sudan as well as Behrends and Reyna, working on Chad are likely to come across such phenomena as well).

Integration should not be confused with homogeneity. The above examples of enemies that have undergone assimilation to each other show that being similar does not necessarily mean being peaceful and cooperative with each other. On the other hand being different does not mean being at odds with one another. Difference can be a vehicle of integration. There are multi-ethnic communities that derive their potential for being a community from their heterogeneous character. A team leader among gold diggers in a camp in northern Benin told Tilo Grätz that he preferred to have migrants from anywhere in his team and did not include too many members of the local resident groups. The latter, if they became too strong, might claim a disproportional share of the gold with the argument that the land from which it came was theirs. While difference is often thought to cause conflict, in this case multiple differences, the fact that the elements to be integrated come from elsewhere, without a preponderance or domination of any single group and especially not by the groups which might have a claim to a special status as autochthonous, is the basis of peaceful integration on a rather egalitarian basis. The team leader who talked to Grätz seems to have classified people in the same way everyone else did in that region: he made the distinction between autochthonous and allochthonous and had several ethnic categories at his disposal, but he did not use these categories for discrimination or exclusion

but for composing a mixed team. He systematically cut across these categories.

While difference is commonly associated with conflict, it may also be conducive to integration, though a comprehensive theory explaining under which conditions difference leads to integration and under which conditions it leads to conflict remains to be developed. A start has been made: *"Integration durch Verschiedenheit"* (Integration through Difference) is the title of a recent volume edited by Horstmann and Schlee (2001).

In yet other cases, ethnic difference seems neither to be a vehicle of nor a major obstacle to societal integration. The part of central Shewa (Ethiopia) studied by Andrea Nicolas is populated by a bi-ethnic community of Oromo and Amhara. Since the Oromo expansion in the sixteenth century (which affected northern Kenya – Schlee – just as well as the far western reaches of Ethiopia, close to the area studied by Dereje Feyissa and Christiane Falge), Oromo have penetrated into Shewa, initially as pastoralists with their herds. At some point this situation might have resembled that which Martine Guichard and Michaela Pelican observe in Cameroon now and what Youssouf Diallo studies in contemporary northern Ivory Coast: interaction between immigrant pastoralists (in these later cases FulBe), and local peasants. The Oromo then gradually took to the plough, so that a bilingual peasant community of Oromo and Amhara developed. Shared institutions – such as elderhood and legal procedures – seem to date from an early period. Today there are multiple institutions that bridge the ethnic (or should one just say: linguistic) gap: funeral societies, church parishes, saving associations, work groups etc. Membership in any one of these is voluntary, though membership in at least one, or better several of them is obligatory, if one wants to avoid social and economic isolation. In terms of "identities" one can say that ethnic identity (which in earlier periods might here have had a realistic ring to it even more than today, because, after all, the Oromo came as warlike invaders from elsewhere and spoke a different language) is complemented or compensated by other identities or forms of membership: by religious criteria, locality, or participation in voluntary associations.

Such complementary links are also provided by the Peasant Associations which date from the Derg period (the socialist period 1974-1991) where a cross-ethnic membership has been maintained. Usufruct rights have been frozen and have even become hereditary. Although the area now belongs to the new federal state of Oromia, no Oromo from elsewhere can claim land rights to the detriment of Amhara on grounds of their ethnic affiliation. This forms a vivid contrast to Gambella in Western Ethiopia (Dereje Feyissa's research area) where land is claimed and people are evicted precisely on these ethnic grounds.

Types of Societies; the global and the local

Like processes of integration, conflicts can be studied all over the world. For practical reasons and in order to reinforce cohesion between individual projects, the researchers of this Department have chosen to focus on the north-western quadrant of the Old World. This area includes the northern half of Africa, mostly the sub-Saharan part of it, and the western half of Eurasia. Within this region, the individual projects form clusters: they are grouped within certain zones, as shown on the map, above. The focus of the research is clearly on agrarian societies and societies with a recent rural background. This is just what one would expect of anthropologists, although for some time the anthropological gaze has increasingly been directed at western societies as well. Industrial and post-industrial societies also play a role in this context. Two projects, those on African migrants in Europe, deal with entirely new phenomena. Through processes of globalisation, in particular related to falling transportation and communication costs, to single out just two important factors, the migration of Africans to industrialised countries, their activities there and their connections to one another, have taken on quite new forms. The research on immigrants into Germany from the east and southeast, carried out by Nina Glick Schiller, deals with industrial societies as well, and takes globalisation into account. Cheaper travel back and forth, and lower telephone charges give long distance migration a quite different and maybe less “final” or dramatic a character than even ten or twenty years ago.

The majority of the projects situated in rural settings, are also dealing with global forces. “Isolated cultures” were largely a fiction of some strains of early anthropological writing even then, and in the present world colonial, post-colonial, and global ideas of peoplehood, church and NGO links, international media and other forces from beyond the local cannot be ignored by anyone.

Dimensions of Identity: an illustrative case

The broad spectrum of recently begun individual projects raises the hope that they will provide ample possibilities for comparison. From this broad spectrum a single project will be described in the following in order to illustrate the questions addressed by the Department. Problem dimensions derived from this description will then be traced to other projects. The project in question is being undertaken by Dereje Feyissa, a PhD student from Ethiopia who is doing research in Gambella, at the westernmost tip of Ethiopia in the lowlands on the Sudanese border. Among smaller groups, the Nuer and Anywaa (Anuak), who are Nilotic people, inhabit both sides of the border here. Both live primarily by agro-

pastoralism, though the former are mainly pastoral while the latter live mainly by agriculture. For decades the region has been affected by the civil war in the Sudan. At times the south Sudanese SPLA (Sudanese People's Liberation Army) had their bases here. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) has a strong presence here, as have many international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) who are active in the refugee camps. This is the framework of local identity politics; i.e. the grid of conditions made up of advantages and disadvantages within which one adopts and bestows certain group definitions and evaluations on oneself and on others. Members of ethnic groups that straddle the Ethiopian-Sudanese border often enjoyed benefits if they managed to be counted as Sudanese. This meant that in the camps they were able to enjoy aid deliveries or were even included in the quota of people who were allowed to enter the USA as refugees. The real heroes of the local communities are those who have managed to do this and who return on visits. Dressed in smart suits, wearing ties and speaking with a broad American accent, they hold court in the best hotel in town. This continues to be the case even today.

In addition, since the fall of the Mengistu regime in 1991, new forces have entered into the game. The new system, described as an "ethnocracy" and "Bantustan" policy by its opponents, has redrawn the administrative boundaries based on ethnic criteria. Now government positions are filled by members of those ethnic groups from which the regions derive their names or who are dominant in that region. Furthermore, local committees that are subject to proportional representation along ethnic lines have been created. The old Amharic elites have been forced to retreat. They have been replaced by some few Tigrean "advisors" of local politicians representing the new central powers in Addis Ababa. Under earlier Ethiopian regimes (socialist as well as imperial) the Nilotic peoples were marginalised. Given the new positions available, it has suddenly become worthwhile for them to be counted as Ethiopians, since one has to be not just Nuer or Anywaa but specifically Ethiopian Nuer or Ethiopian Anywaa in order to occupy these posts. There is particularly among the Nuer a high proportion of people who have come relatively recently from the Sudan, whether as refugees or by way of pastoral nomadic expansion, migrating upstream along the Baro, the Gilo and the Akobo rivers, following the pasture and the water. Consequently powerful exclusion strategies were invoked: the Anywaa styled themselves as the autochthonous population while the Nuer were guests from the Sudan. But even among the Nuer, certain clans denounced other clans as "Sudanese".

Besides ethnicity and nationality, religion became a further criterion for exclusion from group membership or inclusion into it. Ever since the Jesuits tried to convert the monophysitic Ethiopian Christians to Catholicism in the 16th Century, this was prohibited. Christian missions other

than the Ethiopian-Orthodox ones were only permitted in non-Christian areas on the margins. This policy resulted in a relatively high density of missionaries in these areas, the result being that today many Anywaa or Nuer are Protestant Christians, which, however, does not necessarily mean that they have relinquished their older beliefs. The ethnicisation of politics in Gambella has also brought with it a split in the Protestant Church, which is now divided into a western and an eastern church. The western branch stands for Nuer, the eastern for Anywaa.

Both “integration” and “conflict” are generally perceived as social problems or problems of policy. In practical life, we have integration policies, conflict resolution and other ways to handle both integration and conflict. If one attempts to analyse this pair of concepts and what they stand for scientifically, then a new concept quickly comes to the fore, namely “identity” and the complementary concept of “difference”. Herein, and contrary to widespread popular understandings, identity is in no way connected to essential, inner or real values. Historical and situational factors influence who people as agents categorise as the same as themselves, i.e. as belonging to the same collective identity: and who they consider to be different, i.e. as belonging to a different collective identity. Likewise, the content attributed to an identity can change even if the collective of persons to whom this identity is ascribed remains more or less unchanged. In its self-presentation one and the same group can foreground religious features (to put it crudely: if religion happens to be “fashionable”) or it can take recourse to linguistic characteristics and develop a language nationalism (e.g. if “ethnicity” is in fashion). Thus inclusion and exclusion are not to be described as a rigid model but rather in their historical and situational dynamics.

The Gambella case allows us to discuss the nature of the identities that are instrumentalised and inserted into current political debates. A large part of these identities contain references to some sort of descent. Thus we are dealing with smaller and bigger descent groups. The clans, who are in competition for pasture among the Nuer, are such descent groups, since the relations between them are discussed in the idiom of genealogical tradition, often with mythical overtones. The amount of ‘reality’ contained in these traditions and whether ideologies of descent are independent of neighbourhood, i.e. proximity in space, are questions much discussed in Nuer ethnography. The aspect of real or believed common descent cannot be omitted from the analysis.

In the same way, the ethnic groups composed of such clans, e.g. the Nuer and Anywaa, are descent groups. Thus we have descent groups nested within one another; several descent groups with a lesser degree of inclusivity are contained within groups with a greater degree of inclusivity. Actual processes of ethnogenesis may run across descent groups; if, for example, clans unite to form a political community and decide to be “brothers” rather than actually descending from a common ancestor. Yet

the resulting ethnic group nearly always describes itself as being of common descent.



*The clan origin-myth is linked to a song that the leopard-skin-chief sings, while accompanying himself on a gourd-rattle.
(Photo: G. Schlee)*

There are various rules about what constitutes descent. The Anywaa and Nuer who are close neighbours differ considerably in their notions. The Anywaa emphasise “blood”. For example, they consider it important that the patriline of the mother should also be Anywaa for somebody to claim to be fully Anywaa. By contrast, the Nuer adopt large numbers of captured children and even adults into the group. Any man who bears the characteristic tribal scars running horizontally across the forehead is Nuer, even if he was only kidnapped by the Nuer as an adult and initiated later. Nuer myths are populated by foundlings (to whom magical powers are occasionally ascribed) and their adoptive fathers.

According to the conviction of the Anywaa the Nuer adopt foreigners for better or worse. They also marry more women – of both Nuer and other origin – and have more children. They are expanding numerically in order to expand territorially (which they are then forced to do). The Anywaa are not the only ones to hold this view. As early as 1961 the American anthropologist Marshall Sahlins wrote an article in which he described the segmentary lineage system of the Nuer as an instrument of “predatory expansion”. According to Sahlins, many Dinka were conquered and adopted into the ranks of the Nuer, where they in turn be-

came agents of violent spatial expansion. 'Drang nach Osten' ('push towards the east', a phrase given in German in his paper) is the way in which Sahllins (1961: 338) described this dynamic.

Dereje Feyissa is currently trying to find out by means of micro-censuses of hamlets, whether this stronger demographic growth that the Anywaa ascribe to the Nuer can be substantiated by numbers or whether it is a mere myth fed by xenophobia (similar to the "yellow peril" or the "flood of refugees" in Germany).

As we have seen, in addition to clans and ethnic groups, identifications with modern nation-states play a role in Gambella. They do so in a changing structure of rewards. Religious identifications are also significant, but are perhaps less determinant than in other places. Here the church structures seem primarily to mirror ethnic fragmentations by means of a different medium. In contrast, in other places, the drawing of new boundaries based on the narrowing of dogma and the rigidifying of religious practices runs across ethnic groups, clans and families. Thus the distributions of characteristics can duplicate and reinforce one another or can criss-cross one another. A typology of these forms of identification is a first important step towards the comparative examination of conflicts and their resolution or avoidance.

Overarching Themes: identities over time

Identities over time, or processes of identity change, can be put into a typology.

A basic distinction needs to be made between people changing their identity and identities changing. It is easy to become Nuer, and many Nuer are of recent Dinka or Anywaa ancestry. But ideals of Nuerhood or the distinctive features of being a Nuer have hardly changed in the process. The Nuer have assimilated others and the resulting mixture of people has not resulted in a mixture of cultures. Original culturally particulars were discarded in the process of becoming Nuer. Nuer identity was hardly altered by the admission of others. Of course, Nuer identity is not totally unaffected by time. Today, being a Nuer means something different from what being a Nuer meant at Evans-Pritchard's time, but these changes are due to politicisation, militarisation and global forces rather than the admixture of Dinka or Anywaa culture.

Assimilation is directed at one of the original forms, say B is assimilated to A. Homogenisation has a wider meaning: A, B, and C can develop into something which is intermediate between them or closer to one than the other. What these processes share is that in their course differences disappear.

Apart from disappearance of differences we have newly emerging ones: such as the rise of an educated elite in a largely illiterate environment or

class differentiation. There are, further, processes of deepening, widening or accentuating of existing differences, such as church affiliation, being largely congruent with clanship, becoming an additional marker of clan distinctions among the Nuer.

Alongside such processes of transformation of identities, we can find the reproduction of difference. In northeastern Africa there are areas in which small-scale identities with clear cultural markers have been preserved over long periods. Even where individuals can cross over from one of these units into another, the boundaries between these units tend to remain stable, i.e. continue to be delineated by the same markers (Barth 1969: 23). In spite of the processes of Nuer assimilation which have just mentioned, wide areas in north-eastern Africa are characterised by a small-scale mosaic of peoples which has remained stable over time as far as the approximate size of its units and the level of difference between them is concerned. These considerations have also played a role in the planning of a conference (see p.70).

The Sudanic zone of West Africa is a fragmentation belt. This climatically uniform zone, connected by routes of trade and pilgrimage stretching from the Senegal to the Nile, contains languages as different from each other as languages from anywhere on earth. Languages of three unrelated families (Afro-Asiatic, Nilo-Saharan, and Niger-Congo) are spoken in this region, and the level of differences between the branches of these families are in many cases much greater than those between the different branches of the Indo-European family. Hundreds of clearly distinct languages have survived in this area despite many cases of linguistic assimilation or of adoption of the language of a neighbouring group or a lingua franca.

Linguistic differences often correlate with different features in other domains of culture, with complex ethnic identities, and these in turn tend to be linked with different professional specialisations and status categories. In the research area of Youssouf Diallo, in the north of the Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso, social diversity is reproduced by the acceptance of new arrivals with special technical skills. The Senufo and the Bobo-Bwa farmers maintain an ethnic and ritual differentiation towards blacksmiths, griots, weavers and FulBe herdsman.

All social identities are historically formed. They change over time and individual people or constituent groups can change their allegiance from one wider social entity to another. But change is not related arithmetically to time. Some identities change faster than others. In certain cases clans have been found to be more stable than ethnic groups, so that clearly distinct ethnic groups are made up of different combinations of fragments of the same old clans. In other cases ethnic labels remain constant but clans are subject to constant fission or fusion and change at an increased rate. A general theory which explains the speed of change of social identities remains to be developed. But what we can say about the

zone under study, is that there must be strong forces at work which reproduce difference and which maintain heterogeneity. In the period when most of Europe and much of South Asia has come to speak languages of just one language family, the words for 'brother', 'daughter' etc. being almost the same in English and Baluch, a mosaic of distantly related and totally unrelated languages has been maintained across the northern half of Africa. Some of the factors that may have led to this preservation of heterogeneity may be elucidated by an inquiry into the uses different people make of the differences between them.

Landrights, rights of access to other resources, professional specialisations and prerogatives might lead us to the material forces which reproduce differences and the interaction between groups defined as different in this context. We may find that difference may be an integrating force by combining mutually complementary elements into a major systemic context. (This will be the theme of another planned workshop discussed in the last section, p.69.)

The study of identities over time therefore has to examine a number of different types of change and the conditions for them as well as near-identical reproduction of identity/difference and the conditions for it.

We will continue with different categories of identities not defined by how they change but by what marks them. Such markers include reference to a state, a religion, or to putative descent.

“Nation”, Citizenship, Residence Status

Identity games in which the acceptance by a “nation” state and the access to resources conditional on resident status (including recognised refugee status) or citizenship are at stake, are studied by a number of other projects. The theme of Nuer in America, which we have briefly touched in connection with Dereje Feyissa’s project, will be covered more fully by Christiane Falge. The three projects dealing with different groups of migrants in Europe (Nieswand, Glick Schiller and Schlee) also study such games. In all these cases special emphasis has to be put on the role of the “diaspora” in politics and the economy in the countries and areas of origin. Being or not being a rightful citizen or resident of a country is also a problem faced by FulBe pastoralists in the Ivory Coast (Diallo) and Ethiopia (see below).

Religion

Religious affiliation can intertwine in a complex way with other identifications. The ethnic divide between Nuer and Anywaa in Gambella seems to be accentuated by church organisation rather than the emphasis on

different beliefs. Their originally shared church organisation has split into a western and an eastern branch along the ethnic divide between the two peoples. In other cases intensification of ritual practice, “rigidification”⁴ of beliefs, and other forms of religious differentiation which involve much more than mere organisational labels, play a much larger role. The different FulBe sub-ethnicities in Cameroon (Guichard, Pelican) are set off against each other by different kinds and degrees of adoption of Islamic practices, especially those involving the female dress code and female spatial seclusion. These religious developments have important implications for the economic roles of ethnic and gender categories of people. The increasingly rigid application of Islamic rules prevents FulBe women from selling milk from house to house in non-FulBe neighbourhoods. FulBe women thus lose a source of independent income: beef production gains in importance in comparison to milk production and the proceeds from the sale of slaughtered animals remains in the hands of men. Such processes of change in religious identity, in this case rigidification of a formerly flexible form of adherence and practice, have to be studied in connection with new forms of articulation (integration by complementarity) of FulBe communities with the wider society, including both other FulBe and non-FulBe groups. Rather than remaining largely autonomous subsistence oriented milk producers, FulBe pastoralists become beef producers for urban markets. In southern Ethiopia, a Boran-Oromo identity has been contrasted in local discourse with Islam, which has been interpreted as part of Somali identity and a feature of the enemy (Schlee/Shongolo 1995). In Jimma, another Oromo area further to the northwest, the attribution is done inversely. Islam there is part of an Oromo identity in a non-Islamic environment (Popp 2001: 389).

Religious conversion can, in a Weberian perspective, deeply affect a person and provide him or her with new value orientations, with new ideas about the direction and meaning of life. On a larger scale the change in religious orientation towards certain varieties of Protestantism going back to the sixteenth century have been accompanied by new forms of economic ethics, the secularisation, first, of the criteria by which one ascertained to participate in God’s grace, which became mundane criteria such as wealth, and later the secularisation of all possible spheres of life and new forms of rationality, short: the development of the “spirit” of capitalism, have been linked to religious change (Weber 1993 [1905]). In this type of theory – which, however, by no means can be read as religious determinism – religion has to a large extent the role of an independent variable. Religious facts are taken as given or explained by other

⁴ I use the term rigidification (*Rigidisierung*) for the process of religious and customary beliefs and practices becoming more rigid. The development of new orthodoxies and asceticism in Protestant sects might serve as an example. In Islamic contexts I use *rigidification* to replace the misleading term *Islamisation*, which is inappropriate in many cases, especially with reference to societies that have been Muslim for a thousand years.

religious facts and are used to explain developments in the extra-religious domain.

The Comaroffs (1991, 1997) have studied conversion in a different setting, with a focus on a later period, and they have written their books, almost a century later than Weber, in a more explicitly constructivist and more “discourse” oriented fashion. They describe how one of the brands of Protestantism described by Weber was taken by missionaries from Britain to the Tswana on the South African frontier. In their theory it is more difficult to disentangle dependent and independent variables. It requires several substantial volumes to be laid down and defies reduction to formalised models. They describe a complex interplay of economic, political and religious forces in Britain, among the Tswana, and between the two. While the emergent Weberian Protestant capitalist can be said to have been affected by religious doctrines at the core of his (rarely her) personality, where they set an incessant drive into motion to organise his entire life in a methodical fashion and to tirelessly seek material gain, it is more difficult to discern from the writings of the Comaroffs what “really” happens to the Tswana in the process of conversion.

The Comaroffs speak of the development of “personhood” rather than of changes in personality. Personhood refers to participation in society as an independent individual and to the set of rights attributed to such an individual. Its diagnostic features are located on the level of discourse, often legal discourse. But the struggle of the mission was about recasting “Southern Tswana patterns of production and consumption, their dress and domestic appointments, their aesthetics and architecture, their bodies, minds, and mundane routines, their orientations towards money and the market. All of these things came together in the construction of the right-minded, right-bearing, propertied individual...” (1997: 61). And the Comaroffs leave no doubt that this construction resulted in structures and not just in constructs. The effects were real. Since 1913 “the European sense of private property had made deep inroads into [the wealthier, title-holding] segment of the [Tswana] population, as had the language of rights altogether. [...] The modernist, right-bearing subject was not inscribed in landed possessions alone, however. S/he was invested in a *total* social persona.” (1997: 383, 384)

The process the Comaroffs describe extends over a century, is clearly directional, and supported or otherwise shaped in a constant fashion by political and economic colonialism. In those areas of north-eastern Africa where colonialism was shorter or more remote and state intervention intermittent, short, brutal, predatory, and free of elaborate efforts of persuasion, no or fewer such deep changes are to be expected.

No deep changes of personality and no different forms of rationality, let alone different types of logic, have been discovered thus far by researchers in this Department. Reasoning, in Europe, Africa and Asia, among literate and illiterate people alike, seems not only to follow the same logical pro-

cedures but also to be determined in the vast majority of cases by similar rationales. People appear aware of advantages and disadvantages in terms of material life or prestige that are associated with different religious options. People who fail to rise as high as they expected in a new religious hierarchy after conversion might try another church or convert back to their old beliefs (Cases can be provided by Christiane Falge's research on mission churches among the Nuer). Others are perfectly happy with being Christians or Muslims in town while adhering to more localised forms of belief and ritual in their nomadic hamlets or in their villages.

There is, apart from the material and the political economy of conversion, a mental economy and there is complex interplay between spiritual gains and losses and gains and losses in other spheres. New religions, i.e. religions that are new in a certain region, often need to "buy" acceptance by concessions. The rights of daughters to inheritance granted by Islam may be ignored if in conflict with earlier more purely patrilineal modes of transmission. Or the local brew of beer may be declared to not really be an alcoholic beverage. More firmly established religions can afford to show a more rigid face.

For individual actors who opt for a rigidified version of a religion there is the following trade-off: spiritual gains may include the hope, or the certainty, to belong to the elect, pride may derive from higher standards of morality or the performance of more elaborate or arduous rituals; spiritual losses may include the fear of the consequences of the neglect or rejection of an earlier set of beliefs and rituals and – with a social twist – isolation from those who still adhere to these. In terms of identity politics rigidification can be an instrument of exclusion. Those not abiding by it can be excluded from a religious hierarchy or even from political power in the wider society. Examples for religious rigidification of elites abound in the history of the FulBe and the states they have founded.

In the context of religion, the present group of researchers thus focuses on religious identities as means of inclusion and exclusion, on social identities, "superficial" identities, so to say, we bear on the surface of our bodies in form of dress codes or ornaments, or those we communicate to others verbally or by ritual. These identities are bounded. One belongs to a religious group or not, one is inside or outside a defined category. This has been described as the "container model" of identity. There are, apart from these either/or models gradualist or centripetal concepts of identity. You can be closer to the core of a religious group by excelling at their standards of excellence, by subjecting yourself to stricter moralities or more bothersome and lengthy rituals. Such closeness to the core may enhance your chances of rising in the hierarchy of that group.

Descent, “Descent”, and Locality

Descent is defined by cultural rules which sometimes coincide with biological givens and sometimes not. We have already mentioned that Nuer and Anywaa, have different ways to recruit people into their descent groups. The Nuer practice adoption on a large scale.

Of course adoption creates a relation of descent just as is the case in our own law. Other kin relations derive indirectly from it: If I make somebody my son, my sibling’s child will be his cousin etc. Adoption shares with marriage the feature that a willing decision underlies it and the further feature that wider reaching relationships result from it that are not willing decisions. Adoption differs from marriage in that once established, it is not a contractual but rather a kinship relation. Marriage may lead to husband and wife obtaining shared relatives, i.e. their children, but the marriage itself is not perceived as a kind of kinship in most societies, nor by anthropologists (see book titles like “Kinship and Marriage”). Relationships established through adoption, are, however just that: kin relations. There exist broad variations in the domain of culturally specific formulations of the distinction between contractual and kinship relations. For the moment we should simply note that this distinction has little to do with the difference between biological and non-biological relationships. In many African societies the “real” father of children is the one who paid the bridewealth for the mother. “Thieves have no children” indicates that secret liaisons cannot result in fatherhood in any meaningful sense. Adoption generates fatherhood, conception does not. In Europe one sometimes encounters the terms “real” and “merely social” associated with these opposing values.

The problem of descent versus locality: what causes the existence of localised descent groups, whether descent is the idiom to express relationships which are primarily constituted by spatial proximity and frequency of interaction, or whether and to what extent groups recruited by descent tend to be co-residential, has been much discussed throughout Africa. As a result of the present research, new evidence is provided from Central Asia. Descent as a factor of identification here appears to have been largely superseded by locality, especially among Uzbeks. These are often also indistinguishable from Tajiks, a person being Tajik as long as he or she speaks Tajik and Uzbek as long as the language used is Uzbek, so that in certain settings it makes no sense to refer to Uzbek and Tajik ethnic groups. Rather, one finds localised bilingual communities. In terms of descent they are and describe themselves as mixtures of mixtures.

Language

This leads us to language as an identifying feature. In the context of the Uzbeks and Tajiks we have seen that linguistic affiliation refers to little else but itself. One is Uzbek or Tajik by speaking the respective language.



A Tajik family in front of their house. For centuries Uzbeks and Tajiks in Bukhara live side by side and, although they share the same cultural patterns and regularly intermarry with each other, their respective languages survived.
(Photo: P. Finke)

In central Shewa, the Ethiopian research area of Andrea Nicolas, the situation might have been very similar before the recent politicisation of ethnicity. She reports that when she asked her interlocutors whether their grandfather was Amhara or Oromo, they responded by asking each other which language he spoke most of time. Amhara and Oromo share most elements of their culture, including monophysite Christianity, not including *gada* (generation-set) rituals which are peculiar to the Oromo. One can therefore view them as one bilingual cultural group.

While switching between Uzbek and Tajik appears rather balanced, in the Ethiopian context people who speak Oromo among themselves would more readily switch to Amharic when joined by an Amharic speaker who is ill at ease in Oromo while the inverse

remains rare. Amharic, the language of the former Empire, still seems to hold a high cultural prestige in the heart of what now is the “Oromia” state of Ethiopia.

Language tends to be very important in the catalogue of cultural criteria used to mark the boundaries between ethnic groups. This makes the question of the relationship between language and ethnicity appear tautological in some cases. Where language is used as the primary marker of an ethnic boundary (Barth 1969), ethnic and linguistic units tend to be congruent. In post World War I Europe, the language census has in numerous cases simply replaced the declaration of political will of local communities in effecting boundary corrections between “nation”-states (Dench 1986). On the other hand, through the school system and the exclusive use of the majority language for administration, national languages or languages which enjoy a special status in certain areas, have been imposed on linguistic minorities (Gellner 1981). Congruence between linguistic communities and ethnic units/nations has thus been promoted on the interstate level by adjusting political boundaries to language distribution areas and on the intrastate level by extending a lan-

guage policy to these boundaries. In spite of fact that these processes have been at work for some time, still only a small fraction of the world's "nations" are linguistically homogeneous (Ra'anana 1989).

While in some cases ethnic and linguistic units are coterminous, at the other extreme we find ethnic units, well defined by other criteria, which have nothing to do with language. The Garre of north-eastern Africa conceive of themselves as one ethnic group because of their common genealogy and clan organisation, their shared pastoral nomadic culture and their not always fulfilled desire to keep peace with each other. The Garre are divided into four linguistic clusters, which crosscut other criteria of differentiation such as clanship. Some of them speak an Oromo dialect close to the one of the Boran, while some speak Af Rahanweyn and others Af Garreh Kofar. The latter two are closely related Somali-like languages but are kept clearly separate by their speakers. There are also Garre who speak Somali proper. Oromo is a different language, well beyond comprehension for speakers of any of these Somaloid languages. It belongs to the same Lowland branch of the East Cushitic languages as the Somali-type languages, but internal differentiation within this branch is high. The fact that the Garre are also divided among three "nation"-states (Kenya, Ethiopia, and Somalia), has nothing to do with this linguistic differentiation, since speakers of all four languages are found among the Garre of all three states. The only language spoken exclusively by Garre appears to be Af Garreh Kofar, but to the outside observer it is difficult to distinguish that language from Af Rahanweyn which is spoken by hundreds of thousands of non-Garre, namely Somali of the Rahanweyn clan-cluster. It does happen that Garre who do not share one of these Cushitic languages are obliged to converse with each other in their languages from totally different language families, like Swahili (Bantu) or English (Germanic) which they have acquired at school, an institution frequented by only a minority of them for mostly short periods.

Incongruence of linguistic classifications with ethnicity defined by extra-linguistic criteria tends to provide interesting cases of multiple or conflicting identities. In the Sudan we find speakers of Arabic and in Nigeria speakers of Hausa who have preserved memory of their FulBe origins. Elsewhere, such as in parts of Cameroon, the FulBe language, Fulfulde, has spread as a lingua franca among non-FulBe or has even become their only language.

This leads us to a more narrow theme: the interplay of FulBe and non-FulBe identities, i.e. specific ethnicities rather than general criteria of ethnic identification. The FulBe are a common theme in a cross-section of projects in this Department.

FulBe and Their Neighbours

One theme that recurs in all the Department's projects throughout Africa, both in the Sudanic Zone and in the Horn, as well as in Central Asia, is that of the relationship between nomads, former nomads or other mobile (agro-) pastoralists with the sedentary agricultural and urban populations. Across Africa, the pastoral element is often represented by one particular ethnic group, the FulBe. These stretch from Senegambia to Ethiopia, not as an undifferentiated mass but as speakers of various Fulfulde dialects who also form sub-ethnicities along religious and economic lines. They tend to be relative newcomers to a given area and are often a numerical minority. The ways in which they articulate with neighbouring groups or keep their distance from them are myriad and form excellent case material for the comparative study of interethnic relationships.

The interplay of migration and ethnicity becomes particularly visible in the FulBe case. Because of their historical eastward drift across the continent and because of their seasonal movements (in some cases only a few kilometres, in others a north-south range of 700 km), FulBe more often than others find themselves in new contact situations. They therefore provide an excellent test case for the Barthian hypothesis that ethnicity articulates itself in such contact situations, along the ethnic boundary (cf. project: Ethnicity and Migration along the Blue Nile, page 24).

Here one can study variation within a framework of similarity: one side being always represented by FulBe of one kind or another, the other mostly by people who regard themselves as having arrived earlier than the FulBe and having stronger and more legitimate ties to the soil. The interest in FulBe/non-FulBe relations predates the foundation of the Institute. Diallo and Schlee have published some earlier research in this area (Diallo and Schlee 2000).

These recurring elements in the research settings of the West Africa projects have led to a high degree of institutionalised exchange between these projects. The researchers held regular meetings and share an electronic mail box (lavachekiri@yahoo.com) that was made accessible from the individual field sites. The focus, of course, can differ from project to project. While market relations are given special attention by Youssouf Diallo and Michaela Pelican, Andreas Dafinger provided models and patterns of spatial relations. Forced and labour migration is a theme shared by Andrea Behrends, Youssouf Diallo and Tilo Grätz.

Not only in cases that involve FulBe and non-FulBe (but prominently in these) do interethnic relations often include individual relations: dyads of two individuals tied by special types of friendship. Friendship, in its relationship to the classical integrative forces found in the anthropological literature, namely kinship and alliance, has evolved as a research focus of the Institute.

The following chart illustrates how a relatively specific problem, namely forms of migration (internal, pastoral, labour) within one ethnic group, the FulBe, are tackled by three researchers in different settings with the aim of relating them to underlying causes and constraints.

	forms of migration	ranges of migration	causes of migration		Const- raints
			internal	external	
Pelican	restricted	local to re- gional	social	ecologic political	state policy/ political
Dafinger	internal		(social & demographic pressure)		
Diallo	external		regional to transnational	competition over re- sources	

Table: Forms of FulBe migration.

Tackling a Matter from Two Fronts: FulBe along the Ethiopian-Sudanese frontier

FulBe form a link between the Sudanic and the northeastern African research areas. In his research on Gambella, which, as we have seen, focuses on Nuer/Anywaa relations, Dereje Feyissa has also discovered pictures of, and oral reports about, FulBe who have come to this part of the western lowlands of Ethiopia, most recently in 1997/8. In 1996 Schlee collected information about the seasonal migrations of those nomadic FulBe (Mbororo) who had their northern turning point in his research area around Abu Na'ama, Sennar State, Sudan. They mentioned migrations across the Baro, Gilo, and Akobo rivers, i.e. well into Gambella and beyond, as one of their options if interethnic violence in southern Sudan did not allow a more westerly migration within the Sudanese borders. The type of seasonal migration described had a north-south extension of about 700 km. Some FulBe Schlee met in the Sudan were able to converse with him in Oromo, a language widespread as a lingua franca beyond Wollega, the western part of Oromia, in the neighbouring areas of Beni Shangul and Gambella. (Other interviews were conducted in Arabic and later, after Abu-Manga came along up the Blue Nile, in Fulfulde.) Comparisons suggest that the FulBe in both areas were representatives of the same groups.

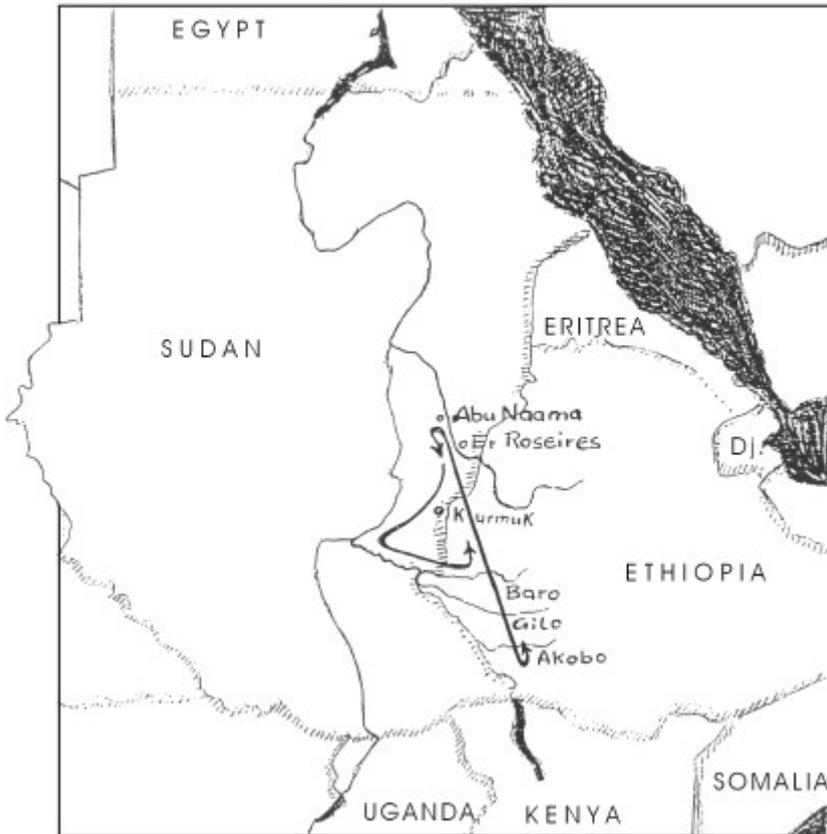


Fig. 2: Mbororo transhumant routes in the Sudanese-Ethiopian borderlands. (map: G. Schlee)

Dereje and Schlee decided to explore more fully, both from the Ethiopian and the Sudanese turning points of these nomadic movements, why these cross-border migrations have ceased. Factors leading to this might include: (1) the 1997 invasion of northern Sudanese opposition forces into the Kurmuk area of Sudan from Ethiopian soil and the declining security situation for Mbororo migrants at the hands of the SPLA allies of those northern opposition forces; (2) fears of Islamism in Addis Ababa after the attempted murder of Egyptian president Mubarak there. The Mbororo, and other Sudanese, might have been (wrongly) equated with Islamist tendencies, (3) competition over pastures and other resources (such as market outlets) by local (agro-)pastoralists. This case might provide excellent insights into ethnic and national forces on both sides of the Ethio-Sudanese boundaries and the misperceptions as well as the mutual

instrumentalisation between them. The theme of religion, to which allusion has been made above, comes up again in this context, if only in the form of projection of fears.

A Brief Theory of Size

Identity discourses that stress different features (along the aforementioned dimensions of religion, language, putative shared descent etc.) and higher or lower levels of relatedness or organisation invariably have consequences for the size of the groups or categories of people they define. We can, to the extent that socially skilful actors manage to manipulate group sizes intentionally or if there are processes of selection at work which allow us to distinguish between successful and less successful identity constructs, look at identity politics of size from a utilitarian (rationalistic, economic) perspective.

A crude theory of size along these lines would be: You have to belong to a group or alliance which is large enough to allow you to achieve your aims, but not much larger. Whatever the benefits derived from mustering support happen to be (the loot from winning a war, being able to form a government after winning an election or being strong enough in the local council of elders to win all land cases) they would have to be shared with too many helpers if one's own group or alliance turned out to be larger than necessary. Such considerations put a premium on relatively large groups, larger than rival groups or configurations at whichever level of organisation we are talking about, but not much larger than necessary to defeat them.

This is a good explanation in terms of efficiency: it is short and explains a vast number of cases. But it is not a comprehensive theory on size in identity politics. There are discourses of smallness which defy this explanation or at least require further elaborations.

The minority rights discourse which has been globalised by UN agencies and non-governmental organisations puts a premium on being too small or too disadvantaged to play power games. The claim to protection of minorities is based on their weakness. If a small group succeeds in getting recognition as a minority and thereby succeeds in defending or enlarging its resource base, one can either subsume this case in our brief theory of size or not.

If one wants to subsume it, one can do so by defining "group" or "alliance" in such a way that the inter-governmental agencies, national and international, supporting media etc. who have helped the minority in its cause are part of the "group" or "alliance" to which it now belongs. This might stretch the concept "group" somewhat. Then, through a successful claim of smallness, the power base of the group in question has, in fact, become rather large. Those who like paradoxes might discern a paradoxi-

cal ring in this. For this sort of argument, however, the concepts of power and power base would also have to be stretched to comprise relationships which are loose and remote and only situationally relevant.

Or one might therefore reject this way of subsuming the minority case into our size theory as being far-fetched. One might feel that mere observational pressure by a global public to which one is connected by sympathetic media reports does not justify it to be included among all these rather vague, or merely potential supporters who are uncounted and not circumscribed by more clear definitions as members of a wider "group" or "alliance" of the minority group in question. But even from this angle, a measure of power or influence has been mustered by smallness rather than being large and the paradoxical ring is maintained.

Martine Guichard and Michaela Pelican explain that the concepts of autochthony and allochthony have been incorporated into the 1996 constitution of Cameroon. Autochthonous minority groups deserve protection against immigrants who might outnumber them in certain areas. But really small groups fail to get government recognition. By defining themselves in broader, more inclusive categories such groups enhance their chances of recognition. One needs to be large enough to be a minority. If the preceding paragraph ends in a paradox, this one might be said to lead to a paradox within a paradox.

Much more can be said about factors which influence group size. Crowding is one of them. It may make sense to increase the membership of a golf club to have more people sharing its cost, but if then one has to queue before getting a chance to play, the advantage of wider cost-sharing may be offset by the disadvantages of crowding. Also the costs of decision making rise geometrically with an arithmetic rise in group size. Now forms of control have to be established when a group grows beyond the level where face-to-face contacts and the quest for personal reputation are sufficient for maintaining a reasonable degree of compliance with rules and limiting free riding. Where groups of different size and institutional arrangements can be chosen by individuals, optimisation processes may occur, but these presuppose low exit and entry costs and easy movement (Hechter 1987).

The concept of trust is related in a complementary fashion to control. Schlee has shown that among the Somali there is a tendency to increase group sizes both by forging alliances with unrelated groups and by including more remote agnatic relatives in order to facilitate joint defence. Such advantages may be offset by the increased risk of treason. Mistrust therefore comes in as a limiting factor of group size (Schlee 2002).

But whatever else can be adduced to round off a theory of group size, the brief considerations which have been presented here show already the close links to any theory of social identities. Group sizes can be changed through strategies of inclusion and exclusion and these make use of discourses of identity and difference.

Material Symbols and Emblems

In interethnic contact situations, i.e. the setting in which hostile interactions or peaceful integration into a meta-ethnic system based on differentiation of niches are likely to take place, differences are often communicated by tangible objects. Material objects that mark social identities have symbolic or emblematic significance or both. Complex and emotionally laden fields of meaning attributed to an object make it a symbol. If it is just used to mark the difference of belonging or not belonging to a group or category, we call it an emblem.

A cross may evoke the sacrificial death of Christ and stir complex theological debates about who sacrificed him to whom and why. People may kiss crosses or shed tears over them. The cross clearly is a heavily laden cultural symbol. If used to make vampires go away, it can even be a magical symbol.

The same cross in red on badges on the arms of helpers at the scene of an accident may just help to distinguish those who have to be given privileged access to the victims from those who are just standing about. It is a mere emblem.

In the past, when anthropology or ethnology was to a larger extent than now practiced in or around museums, many of its activities concerned attributing poorly described and catalogued material objects to the right people. Peoples and cultures were distinguished by the types of artefacts they had and their styles.

Style, which remains recognisable irrespective of the objects to which it is attached, is indeed a marker of culture, not necessarily as bounded units but as discontinuities in the distribution of acquired features of human beings. Klumpp and Kratz (1993) have shown that there is a typical East-African pastoral woman silhouette, irrespective of which garments or ornaments create it. The details may differ, but the similarity of the total impression remains, creating a type for a region.

One sometimes wonders why it is so easy to identify pastoral FulBe all across Africa from afar, although, from closer by, they might differ in all the details of what they wear. Is it a preference for the colour blue, in one instance expressed in the garments, in another in tattoos? Is it that they often wear hats rather than headscarves, is it garments that underline rather than blur body shapes? Silhouettes again?

Clearly diacritic markers of identities or cultural features are, of course, more obvious to the analyst than vague and contestable notions of style. But even these do not just have one denotation. They stand for different things in the perceptions of different people.

Three parallel thick tresses of plaited hair along the length of the skull clearly mark somebody as a Pullo (sing. of FulBe) or, more particularly, a Mbororo in the Sudanic belt of Africa. In an interethnic context they might stand just for that. They are an ethnic marker. In a purely FulBe

context, where the FulBe/non-FulBe contrast is irrelevant, they might, however, identify their bearer as a member of an age-grade: younger men have such tresses, older men do not.

That ethnic markers are age and gender specific is extremely common. Religious markers are also gendered. In a period of rigidification of Islamic practices, women might wear veils and men beards, each in response to expectations by the other gender. There are no types of social identity, be it class, profession or whatever, which is not somewhere or sometimes visualised in material symbols. That the researchers of the Institute are equipped with up-to-date portable digital video equipment allows them not only to depict such visual symbols statically but also to record the scenes in which they play a role.

Not only what we wrap around or attach to the surfaces of our bodies' mark our social identities but also what we ingest into them. A brief glance back at the sacrificial death of Christ mentioned at the beginning of this chapter provides the prime example. Confirmation as a Christian and communion among Christians is achieved by eating his flesh and drinking his blood.

Whether this is done symbolically or through trans-substantiation is a matter of theological debate. While the Eucharist is a symbol and central ritual of Christianity as a whole, who is allowed to perform it with whom marks different churches off from each other (cf. Christiane Falge on 'segmentary Christianity').

Food in Egypt, as a national symbol ('Egyptian cuisine') – although a rather unlikely national symbol given the similarities of dishes across the Middle East - and also in the context of religion, class and lifestyle, is the topic of the dissertation project of Bettina Mann. She has shown that food is so charged with meaning and with implications for the social identities of those who eat it, that all researchers are encouraged to pay special attention to food in their respective research settings. Where there are different food taboos for religious communities and professional status groups laid down in explicit rules, such as in Ethiopia, the connection between identity and food is obvious. It might not be less important in less obvious cases.

Spatial arrangements, from the interior of houses to their location to each other, from profane courtyards to sacred precincts, from use rights in fields and pastures to the ritual topography of holy mountains or springs and the routes of pilgrimages, are another part of the lexicon of social identities. Andreas Däfinger has shown various levels of significance of settlement patterns among the Bisa of Burkina Faso and about the different (mental) maps of Bisa farmers and administrators on the one and FulBe on the other hand. Nomadic perceptions of space and the weakness of the concept of bounded territory among nomads is also a topic explored by Schlee in northern Kenya.

THEMES ¹ categories key words specifications	Andrea	Behrends	Andreas	Darfinger	Yousouf	Dillo	Tilo	Gätz	Martine	Guichard	Michaëla	Pelican	Stephen	Reyna	BN ^A	G.Schlee	Christiane	Derefe	Feysssa	Georg	Hanke	Bettina	Mann	Nicolas	NK ^B	G.Schlee	Tadesse	John	Wood	Peter	Finke	Melem	Sancak	Boris	Nieswand	Nina	Glick-Schiller	SM ^C	G.Schlee											
FIELDS OF INTERACTION OF IDENTITIES (2)																																																		
binding forces³																																																		
kinship	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X							
friendship	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X					
networks	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
alliances	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
<i>military/political</i> ⁸	X		XXX	X	X	X	XXX	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
marriage			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
market			XX	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
local																																																		
national			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
transnational			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
world			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
"smuggling" ⁹	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	

^A BN: Blue Nile

^B NK: Northern Kenya

^C SM: Somali migrants

¹ Identity is the over-all theme of Department 1, its title "integration and conflict" can as well be translated into "identity and difference". All projects make use of synchronic and diachronic views of identity, which are not systematized in this table. Comparative aspects will better be elaborated in the text than in this table.

² Stipulated versus demonstrated descent.

³ The categories 'conflict' and 'binding forces' cannot be subsumed under 'interethnic relations' because they also refer to intraethnic relations.

⁴ To be understood as influences or interventions leading to international conflicts.

⁵ To be understood as influences by other countries involved in global power struggles, e.g. former colonisers, former super powers.

⁶ To be understood as multilateral organisations, e.g. World Bank, IMF.

⁷ National policies dedicated to ethnic groups or territories.

⁸ Contractual relationship against others.

⁹ The term 'smuggling' has been problematized in a group discussion and is therefore only used in quotes.

Overview of Comparative Themes

The matrix above (Fig. 3) gives a more comprehensive overview about the criteria of identification which are relevant in the research areas of the individual projects of this Departments and the fields of interaction in which these identities are observed.

5. Methods

Methods used by the researchers include the usual anthropological techniques with a little twist brought about by new technologies. Participatory observation and the notebook, be it paper or electronic, provide the bulk of the data. But the recording of meetings, public rituals, or other events has been greatly facilitated by the use of small, inconspicuous and easy-to-handle digital camcorders. These can also be used to record in-depth interviews where they help in discourse analysis. This is because to see the gestures of the speaker may greatly enhance language comprehension and the contextualising interpretation of what has been said. For transcribing videotapes in the same way as phonotypists transcribe audiotapes from a dictaphone, a small technical innovation has been made: Foot switches have been attached to videorecorders so that the hands are free for typing.

The mapping of villages, fields or neighbourhoods is also a standard form of data collection. But nowadays portable Global Positioning Systems (GPS) allow to determine one's position by satellite with an error of only 4 metres, so that it is enough to walk around a field or along a road to have it drawn to scale on an appropriate map by the computer the same evening.

The most conspicuous feature of this Institute, if compared to university Departments or other institutions, is that the number of projects associated with it offers greater opportunities for comparative research. The remainder of this section on methods will therefore be devoted to forms of organising or facilitating comparative work.

It would have been desirable to give all researchers ample opportunity to visit all others at their field research sites to add first-hand experience and visual impressions to what they have heard about their colleagues' projects in the seminar room. This would have provided methodological stimulation and would have enabled the researchers to watch each other in the field situation, to learn about the different ways in which to deal with a situation and to allow for commentary. It would also have stimulated comparisons.

There are layers of comparison situated above the individual field project. At higher levels of generalisation, all projects should contribute to

'collective identities', 'property relations' or problems of 'legal pluralism' (to name the keywords of the three branches of the Institute) or to the level of theorising which combines these (Schlee 2000). These are generalising comparative frameworks. Other forms of comparison are situated not so much above as between the individual projects. There might be binary comparisons or research questions that only concern three or four projects. Especially this latter type of comparison would have profited from many mutual visits by junior scholars to their colleagues in the field across the different Departments and the whole geographical range from the bend of the Niger in the west to Chukotka in the east to know enough about each other to reach agreement on what is to be compared. Such an ideal, of course, would be difficult to realise by any organisation. The obvious constraints to putting it into reality would be time and money.

Activities organised in partial fulfilment of these ideal requirements follow:

The International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, at which two members of the Institute gave papers, was used by the Ethiopia group (which include Tadesse Wolde from Department II) to meet and discuss field research. One doctoral student, Dereje Feyissa, was visited by Schlee at his field site in Gambella. In March 2001 the "West Africa group", comprising researchers from as far east as Chad and Cameroon, met at Bobo Dioulasso, Burkina Faso. Hotel prices in African provincial towns are reasonable and it was possible to provide a comfortable and relaxed atmosphere for the researchers who, in some cases, had been working under rather harsh conditions. The alternative, a meeting in Halle, would have incurred higher expenses and it would have deprived the researchers of the opportunity to visit their colleagues at their respective field research sites. Three of them combined such visits with the trip to Bobo.

At this meeting a whole day was devoted to Schlee reporting on the Ethiopian research. Each researcher then had a day for him or herself. In the ensuing discussions, overlapping themes were discovered which led to the formulation of programmes for future conferences tailored accordingly ('The landed and the landless', planned for May 2002, 'Friendship, descent, and alliance in Africa', planned for November 2002). Additionally, the researchers discussed technical questions concerning the equipment and methodological ones concerning description techniques. Several researchers reported difficulties in collecting data on household economics and especially livestock holdings for example. People simply would not say, nor give reliable information about, how many cattle they had or where they were. For risk management and in meeting social obligations, the animals of one household could be dispersed widely. It was suggested to tackle this problem from the other side: the animal side rather than the humans. Where no headway could be made with the household as the unit of reference, herds should be taken as such units, a herd census should be made and the history of each cow collected. Eco-

conomic and social relations between FulBe pastoralists and their neighbours could then be described in the medium in which they themselves express these relationships: the bovine idiom. It would later be possible to link herd data to households.

In July 2001, a four-day seminar was held in a rural setting in Northrhine-Westphalia, at Borgholzhausen in the Teutoburg Forest. In addition to themes already discussed at Bobo-Dioulasso, newly organised projects were presented and comparative aspects were explored. This seminar was especially instrumental for the writing of the present report. Uninterrupted meetings in other locations (where participants are not expected home in the evenings) with shared food, drink, and peripatetic discussions (walks or excursions) have been found to be especially productive for all types of work above the single-project level.

6. Widening the Comparative Framework

It has been attempted, through conferences and other forms of exchange and cooperation, to widen the comparative basis for theory building beyond the Institute. One way of doing so has been by contacting scholars who have worked in sites neighbouring the research areas of Institute members and convincing them of the relevance of our research questions so that they may pay attention to the same aspects. This not only generates comparability, it also completes a regional picture by proceeding in a mosaic like fashion from given cases to neighbouring ones with which they are interrelated. The possible gains of understanding provided by this procedure outweigh the disadvantage of possibly not having independent cases, as required by certain types of analysis such as statistical ones.

The interior area of the Horn of Africa provides an ideal setting for the study of identification processes and changing alliances. The southern and western parts of Ethiopia, the north of Kenya and Uganda and the eastern Sudan comprise numerous language communities belonging to three of the four African macro-families (Niger-Kordofanian, Afroasiatic, Nilo-Saharan), they comprise Muslims, Christians and followers of a great number of other belief systems which for statistical purposes are often lumped together as "animists", they comprise political and military units of the most different types, ranging from "nation"-states to segmentary lineages and groups defined by sharing an age grading organisation. Other regions of Africa, like the area around Lake Chad, show a similar diversity but it would be hard to find a region with a greater variety.

A conference was thus prepared for the period of June 5-9, 2001, with a follow-up conference planned in March 2002. The results of these meetings will have to be presented in a later report. These meetings bring to-

gether researchers who have worked on interethnic relations in this area. We confine ourselves to a relatively small part of the African continent so that in addition to offering comparisons with each other the different cases also inform each other directly. Some of the groups studied by different researchers are at war with each other or share enemies. They might be exposed to the same policies or oppressive measures by the same states. By the concentration on a limited area we aim at exploring a mosaic of interrelated cases.



*Participants of the conference on "Changing Identifications and Alliances in North-Eastern Africa", organised by Günther Schlee, 5-9 June 2001.
(Photo: MPI for Social Anthropology)*

Contributors were asked to focus on changing systems of identification, on interethnic relations including relations to the state or states, the ethnic make-up of states or the equations drawn between 'ethnicity/ethnicities' and 'nation/nations'. They were also asked to be prepared to invest some time in re-writing their papers after the workshop, because we bring many people together who have worked in areas of study neighbouring each other in the field, in order to see which patterns emerge in a regional picture. Contributions should therefore react to one another.

The participants and the titles of their contributions are listed in the chapter "Conferences, Workshops, Colloquia" (pp.177-186).
(*Günther Schlee*)

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Department II: Property Relations

Director: Chris Hann

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1. Introduction

The work of this Department will surprise those who continue to associate anthropology exclusively with the study of small-scale 'traditional' societies. Socialism can be usefully construed as a massive twentieth century experiment in social engineering. The recent demise of socialist systems in Europe and Asia has opened up a new era of transformation, posing challenges to all the social sciences. Changes in property rights and relationships have been central to the programmes of both socialist regimes and their successors. The main projects of this Department, in the first years of its existence, therefore address the topic of property,

mostly through empirical, rural case-studies in a range of postsocialist countries and also through broad-ranging comparative studies and theoretical-conceptual work.

Anthropological approaches to property proceed from the assumption that all human communities have a more or less stable set of arrangements (norms and institutions) to regulate how *persons* relate to the many *things* that are significant to them in their environment. From this perspective, even those immediate return hunter-gatherer societies whose members are characterised by James Woodburn as 'disengaged from property' can be said to have a property system: in this case it is based primarily on a principle of sharing, which leads in practice to a high degree of egalitarianism in most dimensions of social life.

Similarly, the frequently heard assertion that socialist societies were characterised by a 'property vacuum' is at best a half truth. The suppression of private ownership of the means of production in most sectors of the economy by no means obliterated earlier property norms. Ownership issues figured prominently in all variants of socialist ideology and they continue to do so today. The explicit promotion of 'private property', driven in part by external agents such as the World Bank, shows that the dominant contemporary models of 'good governance' also depend on a particular vision of property. The fact that property principles are frequently cited as sectarian slogans in political debate does not, however, disqualify social scientists from using this term. Rather, the contentious political background highlights an important anthropological principle: the need to proceed cautiously with concepts, in order to avoid both ethnocentricity and political bias. Through painstaking ethnographic work, we aim to reach inside local understandings of particular property systems, as well as to enhance comparative analyses of property systems generally.

Chris Hann's interests in property derive from the Cambridge department in which he was trained, where the basic curriculum included classical contributions by Max Gluckman, Jack Goody and Edmund Leach (the last two were among his teachers in the 1970s). His field studies in Hungary and Poland in the 1970s revealed major disparities between ideology and practice, between property rights in a formal legal sense and the wider frame in which people could deploy goods in social action. Thus Hungarian smallholders were nominally collectivised, yet they enjoyed considerable freedom to pursue market profits, irrespective of the ownership pattern. In Poland, on the other hand, the failure to pursue collectivisation had led to a stalemate, in which peasants retained title to their land but were denied many of the opportunities to modernise, from which their counterparts in Hungary had benefited.

The transformations of 1989 gave property issues a new salience throughout the region. Hann monitored developments in the regions of

his earlier projects and, in his introduction to the edited volume *Property Relations* (Cambridge UP 1998), made the case for a more general renewal of anthropological interest in the topic. In an age of resurgent neoliberal ideology, it is important to restate the legal commonplace that 'property relations are in reality social relations between people', i.e. to emphasize that questions pertaining to the ownership, control and distribution of all resources are always embedded in wider social contexts, above all the political context. It is also important, however, to supplement explorations of political economy with sensitive accounts of the variation to be found in the ways different communities perceive and manipulate different types of things; fieldwork remains the key to this sort of understanding.

The establishment of the new Max Planck Institute in Halle opened the possibility of turning these suggestions into a concrete research agenda, carrying both empirical and theoretical work on property forward onto a higher level. Given the continued topicality of postsocialist transformations and the dearth of any large-scale coordinated enquiries from an anthropological perspective, it was decided to make this the main priority of Hann's department in the first phase of projects. However, we also wanted to maintain a degree of flexibility, both thematically and regionally, in order to be able to link up with wider research agendas both inside and outside the Institute, including topics such as that of 'the commons', the alleged replacement of familiar notions of private ownership by more flexible forms based on 'access', and protection of the intellectual property rights of indigenous people.

When the posts and scholarships were advertised in the autumn of 1999, they attracted applications from all over the world. The standard of project proposals was gratifyingly high and the final selection was based on the merits of the individual applicant and the proposals submitted (it is neither possible nor desirable in anthropology to design research projects in the manner of Stalinist planners, and only afterwards to see if the human resources necessary for its implementation are actually available). The Department's thoroughly international character is reflected in its composition (all five continents are represented). These researchers are fully committed to Halle and have no significant academic obligations elsewhere. Their overriding goal is to establish the new MPI as a leading international centre of excellence for anthropological research.

We were fortunate in being able to augment the postsocialist focus with a special *Projektgruppe* devoted to Siberia, so that the new Department turned out to be larger than originally envisaged. The main subsidiary focus group is devoted to property research in Africa. In addition, all members of this Department have broader interests in the history and theory of anthropology. Before turning in Part II to details of individual projects, the following sections will outline our main common interests and activities during the past two years.

2. An Overview of the Commons

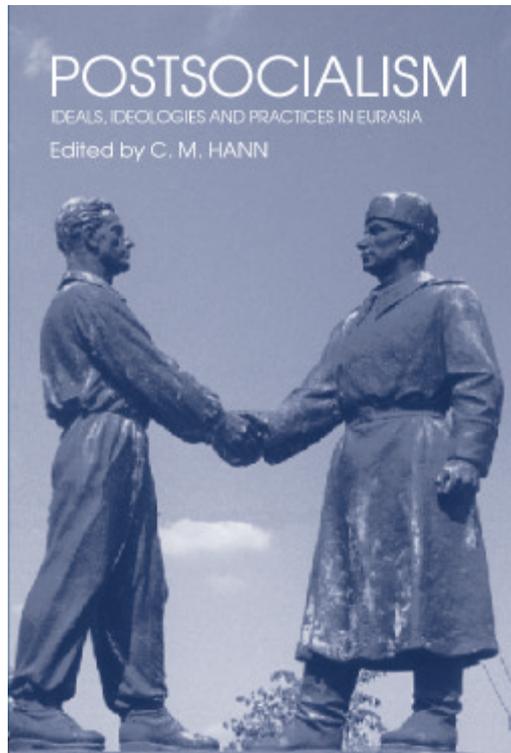
Postsocialism and Property

The collapse of socialist regimes in the Soviet bloc in 1989-1991 was by any standards dramatic. With only a few notable individual exceptions, the discipline of anthropology has not been especially prominent in social science analyses of the ensuing 'transition'. Yet, in the light of early failures and widespread disillusionment, the importance of a close-up understanding of how transformations are actually experienced by the former socialist citizens is self-evident. The circumstance that this research is based in an Institute located in a city of distinguished intellectual traditions in the *neues Bundesland* of Sachsen-Anhalt provides a continuous stimulus. Transformation processes have had many devastating effects. In the city of Halle, incorporation into the Federal Republic has led to massive deindustrialisation and accelerating depopulation. Many of the resulting tensions are highly visible in everyday life. For example, to solve the city's housing problems it has become necessary to demolish high rise blocks erected as recently as the 1980s, when there was still a housing shortage. The city still bears many reminders of the recent socialist past and there are controversies over the preservation of buildings and monuments from the GDR era (Our current project portfolio includes two studies of rural East Germany; both are carried out by non-Germans - see Part II below for details).



The 'Fäuste' monument in Halle, erected under the GDR in 1970 to commemorate the class struggle fought by German workers, is currently a contested object of 'cultural property'. (Photo: C. Hann)

Many factors complicate the venture of an 'anthropology of postsocialism'. Anthropological studies of socialism were at best patchy in their coverage, both regionally and in the substantive topics they addressed. Some countries were virtually closed to external researchers. The nature and quality of research undertaken by 'local scholars' also varied considerably. This raises the whole problematic of 'anthropology at home' and the distinction that survives so strongly in Germany between *Volkskunde* (the study of the customs of one's own people) and *Völkerkunde* (the customs of everyone else). Among students of the latter there has been a consistent preference for work among non-literate, 'exotic' peoples, those known formerly as the *Naturvölker*. The peoples of socialist Eurasia were somehow betwixt and between, neither remote and exotic nor entirely like ourselves. This background seems to provide at least part of the explanation for the neglect of Eurasian socialist societies by German anthropologists. German scholars were little in evidence at the first major conferences organized by the Department on *Actually Existing Postsocialisms* (November 2000).



Papers from our first conference have recently been published by Routledge. A German translation 'Postsozialismus' is forthcoming (Campus, Frankfurt 2002).

Since those early conferences, which consisted primarily in stocktaking reviews of the field by leading international practitioners, all members of the Department have continued their own field research and begun data analysis (details in Part II below). The range is considerable, from houses in the Croatian war zone through forest privatisation in Bulgaria to the reindeer economies of Siberia. The events of 1989-1991 brought a rapid and far-reaching transformation of property relations throughout the former Soviet bloc. Parallel developments, at least in certain economic fields, began a decade earlier in China. Hence, in spite of the persistence of Communist Party rule, the world's most populous country is included in our broad interpretation of 'postsocialist'.

Our prime focus has been on decollectivisation in the rural sector, i.e. the transformations experienced by the *kolkhoz* (socialist cooperative farm) and *sovkhoz* (state farm). This is not because anthropologists are interested only in spheres close to *Natur* and neglect other property forms, (although the fact that other disciplines tend to neglect this sector on the grounds of its inaccessibility should not be forgotten). More importantly, a high proportion of the population in many of these countries still lives in the countryside and/or has close links to the land. This focus on rural problems, far from being marginal, can thus illuminate fundamental issues of societal transformation. Besides, land issues often lead directly into other key topics pertaining to property; e.g. the nature of a person's emotional attachment to the object, or issues of cultural heritage and the collective rights of indigenous peoples.

Theoretically, the work is already proving fertile. A stable property system is of fundamental importance to social life. Its political and moral foundations may be enshrined in the Constitution. New laws can be introduced overnight, but it is extremely difficult to engineer radical changes in practices and values. The extreme of disintegration is illustrated by Leutloff's case study in the Croatian war zone, where even after the cessation of violence the actors' time horizons tend to be short and the economy driven more by an ethos of plunder than of rational long-term accumulation. Compared to this, the changes elsewhere can all be considered gradualist.

As Katherine Verdery has pointed out (in her MPI seminar in April 2001, drawing on her on-going studies of rural transformation in Romania) it is important to supplement attention to legal *rights* with close studies of the *obligations* and *responsibilities* of owning property. In the case of the Federal Republic of Germany, this aspect of property is spelled out with great clarity in the Constitution, yet the circumstances in which exclusive ownership rights should be curtailed *zum Wohl der Allgemeinheit* are left imprecise and open to changing interpretations. Land may traditionally have been viewed as the 'supreme good' (Gregory) of rural society, but in postsocialist economic contexts it is very often a 'bad', at least

from a narrow economic point of view. The emphasis on strengthening property rights seems to have led to widening gaps in living standards, both within rural society and between rural and urban sectors; more detailed empirical assessments must await further data analysis in the course of 2002. The many irrationalities of the privatisation processes have led Hann to speak of the '*idiocies of decollectivisation*' (this is the working title of the paper he will present at the Agrarian Studies programme at Yale in February 2002). At the same time, many researchers in the group have documented the popularity of private ownership in some sections of society, and approval for the basic principles of restitution and/or compensation. The complex balances between efficiency considerations and 'transitional justice' will be addressed in workshops and comparative articles in the final phase of the research.

Article 14 (Property, right of inheritance, taking of property)

- 1) Property and the rights of inheritance are guaranteed. Their content and limits are determined by the laws.
- 2) Property imposes duties. Its use should also serve the public weal.
- 3) Expropriation is permitted only in the public weal. It may take place only by or pursuant to law which provides for kind and extent of the compensation. The compensation shall be determined upon just consideration of the public interest and the interests of the persons affected. In case of dispute regarding the amount of compensation, recourse may be had to the ordinary courts.

From the *Grundgesetz* (Constitution) of the Federal Republic of Germany

Finally, a larger conference is planned for 2003 – in conjunction with the *Projektgruppe* 'Legal Pluralism' – at which theoretical approaches to property will be reviewed, including the 'layered' approach outlined recently by Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann. This meeting will have a broad compass: it will survey the history of the concept of property in anthropology, sample the fields of the most contentious contemporary debates, such as intellectual property rights and environmental protection, and identify key topics for future research. It will also return to the question of how far the postsocialist property revolution can be adequately captured in terms of a public vs. private dichotomy. Is this dichotomy causing us to lose sight of the complexities of property relations and the virtues of intermediate forms, both in developed and less developed countries? What does socialist experience teach us about enduring dilemmas in the provision of common goods in all human societies? Many of those who lived through socialism and who have recently been affected by postsocialist property engineering continue to perceive the world in terms of an impoverished dichotomy between 'private' and 'state'. But the force of this dichotomy as an influential 'local model' should not inhibit scholars from developing other, richer tools for comparative analysis.

Siberia Projektgruppe

Thanks to supplementary funding made available by the Max Planck Society it was possible to take full advantage of an unanticipated wealth of good proposals for research in various regions of Siberia, from the sub-Arctic west to Chukotka and Kamchatka in the far north and east. Here too the projects are essentially individual (details below) but shared ecologies and political heritage make for exciting common themes.

Thus all projects are engaged in tracking the ongoing changes in state farms (*sovkhozy*) and their associated communities in the wake of Russia's privatisation programme. *Sovkhozy* in Siberia, as elsewhere in Russia, were 'total social institutions'. Their dismantling therefore means more than a change in legal formalities; it involves a radical disruption of the way of life for its former members. However, perhaps more than in other parts of Russia, in the Russian North there seems to be continual change in the form of property taken by successors to the *sovkhozy*, as enterprises have continued to split, merge, re-register in a new form, or dissolve.

Most Siberian *sovkhozy* are engaged in hunting and fishing as well as reindeer herding, but the latter has attracted special attention. It has always been considered not merely an economic activity, but a 'traditional' way of life for the indigenous peoples of the Russian North. In this sense, it carries some valence as a kind of cultural property. The outcomes in the different regions differ drastically. Yamal, studied by Florian Stammler, is one of Russia's top oil-producing regions. Despite increasing competition for resources there, the strength of the oil industry has not seriously weakened the herding economy – perhaps in part due to the proximity of European Russia. By contrast, in Chukotka, where Patty Gray does most of her fieldwork, postsocialist headcounts have plummeted and attempts to privatise deer have failed miserably. Most herds in Chukotka have recently become municipal property, as they have in Sakha (Yakutia). However, Aimar Ventsel has found that the herders in Sakha enjoy more freedom to pursue their way of life without impediment. Again, the health of industry - in this case diamond mining - seems to contribute to a favourable economic environment for herding.

It is clear from these projects that the bureaucratic administrative apparatus is also a decisive variable. All team members have paid close attention to reforms of local and regional political structures, and the changing nature of state power has been the principal topic of Nikolai Ssorin-Chaikov's investigations in the sub-Arctic Evenki districts of western Siberia. At the other end of the landmass in Kamchatka, one component of Alexander King's research draws on the theory of postcolonialism in approaching this region as an imperial periphery. Also in Kamchatka, Erich Kasten is similarly concerned with changing legislation concerning the 'small-numbered peoples' and its practical consequences. He is also

investigating the extent to which traditional indigenous knowledge and the revitalization of presocialist patterns of intercommunity exchange and migration can help local populations adapt to their new challenges, while King is making a special study of the continuing symbolic power of reindeer herding and particular places in the landscape.



Research sites of the Siberia Projektgruppe. (map: MPI of Social Anthropology, adapted from the map collection of Perry Castaneda Library at TheUniversity of Texas at Austin)

Many inhabitants of these remote regions, faced with severe and economic dislocation, have sought salvation in recent years in a new (or neo-traditional) form of collective, the *obshchina*. Because it seems to be increasingly significant for the people being studied, *obshchina* has emerged as another significant common theme in the group. Most regions have now passed laws to regulate this institution but both the laws and the practical implementation vary greatly. In Chukotka, the formation and registration of *obshchiny*, in spite of bureaucratic opposition, is perceived to be crucial for the maintenance of native identity and for gaining some measure of local autonomy. In the Dolgan and Nganasan settlements of Taimyr studied by John Ziker, hunters found there was little practical payoff to investing the time and money required to register an *obshchina*, and so they tend to prefer informal communal forms of activating land tenure. In Yamal, *obshchina* seems to bear some importance as a vehicle to provide environmental protection of ancestral lands. In Sakha, on the other hand, where there are few threats to native identity or local autonomy or the environment, the principal advantages of this institution may be instrumental-financial.

Further important common threads in this group include the increasing impact of transnational factors ('globalisation') and the increased saliency of non-governmental organizations in all fields, from environmental issues to the politicisation of culture. Certain conditions in the Russian North, such as the vast distances between regional centers and remote

communities and the high cost of transportation, shape the impact of globalisation on this region. While native political organisations in towns and cities are increasingly able to connect to national and international organisations in their advocacy, many native communities dispersed across the tundra and taiga have experienced decreasing access to government and services, and the production of commodities in these communities, such as meat, fish, and fur, has diminished significantly since the Soviet era. Although some of these conditions are unique to Siberia, this vast region cannot be dismissed as an exotic special case. On the contrary, environmental sustainability and the persistence of small languages and cultural traits are concerns engaging anthropologists all over the world.



Chukchi reindeer herders, members of a former collective farm brigade, lasso a reindeer during a fall slaughter in Chukotka. Reorganization of such collective farms has had a drastic impact on the lives of rural residents. (Photo. P. Gray)

The advantages of having a strong regional cluster have been demonstrated in the way this *Projektgruppe* has been able to take the initiative in bringing together the worldwide scholarly community to set new agendas for the study of the region. Erich Kasten convened a preliminary workshop when the group first assembled in January 2000, attended by (among others) Igor Krupnik, Peter Schweitzer and Nikolai Vakhtin. He followed this in November of the same year by organising a major international conference on 'Postsocialisms in the Russian North'. This was held at the *Franckesche Stiftungen*, the home base of Georg Wilhelm Steller, pioneer fieldworker in Siberia in the eighteenth century. The conference was hailed by David Anderson, in *Anthropology Today* (April 2001), as 'a certain coming of age of a new genre of ethnography' and a welcome 'return to an old tradition of dialogue between Western Europe and North America and Siberia.'

Personnel Changes

The group was sad to lose Nikolai Ssorin-Chaikov when he departed to take up a permanent appointment in Cambridge in January 2001. Also early in 2001, Erich Kasten took up another post in the Völkerkunde Museum in Berlin, but fortunately he is able to maintain his active links to the group on a part-time basis. In their places we have been able to recruit two recent postdocs from North America: Alexander King and John Ziker both attended the November 2001 conferences and were therefore already familiar with the activities of the group.

Publications

In addition to publications arising out of the individual projects, work on three comparative edited volumes is already in hand. The first two of these are expected to appear in 2002 under the titles '*People and Land in the Russian North*' and '*Rebuilding Collective Identities in the Russian North*'. Both volumes will carry the subtitle: 'Pathways to Reform in Postsocialist Siberia'. These are edited by Erich Kasten and published in Germany, with distribution in the rest of the world handled by the University of Washington Press. Meanwhile, Patty Gray is working together with Gail Fondahl on a collection examining changing forms of land tenure and local self-government, including the *obshchina*, to which most of our own researchers are contributing chapters. The working title is '*Reterritorialisation in the Russian North*'.



The conference on 'Postsocialisms in the Russian North' was convened by Erich Kasten in November 2000 at the Franckeschen Stiftungen, an institution whose links to Siberia date back to the eighteenth century. Pictured here on the roof of the Stiftungen are (from the right): Tim Ingold, Rane Willerslev, Chris Hann, Piers Vitebsky, Zypylma Darieva, Susanne Brandtstädter, Agnieszka Halemba, Alexander King and Nikolai Ssorin-Chaikov. (Photo: Emma Wilson)

Property Research in Africa and Australia

There is a loose sense in which one can say 'we are all postsocialist now', since the demise of the Soviet bloc has affected the whole world. However, even in the more specific sense, it is important to recall that numerous postsocialist countries exist outside Eurasia, Ethiopia being one of several on the African continent. In the person of Tadesse Wolde Gossa we have been able to appoint a scholar whose research agenda feeds well into our concerns with property, while regionally there is a close fit with the locations studied in Department I. This Department is similarly pleased to be able to support comparative research by Thomas Widlok into foraging communities of Africa and Australia. It has sometimes been assumed that foraging communities provide insight into the true essence of 'primitive communism'. Widlok's research avoids such essentialism. It is valuable for our programme because it broadens our perspectives and ensures that we keep in touch with international debates in the discipline that have important practical as well as theoretical implications, e.g. those concerning the appropriate understanding of 'native title'. The attention paid by these scholars to various forms/levels of corporate property-holding suggests how the dominant western notions of private property can be problematised and complemented by alternative notions.

Tadesse and Widlok both obtained their doctorates at the London School of Economics under the supervision of James Woodburn, the distinguished hunter-gatherer specialist. Studies of these societies sent shock-waves through anthropology in the 1960s, when ethnographers came forward and suggested that foragers could get by without structures of dominance, without binding property relations and without inherent inequality of gender, age or status. Woodburn is probably best known for introducing the dichotomy between immediate and delayed return systems, and for insisting that sharing, rather than 'generalised reciprocity',



Activists from two NGOs have arrived in the northern Namibian settlement of Tsintsabis to establish a development trust fund. Both in Namibia and in Australia corporate associations are an important vehicle for local communities to receive funds and to hold communal property. (Photo: T. Widlok)



Aidan Southall (standing) in conversation with James Woodburn at the Halle conference, June 2001. (Photo: MPI for Social Anthropology)

is the best way to characterise the norms and practices which underpin the most egalitarian of all human communities. It therefore seemed appropriate for us to mark Woodburn's recent retirement with an international conference on *Property and Equality*. Distinguished scholars from all over the world, including prominent members of the original group of researchers, gathered in Halle in June 2001 for three days of critical debate. As well as an abundance of fresh ethnography from hunter gatherers and other egalitarian societies, participants also addressed the continuing theoretical challenges. Reporting on the conference, in *Anthropology Today* (December 2001), Jerome Lewis concluded 'The symposium demonstrated that hunter-gatherer studies continue to be highly relevant to anthropology today and still provide some of the most striking counter examples to the mainstream movement of humanity towards increasingly accepted hierarchy and inequality.' There was general agreement that we need to take seriously the category 'egalitarian societies', to pinpoint the structures and the values on which they depend, as well as the mechanisms which discriminate against them and threaten to destroy them in the contemporary world. These are also pertinent points in post-socialist contexts, where many seek to explain away the new inequalities as being 'rooted in human nature'.

The papers were circulated prior to the meeting and a selection, probably in two volumes, will be published under the editorship of Tadesse and Widlok.

Other Activities of the Department

History and/of Anthropology

Although modern social anthropology has continued to emphasise field-work and thereby to uphold a 'presentist' ethos, recent decades have witnessed much fruitful cooperation with historians. Social historians have benefited from the breadth and comparative insight of anthropological work, while more and more anthropologists have found it essential to work with texts, often original archival sources, in order to understand what they can observe and document in the present. Several members of this Department have a strong interest in maintaining a dialogue with historians of property changes and Hann will debate the even broader topic of 'civil society' with leading historians at the national *Historikertag* in Halle in September 2002.

A postdoctoral scholarship awarded to the Austrian historian Hannes Grandits, a Balkan specialist, led to the planning of a major interdisciplinary meeting for December 2001, under the title *Family Organisation, Inheritance and Property Rights in Transition*. Barring last-minute mishaps, this will be the first conference in the Institute's permanent building. The main focus will be on adaptations at the level of family and household to radical changes in their institutional environment; particular attention will be paid to changes in inheritance practices. Jack Goody has accepted an invitation to give the keynote address, which will be followed by a series of commentaries by distinguished figures in adjacent disciplines. In the second part of the meeting both historians and anthropologists will present case studies from periods of rapid social change in the past. The third part will be devoted to instances of contemporary transformation; many of the Department's own researchers will take the opportunity to present their own fresh materials in this section and also in an additional workshop for work in progress, to be held immediately before the conference.

The same logic that has increasingly brought anthropologists and historians together also requires each individual researcher to pay attention to the history of the discipline itself, and indeed, in the case of a concept such as property, to intellectual history more generally. The history of anthropology in Germany is a topic of particular interest to members of this Department, precisely because most of us obtained our anthropological education elsewhere. The German tradition tends not to figure at all in modern anthropology programmes, yet arguably this is where the origins of many significant ideas and approaches must be sought. One example is provided by the notion of *embeddedness*, which has been very influential in economic anthropology and in recent work on property. It originates with Richard Thurnwald, not with Karl Polanyi as is commonly supposed. A second is furnished by the concept of culture itself which, however much

refashioned by the Boasians in America, continuously betrays its origins in Germany. The Department organised a seminar on the culture concept by Adam Kuper in May 2000, following the publication of his book on the subject. We also organised an early visit and lecture reviewing the history of legal anthropology by Sally Falk Moore, shortly before the establishment of our Project Group on 'Legal Pluralism' in this field in June 2000. In an Institute seminar in June 2001, Han Vermeulen gave us a revealing account of the special role played by Siberian researchers in the foundational moments of the 'ethnological sciences' in Germany in the mid-eighteenth century. Closer to the present day, we have plans for a symposium on anthropology in the GDR period, possibly in the context of a larger-scale meeting on the history and theory of Marxist anthropology throughout the socialist world. The expertise and support of Bernhard Streck and his colleagues in Leipzig, oldest of all the German University departments, will be indispensable in bringing this scheme to fruition.

Members of the Department also take a lively interest in current theoretical controversies. Hann has particular interests in the subdiscipline of economic anthropology, and this has been reflected in the number of visitors and guest lecturers who work in that field (including Chris Gregory, Stephen Gudeman, Keith Hart and Frances Pine). We intend soon to organise a conference or workshop to debate competing views of the future of this interface.

Finally, this Department has taken the lead in planning a series of lectures entitled '*Four Traditions in Anthropology*', in which leading representatives of the discipline will review American, British, French and German traditions and debate their cross-fertilisations, as part of the celebrations to mark the inauguration of the Institute in June 2002. A major publication is envisaged.

Methods

The MPI has been committed from its inception, to a comparative research agenda based on fieldwork. Yet the projects have been devised by individuals from extremely different backgrounds, who did not even know each other before coming together in Halle in the early months of 2000. Exposition of research intentions in an opening series of seminars helped to establish a common basis for discussion, and from their previous training all possessed basic familiarity with anthropological research methods. Nevertheless the opinion was occasionally expressed that closer attention to methodologies, in particular to the utilisation of innovative computing technologies, could pay dividends for our comparativist agenda.

The Department addressed this need by organising two informal two-day workshops in 2000, devoted to quantitative and qualitative techniques respectively. Each was planned and organised internally, primarily by Gordon Milligan, but also drew in external expertise. The workshop on *Quantitative Methods* was preceded by a talk by Nigel Swain (University of

Liverpool), who highlighted the methodological difficulties he had encountered in his own sociological investigations of changing rural property relations. Patrick Heady (who combines his work at the MPI with continued employment as a government statistician in London) persuaded his colleagues of the value of quantitative data, and together with Barbara Cellarius introduced the group to spreadsheet programmes, the formulation of questionnaires, sampling techniques etc. The meeting on *Qualitative Methods* followed a similar 'hands on' approach, with the external expertise this time coming from Michael Fischer and Wenonah Lyon (University of Kent at Canterbury). The principal focus was on the use of new software packages for the analysis of texts, in particular for the coding of ethnographic interview transcripts.

Additionally, with the help of the IT Department, researchers have been encouraged to share and debate problems electronically, notably via the 'Property Bulletin Board'. In its first phase this did not prove to be notably successful, partly because it could not be easily accessed by staff in the field, but we shall continue our efforts to ensure that this tool will be used more systematically in the future. The aim is to create an optimal basis for comparison between the various projects, without compromising the autonomy of the individual researchers and the integrity of their projects. We also hope to make as much data as possible available to other scholars through the internet (a first step has been taken with the Transylvanian data collected by Andrew Cartwright in 2000).

Diverse Regional Interests

Members of the Department all have their particular area specialisations; their work feeds simultaneously into Area Studies as well as into general anthropology. For example, the Workshop convened by Susanne Brandtstädter as part of the Second International Convention of Asia Scholars in Berlin in August 2001 brought anthropologists and non-anthropologists together in an exploration of *'Place, Property and Identity in post-Mao China'*. The Department's Balkan specialists have ensured good exposure for this region, notably in the guest lectures (later published as Working Papers) by John Pickles and Sophie Chevalier. Hann's interests in Habsburg Galicia led to an extended visit by the Toronto-based historian Paul Robert Magocsi, who, in addition to his academic distinction, happens to be a highly influential participant in on-going political debates concerning the identity known as *Carpatho-Rusyn* or *Ruthenian*. Hann and Magocsi are currently working together on a collection of papers concerning Galicia, past and present.

In these examples the area interest in question corresponds to the area in which we are addressing property issues; yet welcome spinoffs are often to be had even when this is not the case. For example, Tadesse Wolde initiated an invitation to Deborah James, whose lecture in May

2001 on post-apartheid South Africa suggested some surprising new possibilities for comparisons with postsocialist countries. Anatolia constitutes a special case in the Department, since both Hann and Yalçın-Heckmann have worked here in the recent past and may well resume work there in the future. To take stock of current research, particularly concerning topics of 'cross-cutting identities', a central theme of Department I, they convened two workshops in 2000 and 2001, attended by some of the leading experts from Germany and abroad. The discussions expanded to include current issues pertaining to Anatolian migrants in Germany. These meetings took on an entirely informal, 'brainstorming' character and, at this stage at least, there are no plans for a publication. The objective was simply to bring a fragmented community of scholars together to share information and debate future research priorities; this goal was certainly achieved.

Dissemination

The impact of a new research Institute depends crucially on its ability to disseminate its results, which in contemporary scholarship means above all publication in the English language. The Department has an advantage here, in that English has been from the beginning the prime language of internal communication, and many staff already had an impressive publications record before joining the MPI. All are encouraged to participate in at least one external conference annually and to publish in the Institute's own series of Working Papers, which primarily serves the purpose of a 'pre-print' outlet. They are expected to submit work to leading international disciplinary and area studies outlets such as the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* and *East European Politics and Societies* (the Department will be represented in both of these in 2002; details of individuals' publications for 1999-2001 follow the project summaries in Part II below).

Department members are also encouraged in the usual way to read papers and deliver lectures at other institutions and at workshops and conferences. The list for 1999-2001 is long and includes: Addis Ababa, Berlin, Bristol, Budapest, Cambridge, Canberra, Chicago, Cluj, Cologne, Cracow, Fribourg, Göttingen, Kiel, Leipzig, London (UCL, LSE), Lund, Melbourne, Paris, Piran, Plymouth, Prague, Sofia, St. Louis, Sydney, Tübingen, Washington DC.

Members of the Department have presented papers at major Area Studies meetings, such as the *American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies* and the *Convention of Asia Scholars*. Even more important are the annual meetings of the *American Anthropological Association* and the biennial meetings of the *European Association of Social Anthropologists*. In order to convey some of the key points to emerge from our first cycle of projects, Department members are organising panels at both these events in 2002.

Cooperation

The Department has built up a wide network of external cooperative links. Most members of the Department cooperate in one way or another with local partners in the location of their field projects, or in local institutions, some of whom may also visit Halle to facilitate analysis. In most cases this cooperation remains informal, but formal agreements can be signed in exceptional cases. Collaboration can lead to sensitive issues and dilemmas, especially in contexts where financial disparities among scholars from different countries accentuate problems arising from diverging intellectual traditions. Some of these issues will be addressed at the conference *Who Owns Siberian Ethnography?* in March 2002. One goal of this meeting is to bring members of the younger generation of Russian anthropologists into closer contact with their western counterparts. Plans to launch a new *Projektgruppe* in 2002 for research in Poland have a similar goal.

The Department has established fruitful contacts with several local research institutions, including the *Franckesche Stiftungen* and the *Institut für Agrarentwicklung in Mittel- und Osteuropa*. A workshop on minority identities was organised in Wittenberg in September 2000 jointly with the *Orientwissenschaftliches Zentrum* of the Martin Luther University, which has since published the papers. Hann maintains close links with the *Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum für Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas* in Leipzig, where he is a member of the Advisory Board and shares numerous interests with the Deputy Director, Stefan Troebst. Further afield, we are organising a workshop in 2002 jointly with the Department of Agricultural Economics of the Humboldt University Berlin on land rights issues in the Balkans; we expect this to lead to a major research grant application and the recruitment of up to four additional doctoral students.

Finally, there have been fruitful contacts with several other Max Planck Institutes, e.g. for *Demographic Research* in Rostock. We are participating in the current inter-Institute initiative examining religious pluralism in Europe; cooperation in this field will intensify from 2003 when religion becomes a departmental research priority. Although we are concerned primarily with contemporary empirical research, our work may well carry implications for speculations concerning the origins of property (as commonly found in the 'just so' stories of evolutionary economists) and its alleged development from biologically regulated principles of territoriality. We intend therefore explore the possibilities for joint activities with neighbouring Max Planck Institutes in Jena (*Research into Economic Systems*) and Leipzig (*Evolutionary Anthropology*). (A workshop exploring issues of minority languages and collective identities was organised with the Department of Linguistics of the Leipzig Institute in March 2001.)

Guests

The Department sponsored a large number of academic visits in 2000-2001. Most were for relatively short periods and our plans to attract distinguished foreign guests through extended Fellowships have been frustrated by the delays concerning the designated Guesthouse on Reichardtstrasse. The Department will continue its policy of bringing in young researchers for short periods, at both pre- and post-doctoral levels, whenever their projects complement those of our own staff. It is planned to extend more invitations to colleagues in German University Departments, to enable them to find out more about our work and vice versa. The following list includes all those who visited us outside of the eleven conferences and workshops (see pp. 177-186) organised by the Department in 2000-2001; the range is from a brief consultation or lecture visit to a post-doc placement of up to six months:

Alan Barnard (University of Edinburgh); Daphne Berdahl (University of Minnesota); Michal Buchowski (University of Poznan/ European University Frankfurt); Sophie Chevalier (University of Besançon); Édouard Conte (CNRS, Paris); André Czegledy (University of Witwatersrand); Brian Donahoe (Indiana University); Elisabeth Dunn (Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin); Richard Fardon (SOAS, University of London); Stephan Feuchtwang (London School of Economics); Altan Gökalp (Centre Marc Bloch); Anna Gossman (University of Cologne); Hannes Grandits (University of Graz); John Gray (University of Adelaide); Christopher Gregory (Australian National University); Xiaolin Guo (University of Aarhus); Konrad Hagedorn (Humboldt Universität, Berlin); Michael Hagner (MPI für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, Berlin); Keith Hart (University of Aberdeen); Elisabeth Hsu (Oxford University); Longina Jakubowska (University of Amsterdam); Deborah James (London School of Economics); Angela Jancius (Michigan State University); Don Kalb (University of Utrecht); Yulian Konstantinov (New Bulgarian University); Olga Kourilo (Humboldt University, Berlin); Ivan Krastev (Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin); Igor Krupnik (Smithsonian Institute, Washington); Adam Kuper (Brunel University); Peter Little (University of North Carolina); Paul Robert Magocsi (University of Toronto); Michael E. Meeker (University of California, San Diego); Uta-Maria Niederle (MPI zur Erforschung von Wirtschaftssystemen, Jena); Peter Niedermüller (Humboldt Universität, Berlin); John Pickles (University of North Carolina); Frances Pine (University of Cambridge); Mihály Sárkány (Hungarian Academy of Sciences); Peter Schweitzer (University of Alaska/Universität Wien); Thomas Sikor (Humboldt Universität, Berlin; Stanislaw Stepień (PWIN, Przemysł, Poland); Stefan Troebst (GWZO, Leipzig); Aleksandra Urkachan (House of Culture Palana, Kamchatka); Nikolay Vahktin (European University of St. Petersburg); Katherine Verdery (University of Michigan); Han F. Vermeulen (Leiden University).

3. Individual Projects and Publications (from 1999¹)

Local Property Strategies and New Moral Economies in South-eastern China

Susanne Brandtstädter

Susanne Brandtstädter was educated at Heidelberg University and the Free University in Berlin, where she obtained her doctorate in 2000 with a dissertation titled 'Hierarchy or Alliance: the Moral Economy of Gender Relations in rural Taiwan and China'.

Although in obvious ways exceptional, given the communist party's continued hold on political power, Chinese experience since the 1970s lends itself well to comparative investigations of postsocialist property systems. In rural areas effective management and control of land have been passed down to households, but other rights, previously exercised at the level of the village community, seem to be shifting upwards, e.g. to the township government. The encouragement of 'socialist market economy' has posed a challenge to socialist ideals, particularly egalitarianism. Developing the concept of 'moral economy', this project investigates the increasing tension between the old collective order and the new market economy of recent decades. The area of Brandtstädter's fieldwork in Southern Fujian, already familiar to her from her doctoral project, illustrates the tensions in a specially acute form, in particular because of the very intensive links maintained with overseas Chinese and increasing transnational investments in rural areas.

The explanatory framework that Brandtstädter is bringing to bear on China's notoriously 'fuzzy' (Katherine Verdery) property relations pays attention both to the erosion of some forms of collective property (often in the context of 'corruption' by local elites) and the simultaneous re-emergence of distinctive traditional institutions of the community, notably temple and lineage groupings. Thanks to an influx of wealth from both diaspora and local communities, these neo-traditional corporate institutions are able to form a kind of bridge between the moral economy of socialism and the principles of new market economy. These institutions are taking shape outside state and market, and they may offer the prospect of a new moral economy, or civil society, between the two.

Publications:

Brandtstädter, S.: Hierarchy and Alliance: Kinship, Gender and the Political Economy in Taiwan and the People's Republic. Proceedings of the Conference "Social Change across the Taiwan Strait", Fu-Jen University, Taipei 1999, 43-60.

¹ Excluding book reviews and MPI Working Papers; for a list of the latter see pp. 236-238

- Landverteilungskonflikte, lokale Institutionen und Staat – Zur Autorität der Tradition in Südostchina. In: *Settling of Land Conflicts by Meditation. Schlichtung von Landkonflikten – ein workshop*, (Eds.) E. Alber und J. Eckert. Institut für Ethnologie, FU Berlin & GTZ 1999, CD-ROM.
- *Taking Elias to China (and Leaving Weber at Home): Post-Mao Transformations and Neo-traditional Revivals in the Chinese Countryside*. *Sociologus* **50**, 113-143 (2000).

State Law and Everyday Property Relations in Romania

Andrew Cartwright

Andrew Cartwright was educated in law at Warwick University, where he completed his PhD in 1999 on the implementation of land reforms in postsocialist Romania. He was a member of the Department from June to December 2000 and is currently a research continued in the Centre for Central and Eastern European Studies, Liverpool University.

Cartwright's research followed on from his doctoral work by examining the extent to which local property relations are regulated by state law. The idea was to try and find out who owns what and to compare this with households' own accounts of what they owned. Questions were also asked about property transactions – buying, selling, sharecropping etc. - again to see how far state law played a part.

There were two main findings. The first was, perhaps unsurprisingly, that in both villages informal arrangements dominated property relations, covering all kinds of things from division of inheritance to sharecropping to sale and exchange. Although almost every major property transaction is supposed to be validated by a state notary, most owners ignored this rule, mainly on the grounds of cost and inconvenience but also because there seemed no point to it. Villagers complained that the state was uninterested in the security of their property and their fate, e.g. in the indifference of the local police to the problems of theft from fields or the abysmally low level of pensions. This part of the research confirms earlier accounts of postsocialist rural alienation. The second main finding concerned ways in which state law was forcing itself into the everyday lives of these villagers. By linking property records and legal procedures to tangible benefits (e.g. subsidies for small farmers) or liabilities (tax on the amount of land officially recorded as owned), villagers found at least some legal compliance to be in their direct material interest. Encouraged by the local council secretary, there were even instances of attempted retrospective legalisation of sales, involving official advertisement of land sales which had long since been concluded.

The findings suggest that, notwithstanding the supposed guarded informality of the village, legal behaviour can be relatively sensitive to change, especially where it is linked to direct benefits or losses. Cart-

wright is currently planning to follow up this work with further studies of compliance and legal change in Romania, this time in the context of forest restitution and the restoration of pre-communist group forms of ownership.

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Adapted from www.theodora.com/maps, used with permission.

Research sites of Department II in central and eastern Europe.



An employee of the Bulgarian forest administration marks a large beech tree, indicating that it can be cut for firewood. The person for whom he is marking the tree pays a small fee to the forest administration and receives a piece of paper documenting the permission to cut. This tree is on state-owned land, but marking by a registered forester is also required before cutting wood on private forest land. (Photo: B. Cellarius)

Forest Restitution and Resource Management in the Rhodope Mountains, Bulgaria

Barbara A. Cellarius

Barbara Cellarius is an ecological and development anthropologist who earned her doctorate in anthropology from the University of Kentucky and a master's degree in environmental studies from the Evergreen State College. She has been conducting research in Bulgaria since 1995 on natural resource use, rural economic strategies, and environmental non-governmental organisations.

In the early 1990s, Bulgaria moved quickly to restore agricultural land to its pre-socialist owners, but it was not until 1997 that the parliament approved legislation for handing back ownership of forests to those who owned this resource before nationalisation in 1947-48. (Forests account for roughly one-third of Bulgaria's territory. Before nationalisation, about 16 percent of them were owned by private individuals.)

Building upon her earlier doctoral research, Cellarius's project investigates the process and aftermath of the forest restitution in several communities within Bulgaria's Rhodope Mountains, a highland region with the highest concentration of private forests in the country (reaching more than 90 percent in some communities) as well as both ethnic and biological diversity. The central concern of this project is the strategies of individual actors in making decisions about the structures and practices for forest use and control that emerge following the restitution.



Forest owners raise their hands, along with cards indicating the number of people they represent, in voting on a name for the newly established forestry cooperative.
(Photo: B. Cellarius)

Although the complicated process of reprivatization is still under way, with most private forest owners in the region only receiving their ownership documents in 2001, several key issues have been identified in the research so far. Due to the small and sometimes scattered nature of many forest holdings, forestry experts as well as some owners believe that some form of joint management is the only economically feasible option. Beyond this, many forests in the central Rhodope are being returned in a form (with “ideal” rather than “real” borders) that essentially requires joint management. This stems from the structure of pre-socialist forest ownership in the region. In the first year of postsocialist forest ownership, forestry cooperatives have come to be a popular solution to this collective action problem, not least because of historical memory of the role such institutions played in these communities in the pre-socialist period. Yet, the future is less than clear. While owners often value their forests primarily as a source of dividends, clearly important given the postsocialist economic environment, some are skeptical that they will see any money from them, at least not soon. Maybe their children or grandchildren will benefit, some say. Other potential problems for the cooperatives identified by forest owners and other observers are an inadequate legal structure for forestry cooperatives, the unstable economic situation including its effect on the timber market, and perceptions of widespread corruption.

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Property Relations in the Agricultural and Industrial Region South of Leipzig

John Eidson

John Eidson received his BA in Anthropology from Duke University and his PhD in Social Anthropology from Cornell University. In his first field-work project, he combined ethnographic and historical methods in a study of social, political and cultural life in a small town in the Rhineland.

Eidson's project at the MPI concerns the collectivisation and decollectivisation of agriculture in Saxony, one of the new eastern German states of the Federal Republic. East Germany's experience of collectivisation was broadly comparable to that of other East European countries. Despite the unique features of the German case (the incorporation of a former socialist state into another state wealthy enough to alleviate some of the negative effects of rapid economic transition), it is well worth pursuing the decollectivisation experience in the same comparative perspective.

This case study is centred in the mixed rural and industrial area south of Leipzig, in which small to medium-sized farms were dominant prior to collectivisation. This area has been strongly affected by opencast lignite mining. Prior to joining the MPI, Eidson had employed historical methods to trace the impact of the carbon-chemical industry on the life chances of the residents of Breunsdorf, a village which was evacuated and destroyed in the mid-1990s in the wake of an expanding opencast mine. His current project for the MPI focuses on a new cooperative farm, which grew out of the large socialist enterprise that absorbed the land of Breunsdorf and several neighbouring villages in the 1970s. This enterprise provides a good opportunity for examining two aspects of changing property relations: first, the collectivisation and decollectivisation of agriculture and, second, the loss of land to coal mining, which has continued from the late nineteenth century, despite the dramatic political changes of this era.

While several villages and large areas of farmland have been lost to mining, these losses also resulted in compensatory payments to the agricultural enterprise and its members, both before and after 1990. In the postsocialist era, few former landowners have been in a position to undertake family farming, but many have benefited from the sale of land to the coal company or from the shares that they hold in the new cooperative farm. Thus, landowners and their heirs form a favoured class, distinct from the industrial workers and the unemployed of this region. In 2002 Eidson will execute a detailed survey of household resources and household strategies among farmers and non-farmers in the residential areas surrounding the cooperative farm, with the aim of testing theories that posit a link between life chances today and land ownership in the past.

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The upper sign reads "This area is property of MIBRAG – Middle German Lignite Mining Company. Unauthorized removal or destruction of material will be prosecuted by law." The lower sign reads: "Home, what a wonderful word. Lucky is he who still has one and must not leave forever". These conflicting discourses mark the entrance to Breunsdorf, Saxony. The decision to evacuate and tear down this village to make way for an opencast lignite mine was made in 1986 under the socialist government and upheld under the new state government of Saxony after 1990. The residents of Breunsdorf have no choice but to sell their land to the coal mining company and to resettle in other communities.

(Photo: Sächsisches Landesamt für Archäologie)



Three Chukchi women at their reindeer herding camp in Chukotka discuss the division of reindeer meat among their families. Some of the meat must also be sent to relatives living in a distant village. (Photo: P. Gray)

Obshchina and the Transformation of Property Relations in the Russian Far East

Patty A. Gray

Patty Gray received her bachelor's degree in Communications at the University of Michigan-Ann Arbor and her master's degree in Socio-cultural Anthropology from Southern Illinois University-Carbondale, and went on to take her PhD in Cultural Anthropology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

In the remotest villages of Siberia a typically socialist economic system was rather efficiently reproduced, thanks to large state subsidies. The northern regions present a unique situation for implementing postsocialist changes. In Chukotka, rural communities before socialism were primarily based on two closely linked subsistence economies: reindeer herding and sea mammal hunting. Neither of these lends itself to becoming an individual market enterprise in the post-Soviet context. Gray's project focuses on changes in reindeer herding in the wake of Russia's privatisation plan and their consequences for local communities. Native leaders advocate the 'ancestral community' (*rodovaia obshchina*) as the best way to maintain 'traditional' economic practices and achieve a degree of local autonomy. Non-Native bureaucrats have moved to renationalise all reindeer herding by coercing the transfer of 51% or more of shares in each enterprise to the district administration, thus rendering the managers of

these enterprises state employees - much as they were in the Soviet system.

In 2000, two significant changes occurred: a federal law on *obshchina* was passed by the Russian federal legislature, and a new, progressive governor was elected in Chukotka. Subsequently there began what can almost be described as an *obshchina* movement, as a network of natives throughout Chukotka began to share the text of the law as well as logistical information about how to register an *obshchina*. Similar movements had taken hold earlier in other parts of Siberia, especially in Sakha. It remains to be seen, however, if newly established *obshchiny* and the recently renationalised reindeer herding operations can coexist within the same system. Ideas about property, particularly concerning reindeer and the land on which they are pastured, are fiercely contested in Chukotka, as they are in Russia generally; no one seems entirely certain about who can legitimately make claims to what. For indigenous residents, land and reindeer are not merely economic objects but represent their cultural property, since reindeer herding is considered a traditional way of life that is crucial to their identity. Thus post-Soviet Chukotka remains a kind of laboratory, an experimental arena where ideas of what property is and how it should be held are in continual negotiation.

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This Chukotkan girl, whose family are members of a reindeer-herding obshchina, has gathered tundra berries to barter at a trading post for staple foods like flour and sugar. She is one of the first generation growing up without the social safety net of the sovkhos. (Photo: P. Gray)

The New Property System in Tázlár

Chris Hann

Chris Hann studied Politics, Philosophy and Economics at Oxford University before switching into Social Anthropology as a graduate student in Cambridge. He stayed in Cambridge until 1992, when he became Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Kent, Canterbury. After two years at the Institute for Advanced Study in Berlin, he joined the Max Planck Society in 1999.

Having recently completed several major projects in other places (Poland, Turkey and Central Asia), Hann was ready to contribute to the Department's programme with a restudy of the Hungarian village which he has known since he began doctoral fieldwork there in 1976. Tázlár was characterised by an exceptional form of cooperative, which exemplified the flexibility of the Hungarian brand of 'market socialism'. There was much scope for the pursuit of individual (or, better, familial) economic interests, but legal ownership rights were fragile and regularly infringed by the cooperative in order to establish more viable economic units in the public sector. Regular visits were paid to several families in the 1980s and 1990s, but no systematic research was undertaken in this period. What was the new ownership structure like? How did local people evaluate the mechanisms of 'compensation' and the new inequalities that had appeared? How was the prospect of joining the European Union affecting entrepreneurial strategies? Who were the new entrepreneurs, and to what did they attribute their success?

Decollectivisation here has continued a trend begun in the 1980s, which saw the cooperative withdraw almost completely from agricultural activities. Land and other goods were redistributed according to a complex formula that established a series of parallel 'currencies' and took only indirect account of original ownership - compensation rather than restitution, though in practice many were able to regain their familial holdings. Irrationalities almost always resulted, from a purely economic point of view. Agricultural production in this village has fallen in the postsocialist decade, while social inequalities have by common consent widened. The most successful entrepreneurs in 2001 are those who accumulated substantial amounts of capital in the later socialist period. These tend to be descendants of the wealthier classes of the presocialist period, though in a few deviant cases current success follows a high-risk strategy of investment in new economic activities, in which family origins do not seem to play a role. Work is available to anyone who wants it and much of the menial labouring work in the vineyards of this region is undertaken by seasonal migrants from the Hungarian districts of Transylvania. They hope that they will remain free to enter Hungary for work after accession to the EU.

Hann is cooperating in this project with his longstanding Hungarian colleague Mihály Sárkány (Hungarian Academy of Sciences), who is organising a simultaneous restudy of the village of Varsány in northern Hungary, which he first studied more than thirty years previously. Ecological and social-structural features of this community, notably cooperative type, make it well suited for contrastive comparisons with Tázlár.



The sign proclaims that this row of vines is for sale. These modern vineyards were planned by a socialist cooperative on collective land, but the vines themselves were privately owned. With decollectivisation, the land underneath has been privatised to the former owner, who now derives rental income from the vine owner.

(Photo: C. Hann)

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Property and Social Change in Rural Russia

Patrick Heady

Patrick Heady was educated in Cambridge, where he took a degree in economics. He has worked for many years as a government statistician and is currently leading a comparative project for the European Statistical Office concerned with methods of estimating the spatial distribution of social phenomena. In recent years he has combined this work with a career in anthropology, obtaining his doctorate from the LSE following fieldwork in the Italian Alps.

Heady's work in rural Russia is concerned both with the economic effects of decollectivisation and with the moral and symbolic consequences of new property regimes for community life. He seeks to integrate the economists' rational choice perspective with two major themes of anthropological theory. The theory of envy - deriving in large part from Foster's classic article on the 'limited good' and related also to Banfield's controversial concept of 'amoral familism' - deals with the way people conceptualise, and attempt to overcome, a form of negative social pressure that threatens both individual success and collective action. Envy, sometimes presented as the residue of socialist indoctrination, is in fact perceived as a major social problem in rural societies throughout the world. The other theme is the theory of kinship and its links to both the symbolic construction of community and the practical organisation of production and reproduction. The Hajnal line separating low and high intensity demographic regimes also divides individualistic from collectivistic property regimes and descriptive kinship terminologies from partly classificatory terminologies. By focusing on contemporary attitudes to both envy and kinship, Heady aims to make a theoretically and empirically grounded contribution to the debate concerning the existence and nature of Russian 'collectivism'.

Because Heady spends only half his time on this project, to identify definitive results in this case is especially premature. He has carried out preliminary work in two contrasting districts of 'peasant Russia' and will concentrate on the southern black earth region in further fieldwork in 2002. Collective farms seem to be in sharp decline everywhere, and very small-scale private production is growing; but, as elsewhere in postsocialist Europe, people are reluctant to claim their full rights to private land and to engage in significant economic cooperation. Kinship ties are prominent in practical terms - in day-to-day helping, coping with sickness, and access to housing - and are also clearly a key element in people's sense of what a community is. Heady is investigating whether the conceptual inclusiveness of the kinship terminology is reflected in practical cooperation, and how the relationships involved may be changing.

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Property Relations in Eastern Europe and the Former USSR: a comparison between rural Bulgaria and rural Ukraine.

Deema Kaneff

Born and brought up in Australia, Deema Kaneff obtained her PhD from the University of Adelaide in 1992 with a study of local politics and multiple constructions of the past in a Bulgarian village. After a series of postdoctoral positions in Cambridge UK, she joined the MPI at its inception in 1999.

In addition to continuing to monitor developments in the northern Bulgarian village studied for her doctorate, in particular the extent to which the new private owners still depend on the successor to the socialist cooperative, Kaneff has opened up a new field site in a village in Odessa province, southern Ukraine. Although this rural district is relatively prosperous compared to some other regions of this vast country, it also exemplifies many of the common difficulties of privatisation, a drawn out process which in the Ukraine is occurring almost a decade later than in other parts of eastern Europe.

The aim of the Ukrainian research is to examine different forms of property, in particular claims of ownership, in the context of privatisation. Whereas land restitution in Bulgaria has been carried out in terms of pre-socialist ownership, in Ukraine (as in many other former USSR republics) it is work and land use that have provided the basis for privatisation laws. Thus *ex-kolkhoz/sovkhoz* members receive a standard sized plot of land, while those who worked in the 'social sphere' (in the domains that supported the agricultural collectives e.g. the teaching and medical professions) are also entitled to equally-sized plots, but significantly smaller than that allocated to the previous group. In the initial phase of the reforms, the Village Council granted relatively large tracts of land to those

interested in setting up private farms. This distribution shapes the present rural landscape and determines the four ways in which land is presently worked. First, most land is owned by *ex-sovkhoz* and *kolkhoz* members and cultivated by successor cooperatives. Second, a number of informal groups comprised of (ex-)social sphere employees manage small tracts of land collectively. Third, several successful private farms have been established by ex-collective workers (individuals with experience in a wide variety of agricultural tasks - a rare quality in the socialist collective where occupations were highly specialised). Finally, as in Bulgaria, and indeed across eastern Europe, everyone also maintains a household plot, which has become particularly important in the context of a weakened state, high unemployment and ever-increasing prices. Variation in how land is worked and owned in the Ukrainian case, and the apparent lack of opposition to private farming - despite a strong community emphasis on social equality - can be attributed at least in part to the positive stance that village leaders take towards change and to the fact that the reforms have not openly polarised the community.

Another priority theme of this project concerns cultural property in the service of notions of identity. The village at the centre of the Ukrainian research is ethnically Bulgarian; locals are active in the production of cultural property and sell their own household artefacts to visiting Bulgarians as 'authentically Bulgarian'. Yet they also contribute to the production of Ukrainian identity, notably through embroidery in the standard 'national' style for the tourist market in Odessa (a project sponsored by the British Department for International Development).

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Reindeer Herding Communities in Kamchatka: economic transformation and socio-cultural continuities

Erich Kasten

Erich Kasten obtained his doctorate at the Free University in Berlin and has extensive experience of fieldwork in polar regions, in Europe and North America as well as Siberia. He has acquired special expertise in exhibition and other museum work, both in Berlin and at the Franckesche Stiftungen in Halle; together with Michael Dürr, he recently reissued the pioneering work of Georg Wilhelm Steller, *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka* (Bonn, Holos Verlag 1996) .

Kasten has himself worked for many years in Kamchatka, specifically among the indigenous Itelmens, Evens and Koryaks in the central and

northern parts of this peninsula. Past projects have been concerned with the role of cultural heritage and traditional languages in children's education. For communities like the Itelmen, traditional language is not used as a mode of communication, but it remains an important symbol of identity and cultural pride. Local educators in Kamchatka have been reforming primary education to provide children with a positive sense of their cultural heritage and who they are.

Kasten's current project is examining the way native people in Kamchatka use and move about the landscape in ways that do not easily fit existing models of nomadic or settled lifestyles. Issues concerning the continued viability of reindeer herding are central, but reindeer form only one element in a complex indigenous economy that is nowadays inevitably subject to increasing interventions from outside. In his most recent fieldwork (2001) Kasten has been investigating the current role of older forms of intercommunity exchange and translocality. These can assist local people to continue working in government hunting and herding enterprises following Soviet models, while at the same time developing and economic strategies which are simultaneously both traditional and novel.

Recent legislation at the federal level has provided additional legal structures for indigenous people to organize themselves at the local level; yet administrative orders by local governors have swept away nascent indigenous corporations, in direct conflict with federal law. Kasten is also investigating how native people in northern Kamchatka are responding to current economic challenges. Development plans in gold and platinum mining and intensive salmon fishing threaten the ecological base necessary for local inhabitants. Such conflicts bear upon vital material land and marine resources, but they are often expressed through symbols of cultural intangibles. Kasten will co-organise a workshop exploring themes of cultural property at the MPI in July 2002.

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Both Erich Kasten and Alexander King are investigating issues of “cultural property” in Kamchatka. Indigenous language is valued as a part of cultural revival efforts in the classroom, but standardisation of Koryak language materials means that teachers in villages where Nymylan Koryak is spoken, like this one in Paren, are forced to improvise alone. (Photo: A. King)

The Symbolic Power of Deer and Landscape in the Kamchatka Periphery

Alexander King

Alexander King was educated at Reed College (BA 1991) and the University of Virginia (PhD 2000). The title of his dissertation was "Trying to be Koryak: Soviet Constructions of Indigeneity in Kamchatka, Russia." He joined the Siberian Project Group in September 2001.

King's work in the Koryak Autonomous Okrug (Kamchatka peninsula) centred on changing constructions of indigenous cultural identity. He analyzed the way people talk about native culture and the models of culture that result from these discourses. Soviet ethnographic theory has shaped the way people in Kamchatka think about culture in the abstract and the way they talk about traditions and cultural difference. Indigenous people, however, also have ways of talking about culture that are fundamentally different from Soviet ethnographic theories of ethnic groups. Specific institutions (schools, dance ensembles, museums) were examined in detail for the way they generate discourse on language and culture, highlighting the differences between indigenous and non-indigenous discourses. Despite overt protestations against nationalism,

the policies of native-language education and native cultural revival in the arts and schools demonstrate the inescapable logic of the nationalising state.

King's project in Halle has two related components. First, he will be analysing the empirical data collected in his most recent, postdoctoral fieldwork. The main focus will be on topics that intersect with others in the group, i.e. questions concerning property relations, reindeer herding, and culture as property. Reindeer continue to provide the most salient symbols of native identity and symbols of the Koryak Autonomous Okrug as a political entity, even though reindeer herding has become economically insignificant compared with mining gold and platinum and with fishing. To understand the symbolic salience of reindeer it is necessary to examine the role of places and the landscape in ritual. Secondly, King will be concerned to extend our theoretical frameworks for understanding the postsocialist Russian North, drawing on models of 'postcoloniality' as put forward by scholars of imperial systems elsewhere in the world. He will be working to link together two academic discourses which have rarely engaged one another in a serious and sustained manner: the study of postsocialist societies and the study of postcolonial or colonial regimes.

Publication:

King, Alexander: Soul Suckers: Vampiric shamans in Northern Kamchatka, Russia. In: Anthropology of Consciousness.10(4), 74-85 (1999).



Traditional Koryak exchange relationships between coastal hunters and inland reindeer herders have become even more important now that the state cannot provide the basic services it used to. Here the mayor of Ust-Paren is building a Russian stove for the new apartment of a nurse in Upper-Paren, in exchange for her services in preventive medicine. (Photo: A. King)

Changing Housing and Property Relations in Postwar Croatia: the example of Knin

Carolin Leutloff

Carolin Leutloff was educated in Freiburg/Breisgau, in Edinburgh (Scotland), and in Berlin, where she obtained a Masters in Social Anthropology at the Free University. Her PhD project at the MPI builds on the work she carried out for that degree among Serbian refugees in Belgrade.

Decollectivisation in the former Yugoslavia coincided with the collapse of the polity along ethno national lines. Leutloff's project examines changing property relations in an area that exemplifies the ethnic complexity of south-eastern Europe and the violence that marked the dissolution of the socialist state. The research area in and around the town of Knin falls within the boundaries of the Croatian state (internationally recognised in 1992). Prior to 1990, however, its population was predominantly Serb. In an assertion of Serbian identity in 1990/91 which led eventually to full-scale war, Knin became the capital of the self-declared "State of Serbian Krajina". When the Croatian army reconquered the area in 1995, almost all Serbs fled. Much of the property they left behind was destroyed or redistributed to Croats from other regions, notably refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina. With this policy of ethnic engineering the Croatian government tried to resettle the region with ethnic Croats. The symbolic importance of Knin to Croat identity was emphasised by stressing its significance in the medieval Croatian kingdom. Recently, however, it has been possible for Serbs to return to the area and, thanks more to the active engagement of international NGOs than to the policies of Zagreb, to reassert their earlier property rights.



*House of a Serb owner which is occupied by an invalid of the Croatian army. The graffiti says: "Occupied Croatian army invalid".
(Photo: C. Leutloff)*

Leutloff's doctoral project focuses on housing as a source of identity as well as a resource of material necessity. Special attention is paid to local and national representations of war-experiences as a moral frame for changing property relations, and to the emotional dimensions of violence and its aftermath. Conflicts between occupants and owners both shape and are in turn shaped by competing concepts of belonging and of home/homeland, in which the register frequently shifts from notions of nationality to notions of locality and kinship. Perhaps the most surprising result of the research so far is the degree of sympathy shown to returning Serbs by the local Croats, who tend to have strong reservations concerning the recent influx of co-ethnics. There is a complex mechanism for addressing housing allocation. However, although the demographic composition of most households has been dramatically altered by the war, in the implementation of this mechanism, little account is taken of changing social and economic needs. Unemployment rates are extremely high and future economic outcomes continue to depend on a fragile political balance.

Leutloff has also examined the recent history of a cooperative in the village just outside Knin that she has surveyed in most detail. This institution, which before the war had employed over 300 (mostly Serbs), was taken over by a small group of Croats, who use it to run dubious private businesses and leave most cooperative land unused. Returning Serbs have boycotted the new leadership and are currently trying to regain control over their cooperative. Most returnees, however, are elderly and engage in subsistence farming only. Some Croat immigrants have been able to secure at least temporary rights to land that was formerly held by the cooperative and demonstrated impressive entrepreneurial energies in innovative vegetable production. This has encouraged young Serbs to enter this market. A multi-ethnic association has recently been established, quite separate from the old cooperative, to assist these new farmers to cope with high investment-costs and financial insecurity, and to help them in their marketing.

Publications:

Leutloff, C.: Bildungsprojekte in Kosovo/Kosova. In: Die Rolle der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit in gewalttätigen Konflikten, (Ed.) B. Fahrenhorst. SID-Berlin, Berlin 2000, 141-153.

- Krajina. In: Ethnische Konfliktregionen Südosteuropas im Zeitalter des Nationalismus (Teil 1). Arbeitspapiere des Osteuropa-Instituts der Freien Universität Berlin, (Eds.) H. Sundhaussen, H. Hänsel. Berlin 2001, 11-17.

Leutloff, C. und H. Grandits: Diskurse, Akteure, Gewalt – Betrachtungen zur Organisation von Kriegeskalation am Beispiel der Krajina in Kroatien 1990/91. In: Politische und ethnische Gewalt in Südosteuropa und Lateinamerika, (Eds.) W. Höpken, M. Riekenberg. Böhlau, Köln 2001, 227-257.

Winners and Losers in Vorpommern: decollectivisation and the realignment of property relations

Gordon Milligan

Gordon Milligan was born and educated in Scotland. After many years in the commercial IT sector, he took an MA in Social Anthropology at the University of Kent. He joined the MPI in a double capacity, serving as a web site designer and link person for the anthropologists within the computer support team, while at the same time pursuing his own doctoral project in eastern Germany.

The location of Milligan's study is a district of Vorpommern in the extreme northeast, adjacent to the Polish border. East of the river Elbe, the legacy of Junker estates and their breakdown in the early twentieth century helped to form the structures and organisation of collectivised agriculture in the socialist period. Initial observations indicate that patterns of ownership and access to land after 1989 continue to bear the hallmark of earlier structural changes. The region is economically among the weakest in the country. There has been some successful adjustment in the agricultural sector but chronic unemployment leads many (especially, so people say, the 'most talented' among the younger generation) to leave the area in search of a better life in the west.

The field study was launched only in 2001 and no definitive results can be presented as yet. In addition to examining what precisely has happened to collective property and which groups are emerging as 'winners' in the restratification processes, Milligan is investigating changing attitudes to the shared experiences of the socialist period and transformations in regional identity. These are clearly evident in daily interactions within working relationships, which still exhibit strong ties with the past. While almost all of the 'old guard' from the socialist period have now retired, social links formed during that era and a sense of attachment to it are still very important in maintaining a sense of community. In this dimension too, comparison with the study by Eidson (see above) in a highly industrialised region is already proving to be instructive. Taken together, these two projects cover much of the range of variation in the collectivisation and decollectivisation of agriculture in eastern Germany.

Private Farms and 'Primordial Clans' among Evenki of the Lower Yenisei River Basin

Nikolai Ssorin-Chaikov

Nikolai Ssorin-Chaikov studied anthropology (*Etnografiya*) at Moscow State University. After a spell at the Russian Academy of Sciences, he obtained his doctorate from Stanford University in 1998 with a disserta-

tion entitled 'Stateless Societies, State Collectives and the State of Nature in Sub-Arctic Siberia: Evenki Hunters and Herders in the Twentieth Century'. Soon after taking up his position at the MPI in January 2000, Ssorin-Chaikov was appointed to a position in the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of Cambridge. During the year that he spent in Halle he worked on a revision of his dissertation for publication (forthcoming, Stanford University Press) and contributed fully to the *Projektgruppe* and to the activities of the Department and Institute generally. He also launched a new research project on housing and taxation practices in Moscow, which bears closely on changing urban property relations in Russia.

Publications:

Ssorin-Chaikov, N.: After capitalism: Soviet construction of the state of nature in Sub-Arctic Siberia. *The Anthropology of Eastern Europe Review* **178**, 45-58 (2000).

- Bear skins and makaroni: The social life of things at the margins of a Siberian state collective. In: *The vanishing rouble: Barter networks and non-monetary transactions in post-soviet societies*, (Ed.) P. Seabright. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2000, 345-362.

- Evenki Shamanistic Practices in Soviet Present and Ethnographic Present Perfect. *Anthropology of Consciousness* **1**, 1-18 (2001).

Ssorin-Chaikov, N and O. Sosnina: Fakul'tet nenuzhnykh veschei: podarki dlia vozhdiei. In: *XX vek: Epokha. Chelovek, Vesch*, (Ed.) O.Sosnina. Novyi Indeks, Moskow 2001, 132-147.

Property Relations among Reindeer Herding Communities in an Evolving Market Economy of Northwest-Siberia

Florian Stammler

Florian Stammler was trained in anthropology at the Universities of Mainz, Zurich and Cologne, where he obtained his Masters in 2000 with a dissertation titled 'Überlebensstrategien im postsozialistischen Rußland: Das Beispiel der rentierzüchtenden Khanty und Nenzen in Nordwestsibirien'.

The Yamal-Nenets autonomous district at first glance seems to be a success story in reindeer herding, even in the difficult times of post-Soviet transformation. The number of domestic reindeer is constantly increasing and, at around 600 000, is currently the largest concentration anywhere in the world. Marketing the main products of reindeer, meat and 'panty' (fresh antlers), is unproblematic for the herders themselves (although the middlemen who buy these products do sometimes have trouble selling them on the open market). Overall, reindeer continue to provide a secure basis for the economic existence and the indigenous cultural identity of

the herders. This is even more curious when one considers that the region provides 90% of Russian natural gas production, and the native population forms only 5 % of the total population of the district.

Stammler's focus in this project is on practices of reindeer herding as they have developed since the Soviet period, and on the conceptions the reindeer herders themselves have concerning their future. Although analysis of the fieldwork data has barely begun, it is already clear that the native Nenets and Khanty nomads value private property of herds at the level of the household. Nevertheless, the persistence of state enterprises is also valued, because they are considered to be more stable than recently founded private firms. Herders prefer to maintain a common system of pasture access for the private herds of all tundra residents in a given district, although each herder respects the established migration routes of his neighbours. Formal, legal ownership of the land does not seem to matter to them. This pattern has a long history among the natives of this region and can be explained by the necessity to maintain flexibility and share risk in uncertain climatic conditions. Even in the Soviet period, the share of privately owned deer never fell below 40%, and the Yamal-Nenets were able to maintain many traditional economic practices within the centrally planned *sovkhos*-economy. This 'grassroots stability' is one key to explaining the ongoing development of reindeer herding in Yamal. Other factors include good railway access to markets and the spinoffs from the region's gas money, part of which is invested to support the native economy. However, Stammler is also investigating new sources of conflict between the state, the native inhabitants, and the oil and gas companies, which seem to lie in the indeterminacy of property relations.

Publication:

Stammler, F.: West-Sibirien. In: *Fossile Ressourcen, Erdölkonzerne und indigene Völker*, (Eds.) T. Haller et al. Infoestudie 12, Focus-Verlag, Gießen 2000, 151-208.



This Yamal Nenets herder is employed by a state enterprise and paid for herding state-owned animals; but he also owns deer privately. Ownership of a private deer is increasing on Yamal, but owners of private herds prefer to share common pastures.
(Photo: F. Stammler)

Property, Interethnic Relations and the State in South-West Ethiopia.

Tadesse, Wolde Gossa

Born and raised in Ethiopia, Tadesse had many years of experience outside academe before obtaining his PhD from the London School of Economics in 1999 with the study of the Hor, a group of great regional and theoretical interest for colleagues in the Department.

He is currently developing a new project in a neighbouring region of south-west Ethiopia which is characterised by ethnic division and ongoing violence. The study examines how the Gamo of Chench, one of many Omotic speaking agricultural people, used and shared resources (both among themselves and with their neighbours) peacefully prior to conquest, and how this has been changing over the years. Successive Ethiopian states have intervened under various guises to appropriate Gamo land, both for the state itself and for non-Gamo outsiders. Neither colonial conquerors nor the Ethiopian state has recognised Gamo tenure, but they have not fully been able to implement their own system of tenure either.



These pastures are a desirable resource and therefore a focus of competition and conflict between the state and local farmers. (Photo: Tadesse, W.G.)

Preliminary study suggests that Gamo inheritance practices and rules of administering what might be labelled common property have endured and coexist with those of state tenure. Private land can, according to customary practice, be bought and sold, whereas state law prohibits this. Institutions of kinship continue to administer property equitably but

where the state has appropriated landed property, such as pastures for state forest projects or state farms, fierce competition arises. Some of the consequences of this appropriation include the squeezing of Gamo holdings from mountain pastures and fertile low lands to escarpments, the emergence of a religious movement in reaction to the loss of pastures and claims by religious groups to the exclusive use of some forms of property. The Gamo view the socialist period, 1974-1991, as one more phase in the general appropriation of land by the state since conquest; the state became the dominant landowner, in place of the owners it abolished by decree in 1975. Its schemes to form agricultural cooperatives and to set up villages were met with suspicion and, even before the collapse of the socialist government, the nine agricultural cooperatives of this region were abolished. Cooperative land was distributed not to its former Gamo owners but mostly to plantation workers from other groups whom local officials had brought in to form the cooperatives. Hence the volatile inter-ethnic situation today.

Publications:

Tadesse, Wolde Gossa: Property and Age Organisation among an East African Pastoralist Group. In: *Revista de Antropologia*, Vol. 44 n°1, University of Sao Paulo, Sao Paulo 2001, 149-184.

- *Evading the Revolutionary State*. In: *Remapping Ethiopia*, (Eds.) W. James, D. L. Donham, E. Kurimoto and A. Triulzi. James Currey, Oxford 2001.

The Social and Economic Dimensions of Change in Postsocialist Rural Slovakia

Davide Torsello

Having obtained a first degree in Japanese studies in his native Italy, Davide Torsello obtained an MA in Cultural Anthropology from Hirosaki University with a dissertation based on fieldwork in a rural community in north-eastern Japan ('The creation of a social reality in a postwar agrarian settlement' - in Japanese). He went on to receive an MSc in Social Anthropology at the LSE before coming to Halle to begin his PhD research.

Slovakia followed a relatively standard course of collectivisation and decollectivisation. Torsello's project examines the course of the latter in a village of the large Hungarian minority of the southern region, about 60 kms from the capital Bratislava. The main conceptual concerns are with notions of 'trust' and 'social networks', terms frequently deployed in the models of social scientists, but seldom given adequate ethnographic grounding. How useful is the distinction between trust in institutions and

other types of interpersonal trust? How do the constraints of ethnicity and the opportunities of the 'second economy' influence daily interaction and current perspectives on the advantages and disadvantages of cooperation? How are reliability and trustworthiness shaped temporally in the everyday tension between ideas and action?

The main modification made in the course of the field research for this project was to devote more attention than planned to a careful documentation of the historical context. This proved to be essential, given the importance villagers themselves seem to attach to presentations of their recent history. Dynamic paths of economic change in the village have to be framed within the historical perspective of villagers' adaptation to new political regimes, since their responses to external changes are inevitably guided by the ideas they construct about their social reality. The accumulation, management and perpetuation of social assets, together with the moral values underpinning them, are ongoing processes. This focus on local constructions is being supplemented with archival work, which includes the analysis of detailed cadastral materials dating back to the Habsburg period. Thus, in addition to documenting new patterns of social inequality linked to the spread of the market principle, this project is very much concerned with changing patterns of social interaction through time at various levels of community.

Publications:

Torsello, D.: Participant Observation, Observed Participation and Fieldwork. In: Prague Occasional Papers in Ethnology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague 2001.



*Postsocialist villagers in Slovakia come together to form what they still describe as a "brigade" for harvesting potatoes on land that the cooperative farm has allocated to them.
(Photo: D. Torsello)*

Property and Informal Social Relations in a Dolgan Village (Sakha Republic)

Aimar Ventsel

Aimar Ventsel was born and raised in Estonia, former Soviet Union. He received his BA in Anthropology and History from the University of Tartu, and his Masters in the same subjects at the Free University of Berlin. His dissertation investigated native urban identity in Siberian oil towns.

Property relations in the Russian Far North are highly fluid. Once total control over state farms in the Sakha Republic (Yakutia) was given over to local district administration, the leaders of each district had different concepts of what to do with it. To examine that restructuring process and the strategies the local people developed to survive in complicated political and economical situations is the aim of this research project.

The main traditional economic activities of villagers in northern Sakha Republic were reindeer herding, hunting and fishing. The heavily subsidised economy disintegrated after the fall of Soviet Union, forcing people at every level to devise new strategies. The relations between the capital, districts and rural populations became indeterminate and complicated. In remote Siberian villages the official socialist structures always contained informal networks, based mainly on kinship relations. Today informal structures for the exchange of goods or earning money have become more important than formal ones. The *obshchina* in the tundra villages of this region is not connected to the revitalisation of native culture, since people do not see it as endangered. Rather, the *obshchina* and its various derivative forms (family enterprise, farm enterprise etc.) provide new vehicles for instrumental adaptation to changing legal codes. Other forms of holding property include district farms, their daughter enterprises, state farms, and private households. The main difference between them lies in how far state structures help them to market their products and how independent they can be in their decision-making.

Although it is too early to specify results, some processes are already visible. The old Soviet control system allocated resources centrally. In a situation in which district (former state) farms cannot make their workers economically dependent, they lose control over what is happening within their territory. On the one hand, the independence of hunting and reindeer brigades from management increases constantly. On the other, the local district administration tries to control other forms of property, especially *obshchiny* and family enterprises by helping them with ammunition, snowmobiles and contacts to sell meat and fish. The outcome seems to depend above all on the reputation of the head of the district administration and his skills at the state level, i.e. how much financial support and good deals he can organise for his district.

Conflicting Commitments in Property Relations

Thomas Widlok

Thomas Widlok was born in Germany and studied at the Universities of Münster and Cologne before going on to obtain his PhD in Anthropology at the London School of Economics. After a brief period teaching in England he has held a succession of postdoctoral awards in Germany.

Widlok is a specialist in foraging societies and has conducted most of his fieldwork hitherto in Namibia. For his current Max Planck project he has expanded this framework to intensify ongoing field research in Australia. He is particularly interested in developing new theoretical approaches to property, and his contribution to the team lies primarily here. Widlok pays careful attention to the connections between practices and norms, which may or may not be explicitly articulated. Foraging peoples have very often been viewed as driven by fundamental needs; Widlok explores the connection between these needs and the moral virtues asserted by these groups in connection with the holding and distribution of goods.

This perspective can be usefully applied to other types of social organisation, including postsocialist societies. Widlok himself is developing parallel studies of postindustrial regions within Germany. It is common to seek analogies to the 'foraging habitus' at the margins of industrial societies, in the peripheral or 'second economy'; but Widlok suggests that industrial workers themselves may be characterised by the forager's attitude to the local environment, e.g. in creating inclusive egalitarian social networks outside the family and in making themselves at home in a domain with sources of income that are often precarious and beyond local control. He pays particular attention to the formation of new forms of corporation, which in contemporary Namibia seems to be essential for representing the interests of indigenous peoples against both the post-colonial state and the forces of the market and 'private property'. Preliminary results of this comparative study across diverse cases suggests that access rights are often more central than ownership in the form of accumulated property, that access routes in space and time are influenced not only by forces of coercion but also by forces of attraction guiding individual agency, and that social relations based on shared access evolve in a field of tension between the creation of obligation and the creation of trust.

Publications:

Widlok, T.: Living on Mangetti. Hai//om "Bushmen" Autonomy and Namibian Independence. Oxford University Press, Oxford 1999.

- Mapping spatial and social permeability. In: *Current Anthropology* **40/3**, 392-400 (1999).

- A place to rest and to talk: spatial and linguistic shifts in Northern Namibia. In: Comparing African Spaces. Frankfurter Afrikanische Blätter **11**, (Ed.) S. Neumann. 125-144 (1999).
 - Die Kartierung der räumlichen und sozialen Durchlässigkeit von flexiblen Lokalgruppen. In: Zeitschrift für Ethnologie **124**, 281-298 (1999).
 - Names that escape the state: Hai//om naming practices against domination and isolation. In: Hunters and gatherers in the modern context: conflict, resistance and self-determination, (Eds.) P. Schweitzer, M. Biesele, R. Hitchcock. Berghahn, New York 2000, 361-379.
 - Preface. In: Symbolic Categories and Ritual Practice in Hunter-Gatherer Experiences, African Study Monographs, Suppl. **27**, (Eds.) T. Widlok, K. Sugawara. The Center of African Area Studies, Kyoto 2001, 1-2.
 - The Illusion of a Future? Medicine Dance Rituals for the Civil Society of Tomorrow. In: Symbolic Categories and Ritual Practice in Hunter-Gatherer Experiences, African Study Monographs, Suppl. **27**, (Eds.) T. Widlok, K. Sugawara. The Center of African Area Studies, Kyoto 2001, 165-181.
 - Living on Ethnography and Comparison. What Difference Do Hai//om "Bushmen" Make to Anthropology (and Vice Versa)? *Anthropos* **96**, 359-378 (2001).
 - The other side of the internal African frontier: Herero on Bushman land. In: People, Cattle and Land, (Eds.) M. Bollig, J.-B. Gewald. Köppe, Cologne 2000, 497-522.
- Widlok, T. and K. Sugawara* (Eds.): Symbolic Categories and Ritual Practice in Hunter-Gatherer Experiences. African Study Monographs, Suppl. **27**, The Center of African Area Studies, Kyoto 2001. 186 p.

Access to Property as a Condition of Citizenship: the case of Azerbaijan

Lale Yalçın-Heckmann

Lale Yalçın was born in Istanbul and received her first degree there from Bogaziçi University; she went on to complete a dissertation in anthropology at the LSE, based on fieldwork among the Kurdish population of eastern Turkey. She has carried out many postdoctoral projects, mostly concerned with Turkish and Kurdish migrants in Germany and France.

For her MPI project Yalçın-Heckmann is investigating two agricultural communities in Azerbaijan, which differ greatly in size and settlement history. Azerbaijan passed decollectivisation legislation in 1996. Its practical implementation and conditions in agricultural markets were seriously affected by the economic dislocation which affected all the small states of the Caucasus region. War with Armenia over the status of Nagorno-Karabagh resulted in one fifth of Azerbaijani territory being occupied by

Armenia and nearly 800000 refugees and internal displaced persons (IDP), who still live in temporary quarters.



In Azerbaijan private heated greenhouses dating back to the Soviet era are used to grow tomatoes and cucumbers, both for sale in local markets and, via Azerbaijani traders, in Russia. (Photo: L. Yalçın-Heckmann)

In the larger community where she undertook detailed survey work, Yalçın-Heckmann found that, although almost all the formerly *sovkhos* and *kolkhoz* land has been privatised, only about 60-70% of this land is under cultivation since the distribution of land titles. Even among the former *sovkhos* workers, many find it difficult to farm due to cash shortages. Fertile and irrigated land is being accumulated in the hands of a new group of persons and families, who successfully manipulate their social and political links to powerholders (many of whom held high office under the former socialist regime or have connections to such persons). Ownership of land is less significant than being able to optimally manage agricultural production activities, including hiring land, equipment and labour. The capital for such successful management is often drawn from the proceeds of labour migration to Russia, some of which is channelled into agricultural investment while some is used to pay bribes. The project attempts to explain differences in household economic performance by looking closely at the changing functioning and meanings of kinship, networks, and inheritance practices.

The subsidiary fieldsite is a small settlement home to Kurdish and Azeri IDPs and refugees. They have been relatively successful in taking maximum advantage of unstable legal provisions to establish collective use rights to land. Economic survival depends largely on collective action and lobbying for certain rights and privileges, which create a source of

envy among poorer villagers in the district. Effective political action requires maintenance of the image of the 'suffering IDPs' and loyalty to the regime; it also puts a strong premium on unity within the community.

Publications:

Yalçın-Heckmann, L.: Kürt asiretleri, asiret liderleri ve global süreçler: Hak-kari'de Oramari örneği. *Toplum ve Bilim* **84**, 172-188 (2000).

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- Secularism and anthropological practice. In: "Dossier: Secularism, personal values, and professional evaluations", *Social Anthropology EASA Journal* 2001, 334-336.

- Debates on Kurdish ethnicity in contemporary Turkey. In: *Cultural Persistence and Globalisation*, (Ed.) I. Bellér-Hann. *Orientalwissenschaftliche Hefte* 2/2001, OWZ, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Halle 2001, 19-27.

Yalçın-Heckmann, L. and P.v. Gelder: Das Bild der Kurdsinnen im Wandel des politischen Diskurses in der Türkei der 1990er Jahre – einige kritische Bemerkungen. In: *Kurdische Frauen und das Bild der kurdischen Frau*, *Kurdologie* Band 3, (Eds.) E. Savelsberg, S. Hajo, C. Borck. LIT, Münster, Hamburg, London 2000, 77-104.

Yalçın-Heckmann, L. and M. Strohmeier: Die Kurden. Geschichte, Politik, Kultur. C. H. Beck, München 2000, 261 p.

Hunting and Property Strategies in the Taimyr Region

John Ziker

John Ziker obtained his BA from Arizona State University's Honors College and his PhD from the University of California Santa Barbara in 1998 with a dissertation titled 'Kinship, Exchange, and Ethnicity among the Dolgan and Nganasan of Northern Siberia'. After postdoctoral research at the University of Alaska, he took up his position with the Siberian Project Group at the same time as Alexander King in late 2001.

Building on his previous work in the Taimyr Autonomous Region, Ziker is investigating how the strategies of those who now hold land in the form of an *obshchina* (cf. Patty Gray) compare with those found in the remnants of the state enterprise system and the embryonic private sector. During the summer and fall of 2001, Ziker returned to his main field site to update his data on land tenure in indigenous communities. In particular, he investigated the social and ecological conditions under which the non-market distribution of locally produced meat and fish occurs. Several hypotheses are being evaluated and their relative importance is to be described in a multivariate model of food sharing. This research is rele-

vant to indigenous economic development in Siberia and to the anthropological debate on food sharing among hunter-gatherers. In addition to the research on property relations, Ziker is researching the demographic and health status of the Dolgan and Nganasan population. After the breakup of the Soviet Union, indigenous communities in the Taimyr Region experienced a rapid loss of employment and the increasing influence of alcohol speculators. As a result, mortality rates and alcohol-related diseases have increased. Ziker also worked with focal groups at his field site to generate ideas for improving their village's socio-economic situation. Currently, he is working on several articles concerning property relations, food sharing, and demographics in indigenous communities in the Taimyr Autonomous Region.

Publications:

Ziker, J.: Survival Economy and Core-Periphery Dynamics in the Taimyr Autonomous Region, Russia. In: *Anthropology of Eastern Europe Review* **17(2)**, 59-65 (1999).

- Traditsionnaia Pishcha i Pitanie Dolgan i Nganasan. In: *Sel'skoe Zdra-vookhra-nenie u Malochislennykh Narodov Severa Kanady i Rossii, Chast' 2, Narodnaia Medistina*. (Ed.) David G. Anderson. Sibprint Agency, Novosibirsk 2001, 152-156.

- Land Use and Social Change among the Dolgan and Nganasan of Northern Siberia. In: *Parks, Property, Power: Managing Hunting Practice and Identity within State Policy Regimes*. (Eds.) D. G. Anderson, K. Ikeya. *Senri Ethnological Studies* **59**. National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka 2001, 47-66.



Dolgan hunter Ilja Bezrukikh begins field dressing a caribou he procured on the village's common-property hunting grounds in August 2001. He gave all the meat from this and one other animal to two households, the adult male members of which came along on this hunt but do not own firearms.

(Photo: J. Ziker)

Summary and Prospect

The main topic of this Department in the first years of its existence is a subject of world historical significance, the transformation of property relations in postsocialist Eurasia. It is therefore appropriate that the Department should have a thoroughly international character, both in its composition and in its dissemination strategies. Our prime aims are as follows:

- to contribute to empirical and theoretical anthropological research on property;
- to establish a new scholarly community in Halle with a unique concentration of social anthropological expertise for the postsocialist countries;
- to show other area specialists and 'transitologists' the constructive role that anthropologists can play in uncovering neglected aspects of recent transformations in the former socialist countries;
- to convince other anthropologists that the topics and approaches we are exploring here are also pertinent in other parts of the world.

What have the researchers of this Department been doing to pursue these goals since its creation in late 1999? They have done what social anthropologists everywhere do: after an intensive phase of preparation and discussion in the Institute, they have all been out to their field sites, which range from neighbouring districts of eastern Germany to China and Kamchatka. Many projects have been slightly modified in the course of their implementation, but as we now enter the phase of analysis and writing-up, the core questions remain substantially unchanged.

Our major current concern is to understand how a new property system has replaced that of socialism and what this means for the people affected, primarily in rural locations. Few of these people were taken in by the emancipatory promises of social engineers. Yet the transformations set in motion by the demise of socialism have brought new uncertainties and disruption. This applies both where some forms of collective institutions survive, as in most parts of the former Soviet Union, and in Central and Eastern Europe, where privatisation has been more thoroughgoing. Of course, even where ownership has become fragmented there may be compelling economic reasons for maintaining larger units of production. Our research projects have also explored the new social inequalities, both within rural areas and between countryside and town. We have documented the functioning of markets and the provision of public goods by the postsocialist state (generally diminished, if not everywhere 'collapsed'). We have also (following a long tradition in anthropology dating back to colonial years) questioned continued privileging of the dichotomy between 'private' and 'collective' ownership. While many villagers still describe their social world in such terms it is now possible to see that a

large element of this stems from the ideological debates that underpinned the Cold War, and which continues to inform much Western advice to the postsocialist countries. Contemporary studies of property, both theoretical and empirical in a range of disciplines, have all to come to terms with these ideological legacies.

Our emphasis upon the fate of the collective farm as a 'total social institution' has been complemented by studies foregrounding different issues, including property rights in houses and the changing nature of the 'moral community'. Several projects range well outside the postsocialist framework. Property is both endlessly rich as a concept to 'think with' and a live political issue to 'act with' everywhere in the world. Some researchers in the group, perhaps most, take a critical view of recent state policies in the region of their fieldwork. It is not to be expected, however, that we shall come up with general recommendations for alternative property institutions and policy instruments. The task is to question the wisdom of received ideologies and to pursue more differentiated approaches to the institutions of property, taking full account of community norms and social cohesion as well as of resource allocation problems. If we succeed in these goals we shall be fulfilling social anthropology's familiar role as an 'uncomfortable' (Raymond Firth) discipline in the modern academy.

It may seem curious to sketch future plans when the initial cycle of projects has barely entered the writing-up phase, but thematic foci must be renewed and changed from time to time if a dynamic agenda is to be maintained. The cycle of new projects beginning in 2003 will have as its central focus another salient dimension of postsocialist transformations, to which Hann has provisionally assigned the name 'Civil Religion'. The study of links between religious phenomena and the impact of new forms of capitalist economy has been a major theme in the anthropology of religion for decades, but little systematic attention has been paid so far to the postsocialist countries. Hann's interest in this field derives directly from his recent projects in southeastern Poland, where he has studied the tensions between a religious minority (Greek Catholics) and the dominant Roman Catholic Church. As in many other cases throughout Eurasia, the religious conflict is congruent with an ethno-national divide, in this case between Ukrainians and Poles. One key issue, increasingly approached internationally under the heading 'religious human rights', is the extent to which these new democracies can and should grant the same rights to all 'communities of faith', irrespective of their size and historical (national) significance. A wide range of projects is envisaged, from studies of how traditionally dominant churches (e.g. the Russian Orthodox) are adapting to the postsocialist 'religious marketplace' to projects on the many foreign missionary churches now active in the region; from renewals of shamanic traditions to currents more closely resembling Western 'new age' movements. Behind all these projects will lie the question of the extent to which socialism itself was a kind of religion

– hardly a conventional community of faith, but nonetheless an ideology that promised a kind of salvation, and certainly a body of dogma and practices that continues to exercise considerable influence on the world view of people throughout the postsocialist world.

The transition to the new focus will not be abrupt, since several members of the Department will continue to work on property themes. In some cases the shift of emphasis will take place almost invisibly, since religious identity is often central to the definition and maintenance of property rights. The theme of Civil Religion will fit well with the priorities of Department I and the Project Group 'Legal Pluralism', and also with the interests of several other Max Planck Institutes, where historical and legal aspects of religious pluralism in Europe are being researched. Finally, the new theme will connect with the burgeoning interest in other social sciences in questions of human rights and civil society. Hann has already contributed to the debates in this field, above all through calls for a more sensitive anthropological application of the notion of civil society. The new phase of projects at the MPI will turn these exhortations into an empirical research programme, which will contribute to general anthropological knowledge of contemporary religious phenomena and, more specifically, to our understanding of the distinctive features of postsocialist quests for new sources of faith.

(Chris Hann)



The Department II Collective following an Institute seminar, November 2001.

(Photo: MPI for Social Anthropology)

Project Group: Legal Pluralism
Head of the group:
Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann

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1. Introduction

The Project Group 'Legal Pluralism' was formed in July 2000. Its task is to prepare the ground for the establishment of the planned third Department. Its objective is to focus on legal anthropology in a globalising society where conflicting systems of norms increasingly collide. The Project Group is jointly headed by Prof. Franz von Benda-Beckmann and Prof. Keebet von Benda-Beckmann who joined the Institute in July 2000 and will work here until the end of 2006. It has been defined as a five-year project, which has officially started with the joining of Dr Julia Eckert and Dr Bertram Turner in April 2001. Thus the Project Group has only been complete since May 2001. Most of the initial period was devoted to developing the research programme with special attention paid to integrating it with the programmes of the two existing Departments (see section 5). Furthermore, the research projects of each of the participants were formulated in relation to this frame of reference. The first period

was also used to establish contacts and to explore possible collaboration with other research institutes in Germany and worldwide. This report, therefore, primarily provides an outlook on what the group intends to do in terms of research and of organising academic events. It provides a concise overview of the general points of departure and research objectives, followed by a short description of the individual research projects within the group, and by an elaboration of the theoretical framework for the Project Group. In conclusion, a short overview will be given of the organisation of workshops and conferences, cooperation, networking, teaching and PhD supervision.

2. General Points of Departure and Research Objectives

Towards an Anthropology of Law in a Globalising World

During the past 140 years, since the publication of Maine's *Ancient Law* and Bachofen's *Das Mutterrecht* in 1861, there have been many and considerable shifts in the research interests, theoretical concerns, methodologies and regional specialisations within legal anthropology. Generally speaking, we have seen a gradual development "from the law of primitive man to the social-scientific study of law in complex societies" including European or US industrial societies.¹ Theoretical and methodological interests have developed, in overlapping phases, from a strong concern for an evolutionistic, encyclopedic account of the evolution of legal systems, based on armchair academics in the late 19th century to a largely ahistorical, intensive and fieldwork based study of small-scale societies in a rather non-comparative way in the early decades of the 20th century.

During the 1950s and 60s, anthropology of law (especially Anglo-American) focused almost exclusively on processes of conflict and dispute management. Those studies largely neglected the fact that these societies had for a long time been influenced by and had become part of colonial states, their laws and institutions and by their incorporation into a wider economic system.

The early 1970s widened the scope of interest. Starting with plurality of procedures and decision-making institutions in disputing, the state and its law came within the purview of legal anthropologists, and the interest in the complex configurations of legal orders was extended to state law and institutions outside the domain of dispute management. This complexity was captured by the concept of "legal pluralism". In the same period anthropology of law also became increasingly "time-oriented", com-

¹ F. von Benda-Beckmann 1989. For some reviews see Moore 1970, Moore 2000.

binning, as Moore (1970: 294f) suggested, “individual-centred short-term, choice-making instrumental action” with a long-term historical perspective. Legal anthropological research was also no longer confined to former colonial states, but was also carried out in industrialised states. Especially during the past ten years, theoretical reflections and empirical research on law expanded further into trans-national and international law and other aspects of “globalisation”.² Very recently, there has been an increased interest in the spatial aspects of law in society and the development of a “geography of law”.

In its history, anthropology of law has been heavily influenced by theoretical developments in general anthropology and other social sciences. There is an increasingly shared conviction that its theoretical propositions must be firmly grounded in general social theory. This crossing of (sub)disciplinary boundaries has enriched the empirical understanding of law and expanded the horizon of theoretical discussions. But despite many shared concerns, some specific features distinguish the field of anthropology of law from social anthropology and other social sciences. Legal anthropology seeks to understand and explain variation in social organisation and practices through time and space. But while law has largely been treated as an “intellectual stepchild” (Parsons 1978) in the social sciences, the anthropology of law takes law as its special focus for empirical and theoretical research.

First, it tries to understand to what extent law, as a set of independent variables, can explain the emergence and functioning of social organisation, institutions and practices. Second, it is concerned with the question of how law is generated, maintained and changed over time. Third, it specifically tries to understand the social significance of legal phenomena and in plural legal situations the significance of different bodies of legal phenomena as constraining and enabling factors in social interaction. Fourth, as a social science of law it is locked in a dialogue with those legal and political sciences that view law primarily from a normative perspective.

Some of the debates that have been prominent in the theoretical debates in anthropology of law can only be understood against the background of these different sets of concerns. It is against this historical background that the Project Group is formulating its research questions and its theoretical and methodological approaches, drawing on insights developed in German, Dutch, Anglo-American and French anthropology of law.

² See Merry 1997, Günther and Randeria 2001, K. von Benda-Beckmann 1999.

Legal Pluralism in the 21st Century

Many contemporary legal systems contain parallel and often contradictory regulations for social, economic and political organisation, based on different types of legitimation. This type of legal complexity is summarily designated by the term “legal pluralism”, a sensitising concept drawing attention to the fact that within socio-political space more than one legal system or institution may co-exist. At the level of rules and principles, this pluralism is often accompanied by a plurality of socio-political institutions, for instance dispute management institutions and courts that derive their legitimation from different legal frameworks and interpret and apply different legal rules. The most marked constellations of legal pluralism are found in former colonies where state, tribal or village customary law exist side by side, and where religious law (Islamic, Christian, Jewish or Hindu) also often plays an important role.

With the growing consolidation of the state apparatus in many countries, the extent to which non-state legal institutions are recognised as legally valid by the state or are operated in non-state contexts independent from such recognition has decreased. During the heyday of the nation-state, it was generally assumed by many lawyers and social scientists that the law of the state would ultimately obtain full dominance in every sector of social and economic life. This had been the case in industrial societies and would eventually come true in developing countries as well, once they overcame “underdevelopment”. Industrial societies indeed have gone through a period of expansion of state law and the realms of its influence, and the actors involved in law making - state officials and politicians - are usually firmly committed to a homogeneous, dominant state legal system. There is also great pressure on weak states from the international community to develop a strong, uniform and well functioning state legal system so that they can participate in the world political and economic community.

It has also become clear, however, that there is no uni-linear development that would suggest the disappearance of non-state legal systems. Under certain political and economic conditions, traditional and religious legal orders are revitalised rather than weakened and rival claims to political authority of the state and economic rights in many parts of the world are still based on traditional or religious law. Moreover, processes of interpenetration have led to new legal forms in which elements of formerly distinct legal orders have been merged. Another aspect of complexity is due to the wide range of actors and institutions engaged in the interpretation and application of different legal rules. Customary laws, for instance, are not only used within traditional village contexts, they are also interpreted by state courts or legal scientists. This often results in transformation of “people’s law” into “lawyers’ law”. Likewise, elements of scholarly Islamic law and state law may be transformed into local folk

law versions. Sometimes such merged or transformed legal forms become part of the state legal system, sometimes of customary legal systems, in yet other situations they assume an independent existence as islands of “unnamed law”. Additionally older forms of state law may be adopted by local communities and become part of the local legal order, with their origins in state law becoming obsolete.



A simple party office (Shakha) of the Shivsena in a slum of Mumbai. Here, local disputes are heard by party leaders. (Photo: J. Eckert)

But there are other developments as well. State law itself seems to open up to more plurality, i.e. it recognises influences from international law, while under certain circumstances customary and religious law is acknowledged in countries where it was unheard of before. Recently, international and trans-national laws, such as conventions of the United Nations concerning indigenous peoples, international human rights and trans-national economic regulations (*lex mercatoria*) and institutions like the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the World Trade Organisation, the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, bilateral development agencies as well as trans-nationally operating non-governmental organisations (NGO) have begun to play an increasingly important role in the course of globalisation processes. Not only do they regulate international relations, but they often have a direct impact on social and economic relations in small-scale settings within nation-states.

Legal Pluralism in Industrialised States

Such a variety of laws and the resulting social problems, however, are not exclusive to developing countries (Griffiths 1986, Merry 1988). It has become more and more accepted that it no longer makes sense to think in terms of one single legal system in western industrial states. The intensity, velocity and spread of interregional and trans-continental legal, economic and political relations and interactions in the more recent period of "globalisation" has made legal landscapes more complex than before. Increased migration have brought many people from abroad into industrialised states who brought with them different types of law: their national laws, religious laws, and often also customary laws. Over time, these migrant communities have recreated and remodelled this law in their new environment, often to the extent that local varieties of law and local sanctioning mechanisms are being created but at the same time contested from within and without. These legal forms not only affect internal social relationships of the migrants themselves. The wider national society is also affected in various ways in labour relations, social welfare, family relations in the case of mixed marriages, education, etc. In the field of legal science and court decision making, such multilegality has led to new problems concerning the recognition of such legal forms that cannot easily be dealt with through international private law rules and which challenge notions of the *ordre publique* in new ways.

But legal plurality in western nation-states is by no means limited to migrant communities; the phenomenon is far more widespread and it is, in fact, characteristic of all societies, even if the specific shape and constellation differs widely. This results from three related processes:

First, many social fields create their own set of norms and sanctioning mechanisms that may be called legal from an anthropological perspective. These social fields and their normative structures typically are not entirely independent of the state legal system but are related to it in different degrees of semi-autonomy.³ Conversely, the implementation of state law is usually filtered through such social fields.

Secondly, as indicated above, increasing trans-national and global enterprises and other social connections are an important source of legal pluralism, because they stimulate the introduction of both foreign and trans-national law into a country.

Thirdly, profound political changes are often accompanied by fundamental changes in the legal system of a state. This is especially the case in times of revolution, colonisation or de-colonisation, or, to give a more recent example, transition from a socialist to a post-socialist order. Usually the new government tries to eliminate most of the existing legal structure and replace it with a new legal order. Often more or less strong

³ Seen as semi-autonomous social fields, Moore 1973.

traces of the old legal regime, however, continue to exert their influence and effectively result in a situation of legal pluralism. Similar phenomena occur in less volatile times, but they are particularly prominent in periods of rapid and profound change as they coincide with a shift in legitimation and a strong rejection of the legitimation of the old regime and its legal system.

The Dynamics of Legal Pluralism

Legal pluralism as a *concept* merely points to the possibility *that* there can be more than one legal system in a political organisation. Whether and to what extent this is the case, and how the various sets of law interact, are empirical questions which cannot be answered by theoretical or legal-dogmatic considerations. We are confronted with dynamic and changing constellations of legal pluralism in former colonial as well as industrialised states. The scale in which each of the types of law operate, varies from laws that pertain to all sectors of society, to laws that are valid in particular sectors only, e.g. family law, and to single institutions, e.g. the inner regulation within a company. It also varies with political and geographical space, from a trans-national, global level, to a regional, national, local level, or the level of a specific social field. There is variation in the way the different types of law co-exist with each other, whether there is accommodation, conflict, merging, or accumulation of legal forms. The resulting patterns of legal pluralism are complex, layered, often ambivalent and subject to manipulation. They are also a source of considerable legal insecurity and social and political conflict.

Research Objectives and Emphasis

The general objective of the Project Group is to analyse and explain the different constellations of legal pluralism and the relative significance of each type of law. These questions will be studied in specific social settings which were selected on the basis of important socio-economic and political developments in contemporary societies. The thematic foci of the research projects have been chosen to allow fruitful exchange of ideas and comparisons across Departmental boundaries (see also section 5):

1. The use of diverse institutions and procedures in the management of disputes.
2. Natural resource management, especially property regulations and questions of sustainable use of natural resources.
3. Change in complex social security systems and work relationships.
4. Changes in governance under conditions of legal transnationalisation, decentralisation and privatisation

Two aspects will be given particular attention which have so far been relatively neglected in empirical research and theoretical analyses of legal anthropology but which have become more important in the course of recent social developments:

1. *The significance of religion and religious law in constellations of plural legal systems.* Studies of legal pluralism have largely been confined to the dualism of state and traditional and customary laws, and given too little attention to legal forms based on religion.⁴ Research on the changing significance of legal orders based on religion is of special importance. In a time when religious groups, often with fundamentalist political and religious (Islamic, Christian or Hindu) agendas, claim a wider validity and higher legitimacy than either state or traditional customary laws.



*The traditional mosques in West Sumatra often had a pagoda-type roof.
(Photo: F. von Benda Beckmann)*

2. *The trans-national dimensions of legal pluralism and their legal, political and economic consequences of supra-state legal regulations within the framework of current regionalising and globalising processes.* Trans-national law has paradoxical effects. On the one hand it has a tendency towards homogeneity, while, at the same time, it creates plurality, since the ways in which it transforms or merges with local legal forms in local settings (“glocalisation”) vary considerably. Both the production of homogeneity and the production of particular constellations of legal plurality affect different actors differently in terms of opportunities of action, access to law and the various legal forums.

⁴ Cf. the recent *Legal pluralism in the Arab world*, edited by Dupret, Berger and al-Zwani 1999.

These aspects are largely ignored in debates on “law and globalisation”, in which the role of the state is considered either to be decreasing, or at least to be reduced to the administration of legal regimes issued in various trans-national and supra-state bodies and networks. Legal and political scientists tend to focus on the relation between state law and international and trans-national law, though there are notable exceptions (Günther and Randeria 2001). The Project Group intends to go beyond this level and look into the ways in which trans-national law and trans-nationally operating organisations affect other types of law, e.g. customary and religious law, and newly emerging legal orders that add another dimension to the already complex legal constellations.

3. Themes of the Individual Research Projects

Changing Constellations of Legal Pluralism in West Sumatra, Indonesia

Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann

The empirical research will mainly focus on Indonesia. The main theme concerns the shifting relationship between the various bodies of law: state law, customary law, called *adat* law, and religious law, both in its local variants and in its official form. The shift will be studied as a long-term historical process in which phases of gradual adjustment alternate with phases of rapid change. Currently Indonesia is going through a period of rapid and fundamental political change, which has triggered fierce debates about the role of each of the legal systems. This creates a unique and timely opportunity to study processes of socio-economic and political change, shifting constellations in a complex plural legal system, the changing role of the state and its component organisations and the relationships of individuals, communities and the state. The project has two components:

Changes in Dispute Management

The research will involve an analysis of the long term developments in the differential use of civil and religious courts in disputes about property in Minangkabau, West Sumatra. Building upon earlier research in the 1970s, the use of different legal repertoires and of state courts is traced up to the present time. An important focus will lie in disputes over land rights and inheritance, because this is still the single most important source for conflict in rural and semi-urban areas. When processing property and inheritance disputes outside the local community, Minangkabau disputants have a choice between ordinary civil courts and Islamic courts.

There has always been a tension between *adat* and state law in relations between local people and the state. In the struggle between *adat* and Is-



Balai Adat in Singkarak (West Sumatra), the council hall of the traditional clan and lineage heads (panghula). (Photo: K. von Benda-Beckmann)

lam over legal supremacy, inheritance was and continues to be the key issue, despite the shifts in inheritance law from strict matrilineal principles to more bilateral inheritance. Apart from actual decisions on the distribution of property, the question discussed will be to what extent these earlier changes were due to the influence of Islamic law and to processes of modernisation and whether they signified a switch from *adat* to Islam or were changes within *adat*.

Since the 1980s there have been several important developments in the role of Islam and Islamic law and institutions. The jurisdiction of Islamic courts has been expanded in the 1980s and 1990s. In 1989 a uniform system of Islamic courts was created throughout Indonesia. In North Sumatra, which is going through a period of extreme Islamisation, this has led to a dramatic shift away from civil courts to Islamic courts in land matters (Bowen 2000). The question is whether this is a general trend throughout Indonesia. Data of some eight civil and religious courts were collected in collaboration with colleagues from Andalas University in Padang. Preliminary analysis suggests that there is a surprising continuity of court use in property disputes in West Sumatra and that the majority of cases in the civil courts are still on landed property held under *adat* rights. Moreover, inheritance of family property is hardly dealt with by Islamic courts.

Decentralisation of the State Administration: consequences for village administration, social security and resource rights

In response to increasing pressure from regions claiming more autonomy, and to the monetary and financial crisis of the mid 1990s, Indonesia has embarked on a major process of decentralisation. This policy is also enforced and supported by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, who wish to create a leaner, effective, responsible and more democratic administration. Bilateral donor agencies also support this policy; they see a chance of bringing about a form of governance that is closer to

the local population. West Sumatra is one of the most advanced regions in this process, thus offering a good opportunity to study the social, political and legal consequences. The Minangkabau case is particularly interesting since decentralisation coincides with a territorial restructuring of local administration. A first analysis of this process suggests that the effects reach far beyond a simple devolution of decision making powers to lower levels of authority. The present strictly hierarchical structure of Indonesia's state administration seems to be developing into one that combines hierarchical and horizontal features.

The new form of local administration involves a return to an older form of local administration that goes back to pre-colonial *nagari*, villages with a relatively high degree of autonomy.



Board with village statistics in the village hall in Candung Kota Lawas, a village in West Sumatra. Entries stopped being made in 1983 when the traditional villages (*nagari*) were divided into several smaller villages (*desa*). (Photo: K.von Benda-Beckmann)

Over the past 150 years, this *nagari* structure has gone through many changes imposed by the colonial and later the Indonesian central government. Thus, returning to the *nagari* system may have many different meanings. One of the research questions is in what ways and in whose interests is history being reconstructed in order to establish claims for positions of authority in the future. This process involves renegotiating the relationship between *adat* (local customs and customary law) and the state and its law. However, there are signs that the process also affects

Islamic leadership and the role of Islamic law both in its official and its local variants. The study thus offers a good opportunity to look into the social working of law in a period of changing constellations of legal pluralism.

Decentralisation also has important consequences for the situation of social security. Social projects have been important in channelling financial support from the central government into the regions down to the local level. Together with public works and education, they have been one of the most important means through which the centre could maintain its hierarchical structure through a patronage system. The abolition of the Department of Social Affairs was not only an important symbolic gesture in the fight against corruption and political patronage, but it also cut off many socially weak groups from important support. First results of our research suggest that slowly adjustments are being made, but our initial hypothesis of Islamic organisations becoming more active in this field does not seem to hold true. Though there are indications of considerable involvement of the private sector and of migrants who invoke Islamic and customary principles for their commitments.

Furthermore, decentralisation has a great impact on resource rights and management, in particular land, water and forest. Instead of the old centralised redistribution of resources, regions and local communities have been given more autonomy in terms of income generation. This has resulted in increasing claims, based on *adat* law, to the government and to private commercial owners of natural resources to hand back land and water, which had been taken from the local population under colonial rule or under the Suharto regime, but had remained contested until the present. Many land claims have been filed in courts and villages, and villagers are negotiating with higher authorities and with private companies for returning rights to natural resources or participation in their proceeds.

Finally, there are indications that decentralisation leads to unforeseen processes of exclusion. This seems to happen at the regency (*kabupaten*) level where a process of ethno-genesis is taking place. But it also occurs on a local level where old and partially forgotten differences between original settlers and latecomers or former slaves are revived, which leads to an increase of social stratification.

Research is carried out in close cooperation with Andalas University in Padang and with the Centre for Population Studies in Yogyakarta. Furthermore, there is close cooperation with the programme on "The Impact of Crisis in Indonesia" of the Dutch Royal Academy of Sciences in which the Universities of Nijmegen, Utrecht, Amsterdam and the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague participate.

Natural Resource Management and Legal Pluralism in a Biosphere Reserve in South Western Morocco

Bertram Turner

Research focuses on natural resource management in a changing situation of legal pluralism in the Souss, Southern Morocco. In the Souss, conventional strategies of utilising natural resources, generally held to be well adapted to the conditions of the natural environment, show great diversity, especially in agricultural practices, agro-forestry and irrigation. Apart from agriculture, exploitation of the natural environment is chiefly restricted to the Argan Forest, which provides the essential means of livelihood for large parts of the local population. In December 1998 the first UNESCO biosphere reserve in Morocco was established in the Souss.

This development is likely to complicate an already complex constellation of legal pluralism the history of which is characterised by remarkable interdependences and historical transformations of legal forms. In the course of its eventful history, the Souss, unlike other regions, has always been kept more or less under the influence of the Makhzen, that is, the state and the central political authority. In the Souss the mutual influences between or even the mixing of the three legal systems - traditional or



The Šikh of Tizgui (High Atlas) showing a hooked plough made from Argan timber. (Photo: B. Turner)

customary, non state law and Islamic Maliki law - began comparatively early and was already far advanced in the period of the French Protectorate. The pluralistic legal constellation had been extended by new, trans- and international legal components imported by foreign development aid organisations. This began even before the establishment of the biosphere reserve. The MAB-UNESCO statutes (Man and the Biosphere Programme), which have also been legally binding since 1998, have added a new dynamism to the pluralistic constellation. As far as procedures of conflict management are concerned, the situation is equally complex. Conflicts over access to resources occur frequently. It seems that mainly informal Islamic methods of conflict management carried out by religious officials are of decisive importance. These act alongside or parallel to the pseudo-traditional institutions (justice of the peace) for settling conflicts on a local level and/or the decision making institutions of the state.

Research Objectives and Questions

1. Local level law and natural resource management

A major focus is on the investigation of the persistence and historical development of local legal conceptions as well as the local strategies utilising natural resources. More specifically, this includes investigations of the historical and current local legal conceptions and regulations of resource utilisation and agricultural practices of different groups of actors. Attention will be paid to how legal ideas and actual groups practices adapt to the changing conditions in natural resource management. The regulation of access to natural resources and the management of conflicts, especially concerning land tenure and property, water regulations and forest utilisation claims, are further elements of this complex of issues. A particular focus will be on conflicts over inheritance, disputes in agrarian associations over natural resources utilisation in general and on people's differential use of local, Islamic and state procedures and institutions.



Camel nomads from southern region use the Argan forest as temporary pasture. (Photo: B. Turner)

2. State law and new dynamics in legal pluralism

This research will investigate the role of the state and state agencies involved in natural resources management (Office Régional de la Mise en Valeur Agricole Direction Régionale des Eaux et Forêts du Sud-Ouest), especially under the conditions of the changing plural legal constellations and the impact of trans-national law and its carriers. These developments give an interesting opportunity to understand the role of state institutions and developments on the state level and the relevance of the state legal framework for natural resources management. These dynamics are of special importance in the context of political decentralisation and raise the question of how far this development affects local regulations of resources management and notions of sustainability.

3. Ideology of sustainability and local legal knowledge

Local legal knowledge and local notions of sustainability are considered to be very important by the most important carriers of trans-national law, such as UNESCO and other donor agencies. The question is whether and how the experience with the impact of trans-national law influences the local ideology of sustainability and local legal knowledge; further, whether local ideas of sustainability are indeed conceived of as a decisive factor for any general concept of sustainable use of all natural resources in the region; finally, how trans-national influence on local conditions and failure of external intervention is perceived and interpreted by the various actors and to what extent this leads to reflection at the trans-national level itself.

4. The question of local identity and power-relationships of different social actors

The analysis of communal and collective practices raises questions about local identity. How far do these activities and the communal organisation of natural resource management in general play a role in shaping local people's identity? To what extent do institutionalised collective strategies contribute to legal security according to local notions of solidarity? How, and to what extent, does an increasing socio-economic differentiation affect patterns of mutual assistance and cooperation? How do these dynamics challenge and influence the constitution and cohesion of local corporate identity among different kinds of local actors with different and sometimes incompatible socio-economic and political interests? An important category in this development are returnees who invest in natural resource management and challenge power relations in local settings. The question is how this affects local solidarity structure and corporate identity.

Legal Security and the Changes of Governance in India

Julia Eckert

This project focuses on changes of governance and its effects on law and legal pluralism. It looks at the reorganisation of governance in Mumbai (formerly Bombay) where different processes of formal and informal decentralisation of the legal administration produce changing constellations of legal pluralism. In Mumbai current processes of the formal or informal devolution of judicial competences by the state to alternative organisations assume three general, often contradictory but interrelated forms:

- a) the devolution of productive and distributive state tasks to private organisations and thereby the informal devolution of regulatory tasks;
- b) the formal decentralisation and devolution of judicial and regulatory tasks, as advocated for example by the World Bank in its Indian good

governance programme and realised in different government policies, as for example the establishment of express courts and the newly revived *lok adalats*;

c) the independent establishment of parallel centres of judicial authority such as NGOs, as well as communitarian, "criminal" economic and political organisations. Many of these combine several functions, as for example the *Shakhas*, local offices of a regional party which are at once governing party in Maharashtra, NGO, community organisation and criminal gang. State institutions, particularly the police but also civil courts, are partly subsumed under, partly operate parallel to these alternative institutions.

Legal reality in the city is more often than not determined by the interaction of these various judicial institutions involved in the field of regulation and adjudication. They act on the specific interpretation and enforcement of a legal framework and set rules and practice sanctions themselves. These determine legal reality in their interaction, the checks and balances they may produce for each other and the frames of interpretation they offer for claims to rights and entitlements.

The structure of legal pluralism

The project wants to look at the emergence of specific constellations among these various institutions by comparing different areas of the city of Mumbai with different socio-economic, religious and caste compositions. It analyses the conditions in which constellations among these institutions develop to be either competitive, cooperative/complementary, autonomous or hierarchical, as well as the processes by which particular institutions gain dominance within such constellations. Of interest is also which forms the competition between them takes, and which actors are involved in producing specific constellations.

The assumption is that these constellations are also structured by governance policies issued by either the state or international and trans-national organisations. These may not be directly linked to the administration of law (as in the privatisation of security or distributive tasks), and may be in contradiction to each other, but they will directly or indirectly have an effect on the organisational forms and practices evolving in the field of governance and the structure of legal pluralism.

The project will examine the impact of such specific constellations on processes of legal pluralisation and legal homogenisation. The contention is that underlying both will be a general transformation of the processes determining and encoding the content of legal pluralism, and a new constellation of actors involved in them. The mutually normative influence among diverse institutions and their adaptation of legal norms, effected not least by their competition and/or cooperation, is possibly complemented by new modes of exclusion. Of particular concern is the question of which sets of law get incorporated into state practices and state law,



The official emblem for the promotion of „communal harmony“. The four children represent four religions. (Photo: J. Eckert)

and what processes lead to their adoption. In this regard, the project will concentrate particularly on the practices of the police and local state courts and their relations with non-state judicial institutions.

Legal security

Another central question is the impact of specific constellations of legal pluralism on access to law and legal security, and their effects on the socio-economic stratification. Firstly, this means establishing which institution governs which sphere of law for whom, and what influences individuals and social groups to use one or the other institution. Prior research in India found that use of the competing institutions by citizens in situations of conflict is largely determined by the relative accessibility of specific institutions.

A central theme will be the conditions of the emergence of different forms of checks and balances in different constellations of legal pluralism. Current political theory concentrates on checks and balances relating to state institutions as well as the state and state law regulating the relations of non-state actors. However, the reconfiguration of the institutional constellation demands an approach that is not centred on the state, for it has to be asked whether the reduction of the state's role to regulatory tasks may not simultaneously diminish its regulatory capacities. The analysis of possible forms of checks and balances pertaining to the powers of different kinds of non-state actors involved in the administration of law therefore also needs to examine the structuration of relations among these non-state actors. It needs to study not only the modes and mechanisms through which monopolisations are inhibited but also the degree to which they are effective, the conditions of their efficacy and the question of whether such checks and balances emerge at all. These issues relate both to the question of legal security and legal certainty as well as to the question of the modes of social organisation and their impact on power relations.

During the research, there will be cooperation with several colleagues from the Universities of Pune and Mumbai, the Tata Institute for Social

Sciences in Mumbai and the Centre for the Study of Society and Development (CSDS) in Delhi.

Dr. Julia Eckert has received the academy stipend (60,000 DM) of the *Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences) which was awarded for the first time in 2001.

Additional Research Inputs: guest researchers

The Project Group had several guests in 2001, who all contributed to the development of the theoretical approach of the Project Group and of research issues:

Dr. Indira Simbolon, an Indonesian socio-legal scholar working as project officer for the Asian Development Bank, spent five weeks at the Institute and wrote a paper on legal pluralism, land claims and the position of indigenous hill tribes Cambodia. This is to be published as a working paper of the Institute. Since her research takes place in a postsocialist country, her work is also of interest to the postsocialist interests of Department II.

Dr. Markus Weilenmann (University of Klagenfurt, Austria) spent six weeks at the Institute to work on a paper entitled "*Rethinking Legal Anthropological Theories of Dispute Settlement: The process-analytical triangle*" in which he argues that more systematic attention has to be paid to the role of emotions in conflict management and suggests a fruitful combination of classical legal anthropology and ethno-psychoanalysis.

Prof. Dr. Melanie Wiber from the University of New Brunswick (Canada) spent four weeks at the Institute working on issues of sustainable ecosystems and law in plural legal settings and on new property. She is also involved in the planning of a conference on property to be jointly organised by the Project Group and Department II at the MPI in 2003. Moreover, as the secretary of the Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism she is actively involved in the organisation of the conference and course on legal pluralism to be held in Nepal, December 2001.

Gerhard Anders, a PhD student from Erasmus University Rotterdam visited the Institute for five months and worked on his dissertation on "*Social Security of Civil Servants in Malawi*", in which he analyses the influence of structural adjustment programmes and trans-national law on the social security situation of civil servants.

4. Research Issues and Challenges

The research on changing constellations of legal pluralism demands a conceptual, methodological and theoretical approach to "legal pluralism in society". It requires us to understand how people's (inter)actions are constrained by constellations of legal pluralism, how they use elements of

the different legal forms in their social behaviour and how this affects power relations and distribution of wealth between social groups and individuals. It also entails analysing how a legal anthropological understanding relates to approaches in general social theory, neo-institutional economics and legal science. Since the two research fellows joined the Project Group, much time has been devoted to developing such an approach. In the following, we shall describe some of the key issues that guide the research of the Project Group.

Conceptual, Methodological and Theoretical Issues and Challenges

The Concept of Law and Legal Pluralism

The concepts of law and legal pluralism have always been a central concern in social and legal science. The definition of law became particularly problematic when European lawyers and anthropologists were confronted with societies without state-like political systems, courts or written rule systems. Whether such societies “had law”, and whether and under what conditions the concept of law could be fashioned into a cross-cultural comparative concept, was and remains a contested issue; arguably more so than is the case with other key concepts in social anthropology, such as the family, property, religion or economy. The extent to which this was problematised, however, has varied considerably throughout the history of legal anthropology, both within and between periods.

In much evolutionist legal anthropology, for instance, it was a non-issue. Maine spoke of Ancient Law, Bachofen of Mutterrecht, and German scholars such as Post and Kohler did not find it difficult to use law in relation to the normative systems of the societies discovered in Africa and Asia.⁵ Other understandings of the evolution of social and political organisation saw law and legal systems as the most recent, developed and civilised manifestation of political and normative ordering; the apex in an evolution leading from unsanctioned custom to diffusely sanctioned social norms, early forms of quasi-law to the state legal systems as they had developed in Europe.

When colonial states had established their judicial systems, the question of whether and to which extent “native laws and customs” should be recognised as valid law became a serious practical matter. The politico-judicial systems of the states, premised on “law application”, required that a distinction could be made between “customary law” and “mere” custom and convention. This generated the new methodological problem of how such unwritten law was to be found. Many researchers found a solution to their problem in American legal realism, leading to conceptualisations of law as rules sanctioned or abstracted from decisions made in

⁵ See Schott 1982 on German evolutionist ethnological jurisprudence.

“trouble-cases”. The concern with definition subsided when anthropologists of law began to discover the limitations of the case method and started looking into the significance of legal rules and institutions outside processes of dispute management, and no longer wanted to identify anthropology of law with disputing and conflict management. But the debate re-emerged when the coexistence of normative orders, discovered as legal pluralism, was problematised, in postcolonial states and later in industrialised western states as well.

The crucial issue in these debates, and the one distinguishing it from the common discussions over the concept of law, is whether or not one is prepared to admit at the conceptual level to the theoretical possibility of more than one legal order within one socio-political space, based on different sources of ultimate validity and maintained by forms of organisation other than the state.⁶ If law is linked to the state by definition, as is common in some scientific circles, then there cannot be law other than that made or validated by the state. Divine revelation, tradition or practice cannot serve as an independent foundation for “legal” rules. Rules and sanctioning mechanisms based on them are “merely” social norms, conventions or customs, and they often fade out of analysis. In contrast to such etatist definitions of law, we, like many legal anthropologists, base our research on an analytical concept of law that is to function as a conceptual tool for looking at similarities and differences in legal orders across cultures and history. There is no preconceived exclusive connection between law and the state. Other organisational structures and sources of validity, such as old or invented tradition or religion, can also match the analytical properties of the concept of law. The approach assumes that claims to sovereignty, to the exclusiveness of state law and to the monopoly of legitimate violence are historically contingent normative constructions, and that such claims can also be made for non-state normative orders. To what extent such claims are accepted as valid and to which extent they become effective in social life is a matter for empirical research and should not be answered by legal or social science doctrines.

The discussions around the concept of law and legal pluralism are complicated by the political and economic significance of the concept of law and the rights derived from it. In political and economic life, whether or not some claim or relation is accepted as “legal” determines who has the legitimate power to exercise political control over people and resources; who can exploit them economically and profit from this exploitation. The definition of what law is thus easily becomes the subject of political debates. Anthropology of law does not take a partisan stand in these political debates but primarily describes and analyses such conflicts over law.

⁶ For diametrically opposed views, see for instance Tamanaha 1993, von Trotha 2000 and Roberts 1998 for a state-centered definition, and Griffiths 1986, F. von Benda-Beckmann 1997 for a wider conceptualisation that dissociates the concept of law from the state.

To achieve this, we need a comparative and analytical concept of law that can distance itself from the dominant notion of law in its own society. One of the challenges of our research is thus to come up with a clarification of a concept of law that can be used for comparative purposes, specify its general analytical properties and elaborate the dimensions in which empirical manifestations of law vary. An additional question is whether the concept of "legal pluralism" is sufficient for describing and analysing complex legal systems or has to be supplemented by an expanded analytical vocabulary. These are also important themes in the dialogue with legal science and other social sciences.

Relations between Legal Pluralism and Social Action

The research of the group is not confined to discovering plural legal systems and analysing their substantive content. As was mentioned before, a main aim is to study the actual significance of law in social organisation and practice. In pluralistic systems this always means looking for the relative social significance of the different normative and institutional complexes, in relation to each other and to other non-legal, social, economic and political factors. This is particularly relevant for the analysis of historical transformation processes and the interrelations between legal change and economic, social and political change; in particular also for processes in which governments or other actors use the law itself as an instrument for social and economic change (legal engineering).

Research on the social significance of law presupposes a theoretical understanding of possible interrelationships between law/legal pluralism and social action. For analytical purposes a distinction can be made between two major modes in which legal phenomena can become involved in human practice, the use of law (legal procedures) as resource in social interaction and law as a source of positive or negative motivation for social interaction. In both respects, the repertoire of legal options is considerably widened under plural legal and institutional conditions, which open up possibilities for "law" and "forum shopping".

Moreover, law can have consequences beyond the typical legal contexts such as courts and legislative bodies, for instance in interactions with the administration, development projects and in interactions in daily life. What law, or the constellation of legal pluralism is, and what consequences it has, is contextual. By which agents and through which social practices laws are generated; by whom and for which purposes law is used, maintained and changed; and to what extent human beings are motivated or constrained by their orientation to law, is not predefined by legal science, but must be posed as questions to be answered by research. One of the challenges for theoretical and methodological development in legal anthropology is thus the elaboration of the kinds of contexts and types of events in which constellations of legal pluralism develop, are maintained and changed.

Finally, the existence of law, or better, of specific constellations of legal pluralism, has to be grounded in time and space. While the use of spatial metaphors to locate “law in society”, such as semi-autonomous social “fields”, structural “places” or “rooms” and “landscapes”, has become increasingly popular in legal sociological and anthropological writings, these metaphors remain tied to social structural categories that do not localise law in geographical space. Generalisations over “the law or legal pluralism in global space” or in Indonesia are misleading unless the where and when of the phenomena are specified. The normative projection of law into certain geographical and socio-political spaces does not necessarily mean that it exists and has consequences throughout that space. This was especially the case for early declarations of colonial legislation in a region and among a population that had never heard of that law nor were confronted with its administrators. It also holds true for the contemporary discussions about the universality of human rights. What actually happens in different social fields and geographical spaces is a question that can only be answered by empirical research.

Thematic Key Issues for Research

Individuals, Communities and Governance

Constellations of legal pluralism change due to transformations of governance regimes, by processes of privatisation, decentralisation - including institutionalisation or transfer of governance roles to community bodies - and trans-nationalisation. These constellations are transformed both in relation to the actors involved in their production and in terms of the power relations among various organisations and institutions. Increasingly, new loci of legislation and jurisdiction share in the administration of law. They can be part of state policies of devolving judicial and regulative tasks to non-state actors or can establish themselves independently. These new loci of governance may lead to an overall “privatisation” of administration or they may be subsumed under legal regimes still centred in state legislation. The effected shifts will differ depending on the context in which they occur and might mean greater decentralisation in one place, a sharp reduction of state activity in another, but an increase in governmental intervention and transfer of governing powers to new centres of governance in yet other contexts. In these emergent constellations of legal pluralism, relations between different non-state legal orders and their respective dominance within a common social and political space are central to questions of legal security, access to law and the structure of legal reality as their relation to the state and its agencies.

All projects deal with situations where governance is no longer fully dominated by the state, but where other institutions and organisations are in competition over positions of governance. How their relations are

shaped and which actors are instrumental in producing certain constellations will be one area of concern for the Project Group.

The transformation of the loci of governance, and the processes of pluralisation, integration or disintegration of, or possibly competition between different bodies of governance will affect the relations between individuals, groups and social networks. Groups shape the organisation of governance but are themselves also shaped by it. For example, they relate to categories that are produced and reified in the most diverse ways by different forms of government. In as much as such categories are relevant for matters of rights and duties, they will be realised when people act on them. A substantial body of research has shown such processes of creating communities by means of categories of public policies issued by, e.g., (colonial) states and development agencies that define the relations of various social groups and categories such as quota systems and other distributive regulations, as well as electoral, settlement and migration policies. These examples highlight the processes of the mutual influence between modes of social organisation and governing concepts that are also inherent in less bureaucratic forms of governance.

Different constellations of legal pluralism also shape the relations between individuals and groups differently. They largely determine group membership which is increasingly important with the institutionalisation of new group rights. Moreover, whether various legal orders stand in contradiction to each other, are autonomous from each other or are complementary or hierarchically organised also determines the possibilities of individuals to resort to one or more legal institutions. This will shape the relationship of individuals and groups, as well as that of individuals and the state and the state and social groups by providing for different constellations of autonomy and interdependence. Therefore, if transformations of governance transform constellations of legal orders, the relations between individuals and groups and social network will be affected as well.

Thus legal pluralism and its transformation by processes of decentralisation, privatisation and trans-nationalisation also concerns issues of community formation and the institutionalisation of society. The differing relations between state, social groups and individuals that emerge in different constellations of legal pluralism mean that the standard dichotomy between the state and society has to be questioned. The interpenetration of civil society and state, i.e. the border between state and society is constructed differently by different legal orders. The emergent constellations of governance that involve a new division of labour between state and non-state actors and rely on diverse kinds of non-state organisations pose several questions to the conceptualisation of civil society. Firstly, what is the effect of new constellations of legal and governmental pluralism on the forms of social organisation. Secondly, the distinction between public and private has to be re-conceptualised. How both concepts are

perceived, whether their distinction is at all applicable to a particular situation, what matters, actions and relations are considered private, which actors represent and constitute the public and how, is defined differently and often in contradictory ways in different legal orders. Such conceptualisations are not only defined through legal rules but are also embedded in social relations, and therefore produced contextually in social action. The reorganisation of governance therefore also questions to what extent actors, their actions as well as particular issues can be qualified as either private or public and demands new conceptualisations of the terms. This leads, thirdly, to a re-examination of the processes by which the limits of civil society are established.

Religion and Religious Law

Recent developments in many parts of the world indicate that the social and political role of religion and religious law is increasing; moreover they have shown that many religious laws have always been, and are increasingly so, trans-national legal systems themselves. The conditions under which the significance of religious laws change and the ways in which they relate to (other) trans-national legal, political and economic developments is therefore one aspect to which the research group will give particular attention.

The Complexities of Religious Law and Their Relations to State Law and Local Law

Religious laws in their official version are often codified and ideologically made resistant to development and change. Moreover, they often claim a monopoly of legal regulation in the religious community. However, in actual social life and in the development of religious legal doctrines, reli-



Lineage elders discussing the installation of a new lineage head in Padang Tarab (West Sumatra).

(Photo: F. von Benda-Beckmann)

gious legal systems and their official representatives, are usually forced to find some form of accommodation with state law as well as non-religious local legal orders that may or may not make similar monopolistic claims.

The relationship between state law and religious is law variable and is at times precarious. The law of states can accommodate religious law to various degrees, ranging from an extreme form of separation between state and religion to various degrees of incorporation of religious law into state law. It is rare, however, that states embrace religious law as the superior legal ideology (Iran, Afghanistan). We find on the side of religious communities and religious leaders the same range; from total separation to claims of a theocratic state. Pragmatic liberal religious communities and leaders often prefer a separation between state and religion, and not all fundamentalist religious actors call for a theocracy.

The world religions Buddhism, Hinduism, Christianity and Islam have their own legal doctrines that define their relation to local, tribal or customary laws, creating their own forms of “weak legal pluralism”. Independent of such regulation, more than one version of religious law may exist; official codified versions and local interpretation of religious law and institutions. Such unofficial religious legal repertoires may vary considerably at local levels, despite the unifying official legal ideology, and are often only accepted by the custodians of the official religious law as “cultural” interpretations. But while these custodians often have an aversion to such modifications of the “true” religious legal dogma, this usually does not prevent integration of religious legal rules into local folk systems and vice versa. Such fusion of legal elements of different origins – from a customary or a religious background, or even with elements of (earlier) state law – create new legal institution, in the domain of resources management, inheritance and family relationships for instance.



*Moussem of Aissaoua:
ritual treatment of
social problems and
conflict management.
(Photo: B. Turner)*

Such complexities not only become manifest in substantive rules but also in procedures and institutions of decision making and social organisations. Often religious legal institutions like religious courts antedate the

state, but they may also be established or transformed by the state. The special social position of religious functionaries outside the profane sphere may allow them to become involved in dispute settlement and the institutionalisation of conflict management. All this may contribute to the establishment and development of parallel institutions on a different legal basis, e.g. religious courts side by side with state courts and other local decision making authorities. Religious organisations also may play an important role in providing goods and services for social security in accordance with religiously inspired collective values, especially in the absence of well functioning state social security systems. In many spheres of life, legal and organisational structures and institutions thus provide alternatives to state and local traditional ones. An important aim of research is to clarify the dynamics of change in generating and mobilising religious legal institutions, the formation of combined legal forms and the factors that contribute to the changing weight of religious legal orders.

Religious Law, Legal Pluralism and Trans-National Transformations

Religion and religious law at the local and the national levels may be strongly affected by processes of change under recent trans-national influences. Migration, modern communication and the globalising economic order with their trans-national law, human rights catalogue and institutional framework in particular, are important factors. Moreover, religious law often is trans-national and may modify other forms of trans-national law. On the other hand, trans-national religious law may also be transformed in response to locally or nationally produced legal changes of religious ideas of law and collective values. This affects both the official versions and the unofficial, local versions of religious law, but in different ways and involving different dynamics. While these dynamics in many ways by-pass the national state, these two distinct spheres of religious law are likely to be interlinked in different ways with state law and local (customary) legal conceptions. Responses to these trans-national dynamics are diverse, depending on the structure of power and the role of the state and state institutions. While reference to religious law and values can be used to challenge social and economic inequalities in state and international law, there are many examples where people have started to challenge the inequalities defined in religious laws based on the claimed universality of human rights. But there are also examples where trans-national influences are seen as a threat to religion, and have led to calls for stricter observance of religious and a rejection of other types of law. Moreover, increasing large scale migration have created more religious variety within many nation states and have led to renewed debates about the relation between religion, religious law and the state.

Identity

Every legal system operates with categories to which specific rights and obligations are attached and for which specific policies may be developed. Categories such as foreigner, migrant, minority, newcomer, or believer, male and female, come to be used for ascribing identities by others over time, and in response they may come to serve as self-identification. These legal categories thus often acquire social consequences that go far beyond their mere legal meaning and become powerful mechanisms for inclusion or exclusion. In these processes, categories may develop into groups and groups to communities.

Trans-national dynamics in legal pluralism appear to be important factors in the formation of identity and social groups. Religious law is of particular interest, as both trans-national and codified forms as well as local variants seem to be powerful means of identity formation, inclusion and exclusion. One of the important questions is under what circumstances local groupings define themselves primarily as religious communities rather than through ethnic affiliation, common interest or as citizens of a state; under what circumstances social and economic groups are based on religion; and to what processes of inclusion or exclusion this leads. Acts of self-definition and ascribed identity both play a role here. These processes may be strengthened by trans-national religious communities or religious organisations or by trans-national connections of migrants, who have connections both in the host country and in the country of origin. But it may also be supported by state policies.

These processes are in particular visible in cases of high mobility; where voluntary or forced migration has increased contact among population groups that were culturally homogeneous before and where new questions of participation and exclusion arise. Participation in political decision making, access to natural and economic resources as well as to state largesse become crucial issues for conflict. In cases of increasing scarcity of economic resources, competition over rights to the means of production tends to increase and processes of exclusion become more explicit and potentially violent. In this context ethnicity, religion and citizenship may become important categories for group formation and exclusion. They then become overlapping and contested categories that define identities of the various actors involved. Political and legal systems have developed quite different ways to accommodate such differences, ranging from denial of its existence to a widely elaborated set of categories each with its own particular rights and obligations. One question is under what circumstances such categories tend to sharpen exclusion and under what circumstances they may help soften the social and economic differences between the various categories and stimulate integration.

Ascribing, constructing and deconstructing identity with reference to religious law or other types of law takes place in different and overlapping social and cultural settings. Situations of legal pluralism often offer dif-

ferent ways in which inclusion and exclusion are defined. Thus, customary law may define a category of newcomers who come from different regions within the same state that are excluded from full political participation. But under state law these same newcomers might be ordinary citizens entitled to full political participation. Changing constellations of legal pluralism are also often the result of contestations over the legitimacy of claims to participation or exclusion. These contestations are carried out among the various actors involved in the reproduction of law, be it state agencies, religious or secular NGOs and social movements or individuals. They often draw on legitimacy discourses and normative models developed in other contexts, transforming these according to their specific needs and situations, thereby also transforming the interpretations of the situation and the related claims to rights. This potentially affects also the understanding of self and Other, of social relation, or rights to space and place and to property. Law, moreover, might shape the modes of social action within which the contestations about these issues take place.

The implications of legal pluralism for processes of exclusion and inclusion and identity formation are a common interest with the Department working on identity, integration and conflict. As questions of exclusion and inclusion are intimately related to property, they are important for all three sections of the Institute.

Power and Inequality

Law defines and creates power positions and power relations, fields of relative equality and inequality between persons, groups and organisations up to the level of the state and supra-state organisations. The legal capacity of persons is often discriminated along lines of gender, age and other criteria of social and political status. This is particularly true in the field of property and property relations, and in the field of governance and dispute management. Each legal regime is a contradictory instrument of power, because it may be used to exert power, but it can and is also used to curb power by powerless groups. But legal orders assign and distribute power in different ways and to different degrees. This means that the option for operating under one system or defining one's relations in terms of one system or another is not a neutral choice; but one that has important social, political and often also economic consequences, as the work of the von Benda-Beckmanns and Turner on natural resources and of the Property Department show and as the work of the Eckert on governance shows. The option for one or another legal system is usually not completely free and not equally free for everyone. Moreover, the introduction of new legal systems may elicit completely new alliances in conflicts, for example over the control of natural resources. Plural legal systems, in other words, seem to have their own power dynamics that cannot be reduced to the sum of the component parts. More generally, the question is

how legal pluralism relates to legal equality, i.e. which constellations of legal pluralism further the actualisation of legal equality of groups or individuals and which inhibit equality. In this respect, issues of gender (in)equality become one important aspect in the research projects. These issues are also related to the question of differing mechanisms of checks and balances present in various constellations of legal pluralism central in the project of Eckert. The precise ways in which legal pluralism relates to power and equality and creates inclusion or reduces exclusion is a major concern for the Project Group, a concern that is shared by all three Departments.

(Legal) Insecurity

Changing constellations of legal pluralism often create a substantial degree of legal insecurity on the side of citizens as well as state officials. It may produce situations in which the contradictions between different legal orders lead to arbitrary uses and impositions of law determined entirely by power relations. Also, emergent non-state centres of control might impose legal orders - in a way comparable to what state administrations and colonial administrations have done - diminishing the recourse to law for those who do not belong to their followers. Arbitrariness, venality and other sources of insecurity are often a result of poorly functioning state institutions, but not all insecurity can be explained by corruption and a lack of professionalism. We speak about legal insecurity in four contexts:

First, in a plural legal order it is often not certain what legal concepts and regulations become really relevant for defining the legal status of particular situations. It is, for example, often unclear what rights and obligations, based in which law, people have with respect to natural resources, social security and other matters of distribution.

Second, even if it is known which legal order will prevail, it is not always clear what exactly the relevant substantive rules are. This is true as much for state legislation as for other legal orders. Legal orders are by no means well-integrated and consistent wholes. For example, at state level, property law, agrarian law, agricultural development, mining, forestry, nature protection and conflict management are entrusted to different policy making and implementing institutions whose laws and regulations often express distinct and conflicting interests.



Physical structures determine rights to water. Women at an irrigation Canal in Nepal. (Photo: F. von Benda-Beckmann)

Third, in individual legal struggles, parties as well as decision makers usually make a very selective and strategic use of all kinds of legal arguments to justify their claims independently of any expectations to legal consistency.

Finally, even if the relevant rules should be rather clear, there is a high extent of insecurity with respect to their implementation. This is a result of unequal access to law and of outright corruption. Undue political and economic pressure may influence decisions and subvert the law. And generally, even when court decisions have been made in the proper way, it often is still uncertain how these decisions will be implemented.

Thus, neither unification and standardisation nor the recognition of pluralistic structures necessarily leads to a greater measure of security for larger numbers of people. A central question therefore, is under what conditions legal pluralism may be conducive to legal certainty and for whom, and under what conditions it tends to lead to fragmentation and insecurity and for whom.

5. Relation Between the Project Group and the Other Two Departments

From the outset the Institute was organised in such a way that there would be overlap of the research interests of the two Departments and the Project Group. Within these research goals the Project Group follows the general research orientation of the Institute and can contribute to the common broader problems. This has already resulted in co-operation and joint activities. More collaboration with the other two Departments is planned in the years to come.

Department I: As we have mentioned before, plural legal systems relate strongly to the constitution and organisation of groups, the structure of

relations among different groups and the relations among groups and other social and political bodies, such as the state. They are also relevant in matters of collective identity, particularly as they shape relations not only in terms of group boundaries but also in terms of rights and duties within a common social and political space. Plural legal systems are therefore potential sources of both conflict and integration. This is a theme that is of common interest to our group and Department I. Eckert's work on different political orders relating to ethnic differentiation dealt with the question under what conditions complex legal systems may contribute to integration or may elicit exclusion and manipulation. Her work in India will take up the questions of the effect of the pluralisation of the administration of law on new forms of exclusion and inclusion. The effects of decentralisation policies on identity formation are an important theme in the study of the von Benda-Beckmanns. Morocco, as a classical field on kinship studies and studies on social cohesion, offers a basis of ethnographical substance for cooperation in comparative analysis with research in progress in Department I. Turner studies processes of inclusion and exclusion and the question of social cohesion with regard to resource management that play an important role in the research programme of Department I. The studies of Turner and the von Benda-Beckmanns both deal with the role of conflicts over property in identity formation, which creates links to both Departments.

Department II: The interest of the Project Group in the plural construction of law and rights relates very well to the research agenda and projects on property relationships in Department II. Before joining the Institute, the von Benda-Beckmanns and Turner had been doing research on property rights (mainly to land, water and forests) and inheritance, the former in Indonesia, the latter in Morocco. Eckert had worked on the land reform in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, implemented as part of the transition to a market economy in recent years. The constellation of legal pluralism in the field of property relations will continue to be one domain of the research of the Project Group. This offers rich opportunities for cooperation with the research on postsocialist developments in Eastern Europe and Siberia carried out by Department II. In particular, it invites comparisons of the differences and similarities in the transformation of property regimes in the postsocialist states on which Department II focuses, and states which did not have a socialist property regime, but where direct or indirect legal control of property by the state was also strong, and which are likewise affected by the world-wide trend towards privatisation and new public-private partnerships. These issues were addressed at an international workshop in Lund (Sweden) at which the von Benda-Beckmanns acted as discussants and at which Barbara Cellarius from Department II presented a paper.

Furthermore, several researchers in the other two Departments, e.g. Andreas Dafinger, Tadesse Wolde and Thomas Widlok, are dealing with

spatial conceptions of land and property inscribed in the different legal orders and the processes of inclusion and exclusion that follow from these different conceptions. This is an important theme in the research of the Project Group, in particular of the von Benda-Beckmanns and Turner. Trans-national legal dimensions are important in many of the studies of the other Departments and will be explored further. Also, the regulation of property relations, e.g. land law, according to religious legal conceptions, especially in different regions of the Islamic legal landscape, is an important question common to the research of Turner in Morocco and the von Benda-Beckmanns in Indonesia. To exploit these shared concerns, Department II and the Project Group will organise an international conference on property in 2003 (see below).

6. Organisation, Cooperation and Networking

Organisation of Workshops and Conferences

The Project Group intends to strengthen recognition of legal anthropology as a sub-branch or specialisation within Social Anthropology and Legal Science in the broadest sense, both in the German speaking academic world and the international scientific community.

On May 3rd 2001 the Project Group organised a brainstorming session in Halle of older and younger German speaking researchers interested in legal anthropology at which research interests and possible forms of closer cooperation were discussed. Participants came from various German universities as well as from the Universities of Vienna, Klagenfurt (Austria) and Bern (Switzerland). The meeting showed that there is an increasing interest in legal anthropology and questions of legal pluralism in German-speaking countries. This is reflected in lectures and seminars on legal anthropology as well as M.A. and PhD theses, and, albeit more rarely, in postdoctoral theses (*Habilitationen*). On the other hand, the interest is still relatively modest and fragmented. As a result, German anthropology of law remains largely invisible. The founding of the Project Group at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology and the planning of a third Department have been welcomed. A better integration of all those interested in legal anthropology was considered to be highly desirable. The Project Group will set up a network to facilitate closer contacts and cooperation.

In September 2001 a meeting of a number of internationally leading legal anthropologists was organised at the Institute. Participants from Canada, Great Britain, Belgium, France, Switzerland and Germany attended the workshop. Unfortunately, the colleagues from the United States were prevented from attending due to the situation after the ter-

rorist attacks in New York and Washington. At the workshop, some of the central problems of contemporary legal anthropology were discussed.



Participants of the workshop on 'Legal Anthropology', organised by F. and K. von Benda-Beckmann in September 2001. (Photo: MPI for Social Anthropology)

A follow-up of the September workshop on legal anthropology is envisaged for 2002, to be held either at the University of Edinburgh or at the Max Planck Institute in Halle. A major international conference on approaches to property is planned for 2003 in cooperation with the Institute's Department II. Melanie Wiber, our guest in 2001 and 2002, will take an active role in planning this conference. In the longer term (2003-2005), the group plans to organise a conference on "*governance and legal insecurity*" and "*religious law, customary law and state law*".

The members of the group will also organise panels, workshops and present papers at a number of national and international conferences such as the EASA meeting in Copenhagen (2002) and the World Congress of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in Florence, 2003.

Members of the Project Group have participated in a number of scientific seminars and workshops of German anthropological associations (ESSA, DGV). Moreover, members of the Project Group have been invited to give lectures on their research and the research orientation of the group at several German universities and other Max Planck Institutes (see pp.203-206).

The group also has been active in the organisation of international conferences on legal anthropological issues. A major event is the XIIIth Con-

ference of the IUAES Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism on "Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law in Social, Economic and Political Development" of which K. von Benda-Beckmann is the president and F. von Benda-Beckmann a member of the Executive Body. The conference will be held in Dhulikhel (Nepal) in December 2001. Several other colleagues of the MPI will participate with papers. The Institute has received a \$ 150,000 grant from the Ford Foundation to support scholars mainly from South and Southeast Asia to attend the conference and the subsequent course on "Resource Rights, Ethnicity and Governance in the Context of Legal Pluralism". Another part of the budget is to be used to encourage and subsidise a South and Southeast Asian regional network on issues of legal pluralism. F. and K. von Benda-Beckmann will participate in the course as course directors. They have also participated in a Summer School on Legal Anthropology held in Pushkin (Russia) in August 2001. Moreover, members of the group have participated in a number of international meetings (see pp.207-215).

From May 9 - 11, 2002 the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Rechtssoziologie* (German Association for the Sociology of Law) will have its annual meeting at the Martin Luther University in Halle. The von Benda-Beckmanns are collaborating with Prof. Höland and Prof. Bussmann of the Faculty of Law in the organisation of a symposium on volatilisation of law (*Verflüchtigung des Rechts*).

Cooperation and Networking

Another aspect in the work of the group is in exploring possible ways of cooperating with research groups of other Max Planck Institutes and of the Universities of Halle and Leipzig. The von Benda-Beckmanns have visited the MPI for Foreign and Social Law and the MPI for Foreign and International Patent, Copyright and Competition Law in Munich and the MPI for European Legal History in Frankfurt to present the research and plans of the Project Group. They have also actively participated in the joint Max Planck Institutes' workshops on "Law and Administration in the Context of Globalisation and Decentralisation" in Köln and Frankfurt. They have also established first contacts with colleagues from the Law Faculty of the Martin Luther University in Halle (Prof. Höland, Prof. Kothe, Prof. Bussmann) and entered into discussion of possible forms of cooperation in the future. Bertram Turner has taken up first contact with the *Orientwissenschaftliches Zentrum* in Halle, Julia Eckert with the Indologists at the Martin Luther University in Halle.

F. and K. von Benda-Beckmann still supervise a number of PhD students in the Netherlands. Since they have joined the Institute, three PhD theses under their (co-)supervision have been successfully defended at the Universities of Wageningen, Rotterdam and Amsterdam. A number of PhD students from Wageningen University have completed short visits

to the Institute to discuss the progress of their work. Barbara Rohregger, an Austrian PhD student of K. von Benda-Beckmann working on social security in an emerging urban neighbourhood in Malawi, will join the Institute after returning from the field.

Teaching

Positions at the Institute do not entail teaching obligations. Members of the Institute still carried out some teaching obligations connected to their earlier positions. K. von Benda-Beckmann will continue to give a course on anthropology of law at the Faculty of Law at Erasmus University Rotterdam. The Institute's agreements of cooperation with the Universities of Halle and Leipzig, however, offer the possibility for organising and giving lectures or seminars in the future. At the moment, Prof. Streck of Leipzig University has proposed that Prof. F. and K. von Benda-Beckmann be appointed as honorary professors at Leipzig University. Their appointment is expected for the Winter Term 2001/2002.

(*Franz von Benda-Beckmann, Keebet von Benda-Beckmann, Julia Eckert, Bertram Turner*)

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III. Services and Facilities

Library Report

The library of the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology supplies printed and electronic media for anthropological research. Since its founding in December 1999, relevant monographs and journals have been acquired at the request of the Institute's staff. Using international and local book suppliers, as well as second-hand book shops all over the world, books have been purchased and added to the collection. Three private libraries with a total of 1500 volumes, have been offered to the Institute and duly acquired. In addition, the library has purchased back issues of essential anthropological journals. It now holds about 5000 monographs and 2000 journal volumes. Subscriptions have been made to 109 journals. All monographs and journals are indexed in an online library catalogue, which is maintained in Göttingen by the *Gemeinsamer Bibliotheksverbund GBV* (Common Library Network), which links the libraries of seven federal states. This OPAC is accessible via the Internet. The Unified Catalogue of the GBV covers the holdings of 15 million records and considerably simplifies the work of the library staff.

Due to the international research orientation at the Institute and the international background of the staff, it was necessary to establish an English classification system. Since the GBV provided records including Library of Congress (LoC) classification numbers, the LoC classification was used.

The book stock was initially rather limited, and it was necessary to make heavy use of interlibrary loan systems. In 2000 about 1100 books and articles were ordered from other libraries.

Access to various databases was integrated into the Institute's intranet, using the service the Max Planck Society offers to all its Institutes via the *Gesellschaft für wissenschaftliche Datenverarbeitung mbH Göttingen GWDG* (Society for Scientific Data Processing Göttingen) homepage. Some of these databases offer clickable links to full texts, if these texts are licensed to the library. Access to full text journals has been established either through a print subscription with cost-free online access or through consortial agreements between the MPIs and the publisher.

Contacts with libraries of other Max Planck Institutes and anthropological research institutes have been established. This has allowed the library to access numerous exchanges of information and of publications.

The library will participate in the archiving of research data in the form of videos, photographs, audiotapes, publications etc. Together with the IT Group, which organises the digitalisation and storage of this data, the library will catalogue them and make these catalogued records retrievable via the intranet.

In the Institute's new building the library will occupy two floors and a book security system will be installed. This will take some preparation, in terms of labelling books with barcodes and security strips.

As already exists for many other research fields, it is planned to collaborate in the creation of a virtual library for social anthropology under the overall charge of the special collection areas Social and Cultural Anthropology/Anthropology of Europe/Folklore Studies at the Library of the Humboldt University of Berlin. One of the Institute's researchers will take part in the conceptualisation of the whole project, and one of the librarians will be involved in collecting and adding material to this library.

In the first half of 2000 a library committee was established. It consists of two researchers from each research group (T. Grätz, P. Gray, M. Sancak, B. Turner, T. Widlok) and the head librarian. Proposals about how to make the library more useful for the researchers are regularly discussed leading to continuous improvement in details of library services.

(Michael Ladisch)

IT Group Report

1. Overview

A comfortable desktop computer having access to the Internet including all possible types of electronic communication and information services is deemed to be the basis for any scientific work. Above and beyond this, social anthropologists require computer systems that provide stability, ease of use and allow for the writing of texts in many languages.

A "classical" anthropologist does not need much more than a pencil, a notebook and him or herself as a "recording instrument" for data acquisition and analysis in the field. Nevertheless, a variety of small and unobtrusive voice recorders and camcorders, robust, easy to operate and economically priced, have recently become available and the costs involved for such digital high quality processing (in technical respect) of sound and video have dropped to the level of entertainment electronics.

Additionally, there is some hope of taking advantage of the rapidly growing resources of computing power associated with the latest developments in computer science, to support analysis and coding of the flood of multimedia field notes in a more than just formal manner.

The members of the Institute's IT-group organise and maintain the technical infrastructure of the Institute and advise and support the scientists in operation of devices and computer programs. These include the desktop computers and the internal network, all kinds of technical field equipment as well as workstations with peripherals for special applications in common media-rooms.

2. Basic Services (computer network, information and communication services, office tools)

Each scientist can pursue most normal academic activities, i.e. text processing (in all available languages) calculations, organisation tools, communication tasks (email, www-access), play back files of all media (images, sounds, video) etc. using his or her office computer. These are Intel based PCs, running MS-WindowsNT/2000 and a set of basic application software, networked by switched 100/1000 Megabit-Ethernet.

Keeping all data on central servers allows access from all workstations, and frees researchers from worrying about backups. Rack mounted hardware on professional safety levels (RAID, redundancy, UPS) under Linux operating system hosts servers for data, email, www and intranet. Secured by a firewall router, our local area network is connected by a T1 line via the DFN (German academic network) to the Internet.

All office computers are uniformly configured, which drastically simplifies maintenance, repair, troubleshooting and, last not least, cooperation (knowledge sharing and data exchange). This also simplifies short term office allocation. The copiers are equipped with options for printing and scanning to utilise their high-quality mechanisms economically, and to facilitate networked document management.

Internal communication, information and administrative organisation are supported by intranet. This self-programmed combination of database and web-server allows direct web-input via forms, dynamic updates and user generated HTML-Pages.

In the field, researchers are equipped with mobile offices: a notebook, modem (for email and www-access), small printers, mobile scanner and a CD writer for backup. For research in some remote regions, mobile solar panels are also provided.

3. Advanced Services

Equipment necessary for special applications beyond everyday work, is installed in common media rooms, which also serve as places for effective support by the IT-Group and mutual technical-methodological knowledge sharing among the academic staff. Using toolsets of devices at a laboratory level instead of as "complete systems" provides the flexibility needed to establish technology in anthropological research.

Technically Advanced Services

Photographs traditionally play an important role in ethnography. For snap shots and documentation purposes, digital still image options (1100x800 pixel) of camcorders (see below) are adequate. To obtain better quality photos, conventional SLR-cameras are used, though it is soon to be expected that digital cameras of equivalent image resolution will become available at acceptable prices. All processing of pictures is intended to be done digitally, thus image-processing workstations connected to slide scanners and printers (laser and photo quality ink jets) are provided. Large volumes of photographs are outsourced to a photo shop, making routine scanning and printing more economical. As standard for archiving images, the Kodak Photo CD format is used (which represents the complete information inherent in a 35 mm-film slide or negative).

Voice recorders for classical audio compact cassettes are still used, especially since cassettes and devices for playback are available nearly everywhere around the world. But if better sound quality is needed, Mini Disk recorders not much larger than the disk itself are used increasingly. A spectrum of microphones tested to fit the needs of different recording

situations (interviews and ceremonies up to and including amateur theatre performances, where wireless microphones are used) completes the field equipment. Returning from the field, analogue sound media can be digitised for further processing, such as enhancement, noise filtering, storage, and dubbing video or multimedia presentations.

Just before the Institute sent its first researchers into the field, a new generation of digital camcorders appeared on the consumer market. In addition to being small and inconspicuous, the video format used (miniDV) is of broadcast quality and includes all the advantages of digital processing. Additionally, the camcorder has a digital still image feature, equivalent to an upper class digital camera. To analyse the recordings of this "video notebook", the digital cassettes are copied, either to standard VHS-Format to be transcribed by means of video recorders with house-built pedal control, or burned on a video CD, to be played back on a common office PC. To produce films or clips for multimedia presentations, advanced digital editing workstations are provided. Systems for the production of DVDs, a standard to store high quality video, with additional information on structure and commentary, became affordable recently and we are experimenting whether, and how these can be utilised in our data processing.

Since ethnological facts are often related to geographical ones, Global Positioning System (GPS) measurements are used to draw new or complete existing maps. This demands equipment for scanning and printing maps, as well as for their modification with respect to projection, scaling factor, characteristics of presentation etc.

Advanced Methods of Social Sciences

Appropriate methods of data coding play a key role in the analysis of ethnographical data. These should allow comparative research through different data sets with respect to certain phenomena, while keeping all contextual connections within a text (or set of multimedia data).

At the moment, the (for our purposes) most powerful commercial software (Atlas TI) is used for text coding, but it will soon be necessary to extend this method to multimedia data such as video or sound tracks. For statistical analysis the program SPSS is used. By means of a geographical information system, geographic, sociological and other ethnographic data are integrated.

The set of working tools is supplemented by software for the analysis of texts, for kinship and (possibly) network analysis, as well as by tools for special text processing.

4. Ethnographical Data Archive: processing, exchange, indexing and coding of data

The emerging possibilities for the easy recording of images, sound and video in the field produce a flood of data, which will inevitably influence the methodology of ethnological research.

To archive and index this data, standard methods are applied: classical database systems, manual tape and CD archives and a tape robot library (available by mid of 2002) for medium term storage of data.

But, for deeper analysis, and for data exchange in the framework of comparative studies, these data have to be coded, to structure contents and contexts in a flexible manner. The next step will be to establish conditions for the manual coding of multimedia data in a comfortable and economical way. This will be a combination of commercial software and self-programmed modules, based on techniques such as web operated databases and XML (as a general data standard).

The impact of ongoing IT developments on methodological questions is monitored and evaluated. Over and above this, in due course we shall have to examine whether a degree of recent developments in informatics could be suitable for automated (of course manually well audited!) analysis of ethnographical data. These and other possible developments are discussed regularly at meetings of the IT-Committee (Membership in 2001 consisted of Andrea Behrends, Andreas Dafinger, Erich Kasten, Armin Pippel, Florian Stammler, Davide Torsello).

(Armin Pippel)

IV. Conferences, Workshops, Colloquia

Conferences and Workshops

Siberian Projektgruppe: opening workshop, 26-27 January 2000

Convenor: Erich Kasten

External participants:

Peter Schweitzer (University of Alaska, Fairbanks) Nicolay Vahktin (European University St. Petersburg) Igor Krupnik (Smithsonian Institute, Washington)

Workshop: Visual Anthropology, 17-18 April 2000

Convenors: IT Group

External participants:

Angelika Engelbrecht, Rolf Hussmann (both Institut für den Wissenschaftlichen Film, Göttingen)

Workshop: Quantitative Methods, 15-16 April 2000

Convenors: Patrick Heady, Gordon Milligan

External participants:

Nigel Swain, Andrew L. Cartwright (both University of Liverpool)

Workshop: Interethnic Relationships: The FulBe and their Neighbours, 25-26 June 2000

Convenors: Youssouf Diallo, Martine Guichard, Günther Schlee

External participants:

Jean Boutrais (Institut de Recherches pour le Développement, ex Orstom)
Jean Schmitz (Centre d'Etudes Africaines, EHESS)

Workshop: Cultural Persistence and Globalisation, 6th September 2000

(in cooperation with the Orientwissenschaftliches Zentrum, Halle)

Convenor: Ildikó Bellér-Hann

External participants:

Seta B. Dadoyan (American University of Beirut) Dr. Khalil Jindy Rashow (University of Göttingen) Christiane Lember (University of Augsburg)

Workshop: Qualitative Methods, 6-7 November 2000

Convenors: Gordon Milligan

External participants:

Michael Fischer, Wenonah Lyon (both University of Kent at Canterbury)

**Conference: Postsocialisms in the Russian North,
8-9 November 2000**

Convenor: Erich Kasten

Paper presenters:

Tanya Argounova (Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge) The Republic of Sakha (Yakutia): Reconstructing Ethnic Identity. Memory and Symbols **David Koester** (Department of Anthropology, University of Alaska, Fairbanks) When the Fat Raven Sings: Mimesis and Environmental Alterity in Kamchatka's Environmentalist Age **David G. Anderson** (Department of Anthropology, University of Aberdeen) Proprietary Ways of Knowing in Eastern Siberia **Alexander King** (California State University, Chico) Reindeer Herders' Landscapes and Culturescapes in the Koryak Autonomous Okrug **Emma Wilson** (Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge) Power Relations and Rights to Natural Resources in North-Eastern Sakhalin **Joachim Otto Habeck** (Department of Sociology, University of Aberdeen and Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge) How to turn a Reindeer Pasture into an Oil Well, and Vice Versa: Transfer of Land, Compensation and Reclamation in the Komi Republic **Tamara Semenova** (Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON)) Participation of Indigenous Peoples in Building the Russia's Strategy for Sustainable Development **Natalya Novikova** (Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, RAN, Moscow) Indigenous Minority Peoples' of West Siberia Self-government: Draft Law on Communities and Practice **Gail Fondahl** (Geography Program, University of Northern British Columbia) Boundaries and Identities: Re-conceptualising Social Spaces in Berezovka Nasleg, Northeast Siberia **Anna Sirina** (Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, RAN, Moscow) Clan Communities of Northern Indigenous Peoples in the Sakha (Yakutia) Republic: Step to Self-Determination? **Nelson Hancock** (American Museum of Natural History, New York) Pragmatics and Prospects of Indigenous Land Claims in the Russian North **Anna Kerttula** (State of Alaska, Office of the Governor, Washington D. C.) The Democratisation and Povertisation of Chukotka: the Disenfranchisement of Yup'ik and Chukchi People in the New Russia **Tuula Tuisku** (Department of Geography, McGill University, Montréal) Transition Period in Nenetsia: Changing and Unchanging Life of Nenets People **John P. Ziker** (Department of Anthropology, University of Alaska, Fairbanks) Land Tenure and Economic Change among the Dolgan and Nganasan **Yulian Konstantinov** (New Bulgarian University) Pre-soviet Pasts of Reindeer-herding Collectives: Ethnographies of Transition in Murmansk Region **Piers Vitebsky** (Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge) Plenary Lecture - Withdrawing from the Land: Social and Spiritual Crisis in the Indigenous Russian North **Tim Ingold** (University of Aberdeen) Discussant

Conference: Actually Existing Post-Socialisms, 9-11 November 2000

Convenor: Chris Hann

Paper presenters:

Kevin Latham (Department of Anthropology, School of Oriental and African Studies) How far is Post-Mao and Post-Deng China Postsocialist?
Martha Lampland (Department of Sociology, University of California) Farming in the Post-Cooperative Economy
Frances Pine (Department of Social Anthropology, University of Cambridge) Restructuring Work from Below: Gender and Economic Diversity in the Postsocialist Countryside
David A. Kideckel (Department of Anthropology, Central Connecticut State University) The Unmaking of the Postsocialist Working Class: From Hero to Scapegoat in 10 Easy Lessons
Michael Stewart (Department of Anthropology, University College, London) 'If I Had a Lot of Money I Would Buy an Aeroplane'. Are there General Lessons to be Learnt from Postsocialist Pauperisation?
Gerald W. Creed (Department of Anthropology, Hunter College-CUNY) Ritual, Conflict and Community in the Balkans
Robert M. Hayden (Department of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh) Antagonistic Tolerance: Competitive Sharing of Religious Sites in the Balkans and South Asia
Stephan Feuchtwang (Department of Anthropology, London School of Economics and Political Sciences) Revivals of Religion and Ritual in China
Christian Giordano (Institut d'Ethnologie, Université de Fribourg) Long Term Transformations and Failed Transition in Agrarian Southeast Europe
Ruth Mandel (Department of Anthropology, University College, London) Un-developing Postsocialist Societies: Some Paradigms and Problems
Steven L. Sampson (Department of Social Anthropology, University of Lund) Post-POST communism and the New NEW Elites: Some Examples from Democracy Export in the Balkans
Yulian Konstantinov (Institute for Social Anthropological Field-Research, New Bulgarian University)
Mihály Sárkány (Ethnographic Research Group, Hungarian Academy of Sciences) Discussants

Workshop: Minorities and Cross-Cutting Ties in Contemporary Anatolia, 21-22 December 2000

Convenors: Chris Hann and Lale Yalçın-Heckmann

External participants:

Peter Alford Andrews (Universität Köln) Ildikó Béller-Hann (Orientwissenschaftliches Zentrum, Halle) Rüdiger Benninghaus (Köln) Gülsün Firat (Frankfurt) Nancy Lindisfarne (School of African and Oriental Studies, London) David Shankland (University of Wales)

Workshop: Research of the West Africa Group, 4-11 March 2001*Convenors: Günther Schlee, Youssouf Diallo**External participant:*

Steve Tonah (University of Ghana, Sociology Department)

Workshop: New Written Languages in the Post-Communist World, 21 March 2001*(in cooperation with the MPI for Evolutionary Anthropology, held in Leipzig)**Convenors: Bernhard Comrie, Chris Hann**External participants:*

Paul R. Magosci (University of Toronto) Helma van den Berg (University of Leiden) Michael Dunn (MPI for Psycholinguistics Nijmegen)

Workshop: Rechtsethnologie, 3 May 2001*Convenors: Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann**External participants:*

Hans-Rudolf Wicker (Institut für Ethnologie, Universität Bern) **Wilhelm Möhlig** (Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität Köln) **Trutz von Trotha** (Fachbereich I/Soziologie, Universität Gesamthochschule Siegen) **Markus Weilenmann** (Universität Klagenfurt) **René Kuppe** (Institut für Kirchenrecht, Universität Wien) **Werner Zips** (Institut für Völkerkunde, Universität Wien) **Wolfram Heise** (Leo-Frobenius Institut, Universität Frankfurt/Main) **Ulrike Wanitzek** (Institut für Afrikastudien, Universität Bayreuth) **Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka** (Zentrum für Entwicklungsforschung, Bonn) **Wolfgang Fikentscher** (Institut für Internationales Recht, Universität München) **Waltraud Kokot** (Institut für Ethnologie, Universität Hamburg) **Jakob Rösel** (Fachbereich WSF, Universität Rostock) **Rüdiger Köppe** (Rüdiger Köppe Verlag und Universität Köln) **Shalini Randeria** (Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin) **Juliane Neuhaus** (Hamburg) **Birgit Bräuchler** (München) **Sabine Müller** (Köln) **Rüdiger Schott** (Bonn) **Gerhard Anders** (Juristische Fakultät, Erasmus Universität Rotterdam)

Workshop: Turkey and Anatolia, 18 May 2001*Convenors: Lale Yalçın-Heckmann and Chris Hann**External participants:*

Ayşe Çağlar (Institut für Ethnologie, Freie Universität Berlin) Dale Eickelman (Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin) Altan Gökalp (Centre Marc Bloch, Berlin) Krisztina Kehl (Universität Bremen) Ruth Mandel (University College, London) Elise Massicard (Centre Marc Bloch, Berlin) Michael E. Meeker (University of California/San Diego) Werner Schiffauer (Europa-Universität Viadrina, Frankfurt/O.)

Conference: Changing Identifications and Alliances in North-Eastern Africa, 5-9 June 2001

Convenor: Günther Schlee

Paper presenters:

Wendy James (Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Oxford) Journeys, Networks and Memories of Place in a Multiple Frontier Zone/Sudan–Ethiopian Border **Eisei Kurimoto** (Department of Anthropology, Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University) Changing Identifications among the Pari Refugees in Kakuma **Wolde Selassie Abbute** (Institut für Ethnologie, Ernst-August-Universität Göttingen) Identity, Encroachment and Ethnic relations: The Gumz and their Neighbours in North-Western Ethiopia **Dereje Feyissa** (MPI for Social Anthropology, Halle) Identity politics in Gambella: Nuer and Anywaa **Jok Madut Jok** (Department of Anthropology, University of Wisconsin-Madison; Department of History, Loyola Marymount University) A Defence Peace: Reunification Prospects between the Nuer and Dinka of South Sudan **Dereja Feyissa** and **Günther Schlee** (MPI for Social Anthropology, Halle) A brief Note about the Mbororo (FulBe) Migration into Ethiopia **Fecadu Gadamu** (Independent Scholar) Changing Ethnicity and Integration among the Kistane Gurage **Serge Tornay** (Musée de l'Homme, Paris) On Identity and Conflict: the Nature of Social Ties and the Emergence and/or the Disappearance of the State (the Example of the Nyangatom and their Neighbours) **Elizabeth Watson** (Newnham College Cambridge) Changing Networks of Labour and Land-holding in Konso, Ethiopia **Elise Demeulenaere** (Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Laboratoire d'Ethnobiologie, Paris) Changing Identification by Defining from Outside a 'Heritage': The Example of the Konso to be Listed on UNESCO's World Heritage List **Ken Masuda** (Kanagawa University) The armed periphery: Memories of guns and warfare among the Banna, southern Ethiopia **Tadesse, Wolde Gossa** (MPI for Social Anthropology, Halle) Taking land and making people: The state and the making of groups in southern Ethiopia **Georg Haneke** (MPI for Social Anthropology, Halle) Interfaces of power along a road in southern Ethiopia in the 1990s **Andrea Nicolas** (MPI for Social Anthropology, Halle) Who is an Omoro? What makes an Amhara? – Memory, argument, power pools and ethnic mobilisation in eastern Shewa **Douglas H. Johnson** (St. Anthony's College, University of Oxford and James Currey Publishers) The Nuer civil war **Mustafa Mirzeler** (Department of Anthropology, Beloit College) Sorghum as a historical metaphor: Jie Identities through time **Sandra Gray** (Department of Anthropology, University of Kansas) Murder and maymem, flight and famine: The experience of violence and pastoralist identity in southern Karamoja **Hermann Amborn** (Institut für Völkerkunde und Afrikanistik, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München) Burji: Versatile by tradition **Toru Komma** (Faculty of Foreign Languages, Kanagawaga University) Nationalism and

sub-nationalism in Kenya: With particular reference to Kipsigis and Isukha **Getachew Kassa** (Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University) Garri/Boran alliances and conflicts up to 1991 **Günther Schlee** (MPI for Social Anthropology, Halle) Ethnic and religious identities in the recent Gabbra / Garre / Boran conflict **Ruth Klein-Hessling** (Sociology of Development Research Centre, University of Bielefeld) Negotiating death in a Sudanese village **Janice Boddy** (Division of Social Sciences, University of Toronto at Scarborough) Alliances and endogamy: Extending identity and enclosing it in Riverine northern Sudan

Workshop: Integration and Conflict: comparative dimensions, 14-17 July 2001

Convenor: Günther Schlee

External participants:

Steve Tonah (University of Ghana), Awad Al-Karim Al-Faki (University of Sinnar)

Conference: Property and Equality, 25-27 June 2001

Convenors: Thomas Widlok and Tadesse, Wolde Gossa

Paper presenters:

James Woodburn (London School of Economics and Political Sciences, retired 1999) Opening Remarks **Barbara Bodenhorn** (Pembroke College, University of Cambridge) The Costs of Sharing: An Exploration of Personal and Individual Property, Equalities and Differentiation **Robert Hitchcock** (Department of Anthropology, University of Nebraska, Lincoln) Sharing the Land: Kalahari San Property Rights and Resource Management **Richard L. Lee** (Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto) Power and Property in the Twenty-First Century Foragers: A Critical Examination **Axel Köhler** (CESMECA, Chiapas) Commodity Sharing and Gifting in Baka (Pygmy) Economy, Northwestern Republic of Congo **Jerome Lewis** (Department of Anthropology, London School of Economics and Political Sciences) Whose Forests is it Anyway? Mbendjele Yaka Pygmies, the Ndoki Forest and the Wider World **James Weiner** (Department of Anthropology, Australian National University) The Incorporated Ground: The Contemporary Work of Distribution in the Kutubu Oil Project Area, Papua New Guinea **Mitsuo Ichikawa** (The Center for African Area Studies, Kyoto University) Food Sharing and Ownership Among Central African Hunter-Gatherers: An Evolutionary Perspective **Robert Layton** (Department of Anthropology, University Durham) Are Immediate Return Strategies Adaptive? **Aidan Southall** (Independent Scholar, Lisle) Foraging Society and its Contested Implications for Early Human History **Lye Tuck-Po** (Independent Scholar, Kuala Lumpur) The Road of Sharing in Peninsular Malaysia **Nicolas Peterson** (Department of Archeology and Anthropology, Australian National University) The Modernising of the Indigenous Australian Moral

Economy: Sharing, Accumulation and Household Composition **Ian Keen** (Department of Archeology and Anthropology, Australian National University) "In a World of Hunter-Gatherers..." Variation in Aboriginal Marriage Systems **Jean Lydall** (Independent Scholar, Melle) Livestock, Gender and Questions of Equality in an Agro-Pastoral Society **Ivo Strecker** (Institut für Ethnologie und Afrika-Studien, Universität Mainz) To Share Or Not To Share. Notes about Authority and Anarchy among the Hamar **Megan Biesele** (Kalahari Peoples Fund, Austin) "Their Own Oral Histories": Items of Ju/'hoan Belief and Items of Ju/'hoan Property **Susan Kent** (Anthropology Programme, Old Dominion University) Sociality and the Causes of Variation among Kalahari Hunter-Gatherers **Nurit Bird-David** (Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Haifa) The Property of Sharing **Kazuyoshi Sugawara** (Faculty of Integrated Human Studies, Kyoto University) Possession and Equality in the Sexual Relationships in a Foraging Society: An Analysis of / Gui Discourse **Thomas Gibson** (Department of Anthropology, University of Rochester) From Equality to Lordship in Island Southeast Asia **Justin Kenrick** (Department of Anthropology, University of Edinburgh) – paper read by Jerome Lewis - Equalising Processes, Processes of Discrimination and the Forest People of Central Africa **Hideaki Terashima** (Kobe Gakuin University, Kyoto) Knowledge and Practice of Plant Medicines Among the Iruri Forest Foragers **Olga Artemova** (Institute of Ehnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences) Monopolisation of Knowledge and Social Inequality **David Riches** (Department of Anthropology, University of St. Andrews) Are Immediate Return New Religious Movements the Product of Encapsulation? **Mathias Günther** (Department of Anthropology, Wilfrid Laurier University) The Professionalisation and Commoditisation of the Trance Dancer and Trance Dance among Contemporary Bushmen **Robert Tonkinson** (Department of Anthropology, University of Western Australia) Individual Creativity and Property-Power Disjunction in an Australian Desert Society **Tim Ingold** (Department of Sociology, University of Aberdeen) Closing Remarks

Conference: Anthropology of Law, 20-22 September 2001

Convenors: Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann

Paper presenters:

Monique Nuijten (Department of Rural Development Sociology, Wageningen University) Legal Anthropology as an Anthropology of Governance? Towards New Theoretical Approaches **Julia Eckert** (MPI for Social Anthropology, Halle) Precarious Liasons: In Between the Laws **Melanie Wiber** (Department of Anthropology, University of New Brunswick, Canada) 'Social Capital', Natural Resources and Ecological Resiliency: A New Research Agenda for Legal Anthropology **Keebet von Benda-Beckmann** (MPI for Social Anthropology, Halle) Is System Im-

portant? **Markus Weilenmann** (University Klagenfurt/MPI for Social Anthropology, Halle) Rethinking Legal Anthropological Theories of Dispute Settlement: The Process-Analytic Triangle **Bertram Turner** (MPI for Social Anthropology, Halle) Religion and Legal Pluralism **Shalini Randeria** (Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin) **Anne Griffiths** (Faculty of Law, Edinburgh University Old College) Betwixt and Between: Continuities and Discontinuities in a Future Anthropology of Law **Franz von Benda-Beckmann** (MPI for Social Anthropology, Halle) Riding the Centaur – Reflections on the Identities of Legal Anthropology **Gordon Woodman** (Faculty of Law, University of Birmingham) What Can We Do with Legal Theory? **Christoph Eberhard** (Facultés Universitaires Saint Louis, Brussel) Towards an Intercultural Legal Theory: The Dialogical Challenge **Marie-Claire Foblets** (Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, Catholic University Leuven) Disclosing Legal Anthropological Knowledge and Research: A Plea for Rigorous Scholarship

Conference Family Organisation, Inheritance and Property Rights in Transition: Comparative Historical and Anthropological Perspectives in Eurasia, 5 – 8 December

Convenors: Chris Hann and Hannes Grandits

Paper presenters:

Jack Goody (St John's College, University of Cambridge) Sorcery and socialism - Keynote lecture **Michael Mitterauer** (Institut für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, Universität Wien) European kinship systems and household structures – medieval origins **Karl Kaser** (Abt. für Südosteuropäische Geschichte, University Graz) Power and inheritance: Male domination, property and family in Eastern Europe, 1500-1900 **Tony Wrigley** (University of Cambridge) Intrinsic growth rates and inheritance strategies: A perspective from Historical Demography **John W. Cole** (Department of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts) Property: a consideration of its use and transmission in relationship to formal and vernacular dictates and political economic process **Tilman Allert** (Institut für Sozialisationsforschung, Universität Frankfurt) Sociological remarks on the history of the family **David W. Sabeen** (Department of History, University of California) Inter-household co-operation and the distribution of tools in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Germany **Nevill Colclough** (Department of Anthropology, University of Kent) Invisible inheritance: Dowry contracts and female property rights in a period of economic transition. Ascoli Satriano 1700-1850 **Andrejs Plakans** (Department of History, Iowa State University) Households, inheritance, and kinship in Eastern European post serfdom societies: An overview **Hannes Grandits** (Universität Graz, currently MPI) Changing family contexts and property rights in the second half of the 19th century: Some general trends in the Habsburg Empire **Ulf Brunnbauer** (Abt. für Südosteuropäische Geschichte, Universität Graz) Mountains and families.

Ecology, household and the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire **Hans Marks** (Department of Methodology and Social Sciences, University of Nijmegen) Bereft of property: change and continuity in the family organisation during the transition of property rights in the Swedish province of Härjedalen between 1850-1930 **Boris N. Mironov** (Institute of Russian History, St. Petersburg branch) Family structure in Russia during 17th through early 20th centuries: State of research **David Rheubottom** (Department of Anthropology, The University of Manchester) Land Ownership, inheritance, and labour and their effects on patterns of household growth: The case of Macedonia in the communist transformation after WW II **Andreas Dix** (Seminar für Historische Geographie, Universität Bonn) The Construction of a new class of small farmers: The case of the "Neubauern" in the Soviet zone of occupation and early GDR 1945-1952 **Frances Pine** (Department of Anthropology, University of Cambridge) Inheritance, gender and reproducing the house: changing property relations in highland Poland (1890-1990) **Steven Hoch** (University of Iowa) Commentator **Robert Layton** (University of Durham) What creates village democracy in (Western) Europe? A comparative study **Patrick Heady** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Kinship, property and power in the Russian countryside **Oane Visser** (Department of Cultural and Social Anthropology, University of Nijmegen) Farm reorganization, property rights and household strategies in Russia **Steffen Abele/Ulrich Fiege/Klaus Reinsberg** (Institut für Agrarentwicklung in Mittel- und Osteuropa, Halle) On the significance of social capital in rural transition: an interdisciplinary approach **Nigel Swain** (Centre for Central and Eastern European Studies, University of Liverpool) Commentator **Tadesse, Wolde Gossa** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Keeping a grip on property: a case of a Southwest Ethiopian community in transition **John Eidson** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Heritage and inheritance in small business families of Post-socialist East Germany: A case study from Leipzig's southern region **Lale Yalçın Heckmann** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Household, inheritance and gender in post-socialist rural Azerbaijan **Tatjana Thelen** (Berlin) Are the kulaks back? – Inherited capital and social continuity in Mesterszállás (Hungary) **Susanne Brandtstädter** (MPI for Social Anthropology) The moral economy of kinship in South-eastern China **Stephen Gudeman** (University of Minnesota) Conference Summary

Future Events

7-9 March 2002 Patty Gray and Peter Schweitzer
Workshop: Who Owns Siberian Ethnography?

18- 22 March 2002 Günther Schlee
Follow Up Workshop: Changing Identifications and Alliances

27-29 May 2002 Andreas Dafinger and Andrea Behrends
Workshop: The Landed and the Landless? Strategies of Territorial Integration and Dissociation in Africa

3 - 11 June 2002 MPI for Social Anthropology
Four Traditions in Anthropology (Lecture Series)

17 - 23 June 2002 Chris Hann
Workshop: The postsocialist agrarian question

1 - 3 July 2002 Erich Kasten and Deema Kaneff
Workshop: Cultural Property

October 2002 Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann
Workshop: Legal Pluralism

August 2002 Günther Schlee and Patty Gray
Workshop: Collective and Multiple Forms of Property in Animals: Cattle, Camels and Reindeer

November 2002 Günther Schlee
Workshop: Friendship, Descent and Alliance

Colloquia

Spring 2000

- 20.01.00 **Peter Schweitzer**, University of Alaska
Creole Communities in Northeastern Siberia
- 21.01.00 **Chris Hann, Günther Schlee**,
MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Introduction
- 25.01.00 **Igor Krupnik**, Smithsonian Institute Washington D.C.
Remembering and Forgetting. Indigenous Legacy and Cultural
Change in the Modern Arctic
- 27.01.00 **Youssef Diallo**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
FuBe Identity in a Comparative Perspective
- 01.02.00 **Susanne Brandtstädter**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Diffuse Property Rights and Moral Communities in Post-Maoist
Rural China: Conflict and Co-existence in the Tension between
the Nation-State, the Locality and the Transnational Economy
- 03.02.00 **Thomas Widlok**, University of Cologne/MPI für ethnologische
Forschung
Property regimes and property dilemmas: expert systems versus
ethnosystems in African land management
- 07.02.00 **Dereje Feyissa**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Interethnic Relations in Gambella, Western Ethiopia
- 08.02.00 **Florian Stammer**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Transformation of resource control in West Siberia.
The Case of Khanty and Nenets Reindeer Breeders
- 09.02.00 **Elizabeth Dunn**, Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin
Audit, accountability and the privatisation of persons
- 14.02.00 **Barbara Cellarius**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Forest Restitution, Resource Management, and Ethnicity in the
Rhodope Mountains, Bulgaria
- 15.02.00 **Patrick Heady**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Property and social change in rural Russia: issues, theory and
data collection
- 17.02.00 **Christopher Gregory**, Australian National University
Globalisation and the crisis in anthropology: an economic an-
thropologist's perspective
- 21.02.00 **Georg Haneke**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
"With its policy of cooperation, reconciliation of interests and
good neighbourliness Ethiopia has gained a good reputation".
Policy and its Consequences in Ethiopia

- 22.02.00 **Andrea Nicolas**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Exploring the principle of seniority: A study about elders, mediation and Reconciliation in Ada'a (Ethiopia)
- 24.02.00 **Tilo Grätz**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Gold-mining, migration and risk management: a case study from Northern Benin
- 28.02.00 **Daive Torsello**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Dynamics of decision making and strategy creation in rural Southern Slovakia
- 02.03.00 **Deema Kaneff**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Changing notions of property in the decentralised post-socialist Bulgarian state
- 06.03.00 **Carolyn Leutloff**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Ethnic Property and Land Tenure Conflicts in Croatia
- 09.03.00 **Peter Finke**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Ethnic identity and differentiation among turkic-speaking groups in Central Asia
- 13.03.00 **Meltem Sancak**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Intra- and interethnic relations in Central Asia
- 14.03.00 **Andreas Dafinger**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Constructing a common landscape: spatial order and inter-group-relations in southern Burkina Faso.
- 16.03.00 **Longina Jakubowska**, University of Amsterdam
Morality, rationality, and history: dilemmas of land reprivatisation in Poland
- 20.03.00 **Michaela Pelican**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Ethnic Conflict and Integration: The Mbororo'en and their neighbouring communities in North-Western Cameroon
- 21.03.00 **Patty Gray**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Chukotkan reindeer communities in the postsocialist transformation
- 23.03.00 **Donald Donham**, Emory University Atlanta
Rethinking capitalism: A South African goldmine in 1994
- 24.03.00 **Tesfaye Tafesse**, Addis Ababa University
The Villigisation Programme in North Shewa, Ethiopia: Impact Assessment
- 27.03.00 **Andrea Behrends**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Generational Difference in Integration and Conflict of Refugees of the Central Sudanic Zone
- 28.03.00 **Nikolai Ssorin-Chaikov**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
'Clan-Based Community' in Post-Soviet Siberia: From Legislation to Local Practice
- 29.03.00 **Tadesse, Wolde Gossa**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Interethnic relations, property and the state in South-West Ethiopia

- 03.04.00 **Aimar Ventsel**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Kinship and inheritance: Property relations and socio-cultural transformations in the Sakha native communities
- 06.04.00 **Erich Kasten**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Reindeer herding economies in Kamchatka: Community viability through economic diversity and exchange
- 11.04.00 **John Eidson**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Collectivisation, Privatisation, Dispossession: A Case Study in the Agricultural and Strip-mining Region South of Leipzig
- 04.05.00 **Alan Barnard**, University of Edinburgh
The Foraging Mode of Thought
- 08.05.00 **Adam Kuper**, Brunel University
Culture: A Social Anthropologist's perspective
- 15.06.00 **Sally Falk Moore**, Harvard University
Fifty Years of Legal Anthropology
- 20.06.00 **John C. Wood**, University of North Carolina at Ashville
Searching for a Cultural Model of Gabra Identity in Rituals and Ordinary Life
- 26.06.00 **Jean Boutrais**, Institut de Recherche pour le Développement
Les Peuls et les autres; convergences économiques et violences inter-ethniques
- 26.06.00 **Jean Schmitz**, Centre d'Etudes Africaines, EHESS
Démocratie ancienne et moderne chez les Halpulaaren; un exemple de comparatisme politique

Fall 2000

- 26.10.00 **Gordon Milligan**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Change in Mecklenburg Vorpommern: options and influences in the sparsely populated areas of north-eastern Germany
- 31.10.00 **Olga Kourilo**, Berlin
Wandel der ethnologischen Forschung in Russland (1980-2000)
- 02.11.00 **Keith Hart**, Arkleton Centre for Rural Development Research/Universität Aberdeen
Movement, identity and translocal society in the communications revolution
- 09.11.00 **Piers Vitebsky**, University of Cambridge
Withdrawing from the land: social and spiritual crisis in the indigenous Russian North
- 14.11.00 **Stephen Reyna**, University of New Hampshire/MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Reel history: Frank talk about force and power
- 21.11.00 **Lale Yalçın-Heckmann**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Access to property and citizenship: Some comparative aspects of Turks and Kurds in Turkey and Azerbaijan

- 23.11.00 **Ivo Strecker, Christian Meyer**, Institut für Ethnologie und Afrika-Studien, Universität Mainz
What is rhetoric culture theory ?
- 28.11.00 **Franz und Keebet von Benda-Beckmann**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
State, religion and legal pluralism
- 30.11.00 **Günther Schlee**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Gender and migration: Somali in Europe
- 05.12.00 **Martine Guichard**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
"Something to hide?" Reflections on interethnic relations and friendship ties with regard to the Fulbe of Northern Benin and Northern Cameroon
- 07.12.00 **Georg Elwert**, Institut für Ethnologie, FU Berlin
Wars, feuds, procedures and avoidance – towards a social anthropology of conflict
- 12.12.00 **Bernhard Streck**, Institut für Ethnologie, Universität Leipzig
The three phases of the Leipzig Institute of Ethnology
- 14.12.00 **Shalini Randeria**, Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin
Legal pluralism in post-colonial India: local communities, collective identities and the state
- 19.12.00 **Michael Hagner**, MPI für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, Berlin
Anthropology and photography in late nineteenth century. The case of Gustav Fritsch
- 21.12.00 **Chris Hann**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung,
Ildikó Bellér-Hann, Orientwissenschaftliches Zentrum, Halle
Kinship and ethnic identity among the Lazi (East Black Sea coast)

Summer 2001

- 24.04.01 **Michal Buchowski**, University of Poznan and European University Viadrina, Frankfurt/O.
(Re-) privatisation of land in Poland: Between ideology and practice
- 26.04.01 **Katherine Verdery**, currently Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin
Unmaking socialist property: Land restitution in Transylvania
- 03.05.01 **Hans-Rudolf Wicker**, Institut für Ethnologie, Universität Bern
Naturalisation practices in times of accelerated transnational mobility and new racisms. A preliminary research report
- 08.05.01 **Deborah James**, Department of Anthropology, London School of Economics
Land for the landless: conflicting images of rural and urban in South Africa's land reform programme

- 10.05.01 **John Pickles**, University of North Carolina
Ethnicity, state violence, and neo-liberal transitions in post-communist Bulgaria
- 15.05.01 **Michael E. Meeker**, University of California, San Diego
Revolution by counter-revolution: the Ottoman legacy of public life in a Turkish province (Of, Trabzon)
- 17.05.01 **Altan Gökalp**, Centre Marc Bloch, Berlin
Turkish Alevism: the challenge of greater transparency
- 22.05.01 **Michael B. Likosky**, Centre for Socio-Legal Studies, University of Oxford
Cultural imperialism in the context of transnational commercial collaboration
- 29.05.01 **Bertram Turner**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Natural resources management and legal pluralism in a biosphere reserve in South West Morocco
- 31.05.01 **Heiko Schrader**, Institut für Soziologie, Universität Magdeburg
Economic action under market constraints: a post-Soviet pawnshop in St. Petersburg
- 12.06.01 **Friederike Stolleis**, Universität Bamberg
Public life in private spaces: Women's reception days in Damascus
- 13.06.01 **Han F. Vermeulen**, Department for Cultural Anthropology, Universität Leiden
Ethnological discourse in Central and Eastern Europe 1740-1800
- 19.06.01 **Pierre-Yves Le Meur**, Institut für Ethnologie, Universität Mainz
Landholding as social interface. Politicisation and institution-building in Benin

Fall 2001

- 11.10.01 **Angela Jancius**, Michigan State University
Second markets, third sectors and rubber boot brigades?: Transition politics and the rise of a 'non-competitive' work sphere in Saxony (Germany)
- 12.10.01 **Chris Hann**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
The demise of collective property in Tázlár (with special reference to vineyards)
- 19.10.01 **John Eidson**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Aspects of privatization in East German agriculture

- 25.10.01 **Brian Donahoe**, Indiana University
Where have all the reindeer gone? The past, present and future of reindeer herding in the Republic of Tyva
- 26.10.01 Hannes Grandits, Universität Graz
Changing regimes - shifting loyalties: (Re-) formation of reliabilities and resources in multi-ethnic Herzegovina 1945-2001
- 30.10.01 **André Czegledy**, University of Witwatersrand
The business of the built environment in the new Hungary
- 01.11.01 **Thomas Widlok**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
On trust and other virtues: people at ease, anthropologists at pains
- 07.11.01 **Barbara Cellarius**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
The timbers of civil society? Collective action for resource management in postsocialist Bulgaria
- 08.11.01 **Susanne Brandtstädter**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Re-defining place in southern Fujian: How ancestral halls and overseas mansions reappropriate the local from the state
- 14.11.01 **Patty Gray**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Cultivating Russian farmers: land privatization and smallholders in the republic of Marii El
- 15.11.01 **Deema Kaneff**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
A comparative approach to property in rural Ukraine
- 21.11.01 **Alexander King**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
An overview of cultural property relations in Kamchatka
- 23.11.01 **John Ziker**, MPI für ethnologische Forschung
Hunting and property strategies in the Taimyr region
- 28.11.01 **Mihály Sárkány**, Hungarian Academy of Sciences
Decollectivisation in a north Hungarian village

V. Other Academic Activities

Memberships

Benda-Beckmann, Franz von

Commission of Folk Law and Legal Pluralism (chosen member of the executive board)

Dutch-Belgian Society for Socio-Legal Studies, VSR

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Rechtsvergleichung

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde

European Association of Social Anthropologists

European Association of Southeast Asian Studies

Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- end Volkenkunde (The Netherlands)

Benda-Beckmann, Keebet von

Advisory Board Mitigating Human Rights Risks, ZEF

Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (President, elected)

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Rechtssoziologie

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde

Dutch Advisory Council on International Affairs (and vice-president of its Commission on Human Rights)

Law and Society Association

Dutch-Belgian Society for Socio-Legal Studies, VSR

Brandtstädter Susanne

European Association of Social Anthropologists

Cellarius Barbara A.

American Anthropological Association

International Association for Southeast European Anthropology

Society for Applied Anthropology

Dafinger, Andreas

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde

European Association of Social Anthropologists

Diallo, Youssouf

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde

Group d'études comparatives des sociétés peuples

Eckert Julia

Ad hoc Gruppe "Ordnung der Gewalt" der Deutschen Vereinigung für Politische Wissenschaft

European Association of Social Anthropologists

Sektion Entwicklungssoziologie und Sozialanthropologie der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie

Eidson, John

American Anthropological Association
 American Ethnological Society
 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Volkskunde
 European Association of Social Anthropologists
 Society for the Anthropology of Europe

Feyissa, Dereje

Society of Friends of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies

Finke, Peter

Central Eurasian Studies Society
 The European Society for Central Asian Studies

Glick Schiller, Nina

American Anthropological Association
 American Ethnological Association
 Haitian Studies Association
 Society for Medical Anthropology

Grätz, Tilo

African Studies Association
 Association Euro-Africaine pour l'Anthropologie du Change-
 ment Social et du Développement
 DAAD - Freundes -und Förderkreis e.V.
 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
 European Association of Social Anthropologists
 Europe and the Balkans International Network
 Sektion Entwicklungssoziologie und Sozialanthropologie der
 Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie

Gray, Patty

American Anthropological Association
 American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies
 Association of Women in Slavic Studies
 International Arctic Social Sciences Association
 The Post-Soviet Cultural Studies Interest Group

Guichard, Martine

Group d'études comparatives des sociétés peuples
 Group de recherche sur l'injure en milieu musulman
 Vereinigung deutscher Afrikanisten

Haneke, Georg

European Association of Social Anthropologists

Hann, Chris

Association of Social Anthropologists of the Commonwealth
 British Association of Slavonic and East European Studies
 European Association of Social Anthropologists
 Polish Sociological Association
 Royal Anthropological Institute

Heady, Patrick

European Association of Social Anthropologists
Royal Anthropological Institute

Kaneff, Deema

Australian Anthropological Association
Europe and the Balkans International Network
European Association of Social Anthropologists
International Association for Southeast European Anthropology

Kasten, Erich

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
International Arctic Social Sciences Association

Leutloff, Carolin

European Association of Social Anthropologists

Mann, Bettina

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
Sektion Religionssoziologie der Deutschen Gesellschaft für
Soziologie

Milligan, Gordon

European Association of Social Anthropologists

Pelican, Michaela

Arbeitsgemeinschaft Entwicklungsethnologie e.V.
European Association of Social Anthropologists
Gemeinsamer Arbeitskreis Tourismus und Ethnologie

Reyna, Stephen P.

American Anthropological Association
Association for Political and Legal Anthropology
Council of General Anthropology
Réseau International de Recherches Pluridisciplinaires sur
l'Histoire et la Préhistoire dans le Bassin du Lac Tchad

Ssorin-Chaikov, Nikolai

American Anthropological Association
American Ethnological Society
Russian Ethnological Association

Sancak, Meltem

The European Society for Central Asian Studies

Schlee, Günther

African Studies Association
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
European Association of Social Anthropologists
Vereinigung deutscher Afrikanisten

Tadesse, Wolde Gossa

European Association of Social Anthropologists

Torsello, Davide

European Association of Social Anthropologists

Turner, Bertram

Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
Deutsch-Marokkanische Gesellschaft

Ventsel, Aimar

NEFA Tartu, Assoziation der skandinavischen Studenten für
Ethnologie und Folkloristik

Widlök, Thomas

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
European Association of Social Anthropologists
Royal Anthropological Institute

Yalçın-Heckmann, Lale

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
European Association of Social Anthropologists
Frauen in der Einen Welt e. V.
Royal Anthropological Institute

Professorships

Benda-Beckmann, Franz von

Professor at Wageningen University, The Netherlands

Benda-Beckmann, Keebet von

Extra-ordinary Professor at Erasmus University Rotterdam,
The Netherlands

Hann, Chris

Honorary Professor at the Martin-Luther-University
Halle-Wittenberg, Germany

Honorary Professor at the University of Leipzig, Germany

Honorary Professor at the University of Kent at
Canterbury, Great Britain

Schlee, Günther

Honorary Professor at the Martin-Luther-University
Halle-Wittenberg, Germany

Honorary Professor at the University of Leipzig, Germany

Editorships

Benda-Beckmann, Franz von

Journal of Legal Pluralism, Associate editor

Recht der Werkelijkheid (Dutch socio-legal journal), Editor

Glick Schiller, Nina

Identities, Global Studies in Culture and Power, Editor

Hann, Chris

Archives Européennes de Sociologie, Editor

Reyna, Stephen P.

Anthropological Theory, Founding editor and member of the
Editorial Board

War and Society, Editor

Schlee, Günther

Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Editor

Teaching Activities

Benda-Beckmann, Franz von

24.02.-25.02.2001, Training seminar on legal Pluralism at FREEDEAL, Nepal

20.08.-26.08.2001 Summer school on Legal Pluralism, Pushkin, St. Petersburg, Russia

15.12.-29.12.2001 International Course "Resource Rights, Ethnicity and Governance in the Context of Legal Pluralism", Dhulikhel, Nepal

Benda-Beckmann, Keebet von

Winter Semester 2000/01, Seminar on legal anthropology, Erasmus University Rotterdam

Winter Semester 2001/02, Seminar on legal anthropology, Erasmus University Rotterdam

24.02.-25.02.2001, Training seminar on legal Pluralism at FREEDEAL, Nepal

20.08.-26.08.2001 Summer school on Legal Pluralism, Pushkin, St. Petersburg, Russia

15.12.-29.12.2001 International Course "Resource Rights, Ethnicity and Governance in the Context of Legal Pluralism", Dhulikhel, Nepal

Dafinger, Andreas

Winter Semester 2001/02, Seminar, Anthropologie des Raumes. Theorie, Methodik und Fallstudien, Institut für Ethnologie, Universität Leipzig

Diallo, Youssouf

Winter Semester 2000/01, Seminar, Nomaden und Staat in Westafrika, Institut für Ethnologie, Universität Leipzig

Summer Semester 2001, Seminar, Bodennutzung in Westafrika, Institut für Ethnologie, Universität Leipzig

Summer Semester 2001, Strukturkurs und Übung, Einführung in das Fulfulde (with Prof. Dr. E. Wolff), Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität Leipzig

Eckert, Julia

Summer Semester 2001, Seminar, Theorien des postkolonialen Staates in der Globalisierung, Institut für Sozialwissenschaften, Humboldt Universität Berlin

Finke, Peter

Summer Semester 2001, Seminar, Ethnizität in Mittelasien, Institut für Ethnologie, Universität Leipzig

Grätz, Tilo

Summer Semester 2000, Hauptseminar, Historische und politische Anthropologie Westafrikas, Institut für Ethnologie, Universität Leipzig

17.09.-22.09.2001, Workshop Anthropology of Museums, 8th Mediterranean Ethnological Summer Symposium, Institutum Studorium Humanitatis, Fakulteta za podi, Ljubliana, Pirano, Slovenia

Summer Semester 2001, Hauptseminar, Moral und Ökonomie, Institut für Ethnologie, Universität Leipzig

Hann, Chris

20.09.-26.09.1999, Summer School, Understanding Postsocialism: new property relationships and their consequences, 6th Mediterranean Ethnological Summer School Pirano, Slovenia

Turner, Bertram

Winter Semester 2000/01, Ethnographie Marokkos, Proseminar, Institut für Völkerkunde und Afrikanistik, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

Summer Semester 2001, Selbstwahrnehmung und Fremdwahrnehmung im Mittelalter, Proseminar, Institut für Völkerkunde und Afrikanistik, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

Schlee, Günther

17.09.-22.09.2001, Changing Identifications and Alliances in North-East Africa, 8th Mediterranean Ethnological Summer Symposium, Institutum Studorium Humanitatis, Fakulteta za podi, Ljubliana, Pirano, Slovenia

Widlok, Thomas

July 2001, Veranstaltung in der Seminarreihe, Man the Hunter - Woman the Gatherer. Gender-Forschung in Jäger-Sammler-Gesellschaften, Institut für Anthropologie, Universität Heidelberg

Cooperation

Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg

Orientwissenschaftliches Zentrum, Halle

Institut für Agrarentwicklung in Mittel- und Osteuropa, Halle

Juristische Fakultät, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg

Franckesche Stiftungen, Halle

Universität Leipzig

Institut für Ethnologie, Universität Leipzig

Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum für Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas, Leipzig

MPI für evolutionäre Anthropologie, Leipzig

Landwirtschaftlich-Gärtnerische Fakultät, Fachgebiet Ressourcenökonomie, Humboldt Universität Berlin

MPI für europäische Rechtsgeschichte, Frankfurt

MPI für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht, Heidelberg

MPI für ausländisches und internationales Strafrecht, Freiburg

MPI für Gesellschaftsforschung, Köln

University of New Hampshire

Andalas University, Padang, Indonesia

Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, The Netherlands

Lectures

Behrends, Andrea

05.05.2000, Ghana: Faule Städterinnen und unterdrückte Dörf-
lerinnen. Stereotypen und Verhaltensideale von Frauen der
gesellschaftlichen Elite, Lecture series: Nord-Süd, Technische
Universität Berlin, Germany

Benda-Beckmann, Franz von

16.10.2000, Law, Social Fields and Space: the example of Am-
bon, Guest Lecture at the Law Faculty of Erasmus University
Rotterdam, The Netherlands

13.11.2000, Rechtspluralismus und Globalisierung, Colloquium
of the Ethnological Seminar, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany

16.01.2001, Globalisierung und Rechtspluralismus: Eine rechts-
ethnologische Perspektive, Colloquium of the Faculty of Social
Sciences, Humboldt Universität Berlin, Germany

25.01.2001, Reflections on Property in My Own Research, PhD
Seminar of the Department of Legal Theory, University of Gron-
ingen, The Netherlands

16.11.2001, Islamic Law and Legal Pluralism, Seminar on the
Anthropology of Islamic Law, ISIM, Leiden, The Netherlands

Benda-Beckmann, Keebet von

06.11.2000, Transnational Dimensions of Legal Pluralism, Zent-
rum für Entwicklungsforschung, Bonn, Germany

09.02.2001, Discussion on Intellectual Property and Indigenous
Rights, MPI für ausländisches und internationales Patent-,
Urheber- und Wettbewerbsrecht, München, Germany

Benda-Beckmann, Franz and Keebet von

09.02.2001, Komplexe Systeme der sozialen Sicherung: Fragen
dort und hier, Max-Planck-Institut für Ausländisches und In-
ternationales Sozialrecht, München, Germany

02.07.2001, Rechtsethnologie und Rechtsgeschichte: Gewohn-
heitsrecht und Rechtspluralismus in Minangkabau, West Su-
matra, Max-Planck-Institut für Europäische Rechtsgeschichte,
Frankfurt, Germany

Cellarius, Barbara A.

28.11.2000, Seeing the Forest for the Trees: The Social Dimen-
sions of Forest Use and Forest Restitution in Postsocialist Bul-
garia, Work Group in Development Anthropology, University of
Kentucky, Lexington, USA

16.05.2001, Bulgarian Forestry Cooperatives: Remembering the
Past, Planning For the Future, Department of Agricultural Eco-
nomics and Social Sciences, Humboldt University, Berlin, Ger-
many

Diallo, Youssouf

18.10.2000, Die Geschichte der Fulbe-Forschung, Institut für Ethnologie, Universität Leipzig, Germany

26.01.2001, Farmers, Hunters and Fulbe pastoralists in Northern Côte d'Ivoire: Conflict, Cooperation and national Integration, University College London, Great Britain

Eidson, John

16.05.2000, Oral history et cetera: Ethnologische Forschungen zu Breunsdorf bei Leipzig, Colloquium, Arbeitsgruppe Lebenslauf und Altersforschung, Institut für Soziologie, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany

Glick Schiller, Nina

08.02.2001, Long Distance Nationalism: What it is Where its Going, Distinguished Speaker Series, Department of Anthropology, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, USA

10.02.2001, Long Distance Nationalism, Seminar on Nationalism and Globalization, Yale University, New Haven, USA

09.10.-16.10.2001, The Anthropology of Transnational Migration, Seminar on Anthropology of Migration, School of American Research, Santa Fe, New Mexico, USA

29.10.2001, Long Distance Nationalism: Past, Present, and Future, Institut für Ethnologie, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany

Grätz, Tilo

09.06.2000, Burkina Faso: Goldgräber, ökonomische Krise und globale Wirtschaftssysteme; zur Situation der industriellen und handwerklichen Goldproduktion in Westafrika, Technische Universität Berlin, Germany

04.10.2000, L'économie morale de l'orpaillage au Bénin et ailleurs, Centre Point Sud, Forschungs - Kolloquium, Bamako, Mali

12.05.2001, Ethnizität, ASA-Seminar Westafrika, Carl-Duisberg-Gesellschaft, Berlin, Germany

23.05.2001, Handwerklicher Goldabbau in Benin, Institut für Ethnologie, Universität Leipzig, Germany

03.07.2001, Goldgräbersiedlungen in Westafrika, Berlin-Brandenburgische Auslandsgesellschaft, Afrika-Kreis, Potsdam, Germany

Hann, Chris,

23.11.1999, Ethnicity: the anthropological object in the British School, Humboldt University, Berlin, Germany

19.01.2000, Understanding Postsocialist Property Relations, Colloquium, Institut für Ethnologie, Universität Leipzig, Germany

20.04.2000, Religion and Inter-Ethnic Relations in South-East Poland, Laios (Laboratoire d'anthropologie des institutions et des organisations sociales), Paris, France

26.07.-29.07.2000, Problems with the Privatisation of Religion, Plenary Lecture, EASA-conference: Crossing Categorical Boundaries, Cracow, Poland

12.10.2000, Waddling out: the "transition" in anthropological perspective, University College, University of London, Great Britain

19.10.2000, Ernest Gellner Lecture: Gellner's Theory of Culture, University of Prague, Prague, Czech Republik

03.05.2001, Waddling out to Tázlár, Collegium Budapest, Hungary

11.05.2001, Frazer Lecture: Culture, Creeds and the Witchery of Music, University of Cambridge, Great Britain

28.09.-29.09.2001, Is civil society a concept that can be usefully invoked cross-culturally?, LSE, University of London, Great Britain

07.11.2001, The Demise of Collective Property in a Hungarian Village, Ringvorlesung, Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftliches-Zentrum, Universität Leipzig, Germany

Mann, Bettina

11.07.2000, Esskultur und Identität im städtischen Ägypten, Colloquium, Orientwissenschaftliches Zentrum, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Germany

Pelican, Michaela

26.04.2001, Muslim women in Northwest Cameroon: The Mbororo'en and the Hausa, Faculty of Social and Management Sciences, Seminar series: The Social Anthropology of Gender in Cameroon, Faculty of Social and Management Science, Department of Women's Studies, University of Buea, SW Cameroon

27.04.2001, Empowerment through women's groups: The case of Mbororo-women in Northwest Cameroon, Seminar series: Gender, Colonialism and International Development, Faculty of Social and Management Science, Department of Women's Studies, University of Buea, SW Cameroon

Reyna, Stephen P.

12.10.2000, Clifford Geertz and Morality, Colloquium, Institut für Ethnologie, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany

Schlee, Günther

03.11.1999, Ritual topography, Colloquium, Institut für Ethnologie, Universität Leipzig, Germany

08.05.2001, Ekstatischer Islam. Eine Sufi-Gemeinschaft in Nordkenia, Colloquium, Orientwissenschaftliches Zentrum, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Germany

Turner, Bertram

05.04.2001, Berufschancen für Studierende der Ethnologie, Ludwig-Maximilian-Universität München, Germany

26.07.2001, Religious law and legal pluralism, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Germany

Widlok, Thomas

January 2000, Feldforschung in Australien, Oceania Special Interest Group, Department of Anthropology, Universität Heidelberg, Germany

July 2000, Hai//om social relations with their neighbours, Department of History Seminar Series, University of Namibia, Windhoek, Namibia

July 2000, Unregelmäßigkeiten im Menschenpark, Department of Anthropology Seminar Series, Universität Tübingen, Germany

March 2001, Local Experts and Expert Systems. Land management in north-west Australia, Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research Seminar Series, Canberra, Australia

March 2001, The corporate appropriation of cultural rights in Australia and southern Africa, Department of Anthropological Seminar Series, University of Sydney, Australia

Yalçin-Heckmann, Lale

25.04.2001, Diskussion zur Kurdenproblematik in der Türkei der Gegenwart, Kurdologie Reihe, Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, Germany

Presentations at Conferences and Workshops

Behrends, Andrea

26.07.-29.07.2000, Pogminga – the 'Ideal Dagara Woman'. Christian Thought and Dagara Ideal in the Construction of Self by Women of the Educated Elite, 6th Biennial EASA conference, EASA, Cracow, Poland

Benda-Beckmann, Franz von

05.10.2000, Crossing boundaries, Farewell Symposium, Wageningen University and Erasmus University Rotterdam, Wageningen, The Netherlands

07.11.2000, An Anthropological Perspective: Transformation of social security systems in Europe, Workshop on Convergence and Diversity of European Societies – Legal, Economic, Social and Cultural Aspects of the Research Framework, Max Planck Gesellschaft, EU Kommission, Brussels, Belgium

01.12.2000, Human rights, cultural relativism and legal pluralism, International Conference on Human Rights, Socio-Legal Centre, Oxford, Great Britain

14.06.-16.06.2001, Water rights and conflicts in Southeast Asia, KITLV Jubilee workshop "Water as a life-giving and deadly force, Leiden, The Netherlands

20.08.-26.08.2001, Legal Pluralism and Natural Resources, Summer School in Legal Anthropology, "Indigenous Peoples' Rights of the North to Fishing Resources", Pushkin, St. Petersburg, Russia

Benda-Beckmann, Keebet von

05.10.2000, Coincidence, Farewell Symposium, Wageningen University and Erasmus University Rotterdam, Wageningen, The Netherlands

20.08.-26.08.2001, Transnational Dimensions and Legal Pluralism, Summer School in Legal Anthropology, "Indigenous Peoples' Rights of the North to Fishing Resources", Pushkin, St. Petersburg, Russia

Benda-Beckmann, Franz and Keebet von

26.02.-02.03.2001, Water, human rights and legal pluralism, Workshop on Water and Human Rights, Nepal Water Conservation Foundation and the Institute for Social and Environmental Transition, Kathmandu, Nepal

03.04.-04.04.2001, Decentralisation in West Sumatra, 1st Workshop of the KNAW project „Coping with crisis“, PSC-GMU, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

08.06.-09.06.2001, Dezentralisierung und Reform der Lokalverwaltung in West Sumatra, Workshop über Recht und Politik unter den Bedingungen der Globalisierung und Dezentralisierung, Max Planck Institut für europäische Rechtsgeschichte, Frankfurt/M., Germany

06.09.-08.09.2001 Recreating the nagari: Decentralisation in Minangkabau, 3rd Conference of the European Association for Southeast Asian Studies, EUROSEAS, London, Great Britain

Brandtstädter, Susanne

17.06.-20.06.2000, Civilising Process, Kinship and Customary Law in the Chinese Countryside, Workshop: Law, Knowledge and Power in Post-Colonial and Post-Socialist Anthropology, Moscow, Russia

18.07.-22.07.2000, On the Revival of Lineages in South-eastern China, International Anthropological Conference on 21st Century Human Existence and Issues of Development and the Sixth National Symposium of the Chinese Anthropological Society, Xiamen, Fujian, China

26.07.-29.07.2000, Elias in China? Civilisation processes and kinship relations in rural Taiwan and the People's Republic, Workshop: Civilising Process and the Comparative Studies of Civilisation, 6th Biennial EASA conference, EASA, Cracow, Poland

15.11.-19.11.2000, Property Relations, Gift Exchange, and Changing Gender Identities in a Taiwan Village, Panel: Property and the Gift, 99th American Anthropological Association Meeting, American Anthropological Association, San Francisco, CA, USA

09.08.-13.08.2001, Redefining Place in Post-Mao China: How Ancestor Halls and Overseas Mansion Re-appropriate the Local from the State in South Fujian, Panel: Place, Identity and Property in Post-Mao China; at the International Convention of Asia Scholars 2, Berlin, Germany

Cellarius, Barbara A.

21.11.1999, You can buy almost anything with potatoes: Exploring the Modes of Barter During Economic Crisis in Bulgaria, Annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Chicago, IL, USA

14.09.-17.09.2000, Bulgarian Forest Restitution in Socio-Cultural Perspective: Preliminary Observations, The International Association for Southeastern European Anthropology's conference on The Anthropology of Southeast Europe - Ten Years After: Socio-Cultural Aspects of Transformation, Sofia, Bulgaria

26.09.2000, An Anthropological Examination of Forest Restitution in Bulgaria: Some Preliminary Observations, Conference on Representing Anthropology and Anthropological Representations in Eastern Europe, Cluj, Romania

15.11.-19.11.2000, Reflections on Anthropology and Public Policy: A Case Study of Sustainable Development and Nature Conservation Activities in Bulgaria, Annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, San Francisco, CA, USA

04.01.2001, Seeing the Forest for the Trees: The Social Dimensions of Forest Use and Forest Restitution in Postsocialist Bulgaria, Annual conference of the Royal Geographical Society-Institute of British Geographers, Plymouth, Great Britain

25.05.-26.05.2001, Without the coops, there would be no forests!, Workshop on Postsocialist Property Rights in Natural Resources, Lund University, Lund, Sweden

Dafinger, Andreas

09.10.2001, Staatliche und transnationale Organisationen als Ressourcen für lokale Eliten. Ein Fallbeispiel aus Burkina Faso, Tagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde, Göttingen, Germany

Diallo, Youssouf

22.06.2000, Processes and Types of Pastoral Migration in Northern Côte d'Ivoire, Conference on Rural Migration in Africa, African Studies Centre, University of Leiden, The Netherlands

Eckert, Julia

10.05.-12.05.2001, Legal Pluralism, legal reality and the new modes of policing in Mumbai, Conference of the Sektion Entwicklungssoziologie und Sozialanthropologie der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie, ESSA, Bonn, Germany

04.07.-07.07.2001, The Governance of Law in Mumbai, Conference of the Law and Society Association, Budapest, Hungary

08.10.-10.10.2001, Zu Prozessen der Entstaatlichung von Recht, Workshop: Recht jenseits des Nationalstaats, Institut für Weltgesellschaft, Universität Bielefeld; Centre for Transnational Law, Münster; Max-Planck Projektgruppe "Recht der Gemeinschaftsgüter", Bonn, Bielefeld, Germany

Eidson, John

20.11.2000, Sächsische Geschichtsschreibung im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert, Konferenz: Zur Geschichte der Volkskunde, Institut für Sächsische Geschichte und Volkskunde, Dresden, Germany

30.08.2001, Die Transformation der Eigentumsverhältnisse und des Arbeitsmarktes in der landwirtschaftlich-industriellen Mischregion südlich von Leipzig - eine sozialanthropologische Perspektive, Sommerkurs des Zentrums für Vergleichende Geschichte Europas: Märkte und Privateigentum in Ost- und Westeuropa – Aktuelle Prozesse in historischer und vergleichender Perspektive, Freie Universität Berlin/Humboldt Universität, Germany

09.10.2001, Kollektivierung, Privatisierung, Enteignung: Eigentumsverhältnisse und strategisches Handeln in einem sächsischen Dorf, 1959-1995, Meeting of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde; Sektion Eigentumsverhältnisse, Identität und Rechtspluralismus im Vergleich, Göttingen, Germany

Feyissa, Dereje

06.11.-11.11.2000, Linking inequalities: Artisans and Women among the Oya of Southern Ethiopia, The 14th International Conference on Ethiopian Studies, Addis Abeba, Ethiopia

Finke, Peter

May 2000, Impressions from an anthropological field trip to western Uzbekistan (together with M. Sancak), Memorial conference for Dr. Pulatov, Tashkent, Uzbekistan

31.05.-04.06 2000, From 'Common Property' to 'Open Access'. Changing pastoral land tenure systems in western Mongolia, Annual Conference of the International Association for the Study of Common Property, Bloomington, Indiana, USA

July 2000, Changing Property Rights Systems in Western Mongolia. Private Herd Ownership and Communal Land Tenure in Bargaining Perspective, Conference in Memorial of Thomas Schweizer, Cologne, Germany

September 2000, The current state of pastoral nomadism in Central Asia, Conference of the European Society for the Study of Central Asia, Vienna, Austria

June 2001, Changing identities and group affiliation in postsocialist Uzbekistan, Workshop on Postsocialism, University College of London, Great Britain

09.10.2001, Neue Nationen, alte Identitäten? Prozesse von Inklusion und Exklusion im post-sozialistischen Usbekistan, Tagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde, Göttingen, Germany

Glick Schiller, Nina

30.06.2001, Methodological Nationalism, Conference of the Social Science Research Council, New York, USA

17.01.2001, Perspective on Long Distance Nationalism (with G. Fouron), Conference, 'Living on the Edge' Conflict and Globalisation, Copenhagen, Denmark

Grätz, Tilo

11.11.-14.11.1999, Gold Mining, Migration and Risk Management: Problems of Emergent Multiethnic Communities in West Africa, Annual Meeting African Studies Association, Philadelphia, USA

30.03.2000, Gold trade in the Antakora region (Republic of Benin): social networks beyond the state, Panel: Kollektive Identifikationen und politische Einheiten: Religion, Ethnizität, Staat, Biennial Meeting of Vereinigung von Afrikanisten in Deutschland, Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität Leipzig, Germany

07.07.2000, Radiokulturen und Öffentlichkeit in Benin, Workshop: "Öffentlichkeit in Afrika" Iwalewa-Haus, Universität Bayreuth, Bayreuth, Germany

27.07.2000, Gold-Mining and Risk Management: A case study from northern Benin, EASA-Conference/Panel: Situated Risk: Anthropologising Risks and hazards, EASA/University Cracow, Cracow, Poland

23.04.-29.04.2001, Gold reserves, immigrant communities and the production of autochthony, Seventh International Congress of International Society for Ethnology and Folklore (SIEF): Times - Places - Passages. Ethnological Approaches in the New Millennium, SIEF, Budapest, Hungary

10.05.-12.05.2001, Goldgräbersiedlungen als semiautonome soziale Felder, ESSA-Tagung, Sektion Entwicklungssoziologie/Sozialanthropologie der DGS, ESSA, Bonn, Germany

12.07.2001, Gold-mining, immigration and rapid social and cultural change in Northern Benin, Conference of the International Sociological Institute (ISI), Cracow, Poland

20.09.2001, Small-Scale Gold Mining in Westafrica, 6th Mediterranean Ethnological Summer School, University Ljubljana, Piran, Slovenia

08.10.2001, Zum Lebensstil junger Goldgräber in Nord-Benin, Tagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde, Göttingen, Germany

09.10.2001, Goldgräbergemeinschaften, Ressourcennutzung und interethnische Beziehungen in Nord-Benin, Tagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde, Göttingen, Germany

Gray, Patty

2000, Gift Pro Quo: The Social Life of Information in the Russian Far East, The 99th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, San Francisco, CA, USA

Guichard, Martine

25.04.2001, Chants, blâmes et paroles scandaleuses: les kaBBitooji chez les Peuls du Borgou (Nord-Bénin), Laboratoire d'anthropologie sociale, Paris, France

Hann, Chris

28.10.-30.10.1999, British social anthropology at the end of the century, IFK (Internationales Forschungszentrum Kulturwissenschaften)-Tagung: Die Wende als Wende? Orientierungen Europäischer Ethnologien nach 1989, IFK, Vienna, Austria

17.11.-21.11.1999, The Time Anthropology of Alfred Gell, Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, American Anthropological Association, Chicago, IL, USA

21.11.1999, From ethnographic group to sub-sub-ethnicity: Lemko-Rusyn-Ukrainians in postsocialist Poland, Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies; "Ukrainian No More: National Ideology in the Ukrainian Near Abroad", American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, St.Louis, USA

10.07.2000, Making Sense of property relations (the socialist counterpoint), 'Networks, Ethnography and Social Theory' In Memoriam Thomas Schweizer, University of Cologne, Institut für Völkerkunde, Cologne, Germany

08.09.-15.09.2000, All Kulturvölker Now?, Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, 'Culture and the Cultural: New Tasks for an Old Concept?', Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Morelia, Mexico

26.04.-28.04.2001, Borders in anthropological perspective, 'Beyond visible and invisible borders', The British Council, Cracow, Poland

22.06.-23.06.2001, East Central Europe in Transition, GWZO (Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas e.V.) Rundgespräch zum geplanten DFG-Schwerpunktprogramm "Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Ostmitteleuropaforschung", GWZO, Leipzig, Germany

Heady, Patrick

July 2000, Nation, kinship and religion in the symbolic reproduction of village life in Carnia (northern Italy), Conference of the European Association of Social Anthropologists, EASA, Cracow, Poland

July 2000, Houses as mediators between vitality and permanence, Conference of the European Association of Social Anthropologists, EASA, Cracow, Poland

Kaneff, Deema

February 2000, Changing local-centre relations in the post-socialist Bulgarian state, Institute for East Central Europe and Balkan Studies, Bologna, Italy

June 2000, The Politics of Time in Bulgaria, Centre for the Study of South Eastern Europe, University of Wales, Swansea, Great Britain

September 2000, Researching Property Relations in Postsocialist States, The International Association for Southeastern European Anthropology's conference on The Anthropology of Southeast Europe - Ten Years After: Socio-Cultural Aspects of Transformation, Sofia, Bulgaria

Kasten, Erich

02.06.-04.06.2000, Research on Siberia at the Max Planck Institute of Social Anthropology, Conference: Siberia and the Circumpolar North, Stefan Bauer, Stefan Donecker, Igor Eberhard, Aline Ehrenfried, Markus Hirnsperger, Eva Ludwig, Franz Meyer, Peter Schweitzer, Vienna, Austria

Leutloff, Carolin

26.07.-28.07.2000, Politics, religion and remembering the past: the case of Croatian Serbs in the 1990s, EASA conference, Panel: Politics, religion and remembering the past, EASA, Cracow, Poland

Pelican, Michaela

28.04.2001, Post-graduate studies in Social Anthropology: procedure and methods of anthropological research, Conference, Network of African students of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Buea, Faculty of Social and Management Sciences, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Buea, Cameroon

Ssorin-Chaikov, Nikolai

June 2000, 'Primitive Communists' in Ethnography and Soviet Reforms in Central Siberia, Workshop on Law, Knowledge and Power in Post-Colonial and Post Socialist Anthropology, Moscow, Russia

November 2000, 'To the Beloved Chief, Father and Teacher': Ceremonial Gifts to the Soviet Communist Party Leaders, Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, San Francisco, USA

Schlee, Günther

30.08.-02.09.1999, Ritual topography, Conference: Cultural Landscapes in Arid Africa, SFB Project 389: Arid Climate, Adaptation and Cultural Innovation in Africa, University of Cologne, Germany

31.03.2000, Redrawing the map of the Horn: the politics of difference, Biennial Meeting of Vereinigung von Afrikanisten in Deutschland, Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität Leipzig, Germany

08.06.2000, Die soziale Konstruktion von Feindschaft, 51. Annual Meeting of the Max Planck Society, Munich

09.07.2000, Contrasting patterns of alliance in North-East African patrilineal societies, Ethnography, Social Theory and Networks in memoriam Thomas Schweitzer, Institut für Völkerkunde, University of Cologne, Cologne, Germany

30.09.2000, Topographical Signifiers, Translationes - Conference on Intercultural Understandings, Institut für Ethnologie, Universität Leipzig, Germany

17.11.2000, Nomads, old and new, and the concept of bounded territory, 43rd Annual African Studies Association Meeting, Nashville, TN, USA

Stammler, Florian

02.06.-04.06.2000, Strategies of Survival in the Post-soviet North: 'Transition' and 'Tradition' among Khanty and Nenets Reindeer Breeders of Western Siberia, Conference on Siberia and the Circumpolar North, Vienna, Austria

Tadesse, Wolde Gossa

05.11.-10.11.2000, Property and Age Organisation Among an East Pastoralist Group, 14th Ethiopian Studies International Conference, Addis Abeba, Ethiopia

08.02.-10.02.2001, Aspects of Interaction among Peoples of Ethiopia's Southwest, Workshop: Cultural Contact and Cultural Stereotype, African Studies Centre, University of Mainz, Mainz, Germany

Torsello, Davide

05.10.-07.10.2001, Trusting the Cooperative. A historical approach to trust, mistrust and networks' management in a southern Slovak village, Conference: Social Networks in Movement. Networking and informal exchange in changing, settling and migrating societies, FORUM Institute for Social Studies, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Czech Academy of Sciences, Galanta, Slovakia

Turner, Bertram

28.03.2001, Rechtspluralismus, Ressourcennutzung auf nachhaltige Entwicklung, Deutscher Orientalistentag Bamberg, Bamberg, Germany

10.05.-12.05.2001, Nachhaltige Entwicklung und lokales Wissen: Über die rechtspluralistische Dimension nachhaltiger Waldnutzung im Biosphärenreservat Arganeraie Southwest Morocco, ESSA-Tagung im ZEF, Bonn, Germany

09.10.2001, Chr'ka im Südwesten Marokkos: Kooperationsformen im Agrarbereich zwischen Khammessatsystem und Rechtspluralismus, Tagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde, Göttingen, Germany

Ventsel, Aimar

02.06.-04.06.2000, The Urban identity of Siberian Natives: Young Khantys in Surgut , Conference on Siberia and the Circumpolar North, Vienna, Austria

Widlok, Thomas

May 2000, A social anthropologist looks at biological diversity, Symposium of the Max-Planck-Institut für evolutionäre Anthropologie, Leipzig, Germany

May 2000, Corporatism and the Namibian San, Meeting of the Association of Anthropology in Southern Africa, Association of Anthropology in Southern Africa/University of Namibia, Windhoek, Namibia

09.07.-12.07.2000, Dense networks and thick descriptions. How to analyse the ways in which "Bushmen" exchange and share property, International conference on Networks, Ethnography and Social Theory, in memoriam Thomas Schweitzer, Cologne, Germany

April 2001, The colonial legacy and contemporary entitlement, Annual Conference of the Association of Social Anthropologists of the Commonwealth, Association of Social Anthropologists of the Commonwealth/University of Sussex, Brighton, Great Britain

07.10.-10.10.2001, Der starke Grund zusammenzubleiben: Geteilte Eigentumsrechte in einer europäischen Industrieregion und in der Jäger-Sammler-Domäne, Tagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde, Göttingen, Germany

Yalçin-Heckmann, Lale

27.07.2000, Roundtable discussion Secularism and Anthropology, EASA Congress in Cracow, Poland

06.09.2000, Debates on Kurdish Ethnicity in Contemporary Turkey, Armenia 2000 Congress in Wittenberg; Workshop on "Ethnic minorities" Orientwissenschaftliches Zentrum, Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg, Germany

Outreach/Popular Talks

Benda-Beckmann, Franz von

15.11.2000, Natuurlijke hulpbronnen, rechten en conflicten op Ambon, Lecture at the Steunpunt Educatie Molukkers, Utrecht

Dafinger, Andreas

February 2001, L'Organisation spatiale et sociale de la population Peulh dans la Région du Boulgou, Presentation – PIHVS ("Project hydraulique"), Tenkgodogo, Burkina Faso

Eidson, John

25.10.2001, Ein kleines Land mit großer Vergangenheit: Streifzüge durch die Geschichtsschreibung Sachsens. Talk for Heimatverein des Bornaer Landes in Borna

Feyissa, Dereje

28.07.2000, Introducing the research project to NGO staff, Agency for Cooperation and Research in Development (ACORD), Gambella Programme

Grätz, Tilo

07.06.2000, Afrika - ein Krisenkontinent?, Vortrag an Feuchtwanger-Gymnasium, München, Schulvortrag im Rahmen der Hauptversammlung der Max Planck Gesellschaft (MPG), München

15.06.2000, Märchen in Afrika, Kinder-Aktion, Aktion Eine-Welt-Haus, Halle

15.05.2001, Ethnologische Perspektiven auf Nationalität und Nationalismus, Podiumsdiskussion "Wieviel Nation verträgt die deutsche Identität?", Katholische Akademie Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle

16.05.2001, Ethnologische Perspektiven auf Nationalität und Nationalismus, Podiumsdiskussion "Wieviel Nation verträgt die deutsche Identität?", Evangelische Akademie Sachsen-Anhalt, Magdeburg

19.06.2001, Goldgräber in Nordbenin, Afrika Woche, Eine-Welt-Haus, Halle

Gray, Patty

22.08.2000, Public lecture and question-and-answer session at the Public Library in the city of Bilibino, Chukotka, Russia

18.12.2000, Lecture and video presentation about Chukotka to Sixth Grade Science Classes of Twin Lakes Elementary School, Fair Oaks, California

14.03.2001, Interviewed about research for public radio in the city of Anadyr', Chukotka, Russia

Leutloff, Carolin

14.09.2000/21.02.2001, Property relations as social relations on the example of a post war local setting, Biskupija Presentation for UNHR, Knin, Croatia

Mann, Bettina

08.03.2000, Essen und Trinken am Nil, presentation in the context of a project week, Sekundarschule Heide Nord, Halle
19.10.2000, Essen und Alltag in Ägypten, presentation in the context of a project week, Sekundarschule Heide Nord, Halle

Pelican, Michaela

May 2000 – January 2001, Anibaara – von Stolz und Mühe, IWALEWA-Haus, Bayreuth: Arbeit in Afrika, part of the exhibition (section on pastoral work, leaflet handed to visitors)

16.06.2000, Aus dem Alltag der Mbororo-Frauen, lecture and presentation of colour slides, Afrikanische Film-und Kulturwoche 2000, Eine-Welt-Haus, Halle

Meltem, Sancak

March 2001, Impressions of anthropologists and foreigners in Uzbekistan, in different provinces and schools, Uzbekistan

Turner, Bertram

06.03.2001, Der Arganwald in Marokko, presentation for the Volkshochschule Munich

30.04.2001, Menschen und historische Stätten im Souss, presentation for the Deutsch-Marokkanische Gesellschaft, Munich

25.10.2001, Dispute settlement in a legal pluralistic constellation: the revitalisation of Islamic institutions of conflict management in Morocco, presentation at the Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich

Widlok, Thomas

February 2000, Living on Mangetti, public lecture, Museum Alte Post, Mülheim an der Ruhr

31.01.2001, Alltag in Afrika, presentation in the context of a school project week on Africa, Halle

MPI for Social Anthropology

13.04.2000, Das Institut stellt sich vor, Press Conference and Introduction of the Research Programme for the Academic Public Halle/Leipzig

29.06.2000, Public Presentation of the Institute on the market square, Tag der Forschung organised by the Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Germany

21.06.2001, Public Presentation of the Institute on the market square, Tag der Forschung organised by the Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Germany

Visiting Scholars and Guests

2000

- Abdullahi Shongolo (Kenya) 01.09.99-01.01.00
Peter Schweitzer (University of Alaska/Universität Wien) 19.01.-27.01.
Igor Krupnik (Smithsonian Institute, Washington) 19.01.-24.01.
Nikolay Vahktin (European University of St. Petersburg) 24.01.-27.01.
Christopher Gregory (Australian National University) 14.02.-24.02.
Nicodemus Fru Awasom (Universität Basel) 22.02.-25.02.
Longina Jakubowska (University of Amsterdam) 14.03.-18.03.
Édouard Conte (CNRS, Paris.) 16.03.-17.03.
Tesfaye Tafesse (Addis Ababa University/Universität Osnabrück) 20.03.-24.03.
Donald Donham (Emory University, Atlanta) 21.03.-01.04.
Jan Hultin (Göteborg University) 27.03.-02.04.
Anna Simons (University of California, Los Angeles) 27.03.-02.04.
Nigel Swain (University of Liverpool) 14.04.-17.04.
Ivan Krastev (Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin) 17.04.-18.04.
Alan Barnard (University of Edinburgh) 04.05.
Adam Kuper (Brunel University) 07.05.-09.05.
Xiaolin Gou (University of Aarhus) 08.05.-11.05.
Stephan Feuchtwang (London School of Economics) 08.05.-11.05.
Anna Gossmann (Universität Köln) 15.05.-19.05.
Julian Konstantinov (New Bulgarian University) 24.05.-01.06.
Aleksandra Urkachan (House of Culture Plana Kamchatka) 06.06.-19.06.
Sally Falk Moore (Harvard University) 14.06.-16.06.
Peter Little (University of Kentucky) 20.06.-22.06.
Chyong-Fang Ko (Academia Sinica, Taiwan) 17.06.-15.09. (externally funded)
Jean Boutrais (Institut de Recherche pour le Développement, ex Orstom) 24.06.-28.06.
Jean Schmitz (Centre d'Etudes Africaines, EHESS) 24.06.-27.06.
Richard Fardon (SOAS, University of London) 06.07.-07.07.
Keith Hart (University of Aberdeen) 01.11.-05.11.
Frances Pine (University of Cambridge) 01.11.-12.11.
Michael Fischer (University of Canterbury) 03.11.-08.11.
Wenonah Lyon (University of Canterbury) 03.11.-08.11.
Al-Amin Abu-Manga (University of Khartoum) 01.08.00-31.05.2001

2001

- Elisabeth Hsu (University of Oxford) 22.01.-12.02. (externally funded)
Paul Robert Magocsi (University of Toronto) 13.03.-12.05.
Michal Buchowski (University of Poznan) 24.04.-26.04.
Sophie Chevalier (University Besancon) 24.04.-29.04.
Gerhard Anders (Erasmus University Rotterdam) April-August (externally funded)
Awad Al-Karim Al-Faki (Sinnar University, Sudan) 01.05.-20.08.
Deborah James (London School of Economics) 07.05.-09.05.
John Pickles (University of North Carolina) 09.05.-11.05.
Michael E. Meeker (University of California/San Diego) 14.05.-20.05.
Dale Eickelman (Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin) 15.05.-16.05.
Altan Gökalp (Centre Marc Bloch, Berlin) 17.05.-18.05.
Michael Likosky (University Oxford/ZEF, Bonn) 22.05.-24.05.
Steve Tonah (University of Ghana) 18.06.-20.07
Indira Simbolon (Asian Development Bank Manila) 16.07.-16.08.
Markus Weilenmann (Universität Klagenfurt) 06.08.-23.09.
Melanie Wiber (University of New Brunswick) 01.09.-30.09.
Hannes Grandits (Universität Graz) 01.09.-31.12.
Andrea Ali Balla Bashuna (Kenya) 29.9.-31.02.
Brian Donahoe (Indiana University) 01.10.-31.12.
Angela Jancius (Michigan State University) 01.09.-31.12. (externally funded)

VI. Publications

Publications

Behrends, A.: „Faule Städterinnen“ und „unterdrückte Dörflerinnen“. Stereotypen und Verhaltensideale von Frauen der Elite Nord-Ghanas. *Ästhetik und Kommunikation* **106**, 51-59 (1999).

- Successful women in Ghana. A life of contradictions? In: *Working Papers on African Societies* No. 42, Das Arabische Buch, Berlin 2000, 17 p.

Benda-Beckmann, F.v.: Da dang quen so hu' u tai san va phat trien. In: *Luat tục: Va phat trien nong thon hien nay o Viet Nam*, (Eds.) N.D. Thinh, P.D. Nhat. Nha Xuat Ban Chinh Tri Quoc Gia, Hanoi 2000, 258-294.

- Natuurlijke hulpbronnen, rechten en conflicten op Ambon. In: *Timbang* Jaarboek 2000, (Ed.) H. Straver. Landelijk Steunpunt Educatie Molukkers, Utrecht 2000, 20-32.

- On the reproduction of law: Micro and macro in the time-space geography of law. In: XII. Congreso Internacional Derecho Consuetudinario y Pluralismo Legal: Desafios en el Tercer Milenio, (Ed.) M. Castro-Lucic. Universidad de Tarapacá, Universidad de Chile, Arica/Chili, Arica/Santiago 2000, 997-1008.

- Properti dan kesinambungan sosial. Grasindo, Jakarta 2000, 597 p.

- Rechtspluralismus – Wissenschaftliche und politische Herausforderungen. *Ethnoscripts* **2**, 43-55 (2000).

- Relative publics and property rights. In: *Property and values: Alternatives to public and private ownership*, (Eds.) C. Geisler, G. Daneker. Island Press, Washington, D.C. 2000, 151-173.

- In memoriam Joep Spiertz. *Recht der Werkelijkheid* **1**, 119-124 (2000).

- Between free riders and free raiders: Property rights and soil degradation in context. In: *Economic policy analysis and sustainable land use: Recent advances in quantitative analysis for developing countries*, (Eds.) N. Heerink, H. van Keulen, M. Kuiper. Physica Verlag, Heidelberg, New York, 293-316.

- Legal pluralism and social justice in economic and political development. *IDS Bulletin* **32**, **1**, 46-56 (2001).

- Property rights pluralism and development. *Tai Culture* **VI**, 63-80 (2001).

Benda-Beckmann, F.v. and K.v. Benda-Beckmann: Gender and the multiple contingencies of water rights in Nepal. In: *Water, land and law: Changing rights to land and water in Nepal*, (Eds.) F.v. Benda-Beckmann, K.v. Benda-Beckmann, R. Pradhan. Freedeaal, WAU, EUR, Kathmandu, Wageningen, Rotterdam 2000, 17-38.

- Houses, people and residence: The fluidity of Ambonese living arrangements. In: *Women and households in Indonesia: Cultural notions and social practices*, (Eds.) J. Koning et al. Curzon, Richmond 2000, 102-141.

- The law of things: legalization and delegalization in the relationship between the first and third world. In: *Hukum dan kemajemukan budaya: Sumbangan karangan untuk menyambut hari ulang tahun ke-70 Prof. Dr. T.O. Ihromi, (Ed.) E.K.M. Masinambow. Yayasan Obor Indonesia, Jakarta 2000, 17-31.*

- Jaminan Sosial, Sumber Daya Alam dan Pluralisme Hukum. In: *Sumber daya alam dan jaminan sosial, (Eds.) F.v. Benda-Beckmann, K.v. Benda-Beckmann, J. Koning. Pustaka Pelajar, Yogyakarta 2001, 23-60.*

- Actualising history for binding the future: Decentralisation in Minangkabau. In: *Resonances and Dissonances in Development: Actors, Networks and Cultural Repertoires, (Eds.) P. Hebinck, G. Verschoor. Assen, Van Gorcum 2001. 33-47*

Benda-Beckmann, F.v., K.v. Benda-Beckmann and A. Aziz: Legal pluralism, resource management and social (in)security in Indonesia: Reflection on a joint research project. In: Interactive North-South research for development with special attention for natural resources management, (Ed.) Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie der Wetenschappen. Amsterdam 2000, 15-27.

Benda-Beckmann, F.v., K.v. Benda-Beckmann and H. Marks (Eds.): Coping with insecurity: An "underall" perspective on social security in the Third World. Pustaka Pelajar, Yogyakarta 2000, 239 p.

Benda-Beckmann, F.v., K.v. Benda-Beckmann, J. Koning (Eds): Sumber daya alam dan jaminan sosial. Pustaka Pelajar, Yogyakarta 2001, 414 p.

Benda-Beckmann, F.v., K.v. Benda-Beckmann and R. Pradhan (Eds.): Water, land and law: Changing rights to land and water in Nepal. FreeDeal, WAU, EUR, Kathmandu, Wageningen, Rotterdam 2000, 278 p.

Benda-Beckmann, F.v., K.v. Benda-Beckmann and R. Pradhan: Introduction. In: Water, land and law: Changing rights to land and water in Nepal, (Eds.) F.v. Benda-Beckmann, K.v. Benda-Beckmann, R. Pradhan. FreeDeal, WAU, EUR, Kathmandu, Wageningen, Rotterdam 2000, 1-16.

Benda-Beckmann, K.v.: Da Dang pháp luật. In: Luật Tuc Va Phat Trien Nong Thon Hien Nay O Viet Nam, (Ed.) N.D. Thinh. National Center for Social and Human Sciences, Institute of Folklore, The National Political Publishing House, Hanoi 2000, 767-813.

- Goyahnya tangga menuju mufakat. Grasindo, Jakarta 2000, 345 p.

- Recht en geweld op Ambon. In: *Libris Satiari Nequeo. Afscheidsbundel voor Kees Boender, (Ed.) H. Elffers. Juridische faculteit EUR, Rotterdam 2000, 7-20.*

- Transnational dimensions of legal pluralism. In: XII. Congreso Internacional Derecho Consuetudinario Y Pluralismo Legal: Defasios en el Tercer Milenio, (Ed.) M. Castro-Lucic. Universidad de Tarapacá, Universidad de Chile, Arica/Chili, Arica/Santiago 2000, 899-913.

- Fons Strijbosch retires. Newsletter Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism XXXIV, 6-7 (2001).

Brandtstädter, S.: Hierarchy and Alliance: Kinship, Gender and the Political Economy in Taiwan and the People's Republic. Proceedings of the Conference "Social Change across the Taiwan Strait". Fu-Jen University, Taipei 1999, 43-60.

- Landverteilungskonflikte, lokale Institutionen und Staat – Zur Autorität der Tradition in Südostchina. In: Settling of Land Conflicts by Mediation. Schlichtung von Landkonflikten – ein Workshop, (Eds.) Erdmute Alber, Julia Eckert. Institut für Ethnologie, FU Berlin & GTZ 1999. CD-ROM.

- Taking Elias to China (and Leaving Weber at Home): Post-Mao Transformations and Neo-traditional Revivals in the Chinese Countryside. *Sociologus* **50**, 113-143 (2000).

Cartwright, A.L.: Charities and the New Deal. *New Law Journal* **150**, (2000).

- Compact relations - Charities and the New Deal. In: The Fifth Researching the Voluntary Sector Conference, (Ed.) NCVO. National Council for Voluntary Organisations, London 2000.

- Knowing land - problems in reconstructing private property in post-communist Romania. In: Post-communist Romania - Geographical perspectives, (Eds.) D. Light, D. Phinnemore. Liverpool Hope Press, Liverpool 2000, 43-54.

- Reconstructing the past in the village: Land reform in Transylvania 1990-91. In: Romanian and British Historians on the Contemporary History of Romania, (Eds.) G. Cipaianu, V. Târâu. Cluj-Napoca University Press, Cluj-Napoca 2000, 167-186.

- The Return of the Peasant: land reform in post-communist Romania. Aldershot, Ashgate 2001, 228 p.

- Legality and Rural Development. In: Management in Diversification of Rural Areas, (Ed.) C. Nowak. Wydawnictwo Naukowo-Techniczne, Warszawa 2001, 14-22.

Cartwright, A.L. and J. Warbuton: Human rights, public authorities and charities. *Charity Law and Practice Review* **6**, 169-184 (2000).

Cellarius, B.A.: "You can buy almost anything with potatoes": An examination of Barter during economic crisis in Bulgaria. *Ethnology* **39**, 73-92 (2000).

- Der tägliche Überlebenskampf - Leben in einem bulgarischen Dorf. In: Beiträge zur Sozialkunde **3**, 7-19 (2001).

Cellarius, B.A. and T. Pilbrow: Bulgaria. In: Countries and their Cultures, (Eds.) M. Ember, C. R. Ember. Macmillan Reference, New York 2001, 319-331.

Little, P.D., B.A. Cellarius, K. Smith, D.L. Coppock, C. Barrett: Avoiding Disaster: Diversification and Risk Management Among East African Herders. Development and Change **32**, 387-419 (2001).

Dafinger, A.: Herrschaftsgeschichte und Konstruktion des Raums. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie **125**, 265-280 (2000).

- An Anthropological Case Study on the Relation of Language, Space and Social Order. Environment and Planning **A 33** (2001).

Diallo, Y.: Dimensions sociales et politiques de l'expansion pastorale en zone semi-humide ivoirienne. In: Pastoralists under Pressure? Fulbe Societies Confronting Change in West Africa, (Eds.) V. Azaria, A. Breedveld, M. De Bruijn, H. Van Dijk. Brill, Leiden 1999, 211-236.

- Autour du puits. Paysans, pasteurs et politique de l'eau dans le Gondo-Sourou (Burkina Faso). In: Figures peules, (Eds.) R. Botte, J. Boutrais, J. Schmitz. Karthala, Paris 1999, 373-383.

- Les Peuls et les Sénufo de la savane ivoirienne: Quelques modalités de leurs relations. In: L'ethnicité peule dans des contextes nouveaux: La dynamique des frontières, (Eds.) Y. Diallo, G. Schlee. Karthala, Paris 2000, 65-91.

- L'africanisme en Allemagne hier et aujourd'hui. Cahiers d'Etudes africaines **161**, XLI-1, 13-43 (2001).

- Abgrenzungs- und Assimilierungsprozesse bei den FulBe in der Elfenbeinküste und Burkina Faso. In: Integration durch Verschiedenheit, (Eds.) A. Horstmann, G. Schlee. transcript-Verlag, Bielefeld 2001, 333-366.

Diallo, Y., M. Guichard and G. Schlee: Quelques aspects comparatifs. In: L'ethnicité peule dans des contextes nouveaux: La dynamique des frontières, (Eds.) Y. Diallo, G. Schlee. Karthala, Paris 2000, 225-255.

Diallo, Y. and G. Schlee (Eds.): L'ethnicité peule dans des contextes nouveaux: La dynamique des frontières. Karthala, Paris 2000, 255 p.

Eckert, J.: The Power of Action. In: Reinheit und Gewalt, Sociologus **51**, 89-122 (2001).

Eidson, J.: Anthropologie. In: Wörterbuch der Ethnologie, Edition Trickster, (Ed.) B. Streck. Peter Hammer Verlag, Wuppertal 2000, 27-32.

- Which past for whom? Local memory in a German community during the era of nation building. *Ethos* **28**, 575-607 (2000).

- Germany. In: Countries and their Cultures, Vol. 2, (Eds.) M. Ember, C. Ember. Macmillian, New York 2001, 847-865.

- Verwandtschaft. In: Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie, Vol. 11, (Eds.) J. Ritter, K. Gründer, G. Gabriel. Schwabe & Co., Basel 2001, 991-997.

- Ländergröße ist nicht immer Länderglück: Zur Konstruktion sächsischer Geschichte und Identität in der Landesgeschichtsschreibung des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts. In: Kulturwissenschaftliche Regionenforschung, Jahrbuch des SFB 417, Vol. 1, University of Leipzig Press, Leipzig 2001, 90-119.

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Falge Chr. et al.: PRA in Wohlstandsgesellschaften. Erfahrungen aus Norddeutschland. In: BeraterInnen News **1**, 53-57 (2001).

Feyissa, D.: The Menna of Oyda: A study of socio - economic marginalisation. In: A Comparative Study of Marginalised Artisanal Groups in Southern Ethiopia, (Eds.) A. Pankrust, D. Freeman. James Curry, Oxford 2001.

Finke, P.: Kasachstan und Kirgiztan im 20. Jahrhundert: Tradition und Wandel. In: Zwischen Markt- und Mangelwirtschaft. Berichte eines Feldforschungsaufenthaltes im ländlichen Kasachstan und Kirgiztan im Jahre 1999, (Eds.) P. Finke, M. Sancak. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Almaty 2001, 10-15.

- Zwischen Markt und Mangel: Die Neuordnung ökonomischer und sozialer Beziehungen im ländlichen Kasachstan und Kirgizstan. In: Zwischen Markt- und Mangelwirtschaft. Berichte eines Feldforschungsaufenthaltes im ländlichen Kasachstan und Kirgizstan im Jahre 1999, (Eds.) P. Finke, M. Sancak. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Almaty 2001, 104-107.

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Glick Schiller, N.: Introduction: Violence and Cultural Explanations. Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power **8**, 1-4 (2001).

Glick Schiller, N. and G. Fouron: All in the Family: Gender, Transnational Migration, and the Nation-State. Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power **7**, 539-582 (2001).

Glick Schiller, N. and G. Fouron: The Generation of Identity: Redefining the Second Generation Within a Transnational Social Field. In: Migration, Transnationalism, and the Political Economy of New York City, (Eds.) H. Cordero-Guzman, R. Grosfoguel, R. Smith. Temple University Press, Philadelphia 2001, 58-86.

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- Local Radio Stations, Political Transformation and the Demonopolisation of Public Communication: The Case of Radio Rurale Locale Tanguiéta (Northern Benin). Universität Bielefeld, FSP Entwicklungssoziologie, Working Paper, 321 (1999).

- La muséification sur place. L'Afrique et le Musée. Numéro Spécial des Cahiers d'Études Africaines, 155-156, XXXIX-3-4, 829-843 (1999).

- Die Anciens Combattant: von lokaler Elite zur Vereinigung der Bittsteller. Zur sozialen und politischen Situation von Kriegsveteranen in Nordbenin. In: Fremdeinsätze. Afrikaner und Asiaten in europäischen Kriegen, 1914 – 1915, (Eds.) G. Höppner, B. Reinwald. Das Arabische Buch / ZMO Studien, Berlin 2000, 253-276.

- Emische Diskurse um Macht in Matéri. In: Soziologie im Minenfeld, (Eds.) M. Schoormann, C. Idems. LIT-Verlag, Münster 2000, 44-89.

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