

MAX-PLANCK-GESELLSCHAFT

**Max Planck Institute
for Social Anthropology**

**Report 2002 - 2003
Halle/S.**

Imprint

Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology Report 2002 -2003

Published by

Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale

P.O. Box 11 03 51

D- 06017 Halle/Saale

Germany

Phone: + 49 (0) 345 2927-0

<http://www.eth.mpg.de>

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Cover Design: Judith Orland, Günther Schlee

Printed 2003 by dmv // druck-medienverlag GmbH, Halle-Queis.

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ISSN 1618-8683

Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology

Report 2002 – 2003

Halle/Saale

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Introductory Note

Günther Schlee

This is the second report of the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology. The first report, which covers the period from the beginning of our work in 1999 until 2001, is not completely superseded.¹ Many projects are still the same, and the perceptions of research problems have become more refined in the meantime rather than undergoing a complete change. Hypotheses have become substantiated or modified, anticipated results have evolved into empirically ascertained ones. To avoid redundancies we therefore opted for a new form and genres which differ from those of a report and resemble more closely a scientific journal. Furthermore, we have generated new themes by looking at the areas of overlap between different projects. The result is a collection of essays – in the form of short and rather preliminary articles – with themes which combine perspectives derived from the work of several individual scholars.

Apart from doing something different from the last time, there is another reason for proceeding in this way. The researchers of the Institute, encouraged by the Vice President of the Max Planck Society, decided to form networks of cooperation across the lines separating the two departments and the other subunits of the Institute. They here compare their results directly instead of leaving the comparative effort to the heads of the departments or groups.

In globalisation theory a distinction is made between international and transnational relations. 'International' means nation to nation relationships. Nations, or rather nation states, interact through their governments or diplomatic representations. 'Transnational' relations are different. This term refers to the interaction of individuals, groups or organisations, which occur across national boundaries without relying on governments and their diplomatic channels. If we apply these terms by analogy to our Institute, we can say that the type of link encouraged by the Vice President is transdepartmental rather than interdepartmental.

While our last report was organised in three parts, Department I, Department II and the Project Group Legal Pluralism, this time we do not start with a department but with a whole collection of OVERARCHING ESSAYS. These are either written by a plurality of authors from different departments or are based on projects located in various subunits of the Institute. Occasional glances are thrown over the fences of the Institute's compound as well. Some authors put the results of earlier projects, carried out before they joined this institute, into the new com-

¹ The first report of the MPI for Social Anthropology (covering the years 1999 to 2001) is available on request in book form or can be accessed at our website www.eth.mpg.de.

parative context of a collective essay. In another case a PhD project carried out at a university without Max Planck funding but supervised by a member of the institute is drawn into the comparison. The part on overarching themes is followed by chapters which focus on the internal workings of different subunits of the Institute, namely DEPARTMENT I: INTEGRATION AND CONFLICT, DEPARTMENT II: POSTSOCIALIST EURASIA and the PROJECT GROUP LEGAL PLURALISM. A further chapter focuses on a new achievement of the institute, namely the SIBERIAN STUDIES CENTRE. Then come chapters on COORDINATION, REPRESENTATION AND SERVICES.

This organisation of the volume has the consequence that the names of individual researchers occur in different parts of the report: as authors of collective essays, as presenters of their individual projects within the framework of a department, or as the providers of examples cited by others. Readers who are interested to trace the activities of individual persons should therefore refer to the INDEX of names at the end.

Finally I like to record my thanks for the vital contribution to this volume made by the Research Coordination group and the secretarial staff. My special thanks are due to Bettina Mann, Judith Orland, Ralph Orłowski, Gesine Koch, Berit Westwood, and Viktoria Zeng. Special thanks are also due to the Institute's native English speakers for the work they have done to polish up the contributions of the rest of us.

Overarching Essays

Friendship, Kinship and the Bases of Social Organisation

Martine Guichard, Patrick Heady, Wolde Gossa Tadesse

Anthropological Approaches to Friendship

In the last two decades social anthropologists have rediscovered friendship as a field of study. At the present much more attention is paid to Western societies than to non-Western ones. The latter are often considered as being less friendship-oriented than the former because they correspond with settings, in which kinship continues to be the main set of relationships upon which communities are structured. The regional bias in the anthropology of friendship also reflects the view that friendship is a product of modernity. As Silver states, friendship is a relationship the expansion of which “requires the very impersonality of administration, contractualism and monetarised exchange over against which it is culturally distinguished” (1989:293). This kind of friendship may be a “luxury” (Paine 1969:508) that seems to be unaffordable in non-Western societies.

Such a view seems to be nurtured by the fact that many anthropologists tend to seek for a ‘pure’ and ‘distilled’ essence of friendship that they associate with close friendship. They tend to forget that this kind of relationship is rare, even in the social settings where they themselves come from. At the same time they appear to ignore works such as that of Monica Wilson (1951). In her study devoted to the setting of age-villages of the Tanzanian Nyakyusa, she has stressed that the “enjoyment of good company” is a central value that is extended to “the mutual aid and sympathy which spring from personal friendship” (p. 66). Wilson also points out that such a relationship is seen as a great source of wisdom and as important element forging character. We clearly need to think more deeply, and less ethnocentrically, about the meanings that can be attached to the idea of friendship.

‘True’ or ‘real’ friendships have frequently been defined as being expressive or emotional and distinguished from instrumental ones. This classical opposition, which has been revitalised by Wolf (1966), is rather one of degree than an absolute one, for all friendships are both expressive and instrumental. These two aspects have also been discussed in theories of reciprocity derived from economic anthropology. In this context friendship is usually seen as a series of interactions and exchanges involving a more generalised form of reciprocity than the reciprocity observed in a bargaining relationship which is governed by the principle of tit-for-tat. Particularly influential are two streams of exchange theo-

ries which are respectively known as interdependence and equity theories.

The advocates of interdependence theories (Thibaut and Kelley 1959; Homans 1961) predict that the rewards must outweigh the costs and that the evaluation of outcomes determines the level of satisfaction in a relationship. On the other hand, they stress that the process of assessing satisfaction involves comparisons with the outcomes in the past, those anticipated in available alternative relationships as well as comparisons with what other people are receiving from this relationship. An extension of this theory is the investment model that focuses on commitment (Rusbult 1980). Here it is argued that commitment within friendship does not only depend on satisfaction, but also on how much one has invested in the relationship. Investments are defined as resources such as time and emotional energy that would be lost if the relationship is ended. Thus, investments increase commitment to a relationship by making it more costly to end it. In contrast to these approaches, equity theories (Hatfield and Traupmann 1981), postulate that satisfaction is a question of fairness. Instead of predicting that we will be satisfied with a relationship as long as its benefits outweigh its costs, equity theorists posit that satisfaction is only felt if we perceive that our outcomes are comparable to those of our partner.

All of these theories have been criticised for neglecting the subjectively felt meaning of friendship and for failing to take into consideration that a friend is someone whose company one enjoys, "someone who understands one and who can explain one to oneself" (Paine 1969: 507). This depiction, idealised as it is, remains an important issue in friendship, at least in those which are labelled as close in many societies. But friendship has many faces in our cultures as well as in others. Not all great friends are persons with whom one can speak about many things, sometimes (e.g. in the case of certain stereotypically benevolent relatives) they are people who one avoids meeting.

Accounts of friendship in non-Western societies have been appearing since the thirties. The writings of this period as well as those published in the two following decades focused on somewhat exotic forms of friendship, namely those entered into ritually or ceremonially. These institutionalised friendships include such phenomena as best-friendship, blood-brotherhood, bond-friendship, trading-partnership and co-parenthood, especially those forms of spiritual kinship established through baptismal rites of the Roman Catholic Church. The first attempts to discuss these institutionalised friendships comparatively were made in the late fifties and in the sixties. Eisenstadt (1956) hypothesises that they mostly arise in kinship or caste-dominated societies and are related to "some tensions and strains inherent to these societies" (p. 91). He posits that their function is one of social control and social integration. An alternative view is that the social function of in-

stitutionalised friendships is primarily one of communication (Burridge 1959, Paine 1974).

Another early attempt to approach friendships from a comparative point of view was made by Cohen (1961) who proposes a typology of both friendships and societies. By classifying the latter along a continuum of decreasing solidarity and of increasing materialism, he seeks to demonstrate how degrees of solidarity coincide with degrees of commitment between friends. Cohen's model is questionable in many respects. For example, one should wonder to what extent the kind of friendship he gives the most importance to in his typology, namely that one which is institutionalised, constitutes a category that is more relevant than other forms of friendships.

While providing diverse typologies (Wolf 1966, Du Bois 1974), anthropologists have sought to offer a definition of friendship having cross-cultural validity. These relationships are described in most of the literature as voluntary. But this is mainly true where friendship is weakly institutionalised. Further defining qualities and gradients of friendship are affectivity and instrumentality, intimacy, trust, durability and the dyadic-polyadic element.

The Risk of Theoretical Fragmentation

There is a deep question here. Are the kinds of friendship described by the various theoretical and empirical accounts really different varieties of the same thing, in which case it would make sense to try to integrate them into a single overall framework? Or are the relationships involved in, say, trading partnerships, *compadrazgo*, and informal companionship so different that it is not really sensible to seek a theoretical approach that could apply to all of them?

Similar questions were debated two or three decades ago in the field of kinship studies, and given a very influential answer by Schneider (1984). He argued that the complex of ideas that members of western societies attach to kinship do not necessarily have anything in common with the ideas in other societies. Indeed, so he claimed, some societies may not conceptualise the relationships involved in conceiving and rearing children as a special social sphere at all. It seems to follow from this that there can be no universal theory of kinship. The consequences of Schneider's critique were far reaching. The number of research projects that were explicitly concerned with kinship plummeted, at least in America, and topics that would once have been dealt with together in the framework of kinship have often since been studied under separate headings such as personhood, gender, and network analysis. Schneider's critique also reinforced anthropology's persistent tendency towards ethnographic particularism: the reluctance to consider theories and explanatory principles that might apply to all societies.

The variety of kinds of 'friendship', when we compare them between and within cultures, is at least as great as the variety of 'kinship' systems. Does that mean that friendship studies are doomed to a similar state of theoretical fragmentation, and ethnographic particularism? We believe that the answer to this question is 'no', but not because friendship as such can be successfully studied as a separate topic. Instead we think that the solution to the theoretical difficulties of both friendship and kinship studies may lie in widening the focus of study to include both.

This was the idea behind a workshop on *Friendship, Descent and Alliance. New perspectives on social integration and dissociation in changing African societies* which was held at MPI for Social Anthropology in December 2002. The conference was organised by Youssouf Diallo, Martine Guichard and Tilo Grätz who are currently editing the different contributions into a book. The papers presented at that conference showed some interesting parallels with some of those presented a year earlier at a conference at the Institute on *Family Organisation, Inheritance and Property Rights in Transition: comparative historical and anthropological perspectives in Eurasia* organised by Chris Hann and Hannes Grandits. Many papers presented at that conference will shortly appear in an edited volume in the Institute's new series on *Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia* (Grandits and Heady 2003).

In the following pages we will draw on examples presented in these two conferences to argue for a more comprehensive approach that looks at the interactions between different aspects of social integration, and also seeks to draw parallels between social formations in different parts of the world.

Towards a More Integrated Approach

Although many African societies clearly do assign a greater role to kinship than is common in most of Europe, part of the value of both conferences was the opportunity they gave to challenge overdrawn contrasts between the respective places of kinship and friendship in European and African societies. Many papers in the 2001 conference emphasised the importance of kinship relationships in reproducing the social structure of European societies, by passing on both property and social position between different generations of the same family. Indeed, kinship institutions appear to handle the transmission of property between generations in all European societies, since even where, as in Russia or in parts of Sweden or the Alps, much of the property was owned collectively, the right of access to the commons was inherited on kinship (or adopted kinship) lines. This raises the interesting possibility (discussed by Goody 2003) that some role of kinship ties in transmitting property and privilege between generations might well be universal, in effect

constituting a lower limit below which the influence of kinship ties cannot permanently decline.

In the 2002 conference Guichard (2002) argued strongly for the universality of a certain aspect of friendship, namely the experience of mutual commitment arising from a sense of mutual empathy. Friendship in this sense can be combined with relationships including kinship and trading ties (see Galaty, J.G. and P. Bonte 1991). She therefore argued that friendship and kinship should not be regarded as binary opposites – drawing on her own fieldwork among the Fulbe, and on a critical examination of several ethnographic texts which exemplify how anthropologists can undervalue the role of friendship in the relationship between people who are also kin.

Armed with these background findings, we can now start comparing societies, in both Europe and Africa, not in simple terms of whether they are more friendship- or kinship-oriented, but in terms of the different ways in which they organise kinship and friendship ties into overall systems of relationships.

Military Organisation, Age-sets, and Exchange between Generations

Prior to his time at MPI for Social Anthropology, Wolde Tadesse (2002) has worked among the Hor people, a pastoral people of south-western Ethiopia (pop. 3,850). Although age organisation and kinship are two different ways of constituting social ties, Hor age organisation uses kinship ideas and terms in the reproduction of society and culture. In doing so, it largely defines the space within which friendships can be formed. Coevals are classified into age-sets which are thought of as successive generations. At any one time there are named generation sets with varying numbers (due to age of members) which represent great grandfathers, grandfathers, a generation of fathers, and that of sons. There is also an unnamed generation of children and adolescents in line awaiting the retirement of a generation of fathers in order to be initiated and take power.

The different age-sets are mobilised through various means by the generation in power to protect the population, its animal property and its territory and to travel long distances on hunting missions and in order to secure ritual items used during prayers and in initiating major events. Such groups secure trade routes, establish friends in other groups, and jointly form raiding parties to benefit from raiding cattle from a third group to establish wealth and to be able to pay for bride wealth. Wealth acquired through such adventures, however, is channelled through rules established to benefit kinship relations.

A generation takes power after an elaborate initiation ritual and takes control of the economic, political, religious and military affairs of the

group and its dealings with other groups. The use of kinship labels for generations (such as grandfathers, fathers, sons, etc.) coincides with reproductive generations thus blurring the differences in the age and kinship system. At the same time, the relationship between age-sets is viewed as a relation between husbands and wives, attributing specific gender tasks to each position. Thus, among the four successive age-sets *Obbarsha*, *Gidd'ama*, *Marole* and *Wattagna*, the second set, *Gidd'ama*, are said to be the wives of the senior age-set but are husbands to the third age-set. The third age-set, *Marole*, are considered wives of the second age-set but are husbands of the fourth and youngest age-set.

Age-set organisation provides an interesting angle from which to view friendship. The relation between seniors and juniors is a relation of power and is often characterised by tension. This tension becomes evident when junior age-sets commit offences. The whole age-set is held responsible for the offence of one or more of its members. Occasionally a whole set is flogged or is fined for the fault of its members. At times the most junior age-set have to give service to members of the three senior age-sets. For example on occasions requiring the roasting of a bull for communal consumption during a meeting the junior age-sets, symbolic wives of senior age-sets, give service to seniors. Under these stressful conditions it is often difficult to form a relation of friendship but rather a relation of respect, obedience and that of observing rules.

The relation of friendship among members of a single age-set however contrasts very strikingly with the above case. Often members of an age-set are brought up together and build their relations through various bonds. They share joyful moments and bitter ordeals and their destinies are tied together to the end of their lives. They form various types of friendships, which allow them degrees of closeness, mutual security, support and trust. Some friends go to the extent of taking blood revenge upon the death of their friends by outside enemies and this is regarded very highly. Friendship terms such as *bami*, *miso*, *abujal*, in Hor stand for various degrees of friendship and they are established ritually. These are established mainly within age-sets and members of outside groups rather than across age-sets.

In such a system it is hard to say whether an age-set is a unit in a kinship-based structure, or a collectivity united by ties of friendship. It is perhaps more helpful to note how both kinds of tie combine to strengthen the sense of solidarity and shared identity among members of the same age-set – thus making age-sets an ideal form of organisation for waging war. This was one theme of the conference paper presented by Spencer (2002) on set organisation among the Maasai: arguing that Maasai military organisation had been strengthened over the last century and a half by an increasing emphasis on age-set solidarity and a decreasing emphasis on clan ties. An aspect of the central role of Maasai age-sets was that they themselves took on some of the charac-

teristics of kinship groupings – including those of exogamy and alliance. Thus Maasai men are not allowed to marry daughters of men belonging to their own age-set, so that the different age-sets are tied together by marriage alliances. In this system the different age-sets relate to each other as affines, in the same way as lineages are united by affinal ties in Lévi-Strauss's (1969) system.

There are clearly close parallels between the actual affinal ties between Maasai age-sets and the metaphorical affinal ties between Hor age-sets. More surprising, perhaps, is the existence of parallels between east-African age-set organisation and the role of age-sets in much of pre-industrial Europe. European villages did not have named generation sets, but they did organise young unmarried adults into a separate group from both children and married adults. Young men often joined the group of young adults when they reached military ages, and in some parts of Europe people born in the same year, who were supposed to feel particular ties of comradeship, were referred to as each other's 'conscripts' (Freeman 1973, Christian 1989, Kideckel 1993, Ott 1993). Heady (2003), writing about Carnia, a group of valleys in the Italian Alps, analyses a particular instance of this European age-set complex and highlights both its connections with military symbolism, and with the symbolic exchange of women between successive generations of men. Indeed the parallel with African age-set systems goes still further, in that the European societies cited here are ones in which lineage ties are played down in favour of an emphasis on the corporate village community.

The Role of the Quasi-kinship Ideology of Christianity

The age-group celebrations of Carnian young people exist in a kind of complementary tension with another solidary institution which combines the imagery of kinship with other forms of social ties: namely the Christian church. Christians are ideally united by ties of mutual empathy as fellow believers, but they are also members of a symbolic kinship group – brothers and sisters in Christ, and children in relation to the fatherly priests. The implications of this differ – but the differences are not between Europe and Africa, but between different societies within each of the two continents.

In some societies the kinship imagery of the church is amalgamated with that of lineages and clans. In Ethiopia, which was evangelised during the 4th century AD, saint's names replaced indigenous names. Exactly the same identification between lineage and saint is characteristic of Serbian saints' day celebrations (Mitterauer 2003). In both places, the point of Christianity seems to be the fact that it reproduces itself along kinship lines to naturalise itself hence renaming territories and sanctifying places and locations and beatifying individuals which under

normal practices (or in non-religious contexts) would have become senior kinsmen or clan leaders.

On the other hand, the metaphor of the Christian family can be used to replace real kinship ties with other non-kinship forms of relationship. Ogembo (2002) showed how this was happening among the Gusii, amongst whom church influence has combined with the spread of capitalism to undermine lineage ties and replace them with a growing emphasis on friendship ties. The contemporary role of Christianity amongst the Gusii has much in common with the earlier role of the church in Europe, as described by Mitterauer (2003). Although recognising that the church sometimes compromised with lineage organisation, Mitterauer argues that its role in medieval Europe was more typically to provide ideological cover for the replacement of lineage ties with commercial organisation in the towns and feudal organisation in the countryside. By providing a way of living these new relationships as a kind of quasi-kinship, it facilitated the move from kinship to non-kinship forms of social organisation.

Theoretical Implications

These two examples – of age-set systems, and the diverse implications of the ideology of Christian quasi-kinship – illustrate how difficult it can be to separate discussions of friendship and kinship into neatly separate boxes. They also show how a thorough treatment of the relationships that we loosely classify under the headings of friendship and kinship quickly leads on to discussions about property, trade, political organisation and religion. Though two examples are not themselves enough to establish a generalisation, these general points could have been illustrated from almost any of the papers presented at the two conferences we mentioned above.

Why are the implications of friendship and kinship so far reaching? At the risk of simplifying a very complex and diverse reality, it may be useful to highlight two rather broad points involving, first, the relation between macro- and micro-level social structures and, secondly, the limitations of rational self-interest as an explanatory theory of social relationships. The first point is that friendship and kinship links are formed within existing social and ideological structures, but at the same time they are among the most important elements from which those structures are built. For that reason both are subject to attempts at control from public opinion and from those in authority.

The second point takes us back to the discussions we summarised at the start of this essay. In general friendship and kinship ties frequently involve an element of pragmatic self-interest (for a discussion of this point in relation to kinship see Schweitzer 2000), but they also involve cognitive and affective dimensions that go beyond self-interest. On the

other hand practical affairs, whether of business, politics or war, frequently require an element of trust and commitment which it would be hard to generate through calculating self-interest alone. The necessary commitment is often sought by drawing on, or mimicking, the ties involved in kinship and friendship.

The nature of the relationship between rational calculation and the less rational, more emotive, aspects of social life is a question that has repeatedly surfaced in the social sciences. It was central to the work of both Durkheim (1964[1894]) and Weber (2002), and it has been reincarnated recently in the debates about the economic theory of family life (Becker 1998), the game theoretic analysis of co-operation (Henrich et al. 2001), and Putnam's (1994) version of social capital theory. Of course, issues as big as these are never going to be resolved within a single work programme, but they do provide a useful link between our own work and that of other social scientists (including those in some other Max Planck Institutes). At the same time, as this essay has sought to show, they are topics to which comparative anthropological research can make a unique contribution.

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Towards an Anthropology of Governance

Julia Eckert, Andreas Dafinger and Andrea Behrends

Most studies carried out at the MPI for Social Anthropology deal with situations in which states are undergoing major transformations. New regimes of governance emerge as results of globally induced structural reforms, privatisation, and transnational economic or legal integration. These processes affect local relations in a broad range of settings. The comparative study of different cases requires a shared definition and a joint understanding of regimes of governance, regardless of the respective foci, such as legal studies, the analysis of integration and conflict or changing property relations. Existing approaches to the study of governance are either normative teleological projects or analytically centred in European (or Western) settings of governance that do not allow for the adaptation to different historical and regional situations. We therefore want to assess these existing approaches and propose a definition and understanding of governance that is suitable for an anthropological analysis of processes of regulation, ordering and distribution.

Governance as an Analytical Tool

For an approach that can be made useful for anthropological research we define governance as the administration of access to and provision of rights, services and goods. This also entails the definition of categories of inclusion and entitlements that are explicit or implicit in governmental practices. The concept of governance focuses attention on processes of ordering and the capacities of steering and allocation in which various organisations have a claim. Increasingly, new loci of governance share in the administration of everyday life, in the organisation of access to and provision of services and goods; they all directly or indirectly involve themselves also in the definition of rights and entitlements.

We would thus like to use the concept of governance to assess these different processes of 'de-centralisation' and 'privatisation', and the various practices of exerting governmental power under one analytical tool. This concept of governance leaves behind conventional distinctions between state, civil society and the economy, between public and private, and does not privilege one organisation or institution, like the state, as the 'natural' or 'right' centre of governance. It is important to relocate the analysis of governance from 'the state' or 'government' into a field shaped by various actors that produce specific governmental regimes through their interaction.

The concept of governance is therefore suitable to describe situations in which ordering is neither restricted to the state, nor located in its 'other', that is in traditional or local/indigenous institutions. The con-

cept of governance transcends the opposition of traditional/local vs. state institutions that presupposes the self-evident location of control and authority either in the state or in 'tradition'. Moreover, the relations between state and non-state agencies in governmental regimes are not necessarily oppositional and competitive; they may be cooperative, hierarchical or simply parallel. The autonomy of the individual agencies within such constellations can differ; the state is not necessarily the one that regulates the relations among the others. The state and its various agencies, however, are often deeply involved in the production of specific governmental regimes, and thus defining their own boundaries and limits. With a refined concept of governance we analyse the field of interactions that shape regimes of governance and the effect they have for different sections of society in terms of access and distribution, inclusion and exclusion.

The process of political and social integration of refugees in the Chadian-Sudanese borderland, examined by Andrea Behrends, for example, demands an approach that can account for the plurality of actors and institutions involved in governmental activities. These are local state institutions like the prefecture or police brigades, the military, but also rebel groups, representatives of various ethnic groups – present in the region or in exile – and international organisations and NGOs. Each of these organisations relates to different but specific sections of the local population based on their understanding of 'target groups': these might be one specific ethnic group, all people officially classified as 'refugees', or all 'nationals'. Each of these groups also has different means of access to resources and they may compete over them. The concept of governance here opens up the perspective for the question of how the relation between the various governmental bodies also shapes the relations between different social groups.

In the Indian 'mega-city' of Mumbai (Bombay), matters of adjudication, law and order, crime and security are administered not only by state institutions such as the courts or the police but also by welfare-oriented NGOs, the heads of local branches of political parties, 'community leaders' with effective alliances in the governmental apparatus, and leaders of organised crime groups. The operative legal order in the city is more often than not determined by the interaction of these various institutions: they define legal institutions in their practices and through the frames of interpretation they offer for claims to rights and entitlements; they act on the specific interpretation and enforcement of a legal framework; they set rules and enforce sanctions. Julia Eckert looks at the emerging configuration of these organisations and traces the processes of how they were shaped by the (democratic) competition amongst political contenders. She examines how they affect the organisation of the state and ideas of citizenship, and how they delimit security and belonging differently for different section of society.

In the study of recent developments of farmer-herder relations in Burkina Faso, Andreas Dafinger describes how administration and governmental organisations generate new political and economic resources in rural Western Africa. One focus of research is how these institutions change and interfere with locally established forms of resource competition and distribution. New resources, such as wells, health centres or schools tend to bring their own mechanisms of distribution, access rules and mediation authorities, and transform the local social and political landscape. The state and transnational organisations are relatively new actors in the local arenas and locally established conflict resolution mechanisms do not always appear to be fully capable of integrating new forms of resource access and distribution control. A main target of the study is to explore how individual actors and groups manoeuvre between existing normative backgrounds and newly established forms of social control.

While these case studies range widely in their specific thematic focus, their regional setting and historic situation, they all ask the same questions about the role of the state as an actor *in* and as background *for* newly unfolding processes. The heterogeneity of actors involved in these changes (governments, administration, NGOs, local elites, international organisations etc.), the different scales (local, regional, or global etc.) and qualities of governance (material and discursive) require an integrative governance concept. The studies address how various governmental regimes affect different sections of (local or national) society differently, either by materially changing channels of distribution or by introducing new categories of entitlements and rights. They examine the processes by which relations among various institutions of governance are shaped and use an analytical concept of governance to look at steering capacities beyond the state and government and at how these capacities are constituted.¹

Approaches to the Study of Governance

a) Good Governance

Governance as a concept has recently mainly been used to define certain standards of 'good governance'. 'Good governance' as a concept and tool of policy advocates specific governmental regimes, that is, specific divisions of labour between state, local community, transnational or international and private (market) organisations as most beneficial for the efficient management of national welfare. It claims to be about the rational management of public affairs. Policies that are connected to

¹ The authors organised a panel at the 2002 EASA biannual conference to enlarge the scope of analysis and discuss various approaches to the study of governance in a comparative perspective.

incentives and sanctions of monetary or market access, aim to reconfigure constellations of the organisations involved in governance. Conditionality connected to aid programmes transfer power to (sometimes newly and specifically created) non-state or international bodies, and involve them directly in governmental decisions on resource allocation.

This is the case in Chad, which, after having become an oil exporting country, was given a credit by the World Bank for financing the construction of a national pipeline. This credit was made conditional on democratisation and the monitoring by independent NGOs of moneys gained from oil returns. When the first returns were used by President Déby to buy weapons for the ongoing civil war, the World Bank installed an independent commission to watch over the organisation of the entire project and report suggestions for its improvement and organisation to the World Bank, the consortium of oil companies involved in the building of the pipeline and the government of Chad. It remains to be seen whether this new body of governance will have the desired impact in a country, whose regime still wants to support militia or ethnic groups on the one hand while at the same time maintaining the image of being internationally cooperative and following the dictates of 'good governance'.

Good governance policies also operate on a more subtle level of incentive structures in privileging specific forms of social organisation over others, which are less compatible with administrative structures of the state and other organisations.

In the Burkina Faso case, local communities were encouraged to become officially recognised and act as counterparts for the national and transnational organisations in the course of decentralisation and administrative reform. The aim was to incorporate local forms of leadership and social groups into the national administrative and political sector and achieve an even vertical distribution of economic and political resources. The official parameters defining such administrative communities stress the territorial dimension (i.e. communities that can be spatially delimited) in favour of those communities that already had a strong land-focused, territorial identity (namely farmers) and to the disadvantage of trans-spatially organised groups (i.e. pastoralists). Here, too, the mentioned reforms, despite being generally successful, also entailed a number of unintended side effects, resulting from the specific constellation that existed between some of the local actors. They introduced categories of social and political organisation that, because of their connection to resources (aid), affected actual practices of organisation and representation.

Whether 'successful' or not, developmental policies and development-related policy requirements ('conditionalities'), as well as the administrative organisation connected with specific economic models favoured, for example, by international organisations, will most probably affect

the relations between different state and non-state governmental organisations. An analysis focussing on governmental regimes can thus address the question how these are particularly structured by policies and discourses of 'good governance'. The analysis of 'good governance' policies will help understand processes of the reification and realisation of policy concepts and categories in social action. They will shed light on the effect of such policies on governmental regimes of distribution and access, and the economic and institutional power behind the normative concepts embedded within them. The categories that become operative in the implementation of such policies are particularly relevant with respect to changing definitions of entitlement and inclusion. Our research shows that the reification and realisation of collective categories of community, nation etc. impact on modes of social organisation and the organisation of governance.²

b) Governmentality

For the critique of such normative concepts of good governance as well as neo-liberal economics and its effects on governance, Foucault's concept of governmentality has provided a framework for ethnographic investigation. In looking at issues of globalisation, governmentality and citizenship, scholars have explored the production of subjectivities in competing orders of "political reason with a notion of government, which addresses the domain of the political, not as a domain of State or a set of institutions and actors but in terms of the varieties of political reason" (Rose 1996: 41ff).³ In defining governmentality as a complex form of power that is constituted by institutions, procedures, analyses and strategies of knowledge and apparatuses of security, Foucault (1991: 102) focuses on social technologies that regulate population and produce subjectivities. Doubt exists, however, as to how far Foucault's European-based historical deductions can be applied to regimes outside this context. In a broad interpretation, all forms of social organisation and social control, and most forms of rule rely to some degree on 'the conduct of conduct' rather than direct coercion. In this sense, governmentality would be coterminous with social control, a rather unsatisfactory breadth of the concept; in a more narrow interpretation of the governmentalisation of the state (connected to concepts such as population, welfare etc.) it remains questionable whether in our cases the social technologies have the same pervasive depth as in western welfare states. Moreover, we feel that analysing the genealogies of governmen-

² These questions are also a central topic in the research of A. Halemba and B. Donahoe working on different regions of Siberia (see report of the Siberian Studies Centre).

³ On this line of research compare, for example Burchell, Gordon and Miller (1991), Rose (1993), Barry, Osborne and Rose (1996), and Wickham and Pavlich (2001).

tal reason, or dissecting the anatomy of governmental technologies does not account for the actual processes within which they become effective. An anthropological approach would seek to complement such 'histories of the present' with a perspective that also analyses the ways and processes by which these social technologies and 'knowledges' are put to use, the transformations they undergo in practice, their failures and the contradictions arising out of the contingent interactions of various strategies and agendas. Existing studies of governmentality give little attention to conflicting interests and practices even within one governmental organisation, the effects of their incoherence and thus the specific configuration of practices that come to play in a specific field at a specific time. Our research shows that governmental regimes are shaped by the unintended consequences of these. Nonetheless, we consider the exploration of the production of governmentalities an important subject, not only in approaching western types of governance regimes but also with regard to transnational developmental policies and the categories of social organisation, efficiency and order that they operate with and that they introduce into different contexts through their practices.

c) A Processual and Practice Approach

We therefore share the emphasis of several anthropological studies for a combination of structural and choice-based approaches. Our research underlines the importance to address clearly particular strategies and the actors behind changes in governance regimes without identifying certain regime outcomes with particular interests but rather with the aggregation and the unintended effects of their interaction. This focus on the actors and the aggregation of their strategies appears as a major advantage of the anthropological approach that allows us to relate observable micro-political interactions and dynamics to processes observable on a larger scale of social organisation. Therefore, we focus on actors, their relations and how these have evolved historically, and the intended and unintended outcomes of their interactions.

The study of how strategies of agents are shaped and redefined in local discourses contributes to the understanding to specific local settings. At the same time, since strategies that are considered successful may be employed in other cases, the remodelling of organisations' policies can be interpreted not only as the result of centralised decision-making processes, but also as the outcome of specific local constellations.

This idea of governance as shaped in its specific form by the interaction of various organisations and groups, by their various interests and their power relations, but also by the unintended outcomes of their interaction implies that governmental regimes are most likely always subject to change precisely because they are produced in the interaction of various actors. We thus advocate a processual and practice approach that also considers apparent stability of specific governmental regimes

as a process produced actively by those involved. The governance concept therefore also opens up a perspective that moves beyond assumptions that consider power to be imbued and situated in specific positions, which still prevail in much thought on governmental issues. Rather, we consider it necessary to trace the production of certain power relations, the processes of their persistence and possibly their specific forms of transformation.

The Role of the State

Such an approach does not make any presumptions about the specific role of the state or various state agencies in such governmental regimes. A preliminary classification allows to differentiate three patterns that see either a (partial) retreat (or 'departure') of the state; an arrival of state institutions and regulation; or the state as a persistent but 'internally' changing actor. Each of these major categories may be further differentiated, although on the empirical level boundaries between the ideal-types will be blurred. The effected shifts in the role of the state will differ depending on the context in which they occur and might mean even the simultaneous or incorporated forms of these processes, i.e. the simultaneous withdrawal and increased relevance of the state: We seem to find evidence in our material for paradoxical processes regarding the role and relative significance of the state, that is, of the state increasing its role by devolving tasks to non-state actors.

These processes have normatively been valued differently by different theoretical and political approaches: Processes of 'privatisation' have been seen either as a *sign of* or a *solution to* state crisis; which specific processes of privatisation or *de-etatisation*, of retreat, arrival or structural changes of the state contribute to 'better management', and which lead to disintegration have not always been evaluated unanimously.

a) Retreating States

The processes of the formal or informal devolution of governmental competences of the state to alternative organisations can take at least three principal forms:

a) the devolution of state productive and distributive tasks to private organisations like charitable organisations or commercial enterprises – that possibly devolve informally also regulation as much as it is inherent in distribution and production;

b) the formal decentralisation and devolution of regulatory tasks in specific fields, such as personal status regulations or the devolution of regulation for and jurisdiction over the internal affairs of corporations, development projects and international NGOs;

c) the independent establishment, or persistence of parallel centres of governmental authority that wield control over specific territories, spe-

cific groups of people or specific economic spheres. They do not stand in a subsidiary or complementary relationship to the state but rather in a parallel and autonomous one.

We have observed that many of these processes affect certain configurations of governmental regimes simultaneously, and mutually affect each other. Internationally driven and financed policies to relocate certain governmental tasks (like education, health care or adjudication) out of state institutions often lead to their appropriation by 'private' or 'community' organisations that were not target of the initial policies, but which are strengthened in their significance in other fields of governmental activity as well.

Frequently such autonomy and the associated ruptures of the integrity of the ideal-type modern state, and thus signs of its failure, have been associated with the establishment of sub-state local fiefdoms of (neo-)traditional authorities, 'big men', warlords, etc. (Trotha 2000; Humphrey 1999; Schlichte/Wilke 2000). Many countries, but most dramatically those in postsocialist contexts, have seen state monopolies fall, to be taken over by semi-state and non-state organisations, which fill the vacuum a retreating state leaves behind. Such processes can be but are not necessarily intended by the governments involved. As Caroline Leutloff's analysis of the reallocation of housing in Croatia (see report of Department II) illustrates, there may be fierce competition over the control of governance within the governments and its organisations. But infringements on state sovereignty have also been associated with the autonomy of transnational corporations and their regulatory autonomy and recently also with the 'project law', established by international development organisations (Benda-Beckmann 2001; Risse et al. 2000).

The state's presence or absence, withdrawal or arrival, might also affect different sections of society differently, and might actually mean less access to state provisions for some groups and at the same time more access, or more control by state agencies, to others. The Chad research project showed how one party in the recent armed conflict had good access to state institutions on both sides of the Chadian/Sudanese border. This access served them in questions of land use or ownership of land and other legal or economical claims. The other party to the conflict had less access to and less trust in agencies of the respective states and thus came to rely on services provided by non-state organisations such as international agencies and NGOs, which had previously been given the right to operate in the region by the central state, but soon developed their own legal and institutional structures on the ground.

b) Arriving States

Processes of decentralisation and the engagement of new agents of governance, however, do not necessarily minimise the influence of the state. The arrival of non-government or semi-government organisations may also lead to the implementation of administrative norms and state regulation in fields, where the state and its own institutions had only limited impact before. Such organisations do not only act within the legal and political framework of the state, they often also actively propagate national rules and regulations. By providing new and competing resources, such organisations raise the incentive for local collective and individual actors to adapt to national administrative, legal and political conditions.

Andreas Dafinger's study in rural Burkina Faso shows how land rights and administrative reform have become relevant on the local level only after donor organisations had started to set up a new infrastructure and to act as counterpart for local communities. The state was previously virtually non-existent as far as local land rights were concerned. Local communities and local political authorities tended to exist parallel to the state. The fact that the state was the ultimate landowner was not considered relevant by (and in fact remained unknown to) the vast majority of the population. Access to land was controlled exclusively by local elite groups. By giving up its exclusive claim and allocating limited property rights to these local groups in the course of privatisation programmes, the state created incentives for local groups to adapt to the administrative framework and be registered as administrative units within the territorial state. Donor organisations further supported this process by focusing on such nationally recognised communities in providing new economic and political resources, such as wells or health and education institutions.

To focus on the 'arriving state', i.e. the vertical expansion of the state through third party agents, more adequately describes the range of possible changes in the role of states in governance regimes.

c) Structural Changes in Persisting State Organisation

The emergence of new agents of governance may see yet a third pattern, the persistence if not increase of the state's importance through controlling processes of devolvement. While specific tasks that the state used to handle are being outsourced, the state and its institutions maintain control and regulate access to these fields of governance formally or informally. Such control may however be exercised not by the government or the state as an integrated organisational complex, but by specific state agencies.

We advocate to part from the concept of the state as an integrated entity and to examine various state agencies and their individual strategies and roles among the actors that shape governance regimes. The

paradoxical processes of simultaneous withdrawal and increase of state presence should also be examined by analysing the emerging institutional compositions of statehood. What is of interest, and becomes accessible through our concept of governance is the question of what role which particular state agencies play, how they interact with specific para-state and non-state institutions and how this shapes a specific configuration of statehood. In India, we can observe an increasing role of the police in administering the governmental field; the police sanctions positively or negatively governmental activities of non-state actors. They also have a significant role in organising access to other state and non-state governmental agencies. They thereby become the gatekeepers for the provision of various services and the adjudicator of rights and entitlements for large sections of the urban Indian population.

This points towards a general trajectory of Indian state organisation that sees a devaluation of the distributive and productive role of the state and the agencies concerned with the latter, and an increased importance (also in terms of budgetary allocations) of state agencies of control and security. This, however, affects different sections of society differently: for the large rural population there might actually be a withdrawal of the state, as they were largely governed by the development agencies of the state that are now slowly being reduced – and are possibly replaced by private NGOs, the state denouncing all (capacities for) responsibility (Randeria 2002). For those sections of society that relied less on state provisions, state accountability and access to state guaranteed rights is partially increasing. However, particularly the Muslim population of India, but in a less explicit way also other minorities, are systematically being cut off from access to legal security and civil rights through the discourse of national security. They are faced by a situation in which they are subject to more control by but less access to the state. The domestic adoption of recent international discourses on security (i.e. the ‘war on terror’) have changed notions of the nation and shifted the idea of and expectations towards the state.

Histories of such state configurations will also provide a denser picture of state organisation than dichotomies like that of the weak vs. the strong state. Only then can we make conclusions about the influence of different state models or state conditions on local modes of governance and the relations between governmental regimes and specific organisations of the state system.

Conclusion

The concept of governance provides us with an analytical tool to examine the changing character of states and the increasing impact of national and transnational organisations that have become a major issue in social anthropological research. Existing approaches are only partially able to explain and describe the heterogeneity of governmental regimes and their effect on social life. A concept of governance that can be of use for comparative anthropological research focuses on various loci of capacities of steering and ordering, and on the processes that constitute such capacities. It examines the relations between and interactions of different organisations that co-operate in, compete over, or operate autonomously in the administration of allocation and distribution of rights and resources. It traces the impact of governmental categories on social organisation. The strength of a social anthropological approach to governance is that it allows to relate a micro-level study with an analysis of transnationally produced policies and to describe specific governmental regimes as the result of both intended and unintended consequences of the interactions of different actors within local, national or global political arenas.

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Pathways of Migrant Incorporation in Germany

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In this report we examine five different pathways by which migrants with whom we have worked are incorporating themselves within Germany. Our approach to incorporation brings into the literature on migration the insight that social integration can take place within a process of social and cultural differentiation, a point that has been developed in work on ethnic identity in Africa and in US studies of multiculturalism and cultural citizenship (Schlee and Horstmann 2001; Flores and Benmayor 2000). However, rather than focusing on cultural and identity processes, we begin with an interest in the context of social relations out of which cultural similarities and differences are defined.

To differentiate our definition from the dominant discourse about migrant integration, in this essay we will speak of *pathways of incorporation*. In examining these pathways of incorporation, we note that migrants often live their lives in more than one nation-state at the same time. They are simultaneously here and there, a part of new land and other land or lands. We call this living with and across borders and making daily life decisions with a network of people that includes both local and transnational actors, 'simultaneity'. Incorporation in Germany may be part of a pattern of simultaneity. In four of the five pathways we describe, migrants become connected through social linkages and various forms of identity to Germany that at the same time connect them to organisations, communication systems or identities that extend transnationally (Glick Schiller, forthcoming).

All five pathways challenge ways in which migrant integration is commonly conceptualised within German discourse and public policy about *Ausländer*. Our approach takes exception with three premises that underlie the dominant discourse in Germany on the integration of foreigners. First of all, dominant discourses about migration stress that it is only through a form of cultural change that foreigners can become a part of Germany. They focus on the cultural practices of foreigners

¹ The ethnography in this paper comes from the following projects and funding: Boris Nieswand, doctoral student Department I, MPI for Social Anthropology; Nina Glick Schiller, Evangelos Karagiannis, Ayse Çağlar, 2001-2003 funded by the MacArthur Foundation, Sidore Fellowship Program, Humanities Center University of New Hampshire, Vice Presidents' Research Fund, University of New Hampshire; Günther Schlee, MPI for Social Anthropology, Ayse Çağlar, Transnational Communities Project, Oxford University; Tsylyma Darieva, Heinrich Boell Foundation, Free University of Berlin and Humboldt University 1997-2001; Lale Yalçın-Heckmann, research project funded by Volkswagen Foundation, carried out with G. Straßburger and H. Unbehaun at the University of Bamberg 1994-1996; László Fosztó, doctoral student Department II, MPI for Social Anthropology.

within Germany, disregarding transnational connections or viewing them as an impediment to integration. From our point of view, incorporation into German society is not necessarily accompanied by cultural assimilation. The connection between cultural competencies and incorporation into social systems is empirically more complex than popular conceptualisations of integration may suggest. Secondly, incorporation in one society is neither empirically nor theoretically exclusive. Data from studies of migration indicate that incorporation into more than one nation-state at a time is a frequent phenomenon that must be addressed by theorists of migration. Thirdly, there is little evidence that simultaneous incorporation in more than one nation-state is a liminal state that will be overcome after successful integration. Rather there may be a direct connection between incorporation in a new state and maintaining cross-border incorporation.

Migration is part of the broader process of global integration that the world has experienced at an accelerated pace over the last decades. The increased mobility of human beings, information, money and consumer goods has changed, on the one hand, the way many people perceive their position in the world and, on the other hand, the social structures into which people are embedded. Especially in societies with a high proportion of migrants, personal networks have emerged that connect people in many different places in the world. These “transnational social fields”, understood as an “unbounded terrain of interlocking ego-centric networks” (Glick Schiller and Fouron 1999:344), produce new spaces of action and identification. These fields allow for and often facilitate certain types of incorporation within the new land of settlement. The fact that there are five pathways identified from our research highlights the weakness of past migration studies that tend to cast all patterns of migration settlement into the same mode arguing for a single model of migrant integration.

The five pathways we identify through our research can be called (1) Christian modernists, (2) local public foreigners, (3) familial networks, (4) vernacular cosmopolitanisms and (5) regional cosmopolitanism. In describing these five modes of incorporation, we draw from Boris Nieswand’s ethnography of Ghanaians in Berlin, Nina Glick Schiller and Evangelos Karagiannis’ ethnography of Nigerians and Congolese in Halle/Saale, Günther and Isir Schlee’s data on Somali in Germany, Holland and England, and studies of German Turkish media in Berlin by Ayşe Çağlar and of Russian media in Berlin by Tsypylma Darieva. Lale Yalçın-Heckmann contributes comparative points drawn from her research on Muslim labour migrants’ families and associations in Germany and France. We are not claiming that each migrant group participates in only one of these pathways, although we will discuss Christian modernism among Ghanaians and Nigerians, regional cosmopolitanism among the Ghanaians, public foreignness among Congolese, familial

incorporation among Somalis, and media incorporation among Turks and Russians. In all cases, organisations that an observer might initially understand as defensive, closed, ethnic or communal, prove upon ethnographic observation to develop activities, identities and social relationships that integrate participants both into German society and globally. Even if these observations are not applicable for all migrants across time and space, the migrants in these case studies have broader identities, visions, and connections than many, if not most, of their German neighbours.

1. Christian Modernists

Some African migrants, who practice a form of born-again modernist Christianity², create organisations that make them part of Germany and that articulate a form of identity that links them not only to Germans, but also to the world beyond German borders. This stream of Christianity originated in the USA and spread during the 1980s and 1990s in many parts of the world. The movement is connected in West Africa to three social developments that converged at this time: a strong feeling of insecurity and loss that was connected to the decline of the local economy, an ongoing liberalisation of the local markets, which led to an increased visibility of consumer goods, at least in the large cities, and the experience of mass emigration. In this context a form of Christianity arose in which believers assert that success, prosperity, and the commodities of consumer capitalism are rewards of their personal relationship to the Holy Spirit (Marshall 1993). Together with other Pentecostal denominations, they stress the literal interpretation of the Bible, believing in the charismata (gifts of the Holy Spirit), and emphasising signs and wonders. However, born-again modernists use a symbolic code that connects the promise of signs and wonders to a 'global modernity' and its material rewards. For West African migrants to Germany, modernity in the form of life in Germany is religiously purged from its ambivalences.

Migrants settling in Germany who organise or join these churches participate in organisations that they see as part of a broader movement to bring real Christianity to Germany and to the world. The churches founded by the migrants are not, in their view, African churches but true Christian churches. A global social field of Christian Modernism has emerged in the last decades, which includes the transnational networks of the pastors and some of the congregants. The frequent use of media such as videotapes, books and audio tapes provides for many charismatic Christians all over the world access to a broader discursive

² The form of Christianity to which we refer stresses the living presence of Jesus as evidenced by present day miracles and the necessity of combating demonic forces.

universe, which appears universalistic and global. At the same time, organisational networks in Germany link churches made up primarily of Germans, churches made up primarily of migrants, and Christian modernists in other locations in Europe and beyond. Our ethnographic data provide us with two examples of the Christian modernist form of incorporation, the charismatic churches founded by Ghanaian migrants in Berlin and a similar church founded primarily by Nigerians in Halle/Saale.

Boris Nieswand's research among Ghanaian migrants in Berlin has shown that charismatic churches seem to be the most successful migrant organisations in terms of quantitative mobilisation and in terms of the degree of organisational structure. The churches are also incorporated in German organisational structures. At least four pastors in Berlin are approved by the largest German umbrella organisation of Pentecostal churches in Germany (*Bundesverband freikirchlicher Pfingstgemeinden*). This gives them a particular kind of authority in dealing with German officials in Berlin. In interviews the pastors stated that it was particularly important for them to become integrated in Germany and be formally recognised as 'real Christians' by German pastors. Furthermore most of the African-initiated churches in Berlin are part of an ecumenical organisation initiated by the German Evangelical Protestant Church. Two of the Ghanaian-initiated churches were offsprings of a church that is predominantly German and they still have a close relationship with it. These churches never identify themselves as Ghanaian or German but rather as international, an identity they emphasise by speaking of the fact that their members come from many nations, even though most are in fact Ghanaian. Some of these members are German women.

Members have a belief system as well as transnational organisational connections that make them global actors. During the field research in Berlin, Nieswand attended a religious conference of one of the Ghanaian-founded churches in Berlin. At this conference five pastors were present; a Ghanaian, who has lived for more than ten years in Germany, a US-American with half Nigerian and half Austrian family background, a German, who had lived for several years in Great Britain, a British woman with a Chinese family background, who is married to the German pastor, and her brother. This event made the global scale of the church visible to all members of the parish. One week after this conference a young Namibian woman testified publicly that the conference had strengthened her faith. She also announced the reward that was the evidence of God's presence in her life: she had just received a scholarship from a college in the United States. This incident was celebrated as a success of the whole church. The discursive and the structural integration into a global framework became evident in this incident. It symbolised the role of divine power in a globalising world.

In their ethnographic research with English speaking migrants in Halle/Saale, most of whom come from Nigeria, Glick Schiller and Karagiannis also have located a Christian modernist Church that in several important respects resembles the Ghanaian-initiated churches of Berlin studied by Nieswand. The leadership of the church and the pastor, all of whom are Nigerian with the exception of one German woman, publicly identify the church not as Nigerian, African or German. Instead members see themselves as representing true Christians whose mission is to bring Christianity to Halle. Unlike the Berlin Ghanaian-initiated churches, this church in Halle keeps itself apart from German churches in Halle. However, it is hardly an isolated ethnic enclave. The pastor meets frequently with German pastors in Leipzig, which is the city of origin of his German wife and where he lives, and he has attended Pentecostal conferences there and in Berlin. The church has been formally registered in Germany, as is legally necessary, for more than five years. However, recently the church began working with a white German Pentecostal church in Magdeburg to become a formal member of a German Pentecostal organisation. The pastor and the members of the church committee, which leads the church, desire this level of official recognition, even though it means changing some of their internal organisational procedures.

However, as in the example from Berlin, this primarily Nigerian church is connected not only within Germany but also transnationally. Among its visiting preachers was an Indian pastor who is part of a global Pentecostal network of pastors, who currently resides in Kaiserslautern, Germany. This Indian pastor has visited more than once and has convinced the church to support his missionary work in India by sending funds on a regular basis. Through another global Christian ministry, this one located in the United States, the church sends funds to Christianise Israel. To encourage his congregants to contribute money for local and global church work the pastor cites a Nigerian pastor who has developed a congregation of thousands in the Ukraine.³ Several members of the church attended a pan-European Pentecostal conference in Berlin in June 2003 that was called to establish a European-wide organisation of Pentecostal Churches.

In a narrative similar to the one provided by the Namibian member of the Ghanaian-initiated church, one of the core members of the Halle church returned from the Berlin conference saying that the presence of people from all over the world at the conference was for her evidence of the power of God and the rightness of her beliefs. This question of evidence can be said to reflect part of the ideology of Christianity as a reflection as true modernism. The modern world is one of scientific evi-

³ A Nigerian pastor in Manchester New Hampshire often cites the same example for the same purpose.

dence. Believers maintain that God's presence in the world today is proved by his constant miracles. Because believers trust in scientific evidence, the church emphasises on healing. The purpose of God performing this healing is not just to respond to individual faith but to provide testimony to Halle and to the world of the power of God.

Churches like these challenge the assumptions of those migration studies that portray migrants' religions as defensive, restrictive and closed ideologies that stabilise the migrants against the background of their traumatic experiences of migration. Christian modernism is a transnational social field that, through modernistic discourse and global organisations, enables migrants to experience themselves as part of a larger project of 'divine modernisation', which is spreading throughout the world. Within this framework, the ambiguities and paradoxes of migration are made invisible. The churches emphasise integration and optimism, aiming at overcoming the hardships of migration rather than reflecting the traumatic aspects of migration. For some members of the churches in Berlin, incorporation takes the form of a range of professions from medicine to shop-keeping. Others are students or labourers, or they are unemployed. In contrast few congregants in Halle are employed and many are still asylum seekers. Their acquisition of permanent residency in Germany is often obtained through marriages to Germans. They seek divine assistance in their efforts to obtain legal residence by being granted asylum or finding a German spouse. People often pray for 'passports'. The persistence of unemployment after obtaining legal status or of other barriers to legal status are attributed to the work of the devil and demons. These forces are dealt with by prayer and pastoral intervention that provides believers with access to divine deliverance from evil forces and subsequent redemption and prosperity. In both Berlin and Halle, believers are sustained by the promise of prosperity that follows from the holiness of Christian belief. This system of belief as well as the churches' structures serve to incorporate the migrants into their new locality and social position in Germany.

The identification of Christian modernism as a pathway of incorporation cannot be facily extended to all types and degrees of religious organisations in Germany that claim some form of global narrative of belonging and entitlement. Yalçin-Heckmann's work shows that Muslim organisations are subject to much closer public scrutiny and at times even state surveillance by authorities because of their transnational links. Even the state-supported Turkish mosque organisation DITIB (*Diyanet İşleri Türk İslam Birliği*) is not immune from public and state surveillance in Germany. The openness to incorporating Christian churches introduced by Africans into the German society and the African migrants' quest for being accepted as 'real Christians' (and not necessarily and primarily as migrants from Africa) must be seen within the

wider context of the established social, political and economic relationships between church and state in Germany.

Muslim organisations in Germany are under close scrutiny, not only by the general public and their German neighbours but also by the German administration and bureaucracy. Consequently, they are particularly sensitive to this public attention and concerned about self-presentation. The pressure in part leads them to becoming 'Protestant' in the sense of adopting the organisational structures of churches in Germany; it also leads them to distance themselves from and portray as 'the other' rival Muslim organisations.⁴ It may be that despite their dramatic differences in practice, Christian modernist churches formed by African migrants can still be encompassed as familiar and manageable because they are Christian. Islamic organisations can more readily be portrayed as alternative and secret because Islam has historically been defined as different and not included in modernity or in Europe.

2. Public Foreigners

A second pathway of incorporation into Germany is built around the development of a persona of cultural difference. Persons who follow this pathway participate in a series of public events organised to portray foreigners as simultaneously culturally different from Germans and yet welcome participants in a particular locality. Through performing their difference, the persons who adopt this pathway find themselves integrated into Germany but as foreigners. All ideologies of multiculturalism contain this tension. Belonging and integration come through recourse to differentiation. While ideologies of multiculturalism refer to groups, it is individuals as they become public actors in various ceremonies, rituals, and public programmes who most clearly experience this form of incorporation.

Only a few studies in Germany have succeeded in conceptually disentangling incorporation from assimilation and provided ethnographic documentation of a pathway of public foreignness in which cultural difference becomes an aspect of incorporation. Among them are Yalçın-Heckmann's research on migrants' associations in Bamberg in southern Germany and Colmar in France. These migrant associations have changed in ways that reflect the processual transformation of migrant society's structure and demography (such as higher differentiation in occupational structure and increased access to better educational facilities). By functioning within German associational structures and imitating their activities, e.g., having *Tag der offenen Tür* (Open House), Turkish

⁴ Thus the Alevis portray themselves and have come to be accepted as the representative of 'modern Islam' in comparison to the more conservative Sunni Islamic organisations such as the *Milli Görüş* (see Kehl-Bodrogi 2001). Alevis are certainly more easily incorporated into German society than their Sunni fellow migrants.

labour migrants' associations have moved in the direction of becoming local public foreigners' associations. This is especially visible in the organisation of religious associations, of Sunni mosques and of Alevi communal houses (*cem evi*). The contents of their activities too have changed from being Turkey-oriented to being oriented toward German society, as a way of being 'publicly Turkish' in Germany.

At the same time, their incorporation into Germany has not terminated but rather reoriented their transnational ties and changed the direction of these ties. Although the religious factions among the Sunni and Alevi associations are operating in transnational fields and in relationship to the ideological positions of groups and politics in Turkey, their transnational ties have become increasingly European within the last fifteen years.

Glick Schiller and Karagiannis' ethnography in Halle provides another example of pathways of incorporation as public foreigners in a form that does not preclude transnational incorporation either into other countries in Europe or to a homeland.⁵ Here we draw from the ethnography of Congolese and Angolan asylum seekers in Halle, focusing on a gospel choir to which we give the pseudonym 'Praise God'. As asylum seekers, five of the six members of the choir had been legally integrated. However, they were not provided with German lessons (in fact only limited categories of persons such as *Aussiedler* with 'German origins' have been eligible for state supported language courses). They were not allowed to work, and they were not even allowed to leave their locality of residence without permission. The money they received barely covered rent and food, making the cost even of transportation within the city difficult. The *Sozialamt* pays their rent, and the total amount of money received by asylum seekers is less than the usual social welfare, i.e. the amount guaranteeing a life in dignity and provided in demeaning circumstances.

Yet members of the choir assumed the role of public foreigners in Halle. Members of a French-speaking church initiated by Congolese, they began to sing as a church choir but soon were invited to engagements outside the church. While they retained their church membership, they distinguished themselves from the church choir so that they could assume a more public performance role. The choir performed at various events in Halle where the presence of foreigners is acknowledged and celebrated. These included the opening ceremonies of the yearly celebration of the Week of Foreigners, held in the centre of the

⁵ This research is part of a study "The Simultaneous Incorporation of Immigrants" comparing migrants in Germany and the United States. The MacArthur Foundation component of this research (2003-4) was initiated by Nina Glick Schiller and Thaddeus Guldbrandsen who, together with Peter Buchannan, are conducting the ethnography in the United States. Ayse Çağlar, Evangelos Karagiannis, and Nina Glick Schiller have been focusing on Halle.

city and attended by the Mayor and various public dignitaries. When, during 'African Week' in Halle, the Vice-Mayor laid a wreath at the statue of Anton Wilhelm Amo, an 18th century resident of Halle who was the first African to study and teach in Germany, the choir sang. They also sang at various summer festivals held to celebrate cultural integration, and they officially represented Halle at Sachsen-Anhalt-Day, a festival where the *Land* Sachsen-Anhalt celebrates itself. In these performances the choir sang gospel music in German, English, French, and Lingalla. The songs that received the most enthusiastic public response are the ones sung in Lingalla with accompanying rhythmic dance steps. With the assistance of funds from a German foundation they have recorded a compact disc, a format that will allow them to disseminate their message and their identity as public foreigners far beyond Halle.

In this way the members of the choir gain a sense of themselves as both Africans and as part of Halle and Germany. Their performance, usually accompanied by small donations provides them with some money for personal expenses at least in the summer time. The performances are often arranged by Herr Pierre, an African employee of a large academic foundation and the president of a smaller political foundation. A very experienced public foreigner, Herr Pierre is adept at orchestrating these appearances and has been transmitting his expertise to the members of the choir.

The choir members also appear in another guise that brings them into public view as foreigners. They act as a soccer team in special tournaments organised to show unity between Germans and foreigners. The choir soccer team won the 2003 anti-racism tournament of 'African Week' in which teams of Germans and foreigners participated in friendly competition. As a reward they were presented with a cup during a gala at the conclusion of 'African Week' that was attended by a range of local Germans who over the years have participated in various activities organised to integrate foreigners.

Although this form of incorporation may seem to be merely local, rather than simultaneously transnational, it may actually facilitate transnational incorporation. Herr Pierre began a development programme in his home country with funds raised through his connections in Halle. Two of the choir members, who were brothers, communicated regularly with family members living in France and Belgium. Our ongoing research will teach us more about the possibilities of these connections and whether any of the funds earned locally through performances assist in maintaining transnational ties that facilitate transnational family or political incorporation. Certainly, research in the United States contains numerous examples of local public foreigners who are simultaneously long distance nationalists and use their local activities as a base from which to participate in nation-state building projects in

their homeland (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc 1994; Glick Schiller and Fouron 2001).

3. Transnational Family Networks

It would be possible to say that Somalis live in Germany, but not as part of Germany. Many Somalis live within dense family networks that link them to other Somalis in Germany, transnationally to others settled in Europe, and finally back to Somalia or Somaliland. However, the situation is more complex than this summation would allow. In terms of their degree and kind of incorporation to Germany and transnationally, Somalis display variation by generation, by the period in which and the means by which they came to Germany, and by their relationship to the political situation in their homeland. Moreover, as people settle in Germany and produce families, they face the tasks of social reproduction, including the raising and educating of children within a German context. Consequently family life, however it may be organised to maintain transnational ties, still is shaped by the daily tasks of child rearing within Germany.

Clan identity structure predominates within family networks. Telephones, including mobile phones, serve as a constant means of communication. Visits among Somalis within Germany are very frequent. Video cassettes of marriages are exchanged among members of family networks. Audio cassettes of music recorded in the US and Canada circulate through Somali networks within Germany and transnationally. This use of audio tapes allows people to maintain their sense of oral culture. Often the tapes contain a sketch or joke or scene performed on tape. These kinds of interchanges develop and maintain a sense of a Somali life in Germany that extends to a diaspora settled in Europe and the Americas. Simultaneously, migrants organise themselves to send financial remittances homeward. When many siblings send small sums home to parents, the parents in Somalia can have a sizeable monthly income. Consequently, the Somali transnational family and its home ties depends on some kind of financial incorporation within Germany.

There are other forms of incorporation as well that are indicators of possible simultaneous incorporation. Some Somali establish a public presence through Somali organisations. It is only insiders who recognise that these organisations have a clan or regional focus and may be intimately linked to transnational family dynamics. Somalis who arrived before 1991 came as students, acquired education and often married German women. Members of these families participate in networks that incorporate them into German family and social life. However these Somalis often maintain dense networks of transnational ties including links to political processes in what they still consider to be their homeland.

Those who came after 1991 came as political refugees and became involved in transnational networks that have increasingly popularised Muslim ideas about the protection of women from outside influences. They have initiated in Germany a more restrictive set of practices than had been followed at home. To the extent that this is true, their more restrictive Islam is a product of their experience in Germany, where Islam and Somalis are challenged and marked as being different. Interest in Islam brings some Somali into mosques that pull in Muslims of many nationalities. However, we can hypothesise that, if the Somali were to become visibly involved in the politics of European Islam or in transnational Islamic organisations in Europe, the question of their organisational integration or incorporation into the German society may become more difficult.

At the same time, a few Somali have become incorporated into German institutions as public foreigners. As in the case of other public foreigners, incorporation into German institutions may reinforce homeland ties. For example, a Somali former student of Schlee is an official of the *Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit* (GTZ). As an official of this organisation, he travels to Somalia. In this case, incorporation within German institutions increases a migrant's contact with his homeland.

For most Somalis, however, it is family rather than religion or the path of public foreigners that form the medium of both their transnational connections and their incorporation in Germany. It is the Somali children who show the greatest degree of incorporation and it is through their children that parents find themselves on a pathway of incorporation. Children's intense commitments to Germany expose their parents to the consumption desires of German youth. The oldest children of the first generation are generally still teenagers, immersed in German teen consumption and rebellious towards their parents who try to interest them in the homeland. Trips to visit kin back home result in teens who try to distance themselves from the Somali realities. It remains to be seen whether Somali youth will follow the pattern reported for second generation youth of other nationalities, who in significant numbers only become interested in homeland identities and political activities when they reach adulthood. It may be that the absence of a viable state in Somalia and the continuing clan divisions will keep second generation youth from any form of simultaneous incorporation that links them to a Somali homeland. It may also be that the racial and religious exclusion that these young people experience as they become adults will send them on transnational quests for identity, belonging, and political or religious engagement, similar to that reported for Croatian, Indian, and Haitian second generation members (Fouon and Glick Schiller 2001; Marr Maira 2002; Skrbis 1999).

4. Vernacular Cosmopolitanism through Mediascapes

The communications sector developed by migrants provides another pathway of incorporation. In a seminal work on the immigrant press in the United States at the beginning of the 20th century, Robert Park (1971 [1922]) portrayed foreign language media as a mode of eventual assimilation, despite their transnational connections and their use of the mother tongue of the migrants. In contrast, in political debates about immigrant incorporation in Germany and elsewhere, the immigrant media is often portrayed as evidence of the failure of integration. Because German is not the dominant language of this media, it is assumed that these media create a closed moral community and perpetuate only identification with the ancestral land. In German official discourses consumption of foreign language media by migrants is still associated with 'cultural ghettoisation'. Language plays an important role in the ethno-cultural model of membership in Germany. The debates and the new regulations about language competency tests in the 2002 version of the 'Immigration Law' (*Zuwanderungsgesetz*) in Germany⁶ and the fact that knowledge of German has served as an important criterion in allowing the *Aussiedler* to come to Germany, all indicate the importance of German language in the national imaginary in German society.

Research by Ayse Çağlar with German Turks⁷ and by Tsypylma Darieva⁸ with Russian migrants who are *Kontingentflüchtlinge* of Jewish descent and *Spätaussiedler* of German descent outline a path of simultaneous transnational incorporation which Çağlar has called vernacular cosmopolitanism. These media help to create new forms of membership and identity that embed them in new localities and new urban affiliations that must be distinguished from more universal form of cosmopolitanism.

The German Turkish media are transnational, representing interests in Germany and Turkey and reflecting a process of interaction between the business interests and the state. These media also are shaped by policies of the European Union that allow immigrant groups to take the initiative to increase the permeability of the boundaries of political membership and identity in Europe. They create new cultural spaces for Turkish immigrants both in Germany and Turkey and have an impact on the public spheres in both nation-states.

⁶ Although the political parties disagreed on various clauses of these laws, there was a wide consensus among the politicians and different segments of the population about the requirement that migrants must attend language courses and master the German language in order to acquire German citizenship.

⁷ Since the end of the 1980s, Turkish immigrants have started to refer to themselves as German Turks to underline their incorporation and belonging in both societies without erasing their difference. Turkish immigrants in other European countries adopt and campaign for similar forms of self address, e.g., the Belgian Turks in Belgium.

⁸ See Darieva, forthcoming.

Çaglar's full-length study (2003) examines the political economy of media directed at Turks in Germany, as well as of Turkish media, in order to explore the question of the role of immigrants in European societies and the potential effects of transnational media on the cosmopolitan transformation of political communities in Europe.⁹ The emergence of digital technologies and international deregulation in the communications sector are changing the marginalised character of ethnic media. In the age of audience segmentation, more and more broadcasters are targeting ethnic communities across national borders. These media are not only taking an increasingly large share of the global communication flows; they are also becoming an important target for the global media conglomerates (Karim 1998:9; Guarnizo 2001:11-12).

It is possible to interpret some of the developments in media in Germany as being closely related with the emergence of a kind of 'vernacular cosmopolitanism' of German Turks, a form of simultaneous incorporation. Those who share this orientation maintain forms of identification and an outlook that extends beyond their immediate locality of settlement but is inclusive of its particularities; they retain multiple, uneven and non-exclusive affiliations that challenge the conventional notions of locality and belonging. Once cosmopolitanism is conceptualised in this way it can be extended to transnational experiences (Robbins 1998:3). However, while transnational connections can foster a vernacular cosmopolitanism, it can also hinder its development if the attachments forged within transnationalism fail to go beyond the topos of the ethno-cultural.

Nowadays in Berlin, Turkish is in the air. Despite the heated scholarly and public debates about the negative impact of the Turkish-language media on Turkish immigrants' German competency and consequently on their integration into German society, increasing numbers of broadcasters provide services in Turkish (or in Turkish and German) to Turkish immigrants. Since the second half of the 1990s, the print and electronic media located in Germany increasingly target German Turkish consumers in German (*Etap, Türkis*), in a mixed language of German and Turkish (*Merhaba, TD1, TBB-Spiegel, Türk Ekonomi Dergisi, Günes, etc.*) and in Turkish (*Metropol FM*). *Deutsche Telekom's* facilities provide access to Turkish private television channels through cable operators – such as *Kanal D* or *ATV* – broadcasted from Turkey. The ZfT (*Zentrum für Türkei-studien*) survey in 1997 on the media consumption behaviour of Turks in Germany found that 55.7% of German Turks sought information only through Turkish newspapers, while 38% did so through both German and Turkish newspapers.¹⁰ For television, the findings were similar to

⁹ See also Çaglar 1998. The following text has been abstracted from Çaglar 2003.

¹⁰ There are nine daily Turkish newspapers available in Germany. They are the dailies based in Turkey, which have European editions. *Hürriyet* is the most important of these with a total circulation of 160,000 in Europe of which 110,000 are circulated in Germany.

the print media; the survey showed that German Turks utilised Turkish-speaking TV broadcasters, especially *TRT-INT*.

The initiatives and inclusion of services targeting 'foreign' communities in commercial media in Germany were perceived as challenges to the public-sector broadcasting. Public-sector broadcasters started considering programming for the 'immigrant communities' beyond their 'dutiful community-work' type of programming. Importantly, they initiated programming in a language other than German, but not in a secluded space in the tradition of public-sector broadcasting of the 1970s and 1980s. In this context the initiatives to include Turkish into the mainstream media and bilingual programming mixed in a 'creolised' way are noteworthy. It is worth focusing on *Metropol FM* to illustrate this kind of localised cosmopolitanism being developed among the immigrants (especially among the immigrant youth) in Europe from Turkey.

Metropol FM is the first radio broadcaster in Turkish outside of Turkey which is on air twenty-four hours a day. It has twenty-seven employees who speak German and Turkish and who are familiar with Berlin, German Turks in Berlin, and Germany (Interview March 2000). *Metropol FM* offers twenty-four hours of Turkish music and entertainment together with news and some information about the daily life difficulties of German Turks in Berlin. However, it is basically a Turkish music channel. *Metropol FM* became a quick success among German Turks. According to a recent study, 71% of the German Turkish Radio audience in Berlin listened to *Metropol FM* regularly (in contrast to 2.1% of SFB *Radio Multikulti* which is the multicultural programme of Berlin's public broadcasting company). Although it understands itself as a commercial broadcaster selling advertising time and space, *Metropol FM* contributes to the formation of German Turks as a group with border-crossing multiple attachments and complex affiliations. *Metropol FM* presents itself as a German Turkish enterprise broadcasting for German Turks. In 2000, all the employees, other than the manager and the bookkeeper, were Turkish. All its programmes are produced in Berlin and familiarity with Turkish life in Berlin as well as with German and Turkish societies are crucial for its employment policy (interview A. Duyar, March 2000). It recognises German Turks as a group different from Turks in Turkey and Germans in Germany, and it fosters their multi-connectedness with other places in Europe including Turkey. News from Turkey is an integral part of their hourly news. However, more significant than news from Turkey, is the weather forecast in Turkey (integrated into the weather forecast they provide for Berlin and Germany). Both the news and the weather forecast help to synchronise *Metropol FM* audience with Turkey. The broadcasting is in Turkish, but there is a playful and a creative approach to language (both to Turkish and German), which gives rise to cross-overs between German and Turkish (which is already widespread among German Turks). In understanding and evaluating the

life-styles and the cultural formations of German Turks, Turkey loses its role as a yardstick. It becomes only one of the multiple references of this translocal group.

Metropol FM (also the journals *Etap* or *Türkis*) provides the sites in which a kind of a vernacular or localised cosmopolitanism is forged. Although *Metropol FM* adopts the perspective of the local, the 'local' here entails multiple, uneven, and non-exclusive affiliations. Thus it represents an attachment within multiple attachments. The city is the location of these kinds of non-exclusive attachments that *Metropol FM* forges. Belonging to the city could not be conceived as belonging to a community with fixed boundaries. The fragmented nature of urban culture and its inherent openness play a crucial role in bringing the urban belonging to the forefront. There is for example identification with Berlin, but not necessarily with Germany. Different kinds of belonging are reflectively challenged and negotiated around the image of the city.

These developments could not be read as efforts that simply give expression to difference within the frame of a particularistic multiculturalism. They do not simply refer to an increase or growth of a secluded public sphere and to the arrangements taking place there. If we see not only political but also social and cultural activities as meaningful forms of participation (Benhabib 1992), these media can be understood as ways in which German Turks augment their chances for active engagement in Germany and even Turkey. The attempts to include immigrants into the national public both in Turkey and Germany could be interpreted as forms of cosmopolitan openings in these places – at least in regards to language – because of the boundary drawing role of language in the conception of the political community in these societies. The policies of accommodating transnational minorities carry a much stronger normative force and these societies show a profound change in the conception of national community in their attempts to come to terms with the challenges posed by these groups (Bauböck 2000:19).

Darieva's study of migrants from the former Soviet Union to Berlin traces a similar trajectory of belonging. It becomes clear from her examination of the practices and the intended audiences of Russian newspapers in Germany that the term 'ethnic press' is inappropriate. Rather the Russian language press in Germany provides another example of modern communication networks that provides a vernacular cosmopolitan form of incorporation into Germany. Migrants from Russia in Germany who speak and read Russian constitute a new and significant group. Members of this linguistic group have different ethnic identifications and are officially recognised as *Kontingentflüchtlinge* of Jewish and *Spätaussiedler* of German descent. These two categories have a 'privileged' status in Germany in comparison to most other migrants. While *Spätaussiedler* are seen by the German government as historical co-

ethnics who 'return' to their homeland, the acceptance of Russian Jews represents a kind of moral reparation for the murder of millions of Jews during the Third Reich.

In this context, German integration programmes developed by ethnic-confessional institutions such as the *Jüdische Gemeinde* claim that new migrants should integrate and identify as purely Jewish, as they become completely German. The ties to the Russian language and culture are generally perceived by these institutions as barriers for successful integration into the German society. Russian speakers who are ethnically mixed have the duty to become members of the receiving society as religious Jews or cultural Germans, and in either case demonstrate full competence in the modern German way of life.¹¹ *Aussiedler* are expected to understand themselves as fully German, denying their experience of several centuries of participation in and intermarriage into Russian and then Soviet society and its vast regional differentiation.

In her recent research on Russian language mass media and identity in Berlin, Darieva has analysed how Russian newspapers produced by migrants facilitate their social and cultural adaptation into Germany without giving up their connection to Russia. Two weeklies, numerous journals, two TV programmes and internet web sites in Russian offer information and practical help for newcomers in the land of settlement, regardless of their ethnic and residence status. Through developing their 'own' channels of communication, for example, newspapers such as *Russkij Berlin* and *Evropa-Express*, the migrants from Russia create new public spheres and present social fields which provide at least two types of incorporations in Germany: intra-incorporation and trans-incorporation.¹²

These media typically formulate a broadly conceptualised, inclusive definition of a 'we-group' that identifies the audience by language and alludes to specific geographical and symbolic linkages between two lands – the territory of the former Soviet Union and the territory of modern Germany. The post-Soviet immigrants' media voice contains what can be considered a cosmopolitan attitude towards ethnicity, for example, through the newspaper's symbolic motto "Our homeland is the Russian language". In this alternative way we observe the incorporation of different ethnic and social ways of belongings. Not only Russian Jews and Russian Germans participate in the medial exchange, but also Latvians and Uzbeks who live in Germany.

¹¹ See Darieva, 2002.

¹² With a circulation of 50,000 and 70,000 respectively, these two weekly are the most successful newspapers among the Russian speaking minority in Germany. Launched as a local Berlin newspaper in the summer of 1996, *Russkij Berlin* expanded quickly all over Germany and, as a supplement entitled *We in Germany*, to the most popular Moscow weekly, *Argumenty i Fakty*, even into Russia.

Yet this incorporation can also be transnational. The weekly *Russkij Berlin* utilises transnational links that connect Berlin to the rest of Germany and to the territories of the former Soviet Union. In conceptualising its flow of news, this newspaper projects a new vision of location organised in three spatial dimensions: the land of settlement, Germany, is called 'Our land'; the land which was left is called '1/6 of the world' – the territory of the former Soviet Union; and the third zone has a local character connected to city life and the life of Russian speaking migrants in Berlin.

Through this social organisation of migrant media connections, and through its narrative and imagination of space Russian speaking migrants are connected simultaneously to contemporary Russia and their lost homeland, the 'USSR'. Crucially, this specific cartography of the world contains no classical hierarchical mode of center and periphery relationships, which is typical for any structure of news. Looking not only at Russia but also at Germany, Russian modern diasporic media position themselves in a space in-between with strong local urban identification. The growing number of minority and migrant media in Europe provide a new media world that extends beyond the construction of 'national imaginaries' and contains multiple connections of in-between mediascapes.

5. Regional Cosmopolitanism

The pathway of regional cosmopolitanism refers more to incorporation through the use of imagination than to a structural mode based on social relations. However, since discourse and social action often are related in a complex process of causality, we include regional cosmopolitanism in this overview of the pathways of incorporation that emerge from our ethnography and that challenge the dominant conceptualisations of migrant integration in Germany. In Berlin, the division of West Germany and East Germany was very salient to Ghanaian migrants. The racist violence, which spread over Germany in the 1990s, was interpreted by the Ghanaians in terms of East and West. The West was perceived as a relatively peaceful and cosmopolitan area; the East as an area of violence and racism. Although this discursive distinction became blurred in everyday practice, it functions as a dominant scheme of interpretation, which has also produced certain kinds of action. It manifested itself for instance in the patterns of housing. More than 90% of the Ghanaians live in districts that were part of West Berlin before 1990.

For many Ghanaians the regional division between East and West Germany corresponds to the regional division between North and South Ghana. Northern Ghana is the peripheral region within the national framework. The stereotype about people from Northern Ghana is that they are rural, 'uncivilised,' and 'uneducated,' which is expressed

through their lack of English language skills. Furthermore, the Northern part of Ghana is less Christianised than the South and economically relatively weak. Most of the natural resources and important cash crops are in the South. Because, economically, the North is less integrated in the world market, people from the North are less likely to travel abroad. And finally, the Northern part of Ghana is associated with ethnic violence, because the most recognised incidents of ethnic violence have happened there. These attributes solidify in the emic concept of being 'bushy'. Although being 'bushy' is not exclusively used to describe Northerners, the stereotypical Northerner is the prototype of a 'bushy person'. A 'bushy' person comes from a rural place, has not travelled abroad, is poor, does not speak proper English, is not Christian, thinks only in ethnic categories, and as a result of all this tends to be violent.

This scheme of interpretation can easily be used by Southern Ghanaians to explain the racist violence in Eastern Germany and the differences between the West and the East. Eastern Germany is the economically weak part, the proportion of Christians (as defined through church membership) is low, and many people do not speak English and are less experienced in travelling abroad. Because East Germans are expected to have a 'confined worldview', Ghanaians expect them to think in ethnic categories, which lead, they believe, to a higher degree of ethnic motivated violence. They connect the media discourse on the higher degree of racist violence in East Germany to their folk theory about the perceived violence in Northern Ghana. Interestingly, this parallel results in a new space of identification. Cosmopolitan migrants from Southern Ghana, who are in fact the great majority of Ghanaians in Berlin, identify with cosmopolitan Germans from Western Germany and West Berlin. East Germans and Northern Ghanaians are becoming in this discourse the 'uncivilised' and 'violent' other from which one's own identity is distinguished. Interestingly, migrants, who are normally expected to feel marginalised and racialised, are able to imagine themselves as part of a cosmopolitanism, by means of which they can emancipate themselves from the role of the possible victim of racist violence. By defining the East Germans as 'bushy' and consequently latently violent, an alliance between Southern Ghanaians and Western Germans is imagined. This identification works also the other way round, at least partly.

In the quarters with a high proportion of migrants such as Kreuzberg or Wedding, many Germans feel committed to the discourse of multiculturalism. The migrants, especially 'black' African migrants, become symbols of the cosmopolitanism of the city of Berlin. East Berlin with its low proportion of migrants becomes, in this discourse, the symbol of the confined and racist Germany. Therefore, the imaginary of cosmopolitanism opens up new spaces of integration and identification, which transcend temporarily the distinction between the 'developed' and 'un-

developed world', or racial stereotypes like the 'uncivilised African' and the 'civilised European'. Through transnational networks and global integration, migrants create new imaginaries of integration such as a regional cosmopolitanism, and use these to reposition themselves actively, becoming agents in their multiple modes of incorporation into Germany and the world.

Conclusion

The research summarised in this report makes it clear that there are many different pathways of incorporation being followed by migrants in Germany. In all cases these pathways discard dichotomies of cultural difference and articulate new ways of being German. In some cases such as regional cosmopolitanism it begins in the realm of the imagination as migrants rework home dichotomies of difference to position themselves as moderns within both German and global domains. This reworking empowers migrants as they establish social relationships in Germany and abroad. Other pathways such as 'Christian Modernists', 'Public Foreigners', and 'Vernacular Cosmopolitanism' offer sets of organised practices as well as identities that situate migrants within Germany without confronting the issue of becoming exactly like the Germans. These pathways of incorporation into Germany include organised sets of practices, social relationships, institutions, as well as claims to belonging and membership. An array of German public and private interests and institutions are participants in these various forms of incorporation. At the same time, public, commercial, and philanthropic actors and institutions situated across national borders also play a role. Even the Somali clan networks, where family connections would seem to keep migrants encapsulated in their own world, contain transnational connections, generational differentiation, and connections to German institutions. In all cases, what might appear on first examination to be ethnic, particular, linguistically bounded practices and identities were revealed through ethnographic investigation to contain pathways of incorporation that confront standard notions of membership and belonging within the boundaries of a single nation-state. These developments highlight pathways of incorporation that cannot be understood as simple integration into the 'political community'. Instead new forms of 'belonging' and membership in Germany, Europe, and elsewhere are established by these pathways.

Some elements of the pathways of incorporation have heuristic power in other research settings beyond Germany and even beyond migration studies. Christian modernism appears to be a widespread strategy of incorporation for marginalised people. For example, ongoing field research carried out by László Fosztó in Transylvania shows that the Roma have adopted charismatic Christianity as a strategy of inclusion

into Central European societies. Roma convert in significant numbers to Pentecostal denominations both in Romania and Hungary (see for example Lange 2003), where Fosztó will do comparative research. Though Roma could not be considered immigrants (at least not recent immigrants) in Central Europe, they have been historically marginalised. By adopting Pentecostal Christianity they align themselves with a narrative that makes them, as born-again Christians, central actors in the future of their societies.

Specifying these pathways opens up many further questions such as that of the significance of locality, including the type and size of the city and community. Yalçin-Heckmann's research on labour migrants in the cities of Bamberg and Nürnberg shows that the size of the city, where a migrant community lives, and the available cultural and financial resources, affect their organisational structures and complexity. In a small city like Bamberg for example the labour migrants from Turkey who maintained face-to-face relationships with one another initially formed associations which reflected regional identities of migrants from Turkey. These associations changed their character with time. They became more diverse in terms of the members' background and responded to the expectations of the younger generation of migrants. In contrast, in the metropolitan city of Berlin, almost all social groups and all kinds of identities (be it gay migrants, regional associations, or religious identities) could be accommodated simply by forming another association. Glick Schiller, Çağlar, and Karagiannis hope to explore the significance of the scale of the city on pathways of incorporation in future research.

The cases presented demonstrate that migrants manage to become incorporated in different local, national, transnational, regional, and global contexts at the same time. Being included in one national or transnational context is neither the precondition nor precludes inclusion in another. In the examples we have presented, migrants engaged in these various pathways of incorporation become part of Germany and other states and localities and make claims as members of these societies but not in the ways in which integration has previously been understood (Favell 1999).

The concepts of pathways of incorporation and simultaneity provide a framework for studying the complex interplay of being part of different local and social settings in different political and geographic locations in the course of migrants' everyday practices. This perspective contributes, in our opinion, not only to a more adequate representation of the migration phenomena in particular but also provides a more flexible conceptualisation of the relationship between the nation-state, social structures and individual ways of living and belonging. Looking beyond and within the borders of the nation-state at the same time may contribute to a better understanding of the social processes that shape the struc-

tures of contemporary societies. Such developments challenge our very concept of society.

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Three Dyads Compared: Nuer/Anywaa (Ethiopia), Maasai/Kamba (Kenya), and Evenki/Buryat (Siberia)

Günther Schlee

There is a long tradition of comparing ethnic groups, also variously called 'cultures' or 'societies', in anthropology. This has been done in small settings with limited variation in the form of relatively controlled comparisons (*Witchcraft in Four East African Societies*) and world-wide using statistical methods based on the Human Relations Area Files. There are weaknesses in these approaches, as well as merits. I do not intend to discuss these works here I simply mention them to illustrate the way in which the approach sketched in this rough and preliminary short essay differs from them. Here I am not going to take ethnic groups as the units of comparison, but the relationships between them. I am going to compare the relationship between Nuer and Anywaa with the relationship between the Maasai and the Kamba and with the relationship between the Buryat and Evenki. I am going to discuss three dyads. It goes without saying that the life-world of each of these groups goes beyond the dyad discussed. The Maasai have relevant others apart from the Kamba, the social environment of the Buryat does not consist of the Evenki only, and so on. Especially the state with its ethnic policies acts as a third element in all these dyads and transforms them into triangles, and if we include further elements, we get polygons or multidimensional clouds of factors. I am aware that the focus on a dyad is a simplification and that we need to bring more complexity back in at a later point if we are to model reality. My justification for focusing on dyads is that this focus shows us something, which we might not see otherwise, and that nobody should be asked to deal with more complexity than he can handle at a given moment.

The focus on dyads also suggests that the two groups interacting in each of them are given units. It must be kept in mind that the boundary between them might be drawn by a third party (e.g. the state) and that different actors hold different opinions with regard to where the boundary is. The possibility of re-affiliation also needs to be kept in mind. The Buryat/Evenki divide largely coincides, as we shall learn below, with the ecological divide between steppe and taiga. Can the ethnic divide be crossed by people who move into the other ecological zone?

The use of the term 'ethnic' as an adjective suggests that there is a quality of that name. Two 'ethnic' groups would be expected to differ according to some criteria of 'ethnic' distinction, while they would be the same at a higher level because both would qualify as 'ethnic'.

Many mutually reactive ethno-nationalisms in the modern world indeed appear very similar to each other. They tend to be territorial, they tend to comprise linguistic or some other cultural elements, they inter-

act through well-defined diplomatic channels and at war they become even more similar to each other, because they engage in arms races for the same types of arms, imitate each other's threatening conduct (parades, manoeuvres) and respond to each other's tactics and strategies. One would have to look closely at the emblems on their uniforms to see the difference. These co-evolving ethno-nationalisms are quite clearly phenomena of the same kind.

Anywaa and Nuer: different kinds of ethnicity

In the case of Anywaa ethnicity reacting to Nuer ethnicity and vice versa, one cannot be so sure that 'ethnicity' stands for the same type of phenomenon in both cases. What makes an Anywaa more Anywaa differs so much from what makes a Nuer more Nuer that one hesitates to attach the same label 'ethnicity' to what is being intensified in either case. This emerges clearly from the doctoral thesis by Dereje Feyissa: *Ethnic Groups and Conflict: The case of the Anywaa-Nuer relations in the Gambela Region, Western Ethiopia*.¹

Quite plausibly, Dereje speaks of *two kinds* of ethnic groups, or *two kinds* of ethnicities, rather than just two ethnic groups. The following table summarises what can be adduced to show that the Anywaa are not just neighbours in a conflict who stress the minimal difference, but that the fundamental workings of ethnicity are rather different in both cases.

Anywaa	Nuer
ancestry	diversity of origins
bilateral parentage	patriliney, adoptions
specific territory	mobility
rare bridewealth beads	cattle as bridewealth
hierarchical order	'ordered anarchy'
discrimination, purity	assimilationism
particularist	universalist
Ethnogenesis	
in isolation	in a competitive setting

The Anywaa emphasise the fact or belief that they are of exclusively Anywaa ancestry, while the Nuer admit that their sub-units, which take

¹ The thesis was accepted by the Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg in July 2003. Supervisors: Richard Rottenburg and Günther Schlee. Dereje Feyissa has now taken up a new appointment at Osaka, Japan.

the form of patrilineal descent groups, are in fact of diverse origins. Descent in the patriline is perfectly sufficient for being a Nuer. It is not even a precondition, because where it is not present, it can be easily constituted by adoption. The Anywaa method of calculating descent also has a patrilineal bias, but it is distinct from that of the Nuer because of the absence of adoptions and the fact that attention is given to the patriline of the mother of a person as well in determining that person's full status as an Anywaa. People with a non-Anywaa mother (and more so a non-Anywaa father) are not accepted as full Anywaa.

Anywaa identity is closely tied to a specific territory, where they till their fields, go hunting or have their fishing grounds. When forced to settle in a new place, they have to become one with the land by dissolving clumps of earth in the water they drink. The Nuer place a stronger emphasis on mobile pastoralism and territorial expansion. Whether one is from a lineage said to possess a given territory implies whether or not one is *dial* (member of the titular lineage, 'noble' in Evans-Pritchard's sense), but is of little practical consequence.

Bridewealth, where it exists, is always interesting to look at in inter-ethnic relations. The Anywaa use a type of bead called *dimui* as bridewealth. No one knows where these beads originally came from, for how many centuries they have been around in Anywaa country, and where one can get a fresh supply. They can get lost but they cannot multiply. If one has a sister, one might get *dimui* for her and then be able to marry. The only people who can accumulate *dimui* are the chiefs who get them for their sisters and daughters but who are exempt from having to pay for their brides. They can build up a following by giving *dimui* to sisterless would-be bridegrooms. Nuer expansionism and openness, on the other hand, is reflected in their use of cattle as bridewealth. Cattle populations grow just like the populations of their keepers, partly in response to the number of their keepers and the care invested in them. And if, in spite of this, a young man does not have enough cattle to marry and cannot mobilise enough help from his relatives, he can still acquire cattle through raids or by becoming a labour migrant and earning money for the purchase of cattle. Cattle are a living, flexible, expandable resource. They can also be used by Nuer to marry Anywaa brides, because the Anywaa accept cattle from Nuer bridegrooms and do not insist on *dimui* in these cases. It goes without saying that the issue of such unions are Nuer. For an Anywaa bride, one would have to spend significantly fewer animals than for a Nuer bride. Local marriages also provide Nuer with a foothold for expansion into Anywaa territories. The mention of chiefs and the social resources they can monopolise (like *dimui*), leads us to another dichotomy: the hierarchical order of Anywaa society versus the segmentary lineage system, in Evans-Pritchard's terms the 'ordered anarchy' of the Nuer. Ideas of descent and practices of marriage enhance both the contrast between

the Anywaa tendency towards discrimination and purity on the one side and the expansive assimilationism of the Nuer on the other. Dereje summarises all this by attributing particularism to the Anywaa and a form of universalism to the Nuer. Combining scant evidence and plausible conjecture, he speculates that the Anywaa ethnogenesis must have taken place in relative isolation and that of the Nuer in a competitive setting where one had to mobilise numbers.



From left to right: the Nuer prophet Shanduk, Dereje Feyissa and his assistant Peter. Kurgen, Gambela Regional State, Ethiopia 2001. (Photo: G. Schlee 2001)

xviii). The Nuer, he says, are aware that their system of patrilineal descent groups comprised in larger such units, ultimately giving them an identity as 'Nuer' at the highest level, is a construct, and they live happily with this construct without even missing a deeper truth. They might once have had ideas of purity or descent similar to those of the Anywaa, but have given these up under the pressure of resource competition which forced them to play the numbers game: "(...)the bigger the group, the more powerful it becomes, the higher the chances of winning in the competition over natural resources". They have replaced the ideology of "purity" by that of the "melting pot"².

The two mutually opposed ethnicities – as has now become clear – do not produce a balance or a stable boundary. Social exchanges are asymmetrical and facilitate Nuer expansion at the expense of the Anywaa.

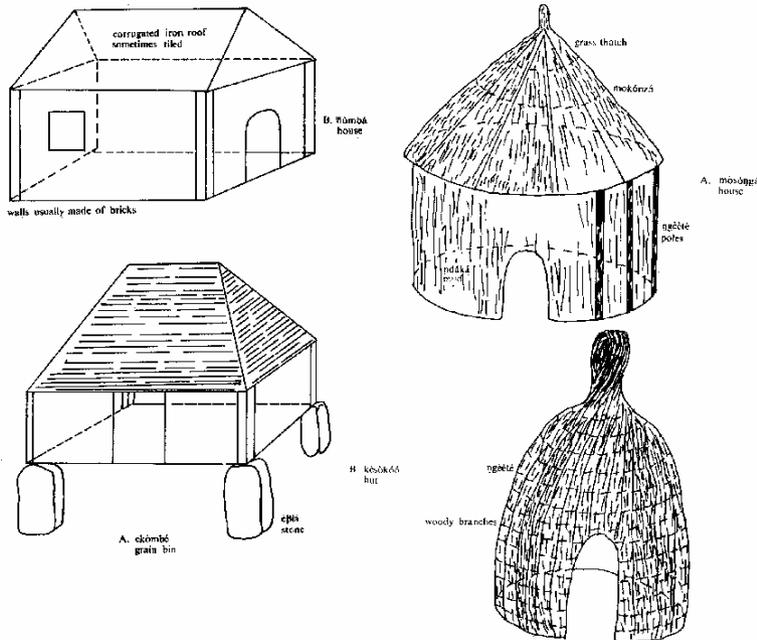
Primordialism and constructivism have been used as classifications of scholarly theories about ethnicity ('etic' theories, i.e. those from an analytical, non-participant perspective). Scholars tended to assume that the primordialists must be wrong if the constructivists are right and vice versa. Dereje has shown that this dichotomy can be applied to emic theory (i.e. the views of the actors under study) and that in that domain primordialism and constructivism co-exist and share reality. He calls the ethnicity of the Anywaa primordialist and that of the Nuer constructivist (p.

² Expansion versus self-restriction and conservative resource use has also been discussed by Schlee (1988a) in connection with the Somali and Rendille.

Dereje does not get bogged down in the usual sterile theoretical debates about whether the segmentary lineage system is just an anthropological model, or an actors' model, or whether it reflects a social reality. He simply takes it as a descriptive category and tests its adequacy empirically. He does a micro-census and counts how many members of a given settlement cluster belong to the name-giving patrilineal unit and how many others are attached to it by affinal links which develop into cognatic ties in the next generation.

Kamba and Maasai: uneasy coexistence

We now turn to the second dyad, that of the Maasai and Kamba in Kenya. Our source is the doctoral thesis of Pius Mutie *'In Spite of Difference': making sense of the coexistence between the Kamba and the Maasai of Kenya*.³



New (rectangular) and old type Kamba houses.

Source: Ndeti, Kivuto 1972:157, 159. Arrangement: Hassan Schlee

³ This thesis was sponsored by the KAAD (Katholischer Akademischer Austauschdienst) and accepted by the Faculty of Sociology, University of Bielefeld in May 2003. Supervisors: Günther Schlee and Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka.

The Kamba and the Maasai belong to different language families. The former are Bantu speakers, the latter Eastern Nilotes. Their languages differ as much as any two languages on Earth can. Their modes of livelihood used to be clearly distinct; before modern education and economic diversification set in, the Kamba were exclusively farmers, while the Maasai (or more precisely: those Maasai who lived in the neighbourhood of the Kamba) despised farming and were proud of their exclusive reliance on cattle. Small stock may have had a significant economic role but was culturally downplayed.

In the two semi-arid districts in the south of Kenya where Mutie did his field research, Makueni and Kajiado, the Kamba and Maasai live side by side, the Kamba in Makueni, the Maasai in Kajiado. There are also Kamba farmers and traders who exploit opportunities in Kajiado, enjoying a precarious guest status among the Maasai.

Interethnic relationships have been examined in anthropological literature from a variety of different aspects. Leach (1954) stressed that cultural differences, especially in the visual field – frills and decorations – were used to communicate within a wider whole. Cultural differences between small-scale local societies were used by these to communicate with each other in a wider society, a society of societies or a meta-society so to speak. The current theory of ethnicity by Fredrik Barth and his followers also stresses interaction at the ethnic boundary. Boundaries are marked by cultural discontinuities and it is through these discontinuities, different standards of excellence and different values, that people reduce competition and enter into a peaceful or complementary relationship at the boundary. There is no reason to romanticise complementary relations as just or equal. Often they are not. But the complementary tends to reduce violence. Ethnic diversity can thus be seen as a factor of integration into a wider social system.

In popular theory, ethnic difference is seen as a potential source of conflict to such a degree that it is almost equated with conflict. Conflict analysts, or at least the anthropologists among them, mostly agree that ethnicity more often is something which emerges or is accentuated in the course of a conflict, rather than being its actual cause. But it is impossible to deny that the frontlines in a conflict can follow the lines of cultural discontinuities or that these lines are ethnicised, i.e. that ethnic distinctions develop along those lines of dissent. Conflict, of course, is not the opposite of integration. People communicate through their similarities and differences in hostile ways as well. Often they emulate their adversaries. War is also a social system within which it is possible to become integrated.

Rather than anchoring his analysis to this pair of concepts, integration and conflict, Mutie chooses a third term, coexistence. The concept has wide currency in politics, e.g. with reference to the Cold War. The Soviet doctrine of *Koexistenz* is the only context cited by the Brockhaus

encyclopaedia. Less often it is found in the context of Israel/Palestine. It is used in an ecological context by biologists. The *International Encyclopaedia of Social and Behavioral Sciences* goes directly from 'Coeducation' to 'Cognition' and has no entry on 'Coexistence'. This history of the concept reveals that it is not a common term in the social sciences.

The utility of this rather unusual concept therefore needs to be examined. In the way Mutie uses the term, 'coexistence' implies difference but does not assume a particular form of relationship like hostility/cooperation/friendliness. It does, however, imply a certain social distance and at least partial separation (p.1). Within this wide conceptual framework, it can comprise a whole range of contradictory forms of interaction, like armed but 'controlled' conflict, political alliances, economic exchanges, shared identities (along some features, not along others) (p.2). Coexistence tends to be an uneasy relationship. It is close to violent conflict. In a fashion complementary to the analysis of the factors which lead to conflict (Wimmer 1997), Mutie wants to examine the mechanisms of keeping conflicts at low levels of violence and to highlight how "tensions and conflict situations are pre-empted, avoided and precluded in other settings, despite the contested borders, competition for power, heightened degree of ethnic difference and external instigation" (p.6).

'Coexistence' is thus characterised by ethnic distinction, social exchange, complementarity and interdependence, ethnic antagonisms and conflict below certain levels, shared territory and formative external factors, which shape the dyad under study (pp. 10, 287, 290). Many of these phenomena have also been studied by authors who take a different key concept as their starting point, like 'integration' or 'articulation'. Another element in which Mutie is also interested, however, combines particularly well with 'coexistence' in an uneasy relationship. This is his insistence on compromises and concessions. Compromises and concessions do not really fit into those theories of ethnicity which stress the integrative workings of cultural differences, nor with those which stress their conflict potential. If the two parties make compromises and concessions, then that implies that the differences between them are neither the means of integration nor the cause of conflict. It implies that these differences have a disruptive potential, but that this potential is contained by minimizing differences or by wrapping them into some sort of package deal, by adding a sweet coating to something which is otherwise hard to swallow, or by gaining acceptance for something which the other side does not like by making concessions in some other field. This accent on compromises and concessions also motivates the "*in spite of*" in the title. Differences are potentially disruptive, but one can handle them, tame them, mollify them, make them acceptable, stabilise them. By these means one can coexist 'in spite of' differences.

Mutie explains that ‘coexistence’ is based on the maintenance of a distinction. Two things which merge into one no longer coexist, but exist as one. On the other hand, he states that “coexistence may also take the form of commonality or sameness” (p. 289). What is meant is that group distinctions are marked by difference in certain features, while other features may be similar or identical, and that resort to any one of these may be made according to a particular situation. Features which are shared by Kamba and Maasai are:

- the cultural and economic focus on cattle in all their ritual and social functions, including bride-wealth,
- their bilingualism which enables many of them to speak each other’s language
- female circumcision (also called FGM or female genital mutilation)
- Christianity
- their political affiliation (in 2002 both groups voted for the National Rainbow Coalition)
- both are counted among the ‘small tribes’ and use similar political discourses in their struggle with larger groups for a slice of the national cake
- their ecological vulnerability as inhabitants of semi-arid lands.

A similar list of similarities could be drawn up for Nuer and Anywaa to complement our table of differences, above. Both Nuer and Anywaa are ‘black’ and referred to as such by the ‘red’ highlanders, in addition to being abused as *barya* (slaves) by them, both speak Nilotic languages which are clearly distinct from the Afroasiatic (Semitic, Cushitic etc.) languages of the ‘Highlanders’, and both were politically marginalised by the imperial system. In the case of the Nuer and Anywaa, it seems to be the political environment of explicit ethnic politics which causes undercommunication of these commonalities and overcommunication of the differences.

Mutie perceives intermarriage as an integrating or binding force between the two Maasai and Kamba. By far the most frequent case is Maasai men marrying Kamba girls or women. Stemming from an agricultural background, these have the reputation of being hard working. The Kamba, however, are by no means the losers in this exchange. By becoming affinal relatives of the Maasai, they, or rather those among them who have these links, have a stronger moral right to any lands they till in the Maasai areas.

Mutie goes to explore emic theories at some length. The most elaborate one is that of ‘axes in a basket’, developed by one of Mutie’s interlocutors in a long conversation. The basket represents the shared territory, wider unit, the system, the commonality to which both the Kamba and the Maasai belong. The axes are the two groups. They might hit

each other and make noise as the basket is carried around. One may stop the noise by putting some insulation material between them: cloth, cotton or a lubricant. Intermarriage is among those materials that soften the contact. This is a quite elaborate emic theory, which recalls what Leach has written about associations of societies or Gluckman's writings about cross-cutting ties.

Another emic theory is the one about 'eating', which resonates with recent sociological writings (Bayard, *La politique du ventre*) and ecological theories. "Stability is produced by 'eating' with 'co-eaters'" (p.16). In Kenyan politics, ethnic coalitions change and groups succeed each other in gaining access to the resources of the state or to the state as a resource (also pp. 285, 300). This pattern is compared with an ecological theory by Pontin (1982, *Competition and coexistence of species*) about a 'dominance ring' in which different species manage to coexist by gaining access to a resource at different times, thus avoiding direct competition. Mutie does not elaborate whether this 'dominance ring' in Kenyan politics is the result of intentional compromises or historical contiguity.

Buryat and Evenki: ethnic boundary meets ecological boundary

The following paragraphs are based on a project proposal by István Sántha⁴ on *Buryat–Evenki Interethnic Relations in the Baikal Region*. The Buryats live in two different ecological zones (taiga and steppe) and the Evenki/Tungus exclusively in the taiga. Buryat livelihood largely depends on pastoralism, whereas for the Evenki/Tungus hunting plays a major role in everyday life as well as in the interpretations of their identity.

Buryats and Evenki/Tungus have been the target of various ethnic stereotypes by outsiders. Soviet social scientists have seen the Evenki as a prototype of 'primitive society', and the Buryats as representatives of a more advanced evolutionary stage. The Evenki/Tungus and the Buryat political elites have often acted as rivals in the process of 'scrambling' – seeking the favours of the Russian and Soviet state. However, in order to reduce the complexity of inter-ethnic relations in the present analysis, let us focus on the relationships between the Buryat and Evenki, and how they describe and negotiate these.

Sántha seeks to examine ethnic stereotypes (emic theories); in other words, how one ethnic group conceives of the other. His analysis comprises various spheres of activities and interaction: language; belief systems; various forms of land use and their connotations; the issue of

⁴ István Sántha acknowledges his incorporation of comments by Joachim Otto Habeck and Brian Donahoe. On the grounds of this proposal, Sántha has been awarded a short term grant in 2003 with the aim of elaborating a fuller research plan. In addition, the author acknowledges the helpfulness of comments by Andrea Nicolas and Tilo Grätz when discussing ideas for this essay at the Department I Seminar at Großkühnau, July 2003.

cattle raiding and intermarriage. Some of these spheres are described in Sántha's project description (under Siberian Studies Centre in the present report). What follows here deals specifically with cattle raiding and intermarriage, as well as the question of whether and how an Evenki/Tungus can become a Buryat, and *vice versa*.

While cattle raiding in this region may take place on a smaller scale than in East Africa, the way it occurs reveals a certain strategic advantage of the Evenki/Tungus, which translates into stereotypes about the Tungus and the land they inhabit. The steppe-inhabiting Buryats perceive the taiga as *khatuu gazar*, as a 'hard place' in terms of cattle-herding and the prosecution of cattle thieves. Retaliation is hard to achieve not only because of the natural environment, but also because of the social environment in the taiga, where taiga-based Buryats may act as allies of the Evenki/Tungus against the Steppe Buryats. Sántha illustrates this using the example of a group of Steppe Buryats who follow the tracks of a cattle thief through the snow. The footsteps lead them to a small village in the taiga where the trace of the criminal becomes obscured by the footsteps of the other inhabitants. The inquiries of the Steppe Buryat vendettists remain fruitless because both the local Taiga Buryats and the Evenki/Tungus cover up for the cattle thief. Their alliance is based on a legendary female ancestor who connects the local Buryats with the local Tungus, notwithstanding the fact that the two groups see each other as ethnically different. This example implies that sometimes interethnic solidarity is stronger than intra-ethnic kinship. It also introduces a third (or intermediate) element into the dyadic relationship between Buryats and Evenki/Tungus: namely, the Taiga Buryats. This intermediate element, however, does not weaken the general character of interethnic relations between Buryats and Evenki/Tungus, wherein the former see the latter as unreliable, irascible, unpredictable and as the genuine 'Other' in numerous ways. The following section on intermarriage and change of ethnic identity will add further clues about this perception of the genuine 'Other'.

Is it possible for Evenki/Tungus to become Buryats, and if so, how? Here it is necessary to distinguish between how the Steppe Buryats assess this question, and how the Taiga Buryats approach it. From the Steppe Buryats' point of view, Evenki/Tungus can never become Buryats, except in very specific circumstances. Buryats will unequivocally label all individuals of mixed descent as Evenki/Tungus (*khamnagan* in Buryat), regardless of whether his/her Evenki/Tungus ancestors are on the maternal or paternal side. An individual with any one such ancestor always has to assert his/her legitimacy and rights within the community he/she lives in, because the community never automatically accepts individuals with Evenki/Tungus ancestors as equals.

The position of women with regard to this question is less ambivalent than that of men. Whether a woman is 'Buryat' or 'Evenki/Tungus' is

not important for the Steppe Buryats; what is important is the fact that women are generally 'not ours' (*kharin* = foreign), i.e. that they comply with the requirement of exogamy and patrilocal residence in order to qualify as marriage partners. Steppe Buryats perceive Evenki/Tungus as foreign, and Evenki/Tungus women as doubly so.

Similar to Steppe Buryat men, Steppe Buryat women label other women with at least one Evenki/Tungus ancestor as Evenki/Tungus (*khamnagan*). Steppe Buryats often refer to the treacherous Evenki/Tungus character and their 'blood' (*khamnagan shuhan*).

Regarding men with some Evenki/Tungus ancestry, the situation is more complex: if a man of mixed descent has a Buryat ancestor in the paternal line, he has the right to participate in communal sacrifices; he is, however, often excluded from the community's everyday activities. The individual may occupy an important niche within the community by filling a leading position in sacrifices and certain other ceremonies. His status as an outsider can not, however, be overcome.

Exclusion is relevant not only at the level of exogamy (which in the Buryat case extends to seven generations on the paternal line), but also beyond it. Neither women (regardless of their ethnic background) nor Tungus can be 'legendary' ancestors. Exclusion works on the imaginary (spiritual) as well as on the everyday (experiential) level. In fact, Sántha's Steppe Buryat informants do not distinguish these two levels.

Steppe Buryats do not allow their children to come into close contact with Evenki/Tungus youths, as they fear that their children might sexually engage with the Evenki/Tungus and thereby cause the Buryat family to get entangled in a relation with the Evenki/Tungus.

Now we shall briefly examine the question of whether an Evenki/Tungus can become a Buryat from the Taiga Buryat point of view. While among the Buryats in general, any one Evenki/Tungus ancestor automatically means that an individual has Evenki/Tungus ethnic features, in the eyes of the Taiga Buryats this criterion loses its importance beyond the seventh generation of forebears (since exogamy requirements do not extend beyond the seventh generation). Interestingly, there is an asymmetry not only with regard to intermarriage patterns but also with regard to the recognition of ancestors within the Taiga Buryat society. In the paternal line the threshold of clearly remembering and counting ones forebears is the seventh generation, whereas in the maternal line, the threshold is perceived in a different way. Tungus ancestors in the maternal line between the third and seventh generation are considered to be powerful and potentially dangerous ancestors – and they render their power to the ego.

In short, for a Taiga Buryat it may even be expedient to have some Evenki/Tungus forebears. It may help to emphasise a person's positive characteristics and to improve his/her status within the community.

Among the Taiga Buryats, Evenki/Tungus can achieve a prominent place among the community's legendary ancestors.

In addition to intermarriage and descent, another phenomenon deserves to be mentioned: spatial distance. If the wife of a Buryat originates from far away, she is often labelled as Tungus. This again highlights the connection between the quality of being 'foreign' (the genuine 'other') and the concept of Evenki/Tungus ethnicity among the Buryats.

Complementary filiation (maternal ancestors in a patrilineal society) is thus a recurrent theme in Anywaa as well as Steppe Buryat ideology of purity of descent.

We now turn to a set of research questions and comparative points which can be applied to all three of the dyads compared.

Forms of Resource Competition: struggle versus scramble

Resource competition is a widespread explanation for ethnic conflict. Not all resource conflicts, however, are ethnicised and not all ethnic discontinuities are lines of conflict. Resource conflicts in Gambela often take more severe forms on the intra-ethnic level than between ethnic groups: "Competition over scarce resources in itself does not explain the development of mutually opposed ethnicities. In fact, competition over scarce resources has caused more deadly intra[-] than inter-ethnic conflict" (Dereje p. xix) Further down Dereje specifies that competition over natural resources is the main cause cited for intra-ethnic conflicts, namely inter-clan fights among the Nuer, and has created sub-ethnic interest groups, some of which are strategically positioned to benefit from inter-ethnic peace (p. 211).

But also at the interethnic level a number of contested resources can be identified. This, however, does not imply that all Nuer are lined up against all Anywaa; on the contrary, there are internal cleavages within each of the groups, and in extended case studies it becomes clear that there is a buffer zone of groups with links to both sides. To speak of Nuer/Anywaa resource conflicts is therefore a simplification. Contested resources comprise riverine floodlands, which form a minimal proportion of the total surface but have an outstanding agricultural importance, and the distributive state as a resource. Especially since the introduction of a federal order in Ethiopia in 1991 which led to the foundation of the Gambela regional state, and since the ethnicisation of politics at all levels, the state itself – namely political office, state revenue and facilities managed by the state such as educational and health facilities – have become hotspots of conflict. Ethnic politics in Gambela are interwoven with the civil war in Southern Sudan and the diaspora in Western countries, especially the USA, which is the focus of the research currently carried out by Christiane Falge.

The Kenyan metaphor about eating, which Mutie not only describes but takes up for his own analytical purposes, could be explored further in the field of competitive use of natural resources. Do Kamba and Maasai scramble for resources (pasture, firewood, agricultural land) like two people eating from the same bowl, so that the one who eats faster is the winner, or do they struggle for resources (fight, litigation, arbitration) like people fighting about a bowl of food and the winner taking it? There seem to be even more forms of competition than these two. We can learn from Mutie that people sometimes hide the fact that they are eating or share what is not theirs.

The distinction between 'scramble' and 'struggle' is reminiscent of that between 'sharing' and 'dividing' resources in the usage of Dafinger and Pelican (2002:12-15). Shared resources, if scarce, may become the object of a scramble, while divided resources (the example given is the neatly divided farming and grazing areas in North-West Cameroon) may lead to a peaceful and regulated situation if the division is accepted by both sides, or to a violent struggle if it is contested. To the extent that the ethnic divide between Buryat and Evenki coincides with the ecological divide between steppe and taiga, one can expect a peaceful division. Competition will arise in cases where the ecological divide is crossed. It then may take the form of a scramble, which might lead to the depletion of a resource (overhunting, overgrazing), or a struggle (attempts at violent exclusion).

In the Anywaa/Nuer case we seem to encounter a combination of scramble and struggle. Nuer crowding out Anywaa from the use of a certain resource, using their pastures or fishing in their waters, is certainly a form of scramble. Violent struggle, however, is not absent. The Nuer raid the Anywaa for their cattle. This leads us to the next section of this short essay. Open Nuer violence is met by the Anywaa, so the Nuer say, by treason and clandestine murder against the Nuer in their midst.

Raiding Pressure

The literature to the Maasai attributes the belief that all the cattle in the world were created by God for them. In precolonial times, the Maasai largely restricted central Kenyan Bantu speakers to the forested highlands. To the extent that these Bantu speakers expanded into the plains and competed with the Maasai in the cattle economy, they did so by adopting Maasai military organisation (the age-sets) along with Maasai weapons and ornaments. In a rather unkind way, they are referred to as '*Maasai-Affen*' in the older German literature. This expression reflects their propensity to imitate the Maasai in that early period. By and large, however, the Maasai were in control of the low lying open range, and they maintained this monopoly by raiding others who acquired cattle

herds of a size which made the adoption of a wider ranging mobile grazing system necessary and who thus came within the reach of the Maasai warriors. The raiding pressure they exercised helped the Maasai push their grazing areas to their ecological boundaries and to maintain this advanced boundary against ethnic Others. Kikuyu and Kamba expansion into Maasai lands should be seen in the context of colonial pacification and the policies of the postcolonial state, which in these central and southern areas has managed to establish a semblance of a power monopoly.

In the case of Nuer expansion against Anywaa we see raiding pressure at work right now in the present period. Raiding people for their cattle has the side-effect, intended or unintended, of making them vacate particular areas. In these areas other resources, like agricultural lands, can then be appropriated as well.

The Buryat steppe nomads are rich in cattle and the Evenki live in an environment where cattle can easily be hidden – the taiga. The Evenki have quite a tradition in raiding the Buryat, but as their forest habitat does not offer open grazing areas to an extent that permits cattle keeping on a larger scale, they practice ‘commercial raiding’: they sell the cattle they have acquired as loot, unless they consume them. This form of raiding does not lead to territorial expansion, because the two groups remain in their respective habitats: the Buryat in the steppe and the Evenki in the taiga.

When comparing Siberian and East African raiding, one has to keep in mind that the contested resource (cattle) might have quite different meanings within and between the two areas. Pastoralists, especially East African ones, might ascribe more ritual and social functions to cattle than hunters who are after the meat or the money. Also, while killing human beings may be associated with rituals of status promotion in Africa, it is not in Siberia.

Bridewealth, Intermarriage and Ethnic Boundary Shift

Bridewealth in livestock tends to be higher in societies richer in livestock⁵. It is higher among the pastoral Nuer than among the agricultural Anywaa, it is higher among the pastoral Maasai than among the agricultural Kamba, and it is higher among the more pronouncedly pastoral Buryat than among the Evenki, who are predominantly hunters. In the case of interethnic marriages, this means that suitors from the first mentioned group of each dyad find brides from the second group 'cheap'.

If we compare the dynamics of expansion, however, the fact that (ex-) pastoralists marry non-pastoralist women does not always have the same implications. Among the Maasai, those who have Kamba wives stay on Maasai territory and have to face their Kamba affines encroaching on their resources. The encroachment on land, which accompanies intermarriage, takes place in the opposite direction in the Nuer/Anywaa case. It is former Nuer pastoralists who marry Anywaa women and then settle in Anywaa lands and cultivate them. Intermarriage apparently has the potential to be a means of territorial expansion to both wife-givers and wife-takers, according to circumstances which remain to be elucidated. Another dimension of comparison would be the connection between intermarriage and violent conflict. There is ethnographic material from New Guinea to different parts of Africa, which suggests that this relationship can take a variety of forms. Often intermarriage is a de-escalating factor, but there are also cases where exogamy rules place potential marriage partners in the same categories as potential enemies, and others where intermarriage might even lead to conflict escalation, as affinal ties are the first to be cut by violent means when a war is started (Harrison 1991, Lang 1977).

The Buryat place a stronger emphasis on pastoralism and are richer in cattle than the Evenki, who are predominantly hunters. For Evenki it would be difficult to take a Buryat bride, because he would not be able to meet Buryat bridewealth expectations. The Buryat, on the other hand, regard marriage to Evenki women to be detrimental to their prestige. Therefore, intermarriage in both directions takes place on a very low scale. This may or not have always been the case. Sántha also wants

⁵ Notwithstanding this, even in purely pastoral systems there is much variation in the forms of bridewealth, from open to fixed systems, with or without delayed payments. Much of the literature on this has been reviewed by Schlee 1988. The different forms of bridewealth were found to correlate with the kinds of relationships with affines and with the importance and the quality of stock friendships with unrelated people and with affinal relatives. The theme has more recently been taken up in the framework of the Workshop on *Collective and Multiple Forms of Property in Land and Animals: cattle, camels, reindeer*, organised with Michaela Pelican, Florian Stammer and Patty Gray (Siberia Group), August 2002. The results of that workshop will be published as a book edited by Anatoly Khazanov and Günther Schlee.

to look into interethnic marriages in different periods to find out more about differences in social prestige of the different ethnic groups over time and whether or not there were clear ethnic hierarchies.

Wider Comparisons

The comparison of such dyads could be expanded by the cases Bisa/Fulbe in Burkina Faso (Andreas Dafinger), different Fulbe 'sub-ethnicities' like Huya/Mbororo in Cameroon (Martine Guichard, Michaela Pelican), Arab/Masalit in Chad (Andrea Behrends) and Uzbek/Kazak in Kazakistan (Tsypylma Darieva). As the on-going research produces results, this type of comparison will be pursued as far as it takes us, although we are aware that the world does not consist of dyads but of multiple interconnections, and that more complexity will have to be reincorporated at a later date.

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Deutschlandforschung:
**Research on Contemporary Issues in Germany at the
MPI for Social Anthropology**

John Eidson, Gordon Milligan and Tatjana Thelen

In *The Age of Extremes* (1996), his recent study of the twentieth century, the British historian Eric Hobsbawm describes the Cold War, perhaps somewhat counter-intuitively, as a golden age of political stability which provided a global framework for economic growth, technological progress, and social change of dramatic proportions. As we now know, growth, progress, and change often culminated in economic and demographic crises, which, in turn, contributed to profound political transformations, such as those beginning in Central Europe in 1989. Since the fall of the Berlin wall, the red letter dates have succeeded one another in quick succession: the reunification of Germany in 1990, the signing of the Maastricht treaty in 1992, the introduction of the Euro in most European Union (EU) member states in 2002, and recent decisions regarding the enlargement of the EU to include Central and Eastern European states. Taken together, these events signal a fundamental transformation in the political order of Europe, not least in Germany, the one country to have straddled the 'Iron Curtain'. Many of the scientists at the MPI for Social Anthropology are taking advantage of the opportunities that the current transformations represent for those who conduct research not only *in* but also *on* Germany.

In both departments and in the Project Group on Legal Pluralism, members of the scientific staff are currently doing research on aspects of contemporary German society. In addition, there are other scientists at our institute who have made significant contributions to German area studies. In order to exchange ideas, coordinate efforts, and plan joint projects, all researchers with an interest in Germany joined together in May 2002 in the *Deutschlandforschungsgruppe*, or German Research Group. Since then, members have met several times in order to discuss ongoing research or hear presentations by guest speakers.

At the MPI for Social Anthropology, research pertaining to Germany is currently being conducted on a broad range of topics, all of which concern the local significance of economic and demographic developments within changing legal and political frameworks. There are three main themes: (1) agricultural production and rural life in the new federal states of eastern Germany; (2) changing systems of social security in eastern Germany and other parts of Europe; and (3) migrants in transnational fields, which transverse state borders and lead people of different nationalities to pass through, take up residence in, or become citizens of Germany.

Agricultural Production and Rural Life

Within the Property Group in Department II, which focuses generally on the transformation of agricultural production and rural life in the former Soviet Bloc, there are two projects set in the new federal states of eastern Germany. While both projects are concerned primarily with the privatisation of agricultural production, beginning in 1990, analysis of recent developments is viewed against the background of the socialist and pre-socialist eras.

Planners in the Soviet-occupied zone (1945-1949) and the German Democratic Republic or GDR (1949-1990) engineered the dissolution first of the large agricultural estates and then of family farms, replacing them with nationalised or collectivised agricultural conglomerates in which managers, technicians, and workers were supposed to assimilate to models provided by nationalised industries and the urban workforce. It is common to distinguish several phases in this larger transformation: land reform (1945-1949), 'rural class struggle', that is, state policies favouring beneficiaries of land reform and members of the early socialist cooperatives, while discriminating against owners of large and medium-sized farms (1950s), the collectivisation of agricultural production (1953-1960), the consolidation of collectivisation (1960s), and the industrialisation and specialisation of agricultural production (beginning in the late 1960s). Privatisation began with the collapse of the East German party state in 1990.

John Eidson and Gordon Milligan are currently exploring the implementation of these policies and the strategic responses of farmers in case studies located on opposite sides of the great divide of German agriculture. The territories that made up the GDR are traversed diagonally by the Elbe River, which marks the historical boundary between the large estates of the northeast and the smaller farms of the southwest. Eidson's case study is set in Saxony, on the outskirts of the city of Leipzig. Though it is East German, this field site is thoroughly West Elbian, both geographically and in its typical characteristics. The second case study, carried out by Milligan, is set in western Pomerania near the Polish border, an area previously dominated by large estates but also including many family farms, which were, however, relatively large compared to their Saxon counterparts.

To ensure the comparability of their data, both Eidson and Milligan have based their case studies on *landwirtschaftliche Produktionsgenossenschaften* (LPG), that is, collective or socialist cooperative farms, which were much more numerous than state farms in the GDR. In each case, the unit of analysis is, however, the so-called *Kooperationseinheit*, or unit of cooperation. This term refers to cooperative farm complexes which were formed in the 1970s by merging several neighbouring LPG while separating them into interdependent enterprises for crop production

and animal husbandry. Units of cooperation are the appropriate focus, because they represent the culmination of developments under socialism and served as the point of departure in processes of privatisation. In each case study, research is based on long-term stays in the field site, during which time the researchers have made surveys of current enterprises, conducted interviews with experts in agriculture and agricultural administration, gathered oral histories of rural life from farmers and former cooperative farm members, and viewed primary sources in private and state archives.

Comparison of the Saxon and Pomeranian case studies indicates that the same or similar policies after 1945 and again after 1990 often had variable effects in different regions. The post-war land reform had a much more dramatic effect in the north, where more land was confiscated and redistributed among landless refugees and rural labourers. Eventually, this resulted in greater demographic fluctuation in western Pomerania than in Saxony, because most recipients of land later stopped farming and had to be replaced through resettlement programmes whose recruits also mostly proved transient. In both case studies, it was the remaining members of middle peasant families who, in conjunction with socialist functionaries, played a crucial role in the development of the cooperative farms. The class of middle peasants was, however, represented more strongly in Saxony than it was in Pomerania.

With the passage of reform legislation and with reunification in 1990, a heterogeneous agrarian landscape emerged in eastern Germany – one which still contrasts strongly with that of western Germany. One of the most remarkable results is the dominance of the legal successors to the socialist cooperative farms, which, though relatively few in number, are much larger than private farms and cultivate well over half of all arable land. There are also many new or re-established private farms, which are, on the average, over twice the size of their western counterparts; but the re-emergence of the family farm has lagged behind expectations. Given the predominance of small and medium-sized farms on the eve of collectivisation, especially after the post-war land reform, most landowners did not have enough land after restitution in 1990 to establish a farm that could survive under late twentieth century conditions. In addition, those who were capable of founding a new farm or re-establishing an old farm often did not do so, because they were too old and because their children had chosen other professions.

In the Pomeranian field site, the enterprises succeeding the former unit of cooperation include one large corporation with several thousand hectares and a handful of kin-based partnerships with a few hundred hectares each. All of these enterprises are run almost exclusively by a few former cooperative farm members, most of whom are from local farming families. The great majority of the former cooperative farmers

have gone into retirement or left the region. In the Saxon field site, where the process of privatisation was, on the whole, more controversial, the legal successors to the socialist cooperatives compete with small private farmers and with newcomers from West Germany and the Netherlands, who have often bought or who lease several hundred or several thousand hectares of land. Most types of farms can survive, given current levels of direct and indirect payments in the context of the EU Common Agricultural Policy. Surely, however, coming reforms of agricultural policy, together with changing market conditions resulting from the expansion of the EU, will have a variable impact on the different types of enterprises, perhaps favouring limited partnerships and corporate farms with few shareholders and few employees.

Social Security

In the Project Group on Legal Pluralism, there are two projects on changing systems of social security, one set in the harbour city of Rostock and the other in a Lithuanian resort in which people of various nationalities, including Germans, are active. In addition, members of the scientific staff of the MPI for Social Anthropology are currently seeking funding for a team research project on kinship and social security in several European countries, including Germany.

From an anthropological perspective, 'social security' is best defined broadly as that dimension of social organisation dealing with the provision of security not considered to be an exclusive matter of individual responsibility (von Benda-Beckmann et al. 2000). This formulation includes social security functions fulfilled not only by the state and its proxies but also by kin groups and by informal networks of various kinds. The broad anthropological conception of social security also encompasses the corresponding beliefs, values, and practices of the people whose security is at issue.

Tatjana Thelen's project explores changes in the normative rules and functions of different bearers of social security in the former GDR. The special situation of East Germany offers an unique opportunity to study the influence of law on social organisation and practice. With the transfer of the West German model to East Germany, former strategies and life perspectives had to be changed profoundly, but people's judgments of the new system are often still based on the way in which social security was organised before unification.

In contrast to the capitalist organisation of social security, the socialist welfare regime was centred on the right to work. During the socialist era in East Germany, an ever growing number of benefits were tied to the workplace. These included housing, medical care, childcare, shopping, and holiday facilities. Therefore, one important strategy for improving one's living conditions was to enter an enterprise that had more

resources than others. Because of the importance of the workplace in providing social security, Thelen has chosen to carry out a case study in what used to be a large socialist enterprise in Rostock, namely the *VEB Seehafen Rostock* (Rostock Harbour). This enterprise, which was newly founded during the socialist era, was given special priority by the socialist state and could, therefore, provide its workforce with many resources, especially housing facilities. It was one of the few enterprises that could advertise in national newspapers and on television, and it also allowed its employees to earn foreign currency in the form of so-called 'Valuta' (papers with a value in DM, which enabled one to buy consumer goods in special shops). In interviews people have said that they first learned of the possibility of working in this enterprise through the media and that they chose to work there because of the possibility of earning money and getting a flat in one of the newly built apartment houses.

With unification, the shortage of housing, consumer goods and services ceased to be a problem, and instead the threat of unemployment became the major source of insecurity. In the case of this enterprise, and elsewhere as well, many members of the workforce were sent home. These experiences and the constant threat of 'being the next' had an influence on social relations in the workplace. In addition, the housing facilities that were associated with the enterprise were sold, and most people who had the financial means to do so left the *Neubauggebiete* (socialist apartment complexes), which were downgraded socially. With these changes, personal networks experienced a profound transformation as well.

By concentrating on one formerly large state enterprise, Thelen is in a position to trace these changes on different levels. The firm's archive allows insight into the era when the workplace provided for the whole range of social security needs in the former GDR. Also, it contains information about social security practices still existing, such as 'care for the veterans'. Meetings and interviews with former workers give access to additional perspectives. Working habits and people's life histories show how these changes have affected individuals. By spending one month in each department of the firm, Thelen intends to explore the variable experiences of men and women, members of different age groups, and representatives of different levels of the organisational hierarchy. Additionally, she is doing research on two social projects and on one state agency providing help for unemployed young adults.

In a second project in the Project Group Legal Pluralism, Anja Peleikis is focusing on issues pertaining to cultural property and social security in a Lithuanian tourist centre with transnational ties to Russia, Latvia, and Germany.

A final project on social security is still in the planning stages. Max Planck scientists, led by Patrick Heady, are currently organizing a team

project, which is designed to describe and explain variations in the role of the family and kinship in providing social security in eight European countries, including Germany. The study is to be based on ethnographic methods and on interpretive and mathematical analyses of the resulting data. Ethnography and data analysis will also be supplemented with historical research intended to provide a plausible context for understanding contemporary variations and trends. This project, with the working title *Kinship and Social Security*, is intended as a contribution to policy debate and policy making within the EU, especially in light of the increasing diversity accompanying the process of enlargement.

Migration

Contemporary Germany has over 7.3 million foreign residents, who make up almost 9% of the population. In addition, many ethnic Germans have migrated to Germany from Poland or the Soviet Union and its successor states over the course of the last several decades. Among the scientists at the MPI for Social Anthropology, there is a rich tradition of research on migration to Germany and migrants in Germany. Lale Yalçın-Heckmann, who is currently working on the problem of agrarian transition in Azerbaijan, has conducted research among Turkish populations in the Federal Republic of Germany and in France, with special emphasis on ethnic associations and communities. Tsypylma Darieva, now studying the Uzbek minority in Kazakhstan, has written extensively on recent ethnic German and Jewish migrants from the former Soviet Union to Berlin. These earlier projects provide a rich basis upon which others are now building: Günther Schlee in his research on Somali migrants in Germany, Nina Glick Schiller, Ayse Çağlar, and Evangelos Karagiannis in their comparative study of migrants of various origins in Halle on the Saale and in Manchester, New Hampshire, and Boris Nieswand in his project on Ghanaians in Germany. In a separate essay in this report, these scientists reflect upon the participation of migrants in transnational social fields and on the ways in which they are incorporated into German society.

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Interethnic Clan Relationships in Asia and Africa

Brian Donahoe and Günther Schlee

Identity games tend to be played with double affiliations. These offer a choice, either to stress one or the other situationally or to give up one in favour of the other. Double affiliations can come about either by making appeal to different criteria (e.g. linguistic versus political belonging, genealogical versus local affiliations) or by an older set of social distinctions existing concurrently with cross-cutting newer boundaries.

There is empirical evidence that in some parts of Africa the ethnic divisions tend to be older than the subunits of these ethnic groups, which appear to be recombinations of clans that seem to have existed prior to the processes which led to the emergence of the modern ethnic groups (Allen 1994, Turton 1994).

At this point we can do one of two things: we can either join the long-standing debate on primordialism versus situationalism and see whether we can add some wisdom to it by either stressing the stability of social units or their relatively transient nature, depending on the examples we select. This may not sound terribly attractive. Alternatively we may try to explain these variations. Once we accept the variations in the data (instead of stereotypically explaining all observations away by ascribing them to a researcher's bias or one or the other 'school'), it is not difficult to find the right type of question to ask about them.

Under which conditions are clan identities stable and ethnic identities fluid and under which conditions is it the other way round? Or more generally: What are the conditions of higher or lower time stability of collective identities? (Schlee 2000: 4f)

The Cushitic speaking pastoralists of northern Kenya and southern Ethiopia comprise a number of large groups who are episodically hostile to one another, partly speak languages which are mutually unintelligible (Oromo, Rendille, dialects of Maymay Somali, dialects of Maxatiri Somali), and may or may not be Muslims. The level of difference found here makes it appear unproblematic to speak of distinct ethnic groups. Nevertheless, the same clans are found in these different ethnic groups to the extent that one can speak of a dense network of interethnic clan relationships.

Close examination of cultural features and historical data (Schlee 1989, 1999), derived from both oral and written sources, has revealed that these interethnic clan identities have come into being in three different ways:

1. The principle of patrilineal clan affiliation, by which a child becomes a member of the named descent group of his or her father, is

simple and has a high stability over time. Ethnicity appears to have a higher rate of change. Many clans therefore predate the present day ethnic groups. In the process of ethnogenesis of the present politico-military-cultural units, clans have split and their fragments have become parts of different emergent ethnic groups.

2. After the boundaries between the modern ethnic groups had started to come into being, individuals or groups have crossed them and affiliated themselves with another ethnic group. In the cases in which they had camels with distinct property marks, they did not give up their original clan affiliation.

3. In the course of the establishment of Boran Oromo hegemony (starting in the 16th century), non-Boran pastoralists were allotted, clan by clan, to certain Boran clans on whom they became politically and ritually dependent. These collective adoptions did not supersede the older clan relationships by descent or putative descent. People now had adoptive interethnic clan relationships in addition to 'real' interethnic clan relationships.

Scholars of the indigenous Turkic populations of south-Siberia – the Tyva, Tozhu, Tofa, Soyot, Dukha, and Khakass – have given a great deal of attention to the phenomenon of interethnic clans (see *inter alia* Butanaev 1994; Dolgikh 1960; Dolgikh and Levin 1951; Serdobov 1971; Vainshtein 1961, 1968, 1970, 1974). At first glance, these clans appear to have come about in the first of the three ways described above. Indeed much of the pre-Soviet and Soviet-era literature would support that thesis, and in some instances, it appears to be true. For example, the two Choodu¹ clans – Ak-Choodu and Kara-Choodu – exist among the Tofa of Irkutsk Oblast', the Tozhu of the Republic of Tyva, and the Dukha of Mongolia. The 1727 Kiakhta Treaty defining the borders between the Russian and Chinese Empires split the Choodu clans in such a way that some fell on the Russian side of the border and became incorporated into the people who are referred to today as Tofa, while the others fell on the Chinese side of the border and became part of the Tozhu people.

In fact, two of the five major clan names among the Tofa today – Ak ('White') Choodu and Choodu² (formerly Kara ('Black') Choodu) – have direct counterparts among the contemporary Tozhu on the southern slopes of the Eastern Sayan Mountains, where the two most prominent family-clan names are Ak (shortened from Ak-Choodu), and Baraan,

¹ A commonly used variant of this ethnonym is *Chogdu*.

² For two versions of a legend on the origins of the two Choodu clans among the Tofa, see Rassadin 1996:41 and Sherkhunaev 1975:220.

which derives from Kara-Choodu³. Boris Akovich Oybak-ool, local historian and story-teller in the Tozhu village of Kham-Syra, explained that the Tofa refer to the Tozhu as Choodu⁴, while the Tozhu still call all Tofa by the name Khaash (see also Dolgikh 1960, n. 152). Khaash (variants khash, kaash, kash) is another of the five extant Tofa clan names, and a component of yet another, Sary-Khaash⁵. These -khaash clans were all in the northwestern and central parts of the Tofa territory, shading toward the Kachin of Khakassia (who identify themselves as Khaash – see discussion of Khaash below). The two Choodu clans, Kara-Choodu and Ak-Choodu, were in the southeastern part of the Tofa territory, bordering Tozhu. In short, the Tozhu refer to all Tofa people in general using a widespread Tofa clan name (Khaash), and the Tofa refer to all Tozhu people in general using a different widespread Tofa clan name (Choodu), an indication that, in the past, the ethnic boundaries were perceived by local people differently than the official ethnic groupings that have been more recently constructed and reified via tax rolls, censuses, official state proclamations and, of course, ethnographers.

Starting in about 1930, the border between Mongolia and the USSR became increasingly strictly enforced until it was effectively closed in 1958 (Wheeler 2000), splitting the Choodu clans again, with those on the Soviet side still among the Tozhu people, and those on the Mongolian side going into the composition of Dukha (Tsaatan) people⁶. In these cases, geopolitics has split clans into different ethnic groups.

However, a more critical examination indicates that in most cases in southern Siberia it is more a phenomenon of interethnic clan ‘names’ than of actual interethnic clans in any practical sense, as exists among the Cushitic-language pastoralists of East Africa. But the very prevalence of interethnic clan names without apparent practical consequences raises important questions about the meaning of the term

³ The fact that the Kara-Choodu among the Tozhu became today’s Baraan clan is not disputed. However, I have never received a satisfactory answer as to the etymology of the name ‘Baraan,’ or why and when Kara-Choodu became Baraan. Serdobov is the only source I have seen that makes explicit mention of this: “In present-day Tozhu [1971] there are 125 Ak-Choodu families and 73 Baraan-Choodu families (clearly Kara-Choodu)” (Serdobov 1971:158; all translations of Russian-language sources by Brian Donahue). Members of the Baraan clan explained to me that *baraan* means “black” in Mongolian, and that their name was simply the Mongolian translation of *kara*, which means “black” in Tyvan as well as in most Turkic languages. In fact, “black” in Mongolian is *khara* (cognate with Turkic *kara*). However, the word *baraan* is defined in Bawden’s Mongolian-English dictionary as “dark, dark-coloured” (Bawden 1997:43), and is often used in conjunction with the word *khara* as an intensifier (e.g., *khara baraan kharankhi* “pitch-black darkness”; “extremely dark”). It is possible that in this way *Baraan* came to stand in for *Kara* in this clan name.

⁴ Interview from 4 July 1998, Kham-Syra, Tozhu District, Tyva.

⁵ The five extant clan names are: *Khaash*, *Sary-khaash* (or *Saryg-Khaash*), *Chogdu*, *Kara-Chogdu*, and *Cheptei* (or *Teptei*).

⁶ There are good reasons to consider the Tozhu and the Dukha as a single ethnic group, but officially they are recognised as two separate ethnic groups.

'clan' among the south Siberians, and about the processes of assigning clan names and the state's role in these processes.

In south Siberia, two different (but potentially related) processes have operated to produce the network of interethnic clan names. The first has to do with the relationship between ethnonym and toponym, and the second has to do with the extension of specific clan names to larger, more general groupings, in order to facilitate administrative control.

The ethnonym Soyot offers the best example of the first of these processes. Soyot is one of the most widespread of all clan names in southern Siberia, existing in one form or another among the Tyva, the Dukha, the Khakass, various Altaian groups, and formerly among the Tozhu. In addition, it is the ethnonym of a larger, officially recognised ethnic group living in the region of the Oka River in western Buryatia. The name is undoubtedly related to *Sayan*, which is the name for the entire mountain range system that traverses this region. The question then becomes: Was the ethnonym variously assigned because of the toponym, or was the mountain range named after the people? Is it possible that both of these occurred? In the first place, there may have been a group of people of indeterminate size who called themselves Soyot, or some variation thereof. On the basis of this, travellers or missionaries (or whoever it might have been who was in a position to label maps) named the mountain range after these people (Soyon is the plural of Soyot in Mongolian; Soyon and Sayan are variants of the same word). As the travellers carried on, they would have run into more indigenous peoples, living in the area of the mountains who seemed similar to these eponymous Soyot in language, lifestyle, and phenotype, and therefore labelled them all Soyot. Now what started as an ethnonym of one group in a relatively small area becomes widespread because it has become the toponym of a mountain range that covers a large territory encompassing several different ethnic groups.

The second of these processes requires more explication. Much of pre-Soviet and Soviet ethnography, influenced by the theories of Morgan and Engels, assumed that the lineage-based *rod* (clan) was the fundamental unit of social organisation among all peoples at the *pervobytnoe obshchestvo* ('primitive society') level of social development, as the Siberians were presumed to be (Pika 1999; Schweitzer 2000; Skalnik 1981). However, it is important to recognise that the Siberian 'clans' discussed in most Russian and Soviet literature were *administrative* clans, and the degree to which they corresponded to true lineage-based clans has been rightly called into question (Butanaev 1994; Dolgikh and Levin 1951; Ssorin-Chaikov 2003). With the advancement of colonisers from Tsarist Russia there arose the need to administer the peoples of Siberia, predominantly for the purposes of collecting *yasak* (tax or duty, usually payable in the form of sable and squirrel pelts). The nomadic hunting and herding populations of southern Siberia were scattered in small,

flexible, and fluid groupings of people based on principles of shared territory, descent, and collaboration in economic activities. These groupings, which were called *aals* (and various cognates in the different languages), might best be described as 'bands'. But they were far too numerous and cumbersome for administrative purposes, so administrators lumped together clusters of *aals* and called them *rod* (pl. *rody* 'clans'), and then lumped clusters of clans together into larger groupings, which came to be called *plemya* (pl. *plemena* – 'tribes'). Dolgikh and Levin discuss a few attempts by Soviet scholars to demonstrate "the necessity of distinguishing between the clan proper – i.e., based on blood relationships – and the administrative 'clan,' artificially created among the peoples of Siberia by Russian administrators", but note that these efforts had little impact on the dominant paradigm in Soviet ethnography, which tended to assume a one-to-one correlation between administrative clan and clan proper (Dolgikh and Levin 1951:95). Butanaev, himself a native Khakass, observes that "from the 17th through the 19th centuries among the Khakass, apart from administrative clan divisions there were traditional forms of social-ethnic affiliation according to *seok*" (Butanaev 1994:3). *Seok* (also *söök*) means 'bone' among the Turkic-language populations of southern Siberia, and can loosely be translated as 'clan' or 'lineage'.

To take the critique of the assumption of clan organisation one step further, there is good evidence suggesting that even the lineage-based clan proper was not the fundamental unit of social organisation among the indigenous Siberians:

[T]he term 'clan' in Siberia obscured a *different* form of social organisation: the territorial *obshchina*, consisting of groups of relatives, by blood and by marriage, through various genealogical lines. ...The significance of the *obshchina* as a universal form of economic territorial organisation, and as a structural unit for survival, autonomy, and the reproduction of the ethnos is especially important for minority peoples seeking to preserve their cultural and economic distinctiveness.⁷

The English term most closely approximating *obshchina* is 'community,' and such a community was most likely a cluster of bands. It has been suggested that one of the great shortcomings of Russian and Soviet ethnography was the failure to appreciate the difference between band and clan, and to assume a clan structure when in fact there was a band structure (Sárkány, personal communication 2003).

The Russian administrators' method of assigning names to clans and tribes has not been explicitly documented, but the existence of inter-

⁷ Pika 1999:65; see also Skalník 1981 for a review of the development of the concept of 'community' in Soviet ethnography.

ethnic clan names suggests that these artificially constructed clans were given the name of the dominant lineage or *seok* within a certain *aal*, or simply the name of the group with whom the Russians had established the best relationship. There would likely have been advantages to being the favoured *seok* and giving your name to the larger clan. The Russian administrators may have given that *seok* the official imprimatur of the state, the responsibility for collecting *yasak*, and the means of enforcing the collection of *yasak*⁸. Pressure to collect as much *yasak* as possible would have created the incentive for the main *seok* to claim as many of the surrounding people within its clan as possible. This method was extended to the construction and naming of larger ethnic groups such as tribes (see Butanaev 1994, discussed below). In some cases these larger groups were then split by geopolitics into different administrative regions. The fragments remain as clan names within different emergent ethnic groups, following the first of the three ways interethnic clans can come into being as laid out at the beginning of this essay.

Thus the existence of overlapping clan names can be explained, at least in part, by the *relational particularity* of ethnonyms from a given point of reference, which the Russian administrators did not sufficiently appreciate or take into account in such a way that their divisions and names for those divisions accurately reflected the self-identification of each of the named groups. Butanaev's (1994) discussion of the ethnonym Khaash illustrates the issue well. The contemporary Khakass ethnic group (for the most part currently residing in the Republic of Khakassia in south-central Siberia) is divided into four large subdivisions: the Kachins, the Sagais, the Koibals, and the Kyzyls. These subdivisions were constructed from smaller groupings by Russian colonialists for ease of administrative control (Butanaev 1994:3). The name Kachin is the Russified form of the self-designation Khaash, which in turn derives from the largest *seok* (clan) in the area, Khashkha, but under Russian administration this clan name expanded to encompass some 11 clans. The ethnonym Khaash is not limited to the Kachin, or even to the Khakass, however:

Through a comparative analysis of the ethnonyms among the peoples of South Siberia it becomes clear that the historic name *khaash* is characteristic of the ethnic formations of reindeer herding peoples of the Eastern Sayan. For example: *khaash* is one of the basic *seoks* [clans] among the Tofa; *khaash* is what the Tyva people call the Soyots of Buryatia; it is the Darkhat designation for the Tozhu; *khara-khaash* is the Tyva appellation for the Tofa. (Butanaev 1994:3-4)

⁸ See Ssorin-Chaikov 2003:1-2 for an example of indigenous Siberians vying with one another for official appointment as the local community "prince" responsible for collecting the fur tribute.

Butanaev explains that the same process occurred with the construction of the other three major subdivisions among the Khakass.

To extend Butanaev's analysis one step further, the ethnonym Khara-khaash is the basis for the name Karagas, which, until around 1930, was the general term for the Tofa (see above and Vainshtein 1961:21), an example of Russian administrators taking a *seok* name and applying it to a larger ethnic unit. In this manner the naming of clans and tribes by Russian administrators depended on where the administrators were standing at a given moment, and perhaps depended on with whom the administrators had more contact and better relations. This relational particularity is not limited to the foreign administrators, however. The naming could well reflect the relational perspective of the indigenous groups with whom the Russian administrators had contact. For example, a person of the Khaash group could name fairly specifically the clans or tribes immediately to his north, south, east and west, but beyond that, his naming of peoples further out would become more general until all peoples in any given direction from his perspective would blur into one. Accordingly, a person of the Khaash group may say, "Yes, we are Khaash, and those people next to us are Sagai, and beyond that they are all Soyot." But go to the territory beyond the Sagai, and the people there may say, "No, we are not Soyot. We are Choodu. And next to us are the Kara-Choodu. And beyond that they are all Soyot." Like Khaash, the widespread south-Siberian ethnonyms Soyot, Choodu, and Irkit (all with their variations) support this idea of relational particularity – they are all used to refer to quite specific clans in some cases and to much larger, general groupings in others cases, depending on where one is standing and with whom one is speaking. This, we believe, is the principle reason behind interethnic clan names in southern Siberia.

Thus in many ways the clan as a practical unit of social organisation in Siberia appears to be a relatively recent construct of Russian imperialism, and the existence of interethnic clan names in southern Siberia should be treated more as a phenomenon of administrative convenience than one of organically emerging social structure. Clan affiliation in south Siberia is not as salient and does not have the same degree of practical or ritual significance as among the Cushitic pastoralists, and any comparison with clans in Africa must always bear this in mind.

Yet there is still a sense of clan affiliation that manifests itself in the elaborate analysis of family histories that people with a common family-clan name go through in search of a common ancestor or relative, which they usually find. There is, then, a belief that all clan members are somehow related, and a feeling of affinity with other clan members. This is becoming more pronounced among clan members living in different nation-states, and is particularly true of the interethnic clans among the Tozhu of the Tyva Republic and the Dukha of Mongolia (dis-

cussed above), who are appealing to clan affiliation to call for more freedom to cross borders and to engage in transboundary cooperation.

One can summarise that in this part of Siberia it depends on the particular case whether a shared clan name in different ethnically or regionally distinguished populations points to actual shared patrilineal descent or a classification by some other criteria, often just a recent colonial imposition. The latter case seems to be more frequent. Irrespective of the 'historicity' of shared descent, beliefs about shared descent tend to attach themselves to similar or identical names.

In Africa we find basically the same phenomena. We find cases of clans in different ethnic groups⁹ which claim to be related by patrilineal descent, which amounts to claiming that they are the same clan. In some such cases these claims are supported by evidence stemming from cultural comparisons, oral history or the isolated old written source. In other cases the 'historicity' of these claims can not be corroborated. In yet other cases, even from the local perspective it becomes clear that belonging to a unit of the same name is not based on shared descent but on individual or collective adoptions or on forceful incorporation of captives.

There are also regional differences. Neither clans nor ethnic groups are immutable, but they may differ in the speed of their change. Schlee has found good evidence that many clans in northern Kenya¹⁰ predate the present-day ethnic divisions, while Newbury has found equally good evidence that in Rwanda and Eastern Zaire the opposite is true. Here no clans seem to be older than the ethnic groups, which, according to their traditions of fission and migration from each other, might have a time depth of 200 years (Newbury 1980, cf. Schlee 1985:19-20).

Both ethnic groups and clans tend to have a descent ideology. They either claim actual community of descent or to have "become brothers", i.e. they use the idiom of descent. In this sense both clans and ethnic groups are descent groups. Why in one cluster of peoples or in one region clans have the greater stability over time in comparison to ethnic groups and in another case ethnic divisions seem to be older than clans, remains a research problem. We seem to know very little about the conditions for the time stability of social identities; in other words, we have no general theory about the rate of change of social identities.

⁹ Structurally, a clan in one ethnic group might be something different from a clan in the neighbouring group, as far as exogamy rules, residence patterns or political forms are concerned (Schlee 1989: 8-29). To speak of an "interethnic clan relationship" therefore is shorthand for a relationship between a larger scale social unit claiming to be based on patrilineal descent with another such larger scale unit claiming the same patrilineal affiliation, although it may have quite different ritual, social and political forms and functions, and belong to another ethnic group.

¹⁰ Luling has found that the northern Kenyan pattern of larger units being made up of re-combinations of again and again the same smaller units expands well into southern Somalia (Luling 2002:79).

For a systematic comparison of different cases with such explanations in mind, whether a given interethnic clan relationship has a historical reality, and whether it actually has the time depth its members claim it to have, are important empirical questions. It is of little help, however, if different findings about the 'historicity' of clan relationships are invariably attributed to the period in which the authors who report them write or to other forms of authors' bias, as Willis (1997:583) does. There are not just differences in our minds. There are differences in the world out there, and with the help of epistemological scepticism and methodological scrutiny we have to seek agreement on those differences. As long as we cannot agree on having different but empirically equally valid findings we have no chance of explaining those differences.

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Department I: Integration and Conflict

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Integration and Conflict

Günther Schlee

1. Introduction

This part of the report tries to clarify some basic concepts of current studies on integration and conflict, as well as some which might not be so useful but which are nevertheless commonly used. These basic concepts comprise types of actors as opposed to the object of contention and passive victims, they comprise identity and difference and the social categorisations derived from them – in both their limiting and enabling capacity for the people using them – and they comprise the logic of identification, in terms of the costs and benefits of being the same or being different.

A very widely used concept and thereby a topic which cannot be ignored – though of limited analytical value – is ethnicity. Ethnicity is a complex means of identification based on a plurality of features. The list of criteria used for defining one ethnic group might differ from that used to define another. One might therefore doubt that ethnicity is one social phenomenon and suspect that it is a blanket to cover a variety of different social phenomena. In some settings, there are no ethnic groups even in the widest possible sense, because cultural discontinuities used to circumscribe groups elsewhere cannot be found in these settings and cultural variation takes the form of continua instead.

A closer examination of our conceptual tools reveals that they are sufficient to ask relevant questions about the changing composition of collective actors and the dynamics and logic of identification in hostile and peaceful forms of interaction. The department aims at answering such questions in a more systematic way than is usual in the discipline.

2. Necessary Distinctions: parties in conflict and objects of conflict

Those who discover the ‘true’ reasons for a conflict behind the alleged ones may be said to pursue an enlightened activity and to contribute to the critique of ideology. When we find that the conflict in Iraq was not about freedom, but about oil, we believe to have detected the tougher, more real, more important reason for war. Undoubtedly, naming the resources involved is an important part of explaining a conflict.

There are studies of great merit in which conflicts are treated from the point of view of the resources contested. One chapter deals with conflicts over oil, the next with those over water (Klare 2001). By naming the resource, however, we have only addressed one aspect of a conflict.

By way of illustration I will give a cynical example in the literal sense ('cynical' is derived from *kynos*: 'the dog'.)

Three dogs are served a feeding bowl. None of them wants to share peacefully; each wants more than a third. None of them is strong enough to chase the other two away on his own. Dogs One and Three bare their teeth towards Two. Two puts his tail between his legs and runs away.

What part of the conflict have we explained by naming the disputed resource? It was about eating, that much is true. But the more interesting problem is that of the borders drawn between the conflicting parties. Why One and Three against Two? Why not Two and Three against One? Or One and Two against Three?

To account for this problem is an ambitious task. We are not in the least able to predict which dogs will form an alliance against which. Even if we knew the story of the three dogs (Are two of them from the same litter? From the same kennel? What kind of experiences have they made in past alliances with each other?), we would not be able to make predictions of this kind if we had not beforehand studied on a broad basis which of the three levels of experience (kinship, origin, social learning) is more relevant for dogs in situations like this than others.

In constellations of conflicts, we have to differentiate between two kinds of distinctions: the distinctions between the parties in conflict must be distinguished from those between the conflicting parties and the object in dispute. The latter distinction is not always as simple as in the case of the dogs and the food in the bowl. The conflicting parties and the object of their dispute might be creatures of the same species, for instance human beings. If two women are fighting over one man, then this is a conflict between two persons, not between three. The third person is merely object of the conflict, just as the cattle snatched from each other by African pastoral nomads, or oil wells fought over by modern states which are not considered conflicting parties.

This is not as trivial as it may sound. A confusion of these two kinds of distinctions (party vs. party/party vs. object) occasionally leads even noted scientists to analytical mistakes. Cassanelli and Bestemann (1996) deny that the military conflicts in Somalia can be explained by referring to clans and lineages. Class is said to have taken the place of clan membership as the relevant criterion of distinction, particularly in the river oases in the southern part of the country. The distinction between peasants (in part former slaves) and central and north Somali who dominate them militarily is believed to be a class distinction.

So far, so good. A more thorough reading reveals, however, that the peasants in the south are as contested a resource as their land is. North Somali and central Somali of nomadic origin used to challenge each other's access to the fertile estates of the south, and whoever managed to seize power over these often also made their former owners submit to

their will as forced labourers. Cassanelli and Besteman (Besteman 1999, Besteman/Cassanelli 1996) in fact stress the peaceableness of the peasants and the fact that they are the victims of this conflict, but not themselves actors in the conflict. Now, whoever wants to recruit north and central Somali to make them fight against each other, regardless of whether he is a traditional leader or city-based warlord, and regardless of what the conflict is about, be it camels or airports, has to take clan membership and alliances between subclans of different clans into account. In what respect is class membership considered to have taken the place of clan membership in its significance? The class distinction exists between warriors and their prey, the peasants. If the patterns of alliances and oppositions among the fighting groups themselves are to be explained, one still has to rely on studies of clan structures. With their thesis of a replacement of clan structures by vertical strata (class), Cassanelli and Besteman have confused the distinctions between the parties in conflict with those between the parties and the object of the conflict, the bone of contention.

For someone who wants to investigate the actors' logic of action, the patterns of identification behind the opposing fronts, and the calculations on which alliances are based, the question of the contested resource is of rather secondary importance. Whether solidarity on a larger scale is oriented towards religious affiliation, language, nationality or province, or whether (on a smaller scale) I prefer to rely on my brother instead of my classmate, sometimes has very little to do with the object of the conflict for which those alliances are instrumentalised – be it a bank robbery, an election campaign, a war over oil or a war over arable land. The entire field of problems regarding the composition of the conflicting parties and the criteria used to define friend and foe, is at best touched on by the issue of the nature of the contested resources, but not explained by it.

This is the reason why Department I, 'Integration and Conflict', approaches this issue particularly with regard to the main question of identity and difference. According to which features does one classify ones friends and allies as similar to oneself? Which differences are referred to in order to draw a distinction between the enemies and oneself? What are the forces which shape these classifications? How do they change, how do they take new interests or new scopes of action into account?

3. Integration

Integration is by no means the opposite of conflict. It is possible to integrate into a conflict. There is a tendency in people to increasingly resemble their enemies. In Lahore, at the Indian-Pakistani border, the flags are lowered every night. This is accompanied by vigorous parade-step and frightening stamping. The own national symbolism is cele-

brated to impress one's enemy. What is directed against one another, however, is at the same time perfect interplay. The movements of the Indian and the Pakistani soldiers are exactly synchronous. One is the mirror image of the other. Even their uniforms are similar. They differ in specific emblems, but not in cut or overall impression.¹ If we compare the iconography of violence in wall paintings, the parades and songs of Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland, we find how much they resemble each other. In fact they only differ in certain diacritical features (Kenney 2002). Opponents adapt to one another. They develop a common language of symbols in which they fight one another. And this adaptation not only concerns symbolism, but also violent forms of conflict: escalation on one side leads to escalation on the other. Forms of social organisation develop under military pressure coming from similar forms in the neighbourhood. Early states might be an example for this. Furthermore, below we will briefly discuss age-group systems, which also seem to emerge in reaction to each other.

On the one hand, it is therefore possible for enemies to become increasingly similar, on the other hand, we have known since Durkheim, at the latest, that peaceful integration frequently results from quite different components mutually supplementing each other. On this broad scale, therefore, integration means embodiment within a larger systemic context – not necessarily acculturation or adaptation, but also integration into a heterogeneous whole, and not necessarily into a peaceful whole.

Social identities are often defined by their bearers in dissociating themselves from each other. Take religion. Different religions have claims of truth incompatible with each other, and they compete with each other for followers. Yet the common designation as 'religions' creates not only a conceptual, but also a political link between them. By subsuming a series of phenomena, including complexes of ritual and belief no-one has thought of as 'religious' so far, under the term 'religions', it becomes possible to discuss and administratively regulate the role of religions in society, and the relation of religions to each other as well as to politics and society. By way of the designation as 'religions', furthermore, a kind of meta-religious system develops to which individual religions adapt and which puts belief systems of different kinds under pressure to pose as 'religions'².

¹ Source: a TV feature.

² 'Religion' is a highly culture bound concept of doubtful universal applicability. Cf. also the essay on *North-East Africa as a region for the study of changing identifications and alliances* in this volume. It might be convenient in the Siberian context to regard shamanism as a 'religion' alongside Christianity and Buddhism. But if we look at some other sub-systems into which we conventionally compartmentalise 'culture', it might fit just as well into 'medicine', while the great tradition of Buddhism (as distinct from its popular varieties) might rather be a 'philosophy' than a 'religion'. Buddhism is a classical example for discussing definitions of religion. (Durkheim 1912, Spiro 1966: 88 f)

Another important classification of this kind is ethnicity. Although for ethnic groups, the same is true as for religions – that is, that ethnic groups are not only defined in opposition to each other, but also adapt to common meta-ethnic systems in which they communicate with each other via their distinctions – popular opinion is that ethnicity has rather a high potential for conflict. For the media, ethnicity has downright become a universal explanation for recent conflicts. For this reason, I will first of all give some explanations regarding ethnic groups.

4. *Ethnic Groups*

The fact that in Germany the science investigating humanity in its diversity is called *Ethnologie*, suggests that everywhere there are ethnic groups between which this kind of relation can exist, in fact that ethnic organisation is the universal system of classification of mankind. This also corresponds to the popular view: the human race consists of peoples, and peoples consist of individuals.

As always, the problems arise when we look closer. If in a pre-colonial African village, situated at a riverside, the inhabitants were asked who else resembled them and who apart from their own village belonged to them, they would possibly answer that the residents of the next village downriver and also those of the next village upriver could quite easily be understood, their language was very similar to one's own and their customs were quite similar as well. One village further in each direction, however, this was not the case, they would say. In the next village one would receive the same answer: the residents had a feeling of belonging to the inhabitants of the village first visited by the questioner, and to those of the next village, which by the residents of the first village were felt to be quite different already. And so on: every one has a feeling of similarity or belonging towards their immediate neighbours, but not towards more distant neighbours. What we have here is a continuum: language and culture change gradually, and also the feeling of belonging shifts continuously (Elwert 1989: 445).

In contrast to this, the existence of ethnic groups is based on discontinuities. Ethnic groups are not continua, but groups, large groups usually. Groups have group boundaries; they do not merge into one another. In case of double membership one is simultaneously a member of two different groups. In the case of ethnic groups, these boundaries are marked by cultural discontinuities. Language, occupation, customs, and traditions frequently very abruptly differ when one moves from one ethnic group to another. Often it is precisely the neighbouring parts of two ethnic groups who most strongly stress the differences, by referring to the same features the observer has noticed himself, or to quite different ones. Ethnicity is expressed at the border (Barth 1969).

In many places, continua were interrupted and borders drawn only under colonial influence. Bible translators picked out one dialect and

this way triggered a linguistic standardisation in the course of which neighbouring dialects were annexed to it. This way, linguistic continua were divided into different languages. Administrative officials needed tribes according to which they could organise their districts, and continua were of no use to them. Many modern ethnic groups originate from such processes in colonial times (Lentz 1998), others date further back, others less far. Somewhere, there are continuously processes of ethnogenesis taking place. Ethnogenesis is always an interethnic process, because ethnic groups distance themselves from each other. Often, perceptions of members of third ethnic groups enter into the process of the drawing of borders between two ethnic groups; this was, for instance, the case when the English or the French made such classifications.

According to what criteria ethnic borders are marked is different from case to case, but there is always a plurality of features. If it only concerns religion, the group is called a religious group, if it only concerns income related activities, the group is called an occupational group. Characteristically, there is a combination of history, language, customs, norms... Most frequently, but basically mistakenly, language is attributed the function of a dominant feature for ethnicity. When Europe was divided anew after World War I, in some places the language census even replaced the questioning of the population for their preferred affiliation (Dench 1986). With regard to the relation between language and ethnicity, however, it must be said after empirical examination that every conceivable possibility may indeed occur in reality.

There are ethnic groups, and also ethnic groups drawn up as nation-states, i.e. nations, which almost exclusively refer to their language. More recent debates on a German *Leitkultur* ('leading culture') in the context of immigration provided proof of the helplessness of those who wanted to attribute contents or values to Germanness beyond the language, which were to be compulsory for immigrants. Are not the democratic values compulsory for all of us? Certainly, but in what way are they specifically German – are they not compulsory for the French, as well? Similar things are true for the 'Christian-occidental' origin of parts of our culture. Furthermore: do we want to establish this for the agnostic? How will a normative realisation of this be squared with the freedom of religion guaranteed by our Basic Law? What is the talk of a Christian incident supposed to mean for our Muslim and Jewish fellow citizens? What remains, therefore, is the language.

At the other end of the range there are ethnic groups whose members have no common language, but who doubtlessly are ethnic groups, because they behave as such and can refer to a series of common features, on exactly the plurality of features, which make up the ethnic character

of a group. Our last report³ discusses the Garre in North-East Africa as an example for such a group.

If there exists an ethnic feeling of unity based on other features, an ethnic group may tolerate a high degree of linguistic heterogeneity. Minimal differences in dialect can on the other hand be build up into evidence for a different ethnic character, if nationalist agitation is aimed in this direction. The most recent splitting up of the Serbo-Croat language into 'Serbian', 'Croatian' or even 'Bosnian' may serve as evidence for this.

5. Change

Reference to different features like language, religion, or the diverse real and supposed elements of the history of an ethnic group or its precursor populations opens new scopes for politics of identity. Leaders of ethnic movements or cross-border commuters pursuing some kind of matter in neighbouring ethnic groups can stress linguistic or religious common grounds as required. Linguistic-nationalist movements can become religious movements and vice versa, according to which ideology is in demand at a given time and where support is demanded: movements of this kind can 'switch', i.e. they change their frame of reference of identification (Elwert 2002).

A situational 'switching' or a change of ethnic affiliation via identification efforts stretching over years or even generations, is also possible for individuals or small groups. In Anatolia, religious borders run diagonally to linguistic-ethnic ones. There are Turks, Zaza-speaking Kurds, and Kurmanji-speaking Kurds, and in all three groups there are Sunnite Muslims and Alevites. Only after migrating to Germany have many Kurds realised the heterogeneity and wide distribution of 'Kurdishness'; some of them had previously believed that all Kurds spoke Zaza and were Alevites like themselves at home in their valley in Dersim. But not only is a strengthening of Kurdish consciousness imaginable in this situation. In this new context of Turkish citizens living in Germany, it may occasionally be more advantageous to refer to religious common grounds between Sunnite Kurds and Turks or between Alevite Kurds and Turks (Firat 1997).

Different groups of nomads live in an area of extensive, dry lowlands in northern Kenya; they speak Cushitic languages and keep sheep, goats, and most importantly camels, which among some of them are the object of rituals and a central part of their lives. The Garre live here, and next to them live the Oromo speaking Gabra and Sakuye, as well as the Rendille, who speak a language similar to Somali. The differences in costume and habitus between these ethnic groups are also distinctive. Some of them are Muslims; others adhere to an archaic sky god who

³ Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology Report 1999-2001: 58.

has thunder and rain at his command. Due to military spreading on the one side, and dispersal and new groupings on the other, numerous clans are today represented in more than one of these ethnic groups. The term for 'enemy' and for 'member of a foreign ethnic group' is the same in each of the languages spoken in this area. Livestock theft and war are not infrequent among these nomads, although one has to reckon with some of his enemies being clan brothers due to interethnic clan relations. If one knowingly got involved with clan brothers, they would avoid direct confrontation, but if they do not know, they do not care.

Even if the interethnic clan relations cannot help to avoid war, they do occasionally help to cope with the consequences of robbery and war. In one seemingly paradoxical case, Rendille who had been attacked by Gabra found refuge with other Gabra who were their clan brothers. There they also received camels by way of compensation for the ones stolen by the other Gabra.

Not only victims of war seek refuge with other ethnic groups, but also people impoverished by livestock diseases, or people in whose own area it failed to rain, the pastures surrounding the water holes are overgrazed, and the livestock is in danger of dying. In this context, interethnic clan relations forge important links between ethnic groups. That does not mean that one automatically becomes member of another ethnic group just by being accommodated by clan brothers. At first, one remains a guest with a foreign language and foreign customs, being from foreign descent. Admission to the host's ethnic group can be performed ceremonially at some point in the future, or it can happen gradually by the force of habit over the years and generations.

For centuries, such changes of ethnic affiliation have happened frequently. Victims of poverty and persecution find refuge with neighbouring ethnic groups. Other people are captured. Generations later, other refugees from war and famine, who know about descendants of a clan brother living with a neighbouring ethnic group, follow them. Nomadic groups also divide into regional grazing communities horizontally to clans, if for instance it has rained in two areas situated at great distance from another. Regional clusters of this kind might suffer a different political and military fate and turn up again in different alliances or ethnic groups. Due to processes of this and other kinds, clans and clan fragments are re-grouped into ethnic groups, which have not previously existed in this form.

An important variable in this re-grouping is the size of the developing entities. Ethnic groups which are too small can be wiped out entirely and might later only be found in the traditions of origin of individual clans among their triumphant neighbours, just like those members of expelled ethnic groups who were left behind. To be able to assert oneself as an independent political entity under the circumstances prevailing in

north Kenya and south Ethiopia requires an ethnic group of a certain size, with sufficient potential for mobilisation. None of the ethnic groups in this area can afford to comprise less than 20 000 members without collaborating with a dominant neighbouring ethnic group, and at the same time accepting their protection as well as the disadvantages resulting from dependence and a lower status. The larger groups also foster alliances with each other (Schlee 1984, 1985, 2000).

The advantages connected to a bigger size are so obvious that one might ask oneself why the most forceful ethnic group of this area has not wiped out, expelled, or assimilated all the others a long time ago. It happens all the time that smaller groups face the option of joining a bigger one or of being annihilated. Why does this process not simply continue until – in a particular area or in any frame of reference whatsoever – there is only one ethnic group left? Which factors are responsible for different ethnic groups continuing to exist next to each other?

6. Costs of Coordination

One factor limiting size is the fact that size is not free of charge. That is true for ethnic groups as well as for any other groups. The costs involved in coordination rise with the number of relations to be fostered. This number, on the other hand, rises exponentially when the size of the group rises arithmetically: Two people have one relation to each other, three people have three relations, four people have six, and five people have ten relations to one another, if each person has one to each other person. Of course, the latter is not the case for large groups, and even for smaller groups only to different degrees. Groups are structured internally: Not every person has direct contact to every other person. This way, the costs of communication remain tolerable, and at the same time possible gaps develop within the group.

The costs of communication depend on the technology of communication. New technologies can make communication cheaper and this way make bigger organisational connections possible. One example for this is the introduction of script. In relation to a constant amount of knowledge, script reduces the costs necessary for efforts of memory and for the passing on of this knowledge. More complex tax systems, as well as political and military organisations based on them, are only made possible by script. By using script, a successful coordination of the activities of a larger number of people becomes possible.⁴ States with a bureaucracy usually comprise larger populations than scriptless groups in areas not controlled by a government, not only nominally, but also in terms of perceptible influence. The computer is a major step in the further development of script. The connection between group size and costs of com-

⁴ On organisational changes brought about by writing cf. Goody 1987: 54 ff, Assmann 1992.

munication remains the same, only the scale shifts. Problems of communication which might lead to splits emerge without script in case of growth by the thousand, while with script they emerge in case of growth by the million.

7. Control

An important form of communication is the acquisition of knowledge about whether a person receiving any payments or services from another person will render the expected service in return. Furthermore, as someone who performs their share in communal tasks, people would like to know whether everyone else, or those ordered to do so, perform their share as well, and whether the norms agreed on are observed. Another term for this kind of acquisition of knowledge is control. In small groups in which everyone knows everyone by sight, control does not require technological support or special forms of organisation. However, in larger societies, especially in the ones which are not uniform, but internally complex, every member expects a particular kind of behaviour and particular services at particular times from people he does not even know. This requires organisations, which guarantee control. The problem of control intensifies with the increasing size of social entities.

8. Trust

If norms are inspected for their observance and enforced, they are called laws, if not, they are called morals. The place of control for laws is taken by trust or the imposed demand of trust for morals. There are people who regard observance of morals as something higher than law-abidingness enforced by threat of punishment. The problem with morals, however, is that their mode of operation is immoral. They are always beneficial for those who violate them, just as trust is always beneficial for those who break it first.

If we agreed on leaving our cattle in a meagre area and not driving them to where it has rained, so that the grass can regrow there, and I am the only one not keeping to this agreement, then my cattle will eat the best grass. If we agreed on each paying five Euros into a cash-box for coffee, and I do not keep to it, then I am the only one getting the coffee for free. If you trust me to pay back your credit, and I do not, then I have the money and you are left with nothing. Your trust was useful. Only, it was useful for me, not for you.

To compensate for this mode of operation of morals, which is opposed to their objectives, control sneaks into morals, too. Pressure of observation is generated, one's good reputation and the possibility of losing it are appealed to, and social sanctions are imposed. The difference between moral norms and laws disappears to the same degree that this

happens. If the difference is maintained, however, moral always refers to the system of norms less controlled, and more dependent on trust.

If I do not know a person, it is an unreasonable demand to trust him. If, however, I know at least his father, his boss, or clan elders, I have someone to complain to, should the occasion arise. Trust, therefore, not only depends on size or manageability of groups, but also on their internal structuring and hierarchisation. Trust among individuals, among equals, is particularly difficult.

This is valid for international relations. Technically, all nation states are equal and sovereign; none can force another to do something. International jurisdiction is weak and has no staff of enforcement. It can only ask individual nation states or their military alliances to enforce their decisions. Accordingly intensive is the way the states observe one another, as to whether they justify the trust imposed on each other. Frequently, they do not. But even striking violations of norms are often ignored or rhetorically embellished, because it is impossible – or not desirable – to sanction them.

The Somali are another example. The modern state failed again and again there, or showed unforeseen developments. Here, we speak of the conditions under which many Somali still live as distant from the state. There, all male Somali are equal. If one of them is killed, a hundred camels have to be paid as reparation, no matter whether it was a baby or an old man. Does this sum really have to be paid? It has, to escape vengeance. If one's own group is strong enough to repel the strike of revenge or to prevent it by intimidation, then the reparation is not paid. The Somali do have a traditional system of norms and a notion of right and wrong. Only, they do not have a central institution instructed to enforce the rights. The victims have to take care of that themselves. If they are not able to, they are in the right, but they do not get their rights. In this respect, the Somali act like nation states. Clan cohesion is important for the Somalis' ability to assert themselves. Smaller groups join larger ones as *sheegat*, as 'those who name': they name the ancestor of the stronger, allied clan as their own. They become adoptive clan brothers.

Appealing to fraternity creates trust. And trust is beneficial to those who break it first, as we have seen. In Kenya, there are entire clan groups descending from captured women. Darood Somali had joined the Warr Day-Oromo as *sheegat* and grew strong under their protection. When they were strong enough, they massacred their protectors and stole their livestock and their women. That means that mistrust is reasonable, and this divides groups. The reverse effect of morals, i.e. the rewarding of a breach of trust, therefore, also leads to a group mosaic with smaller pieces – and this in a world so hostile, where the advantages of size are so obvious.

It is these analogies between segmentary societies and international systems – both characterised by the absence of law enforcing mechanisms – which have led to cooperation with various law institutes within the Max Planck Society about the theme *Retaliation, Compensation and Punishment: dealing with wrongs with and without super-ordinate institutions*.

9. *Sharing Costs*

Certain costs decrease in spite of increasing costs of communication and administration with growing group size. The costs of an institution can be divided by the number of those entitled to its use. By way of a tax system the users pay for the institution, and the more other people are involved in this, the cheaper it gets for the individual. This is a decisive reason for the roads in Africa being in a worse condition than the ones in Europe. One kilometre of road is much more expensive per person reached by it in Africa than in Europe. For the building of a modern infrastructure, Africa is underpopulated. Of course, the pleasure of decreasing costs per head fades when the number of users increases to the degree that one gets caught in traffic jams. This leads us to another crucial factor limiting group size: crowding.

10. *Crowding*

The example used by Hechter (1987) to explain his idea of ‘crowding’ is a golf club in the country. A large membership in a club reduces the costs for the individual. Membership subscription can be lowered without the financing of the clubhouse or other conveniences being affected. However, if the crowding gets too massive, the leisure value decreases. One has to wait until it is one’s turn to play. In the clubhouse service takes longer, the noise level increases, the atmosphere becomes tense. Many of the better-off members of the club will wonder whether it might be preferable to be a member in a smaller, more ‘exclusive’ club and in return accept a higher club subscription.

The factor of sharing costs favours larger groups until the tolerable limit of the reverse factor, the ‘crowding’, is reached. On the consumption side, i.e. if the focus is on dividing up benefits brought by an institution, less people involved are preferable, because this way more remains for the individual. To illustrate this connection, we will leave the distinguished surroundings of the golf club and proceed to the less distinguished company of a band of robbers.

11. *Distribution of Booty*

A band of robbers must be big enough to overpower their victims, to defend their territory and their booty against other gangs, and to face up to the police. If it is not big enough, the members had better join other bands of robbers or recruit members among sons of peasants not

entitled to an inheritance. But once a gang has reached the necessary size, each further yokel turning up and wanting to be admitted to the band is a nuisance. If the band is larger than necessary, the booty has to be shared among more people than were required to make it. Attempts will be made to give less to some persons or to leave them out of consideration. There will be quarrels which will lead to a split (reduction of band size) or maybe even to a gang war (reduction of the total number of robbers). Another possibility is betrayal. A part of the gang gets 'busted', and this way the police is instrumental in reducing one's co-robbers in number.

'Distribution of the booty' as a limiting factor to group size cannot only be applied to bands of robbers:

1. A person who wants to establish a coalition has to assemble 51% of the votes – or maybe some more to be on the safe side, because you never know who will be in bed with influenza during a ballot. To enter into an unnecessarily big coalition, however, would mean to give away posts of ministers to brokers of votes which are not needed for the ballot.⁵

2. An entrepreneur has to consider how many partners he wants to give a share in his venture. If he regards the risk as tolerable, he will want to invest as much of his own capital – or from a manager's perspective, to keep the influence of the organisational areas controlled by himself as high as possible – so that he will have to give away as little as possible of the profit.

3. A conqueror will not want to win more allies than he requires to achieve his military objective. Otherwise he would have to share the conquered area and newly acquired sinecures with persons he did not even need.

Recognition as an ethnic minority is advantageous in many countries. This might concern seats in regional parliaments, or hunting and fishing rights reserved for 'traditional' hunters and fishers, or property rights to old tribal territories, the value of which has increased, because the outskirts of the city have reached them or because mineral resources have been found there, or it might concern a special legal status which permits opening a casino. To be recognised as an ethnic minority, a group must appear in public, must have access to the media, and must bring a certain political influence to bear, for instance in the form of a concentrated vote potential. Even if this does sound paradoxical, a certain group size is necessary to qualify as a minority. If, however, the aspired status is achieved, one will not want to share the acquired resources with too many other persons. There will be a discussion as to whether a blood ratio of one sixteenth is sufficient to identify someone as a member of the minority, or whether it should be insisted on an

⁵ The theorem of the 'minimal winning coalition' originates from Riker (1962).

eighth; and as to whether members have to be recognised who do not even know the old language and customs. To use the sociological jargon: efforts of 'purification', 'culturalist discourses', and 'rhetorics of exclusion' can be expected.

The unwillingness to share will be articulated most strongly by those who in case of a splitting have the biggest chance of keeping sole access to, or at least the lion's share of the booty, and who consider themselves payers and not beneficiaries of redistribution to the weaker members. Within states, separatist tendencies are not only to be found in marginalised and exploited areas (which, to stay with the image of the band of robbers, are not members of the gang, but victims), but frequently precisely in areas doing well economically. For the latter, the disadvantages of staying together outweigh those of splitting up. Nobody volunteers to share. One example for a 'strong' area having parted from the rest of the country is Slovenia, the successor state which was the first to free itself from the Yugoslavian confederation. The *Lega Nord* of Italy also is driven by the unwillingness to drag along the economically weak southern part of the country.

Apart from the question whether one wants to give someone else a share of the booty, the question whether one is able to is also important. Post-colonial states in Asia and Africa, often furnished with arbitrary borders, had to fabricate national cohesion with ideological efforts ('nation building'). These states have created elites bound to them by a promise connected with education. Those who attended school, learned the official language, and acquired certain abilities, were sure to find work. Those who went to university could even expect to acquire a leading position in the public sector. This worked for the first generation of graduates of the educational institutions, because the former colonial powers had left many vacancies. The state's rewards for loyalty were occupational opportunities and maintenance payments (Gellner 1995). The second generation of graduates was locked out. The growth, the 'development' promised by politicians, had failed to happen. The stagnating economy had become a zero-sum game: Every person who found a job took it from someone else. This is one of the most important causes for the violent disintegration of states, which we can observe in many parts of the world. Every larger entity must provide the individual (or at least those individuals who are politically influential) with a disproportionately big advantage, otherwise it will disintegrate back into smaller entities. Who cannot pay for loyalty does not deserve it.

12. Niches

Let us assume that the band of robbers visited by us above somehow managed to evade the described tendencies to split. Perhaps a charismatic leader appeared among them who invoked cohesion. The band grew bigger and bigger and undertook one successful raid after the

other. At some point, booty became scarce. The robbers' success petered out. All peasants had already been robbed several times. They were completely impoverished by now and had no more to give. Instead, they asked to be admitted to the gang themselves. Development planners call this the overuse of a resource.

Other examples for an overuse of resources are nomads who, deprived of their mobility, let their cattle graze in the remaining area until the vegetation cover is permanently damaged; farmers who shorten the fallow period and exhaust the soil because of farmland becoming scarce; states who tax their citizens to a degree which makes it impossible for them to develop economically any more. If, however, the robbers do not rob everything and the peasants have something left for the following year, if the cattle eat only as much grass as can regrow, if the farmers succeed in preserving the fertility of the soil, and if the states impose taxes only to the extent that their citizens can continue to lead a productive life and still pay their taxes in the following year, then we call this a 'sustainable use of resources'.

The robbers only have a certain area of roaming around their robbers' castle at their disposal, and they cannot raid peasants living further away without secure retreat and without getting in the way of other gangs. The nomads cannot just move on, because agriculture has spread and other parts of their former pastures have been fenced in by ranchers. The farmers do not have access to primeval forest they could clear any more, and they are also not strong enough to expel other farmers from their land. The states cannot simply conquer other peoples to continue imposing taxes after ruining their own peoples. The lack of domestic economic power will prevent a military success. If all this is the case, and if none of the described alternatives are given, then we speak of limited niches. The robbers, the herders, the farmers, and the states all have to make a living in their respective niches. The use of resources has to be sustainable for the reason that it takes place in limited niches. This is also a factor limiting growth.

Niches are not only limited; they also differ from one another. The concept originates in ecology.⁶ Two animal species cannot permanently exist next to each other in exactly the same ecological niche. One of them has an adaptive advantage, however small it may be, it will reproduce more and thereby sooner or later drive out the others entirely. If they do not differ in habitat, they will differ with regard to their food. If they also share the same food, one species will be diurnal, the other nocturnal. Human societies are also able to coexist peacefully if they make use of different niches. In many places, the herders and the farmers are ethnically different: they speak different languages and follow

⁶ For Pius Mutie's application of this type of reasoning to Maasai/Kamba relations, see the essay on "Three dyads compared", this volume.

different customs.⁷ Ethnic groups have specialised into different occupational niches and this way avoided competition.

13. Trade

A consequence of the differentiation of occupational niches of neighbouring ethnic groups is that each group has something the other one does not have. Trade becomes an important form of interethnic integration.

Between the Maasai and the Kikuyu in pre-colonial Kenya, the differentiation between occupational niches was incomplete.⁸ The Maasai (to be exact, only certain groups of Maasai, but those living in close proximity to the Kikuyu) lived as specialised cattle nomads in the plains of the Rift Valley. The Kikuyu had withdrawn to the wooded highlands and cleared fields there. Kikuyu and Maasai therefore took separate occupational niches as farmers and herders. The Kikuyu, however, continued to keep cattle, whereas the Maasai believed God had given all cattle to themselves. In the sector in which the occupational niches were not separated, there was competition, where they were separated, exchange took place.

The relation between Kikuyu and Maasai was characterised by a latent war and concurrent trade. The Kikuyu had an age-group system they had in part copied from the Maasai, and which among the latter had probably developed under east Cushitic influence. Age-group systems spread to enable the filling of continuous areas. They are effective instruments for recruiting units of young men for raids on neighbouring ethnic groups. The latter are forced by this to develop an organisation of this kind themselves, either to defend themselves or to create a balance between robbing and being robbed. (Incidentally, this is how early states spread, too.) The units of the Maasai and the Kikuyu undertook raids aimed at the cattle owned by the respective other ethnic groups. They did not miss an opportunity to capture girls. All males among the enemy were killed. At the same time, there was a kind of market-peace for the women. Kikuyu women could wander to the lowlands undisturbed with their crops in baskets, which were held by a strap across the forehead, to exchange them for animal products.

Trade between the Kikuyu and the Maasai was an exchange of products between producers. Other forms of interethnic relations occur around professional traders, i.e. people who only buy and sell and do not produce themselves. With remarkable frequency, traders are of foreign descent (Stichweh 1992). This is not quite a universal phenomenon, but there are considerably more traders of foreign descent than

⁷ For examples see the projects of Dafinger (Fulbe/Bisa), Pelican (different subethnicities of Fulbe versus Grassland Semibantu).

⁸ Mutie comes to a similar conclusion with regard to the relationship of the neighbouring Kamba to the Maasai.

tailors, or policemen, not to mention farmers. The Phoenicians in the ancient Mediterranean, the Jews in medieval Europe, the Chinese in South East Asia, Hausa⁹ and Lebanese in West Africa (Peleikis 2001, 2003), the Greek in Sudan, Yemeni and Somali in Kenya and Tanzania¹⁰ are all examples for tradespeople who are ethnically different from most of their customers. The historic circumstances which made them become traders are different for each of these examples. However, there seem to be generally applicable factors which favour traders and their customers belonging to different ethnic groups, for this pattern is a frequent one, and it often survives for long stretches of time.

Why is it advantageous as a trader to be a foreigner? Rural societies in many parts of the world are characterised by an ethos of equality and redistribution. The household with many children will delegate work capacity to the one predominated by older people. Everybody who works is fed, and those who cannot work any more are fed, too. If the productivity of the individual households is measured, the result is a jagged curve, if the consumption is measured, a flat curve: due to redistribution, ups and downs are evened out. Risks like illness, pests, and hailstorms are counterbalanced this way. If someone becomes too rich in spite of redistribution, they must not show their wealth. Otherwise they might be suspected of witchcraft or malicious magic: they are said to have the souls of their victims work in their fields during the nights, or the like. They are said to appropriate vital energy of others who in turn awake tired in the mornings or even become ill and die. Rural societies ensure that no individual stands out. If a member of a local peasant ethnic group opens a shop, they cannot evade the demands of general solidarity and the constraints of redistribution. They must grant credits, at least until the next harvest, and that harvest might in the end not have been too good. Bankruptcy is only few months in coming. The constantly repeating fate of rural shops in local hands can be summarised in the lyrics of a verse on a wall:

God made Man.
Man made money.
Money made many men mad.

The trader of foreign descent, on the other hand, is able to evade the constraints of redistribution and does not need to listen to tough luck stories: "Your problem". In Indian shops in East Africa, there are fre-

⁹ The Hausa form one of the ethnic elements of the studies of Pelican and Grätz.

¹⁰ The Somali traders in East Africa frequently stem from soldiers who stem from Somaliland (now studied by Markus Höhne) where they were recruited by the British in colonial times. They comprise World War I veterans. This group in itself and in its offshoots forms an important part of the international Somali diaspora studied by Isir and Günther Schlee (see essay by Glick Schiller et al., this volume).

quently printed pictures on the walls, which express the shopkeepers' philosophy. On one picture, a fat Englishman in old-fashioned, too tight tails is portrayed. He is sitting on an overflowing money chest, and his belly bulges over his belt. He wears a big grin under his top hat. The caption is "I sold for cash". On the picture next to it a gaunt figure in rags can be seen: "I sold for credit." A little further there is a framed motto: "Do not mix friendship with business".

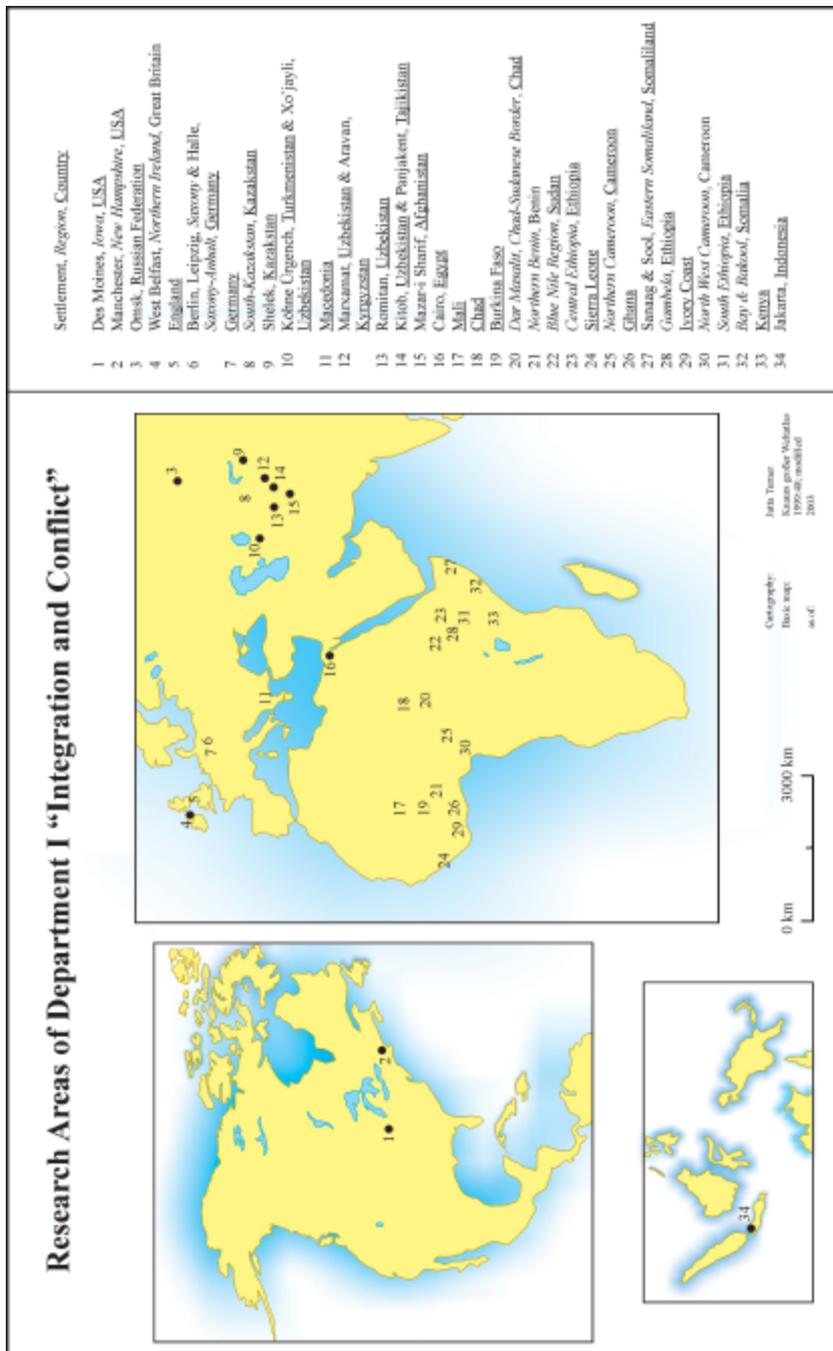
Under Idi Amin, the Indians were expelled from Uganda. The action was disastrous for the country's economy, but it was very popular, supported by the angry masses. Examples of violence against minorities of tradespeople, of murder, robbery, and arson around the world could be given in abundance. The more the traders dissociate from the society of the majority, the more they leave the community of solidarity and protection of this majority. If they integrate too much into this community, however, they become subject to the demands of solidarity and to the constraints of redistribution.

This is what H.-D. Evers (1994) has called a trader's dilemma: If the trader defines himself too much as a foreigner, he risks his life, if he becomes too much a local person, he loses his profit. Tradespeople of foreign descent always live on the edge between these two forms of failure. They have to be foreign enough not to be obliged to grant credit. If they are too similar to the local population, conversions to other religions or sects may occur to create this difference. If the foreignness is not to change into hostility, it has to be counterbalanced by a certain degree of charity. The Aga Khan hospitals and other social institutions might have contributed a lot to the members of the Ima'iliyya sect being accepted in many parts of the world. This way, interethnic relations of this kind continue to be re-balanced.

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Asia

Orang Betawi, Orang Jakarta, Orang Indonesia. Construction and transformation of ethnic and transethnic identity in Jakarta

Jacqueline Knörr

At the centre of my current research are processes of (re)construction and transformation of cultural identity of both ethnic and transethnic reference in Jakarta, which are taking place primarily in relation to the categories *Orang Betawi*, *Orang Jakarta*, and *Orang Indonesia*.¹ These processes are being investigated in their historical as well as in their current social, cultural and political context.

Orang Betawi and *Orang Jakarta* are the two categories of people to whom Jakartan culture and identity are ascribed and by means of which Jakartan culture and identity are being differentiated. The notions of *Orang Betawi* and *Orang Jakarta* imply concepts of culture and identity, which – although being associated with specific kinds of people – are not restricted to them. Both *Orang Betawi* and *Orang Jakarta* are related – although in different ways – to the concept of *Orang Indonesia*, referring to the national context. Processes taking place with regard to these (interrelated) concepts are linked to questions of (re)configurations of cultural meanings and forms of their social representation.

The Betawi are considered to be the original inhabitants of Jakarta. Many of these people had originally been brought to Jakarta (then Batavia) as slaves by the Dutch colonisers from the 17th century onward. Being descendants of diverse South East and East Asian groups (including large proportions of Indonesians), they created a new culture and identity of their own through processes of creolisation during the period of colonisation. As a group they were long considered backward, unwilling to modernise and anti-urban. Most of them had had little access to modern education during the period of colonisation and stuck to their traditions more than those in closer contact with the colonial elite. Consequently, it was not the original inhabitants of Batavia who came to be the Indonesian elite in Jakarta after independence but rather people of mostly Javanese origin. As unpleasant reminders of colonisation, they were long ignored by both state institutions and other ethnic groups residing in the city. Until the 1970s, especially the urban Betawi were

¹ *Orang* (indon.) = human being, also used as a classifier to mark the following term as being of a human nature (especially if this would otherwise not be clear, as e.g. for the *Orang Jakarta*). *Betawi* = derived from Batavia (Jakarta), *Asli* (indon., derived from *Asal* (Arabic) = origin, original, indigenous, real -> *Orang Betawi Asli*: the original, real Jakartan. The group of people are called *Orang Betawi* or simply *Betawi*, sometimes also *Orang Jakarta Asli* or *Jakarta Asli*. I only use the classifier *Orang* when emphasising the category of people in relation to other categories of people.

likely to hide their Betawi identity in public due to the negative stereotypes attributed to them. They often ascribed themselves to one of the other ethnic groups in order to decrease social discrimination and achieve upward social mobility.

However, since the early 1970s the Government of the City of Jakarta has changed its attitude toward the Betawi, who have since received both special attention and promotion. Research on their culture was initiated and steps were taken to promote their (folk) culture. Special residential areas were reserved for them in order to maintain their customs and enhance the practice of their traditions. What are the reasons for this change of heart?

I argue that both the state institutions and the Betawi themselves have discovered the social and political integrative potential that lies in the creole concept of Betawi group identity and culture. During the processes of creolisation, many features of the different local cultures – both foreign and indigenous in origin – were incorporated into the emerging culture of the Betawi. This made and still makes it possible even for those not belonging to the Betawi ethnically to identify partly with their culture since traces of their own respective ethnic culture can easily be identified. Also, this mixture of cultural features symbolises common history inasmuch as some of the Betawi's forefathers had at some point in history also been forefathers of others, who were creolised. By promoting Betawi-ness, the State promotes the original inhabitants of the nation's capital without excluding the ethno-historical cultures of the other ethnic groups residing in Jakarta, since they are all somehow part of Betawi-ness. Thus, the notion of Betawi can – more than any other merely ethnic notion – communicate both ethnic and trans-ethnic reference of culture and identity. Thus it emerges as increasingly powerful in the multi-ethnic context both of Jakarta and Indonesia.

Politically more important is the fact that, as a creole group, the Betawi represent a multitude of ethnicities due to their historical background and at the same time demonstrate the capacity of creating one group on the basis of ethnic diversity. This two-fold representation matches the national motto of "Unity in Diversity" (*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*) – a vital element of the Pancasila state ideology – very well. The Betawi example demonstrates that ethnic diversity does not necessarily have to result in conflict, but, on the contrary, can lead to integration through the development of one common identity. The Betawi are put forward as a body of evidence that "Unity in Diversity" can actually work.

For those in Jakarta who are neither ethnic Betawi nor Javanese nor closely attached to yet another ethnic group, Betawi-ness counterbalances what Niels Mulder (1996) has called "this very vital Javanese-Indonesian mongrel culture" of Jakarta, which, notwithstanding its

vitality, only serves as a potential source of identification for the urban Javanese. Because of the connection of Javanese culture with political power and dominance in the national context, which is especially visible in Jakarta, Javanese culture, mongrel or not, has its negative connotations and as such cannot function effectively as a pool of either urban or national identification for the majority of people living in Jakarta. Betawi-ness, on the other hand, is not (yet) connected with ethnopolitical predominance – rather the opposite – but mainly with purely cultural and historical features and events. In combination with its creole character, which ascribes to it both ethnic and trans-ethnic reference, it is much more easily accessible as a source of identification for all Jakartans without being a threat to other ethnic identifications. It is an alternative to both this Javanese mongrel culture and to no Jakartan identity at all. Thus, due to its creoleness, Betawi-ness encompasses different ethnic backgrounds as well as specific Jakarta-ness. As such it can serve as a source of both ethnic and trans-ethnic identity for all Jakartans, integrating them as *Orang Jakarta*, a form of self-ascription enjoying increasing popularity.

There are many different medial forms representing the revival and (re)construction of Betawi-ness. The Betawi's contribution to the arts, their role in the maintenance of indigenous culture during the period of colonisation as well as their religious virtues as devout *orang se-lam*/Muslims are all revalued in the light of *Betawi-ing* Jakarta and, to some degree, nationalising the Betawi. Due to the Betawi's status as the original inhabitants of Jakarta, the Betawi culture also manages to supply the nation's capital with some degree of indigenous and ethnic tradition.

The Betawi themselves make use of their new (privileged) status by eagerly re-interpreting who and what is Betawi in order to increase both their group size and their influence. As a result of the increased awareness of both the neglect they had formerly encountered and of their political potential as the re-discovered *Orang Asli*, the original inhabitants of Jakarta, their commitment is becoming increasingly politicised as well, including demands for positions in the political sphere.

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The Central Asia Group of Department I

Variations on Social Identity and Ethnic Differentiation

Meltem Sancak and Peter Finke

Introduction

The Uzbeks are the most populous group in Central Asia and for geographical and historical reasons occupy a central position in the ethnic configuration of the region. The Central Asia projects of this department try to investigate the causes and consequences of this particular standing by looking at the manifestations of Uzbek identity at various sites (inside and outside of Uzbekistan) and in relation to and demarcation from other indigenous groups.



Islam is often regarded as a binding force among the peoples in Central Asia, although its meaning varies within the region. Uzbeks and Tajiks, who are performing a common ceremony in this picture, have a reputation of being more religious than the formerly nomadic Kazaks, Kyrgyz, and Turkmen. (Photo: M. Sancak, 2001)

This intermediate position probably also contributes to the fact that their ethnogenesis is more complex and contested than that of other groups in the region. Over the centuries, Uzbeks – although in their majority not called by this name – steadily absorbed members of other groups. As a result, Uzbek identity and society exhibit large differences depending on (historical and present-day) local ethnic constellations (cf. Schoeberlein-Engel 1994).

The aim of these projects is to combine a historical approach of looking at the changing importance of various groups over time with an ethnographic account of the meaning identities and group affiliations have for people in everyday life situations. External forces of assimilation and individual motives of changing one's identity have to be weighed carefully against each other. Furthermore, a formal change of group membership is not equivalent to a change of one's identity as a personal attachment to others. Attributing identity solely to overwhelming power and/or calculative self-interest does not pay sufficient attention to cognitive and ideological aspects.

Historical and Political Background

The arbitrariness of Soviet nation-building policy has been well described in the literature. From this point of view, it seems to be a miracle that the dissolution of the world's largest state did not end in bloody confrontations between various artificially created ethnic groups. In some way, the national delimitation project seems to have been successful.



After the break-up of the Soviet Union borders acquired a new physical meaning. Because Tajikistan and Uzbekistan mutually closed their borders, inhabitants of the Uzbek part of the Ferghana valley (one third of the state's population) have only one road for travelling to other parts of the country. In winter the road is often closed after snowfalls. (Photo: P. Finke, 2001)

This is most striking in the case of the Uzbeks. In spite of their mixed origin (cf. Baldauf 1991), the various groups readily took part in a process of 'Uzbekisation', which proved to be more compelling than other, similar attempts. The modern Uzbeks thus became successor and fulfillers of an ongoing process of Turkification, which characterised the history of the region for the last one thousand years. Being Turkic-speaking but at the same time adapting to an Iranian-originated cultural pattern – as the Uzbeks exhibit in contrast to other Turkic groups –

proved to be highly advantageous over the centuries. At the same time, the relatively vague definition of this concept made ethnic conversions easier than in the case of, e.g., tribally organised societies like the Kazak or Turkmen (cf. Finke 2003).

The current process of nation-building in post-Soviet Uzbekistan can, to some degree, be considered as being grounded in this hybrid character of Uzbekness. Unlike neighbouring states, no aggressive ethnic policy is pursued. Instead, the multi-ethnic population of Uzbekistan is described as the incarnation of all previous civilisations in Transoxania. The choice of specific national heroes and symbols, often following Soviet politics, emphasises the common cultural heritage of different groups – explicitly including pre-Uzbek periods – rather than ethnic diversity and competition.

Objectives and Hypothesis

Since 1969, when Fredrik Barth published his *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, anthropologists became increasingly aware that ethnic identity may not be strongest in the centre but rather at the edges of any particular group, where it interacts with other groups. The Uzbek case – comparable to that of the Fulbe throughout West Africa (cf. Diallo and Schlee 2000) – is an excellent opportunity to study this claim as they settle in the geographical centre of former Soviet Central Asia and constitute the major minority in all of Uzbekistan's neighbouring states. This provides an opportunity to compare the various manifestations of Uzbekness in different settings with each of the different ethnic constellations and socio-economic conditions.

It will be shown that ethnic identity, but also cultural expressions and social organisation, vary in each setting in accordance with the respective components which contributed to the local manifestation of Uzbekness. In each case different variables should lead to a unique formulation of collective identities and the composition of social networks.

Another aspect to be investigated by this group of researchers is that of the relative attractiveness of various identities. Over the centuries, the cultural pattern that today is primarily represented by the Uzbeks – namely Turkic-speaking, sedentary, and (more or less) devote Muslim – came to be a rather successful one. As an intermediate between Turkic-speaking pastoralists and Iranian-speaking peasants and urban dwellers, being Uzbek provided the maximum number of potential inter-actors.

The assimilation of many Tajiks and members of other (ethnic) groups taking place in Uzbekistan is merely one case in this broader picture. It is the aim of our project to check this hypothesis by looking at the situation in places where Uzbeks form a minority and/or not the titular group. Evidence from the field suggests that even in these cases people tend to become Uzbek rather than the other way round. This is

especially the case in multi-ethnic settings where Uzbekness provides an advantage because of its hybrid character and its relatively easy accessibility. Its transmission is primarily a question of cultural behaviour and territoriality rather than of genealogical connections.

Many studies on ethnicity tend to focus on the interaction patterns between various actors and their utilisation of social borders or permeability for that purpose. This approach underestimates the importance of emotional and ideological attachments people may have to specific groups. The usual explanation of ethnic boundaries as either primordial or instrumental fails to integrate these aspects into one coherent model. In our research we try to enhance approaches grounded on the analysis of self- and group-interests (e.g. Hechter 1987; Landa 1998) by taking the historical and political frame as well as the cognitive dispositions of the actors involved more into account.



In the oasis of Bukhara Uzbeks and Tajiks have intermarried for centuries. Today, it is hardly possible to find any family that is not of mixed ancestry. Most individuals are also bilingual. (Photo: M. Sancak, 2000)

Research Conducted in Uzbekistan

So far, research has been concentrated on Uzbekistan. Starting in 2000, Meltem Sancak and Peter Finke have conducted field research in four different sites, each located in one of the historic oases of the country and each peculiar in terms of ecological and economic endowment, historical events, and ethnic configuration. Together, the four cases provide a representative cross-cut into the complexity of identity formation in Uzbekistan.

The primary field sites thus far have been the oasis of Bukhara (Buxoro) and the Ferghana valley, with secondary sites in northern Kashkadarya province and the southern part of the Republic of Kara-

kalpakistan. Each of these locations highlights a particular aspect of Uzbek ethno genesis and identity. Like the Bukhara oasis which is famous for the close intermingling of Uzbeks and Tajiks. Cultural differences are hardly recognisable, neither in emic nor in etic perspective. As both groups tend to intermarry very frequently and to be bilingual, they may be considered one common (though bilingual) social entity.

In other settings, like the Ferghana valley, the situation is characterised more by differentiation and competition, although it is far from being on the edge of civil war or widespread Islamic fundamentalism, as it is often portrayed in the media and some scientific reports. Scarcity of land and high population density, however, contribute to the image of tense and potentially violent social interaction. Again, however, ethnic demarcations do not necessarily play a very prominent role in this.

Northern Kashkadarya presents a very different picture. This is one of the regions where formerly nomadic Uzbeks still form a significant and distinct part of the population. The old-established sedentary Uzbeks prefer to interact with local Tajiks instead of what they consider a culturally backward group. Social boundaries may be more clearly defined than in the Bukhara case, but are characterised by niches rather than competition.



A Turkmen family in southern Karakalpakistan. Ethnic minorities in Central Asia are under increasing pressure to adapt themselves to the new nation states. At the same time, interactions with co-ethnics on the other side of the borders, who are very often kin related, have often become difficult. (Photo: P. Finke, 2001)

Finally, southern Karakalpakistan, situated in the heart of the historic Khorezm, has a very mixed population, with Uzbeks, Karakalpaks, Kazaks, and Turkmens accounting for similar percentages. With the exception of the latter, who are marginalised, all groups form one social (and

partly linguistic) field, although intermarriage is not as common as in Bukhara. The experience of the ecological and economic crises in the Aral Sea basin and the fact that they are being ignored by the central government unites people rather than placing them in opposition to one another.

Future Research Interests: the Uzbek 'diasporas'

These findings will be tested by looking at Uzbek minorities abroad, that is, outside of Uzbekistan. Uzbeks constitute the major indigenous minority in all neighbouring countries, i.e. Kazakstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Afghanistan. In many cases, these minorities form local majorities. In addition to that, smaller Uzbek diasporas are found in Russia, Turkey, and other places like China (Xingjiang), where Dru Gladney has identified the contribution he wants to make to this comparative effort.¹ In 2003, Tsypylma Darieva started her project on Uzbek identity in the province of South Kazakstan. Other researchers at the MPI for Social Anthropology, namely Johan Rasanayagam, Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi, Irene Hilgers, Julie McBrien, and Mathijs Pelkmans from Department II, are engaged in an intensive mutual exchange of ideas with us and are studying complementary aspects within Uzbekistan as well as in neighbouring states.

The central question for future research will be if the described process of Uzbekisation is reversed in other countries (i.e. if minority Uzbeks associate themselves with the respective majority). Fragmentary impressions of Kazakstan and Kyrgyzstan lead to the conclusion that the Uzbek minority in both states has distanced itself from the respective titular nation. There is little assimilation in either way, although if so, it is again in the direction of Uzbekness. This is even more the case in parts of Tajikistan (Bashiri 1998).

The assimilation of Uzbeks by the respective titular nation is hampered by several factors. Firstly, it seems that there is little desire to assimilate on the part of the Uzbeks since no great advantages are at hand, and culturally it would represent, from the Uzbek point of view, a step backwards. Secondly, groups like the Kazaks and Kyrgyz are not

¹ Dru Gladney, Professor of Asian Studies and Anthropology at the University of Hawaii, has been at the MPI for Social Anthropology from May 2003 to January 2004. His stay was co-financed by Departments 1 and 2. He has worked here on his new book (Gladney 2003). Dru Gladney opposes the widespread representation of non-Han groups as marginalised minorities in China. He locates China and Chinese culture not in some unchanging, essential "Chinese-ness," but in the context of historical and contemporary multicultural complexity. He investigates how this complexity plays out among a variety of places and groups, examining representations of minorities and majorities in art, movies, and theme parks; the invention of folklore and creation myths; the role of pilgrimages in constructing local identities; and the impact of globalisation and economic reforms on non-Han groups such as the Muslim Hui. In the end, Gladney argues that just as peoples in the West have defined themselves against ethnic others, so too have the Chinese defined themselves against marginalised groups in their own society.

exercising much pressure in this respect. The conception of group association and identity transmission is in both cases to a high degree influenced by genealogical aspects, which impedes the incorporation of others.

It is intended to study the way Uzbeks conceptualise their social identity and their embeddedness in local settings when they do not represent the dominant titular group. The sites for this part of the project will include regions where Uzbeks are part of the indigenous population, as in southern Kyrgyzstan, northern and western Tajikistan, southern Kazakhstan, northern Turkmenistan, and northern Afghanistan. In each of these, it is expected, will Uzbekness achieve a different meaning as it contrasts and articulates itself within a particular setting. The same is true for diaspora locations where Uzbeks came as refugees during the early 20th century or as travelling merchants in the post-Soviet period.



*The bazaar in Osh, Kyrgyzstan, has always been a major trading post also for people from neighboring Uzbekistan. Now that economic politics draw apart and border crossing is getting more and more difficult, this is also changing. Both states follow different transformation approaches, which leave their impact not only on the bazaar but also in everyday life economic decisions.
(Photo: P. Finke, New Year 2000/2001)*

Altogether it is hoped, this cluster of projects will analyse the different variables that account for the respective manifestation of ethnic identities and its internal variations. Political, economic, and demographic factors clearly play an important role in this, but so do cognitive, ideological, and emotional ones. The concept of being Uzbek, broadly defined, provides an excellent case for this because the internal heterogeneity of the group as well as the heterogeneity of the locations they inhabit make a broad comparison of factors and ethnic constellations possible.

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Uzbek Ethnicity between Loyalty and Conflict in South Kazakhstan and Russia

Tsypylma Darieva

This project is divided into two phases and deals with interethnic relationships and identity options among urban Uzbeks in Kazakhstan and Russia. The first phase of the research concentrates on the Uzbek minority in South Kazakhstan, while the second serves as a contrast field for comparison and deals with the Uzbek migrants and trade minority in Russia. The aim of the comparative analysis of two case studies in different settings is to understand different social spaces of Uzbek identity and how they affect interaction between minority and national majority in poly-ethnic everyday life. Uzbeks as well as other ethnic groups face changing administrative frames in both settings. Especially post-Soviet Kazakhstan has experienced rapid and profound political and social changes which forced the government to redefine national identity politics and reshape its relationship with ethnic minorities. Since in 1991 in a period of a forced process of nation building in Kazakhstan, Uzbeks have experienced contested redefinitions of their status and belonging between 'autochthonous population', 'ethnic minority' and 'diaspora'.

The main question of this project is how Uzbeks as an expatriate minority in Kazakhstan perform and negotiate their identity in everyday life in terms of a growing tendency towards nationalisation in the host country and isolation from the homeland Uzbekistan. How do the rhythms of ethnic amity and enmity interact in urban space where residence, work, travel, communication and consumption bring people into constant contact? How is the notion of *Uzbekchilik* reproduced outside of the territory of the national homeland? With reference to strategies of integration into the identity of the majority, the question is which elements of identity markers are mobilised or 'played down' in private and public spaces, and how does this occur? How does this influence the strategy of identity representation? The next topic of study concerns the question of the idea of construction of homeland memories in localities and how it is transmitted or not transmitted through generations. How are the locally produced myths of a contested homeland, its symbolic landscape and attributes related to regional, national and transnational borders? The third theme are transethnic connections such as trans-Islam and trans-Turkic identity options and how they affect local inter-ethnic relationships. These points are of interest because they carry the integrative power for the construction of common Islamic and Turkic identifications. The comparative analysis should contribute to the anthropological theory of a production of urban ethnicity, Central Asian multiculturalism and nation-diaspora identities.



*The ideal of the new Kazakhstani 'interethnic harmony' is depicted in government publications. At the centre of the picture, which gives the impression of a family portrait, is the President of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev, dressed in European costume. He is surrounded by a group of children in 'ethnic look' costumes representing different ethnic minorities. The state tries to promote the concept of ethnic diversity with the purpose of maintaining peaceful ethnic relationships. The model of relations in the 'multicultural family' of Kazakhstan between the titular ethnic group and other ethnic groups seems to have a rather hierarchical paternalistic character. (Photo: A. A. Amirova (comp.), published as title photograph of *Mezhethniceskie otnosheniia v Kazakhstane*. Almaty: Tsentr vneshnei politiki i analiza, 2001)*

Europe

Lost Objects: ethnicity, consumption and gendered spaces in Macedonia

Rozita Dimova

This new postdoctoral research project will focus on the local and transnational processes that have led to ethnic conflict in Macedonia among people divided along religious (orthodox Christian vs. Muslim), ethnic (Macedonian vs. Albanian), class, and gender axes. The study will document the reformulation of class, ethnicity, and gender since the constitution of independent Macedonia in 1991 when both ethnic Macedonians and ethnic Albanians experienced losses of privileges along class, ethnic, and gender lines. For Macedonians it is the disappearance of the 'working class' prevalent during the communist Yugoslav Federation that has caused loss of class privileges such as a state-sponsored, comfortable lifestyle. The unprecedented pauperisation of most of the people and the conspicuous presence of a few nouveau-riche, manifested by a conceited display of commodities, has changed the social and physical space between ethnic Macedonians and ethnic Albanians in contemporary Macedonia, which has, in turn, engendered strong ethnic tension. For Albanians, the presence of young college-educated Albanian women has changed the cultural fabric of the traditional Albanian family. Many newly-educated women, for instance, now earn more than the men in their households and reject traditional values such as having a collective family budget, or accepting arranged marriages with Albanian men only. Because women are still viewed as the bearers of Albanian culture, due to their reproductive (biological and social) function, fear of losing their culture and lineage has been fostered among the male Albanian elite. My project seeks to unravel how the articulation of class and gender losses affects ethnic tension in the country.

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Simultaneity of Migrant Incorporation: Halle/Saale (Germany) and Manchester (USA)

Nina Glick Schiller, Evangelos Karagiannis, Ayse Çağlar, Thaddeus Gulbrandsen

Through a comparative ethnography of the transnational ties and migrant incorporation in two small cities of approximately 200 000 residents, Manchester, New Hampshire in the United States and Halle/Saale in Saxony-Anhalt in Germany, we are exploring three inter-related hypotheses: 1. multiple forms of transnational connection accompany rather than preclude or inhibit the adaptation and integration of international migrants into a new nation state; 2. migrants develop processes of simultaneous incorporation and transnational connection regardless of the specific legal status they carry in the receiving society, the official public policies that regulate migration, and the way newcomers are conceptualised in specific national ideologies; and 3. migrants from different nation-states in diverse and very different world regions and cultural backgrounds will seek simultaneous incorporation and transnational connection.

The object of our research is to better understand migrant simultaneity, defined as multiple incorporation. At the same time that members of migrant populations and their descendents foster or construct social networks across state borders, they also actively become incorporated into a new locality. Incorporation, in our approach, is a process of building social relationships so that an individual becomes embedded in multiple and diverse networks. That is to say, these individuals set up social relationships by means of which they fit into overarching systemic connections established through daily activities and institutions that structure life in the new locality and across borders. This form of connection reflects a concept of integration developed by Schlee (2001:43). This view of incorporation challenges the way in which migrant integration is commonly conceptualised within German discourse and public policy about *Ausländer*. These discourses stress that it is only through a form of cultural change that foreigners can become a part of Germany. Public discourses in the US stress multicultural assimilation or the need to revitalise some form of an assimilationist project, while US scholars document transnational connections. However in the US, the topic of simultaneity is only now being addressed by researchers and is not part of policy debates about migration.

Both Halle/Saale and Manchester are experiencing a new wave of migration from all over the world. We have chosen to explore the incorporation of migrants from six different nationality groups that can be found in both cities: Vietnamese, Russians, Iraqis, Congolese, Bosnians, and Nigerians. We cannot assess the extent to which whole populations of migrants manifest simultaneity. We can document the existence of

simultaneity among diverse populations and in two very different receiving societies, contributing to a very different understanding of the dynamic between migrant settlement and transnational connection.

The project builds on two years of previous exploratory fieldwork in both locations by Nina Glick Schiller that explored small cities and their institutional structures as contexts for new migrations. Prior research was funded by grants from the University of New Hampshire and institutional support from the MPI of Social Anthropology. The current project, which begun in Manchester in January 2003 and in Halle/Saale in March 2003, is funded by the MacArthur Foundation, USA, under a human security initiative. We posit that immigrants and refugees are unacknowledged but vital actors in maintaining and building human security in a global context of increasing economic disparities and civil disorder. Migrant networks sustain local communities all over the world through family support, funds, skills, and resources for agriculture and business, local development, health, and educational projects. However, this sustaining of home communities by migrants does not mean that they resist incorporation within the new lands in which they live.

In our understanding, migrants may be incorporated locally and transnationally through institutions or individually. To explore institutional incorporation, we are examining religious organisations in Halle/Saale and Manchester and their transnational connections. To research individual incorporation, we are identifying three households in each group and tracing the daily activities and personal relationships of the members of these households. Our indicators of individual incorporation, locally or transnationally, include: 1. Relationships that maintain life including activities that produce income, educate, house, or provide social support. 2. Relationships that provide legal status. 3. Membership in social institutions rooted locally or nationally. 4. Relationships that maintain or provide social status.

We are using both participant observation and interviews as research methods. Researchers in this project include four anthropologists, Nina Glick Schiller, Evangelos Karagiannis, Ayse Çağlar, Thaddeus Guldbrandsen, and student researchers drawn from the Institute for Social Anthropology of Martin Luther University and the University of New Hampshire.

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Ghanaians in Germany – transnational social fields and social status

Boris Nieswand

Ghana has become one of the major African countries of migration to Western Europe and North America over the last 40 years. Stimulated by economic and social crises from the late 1960s to the end of the 1980s, many Ghanaians left the country to look for better opportunities abroad. Although most Ghanaian migrants live in African countries, during the 1980s and 1990s significant Ghanaian populations emerged in Great Britain, Canada, the USA, Germany, the Netherlands and Italy. Ghanaians make up one of the biggest sub-Saharan African populations in Western Europe (Ter Haar 1998). According to official figures, more than 23 000 people with a Ghanaian passport live in Germany today.¹ The great majority of Ghanaians came between the late 1970s and the early 1990s. During this time Germany, was relatively attractive for migrants claiming asylum because of its relatively liberal procedures and its labour opportunities. After 1993 the inflow of Ghanaian migrants was reduced significantly by the restrictive migration policy implemented by the German government. Over the last decade, the large majority of the Ghanaians have secured their legal status.



Migrant House in Ghana - a symbol of success. (Photo: B. Nieswand, 2003)

A 'localising process' has started which expresses itself in the form of family foundation, the emergence of afro-shops and Ghanaian initiated churches. Ghanaian migrants' life-worlds with their own institutions have emerged in many larger German cities.

¹ Bundesamt für Statistik (2002).

From 'Brain Drain' to 'Diaspora' – A paradigm shift in the discourse on migration in Ghana

In the 1990s, it was estimated that between 10 and 20 percent of Ghanaian citizens were living abroad (Peil 1995: 365), which would correspond to between two and four million people based on the current size of the Ghanaian population. In particular, it was qualified people such as teachers, engineers, nurses and doctors who left the country, which had a negative impact on its economic and social system. But migration also has a positive effect on Ghanaian society. As in other emigration countries, remittances of and trade relations with migrants have become more and more important for the economic development of Ghana and the well-being of many families. One indicator of the importance of Ghanaian migrants for their homeland is the volume of remittances. In 2000, it was estimated that the value of remittances came to between \$300 and \$400 million.² After cocoa, gold and tourism, remittances are the fourth largest source of foreign exchange.³ The economy of Ghana is dependent on this financial input. The importance of the relatively wealthy migrants in the 'diaspora' and the need to strengthen their attachment to the home country has been recognised by political and social elites in Ghana: the patriotism of Ghanaians abroad should be used as a resource for 'developing' the country. In the context of a policy of inclusion, Ghanaian politicians and some of the so-called traditional authorities have started to travel quite frequently to meet 'their people' abroad.⁴ These acts of including the Ghanaians abroad are a symbolic statement: all Ghanaians, in Ghana and abroad, should participate in the 'Ghanaian development project'. In this respect, Ghana has become a deterritorialised nation-state. After independence in 1957, the official political doctrine was that Ghanaians are the people living in Ghana. Now it seems to have been reversed; Ghana is wherever Ghanaians live. The discourse about migration has changed significantly. In the 1980s it was dominated by brain drain. Migrants were officially perceived as people leaving their country in the lurch in difficult times. Additionally, the fact that these migrants were claiming asylum in other countries was perceived as shameful for the country and migration acquired connotations of political opposition. Now, the dominant policy of inclusion is accompanied by a nationalist discourse that regards migration as a possible means of supporting the Ghanaian nation-state project. Migration has changed from being a threat to being a resource for the country.

² Corporate Ghana. *The pulse of the Nation* (2001), July/August, 9, p.18.

³ In fact, the significance of migrants is probably even greater because not all remittances are covered by official figures and a large part of what is regarded as tourism is actually migrants returning for home visits.

⁴ Normally these events are connected with fund-raising activities.

The Paradox of Migration – living in two life-worlds

After Ghanaian independence in 1957, migration to Europe was dominated to a great extent by state-sponsored students. The new state was involved in a 'project of modernity' and the future elite, the 'fortunate few' (Clignet/Foster 1966), were to be educated abroad and to return to take up important positions in society.

During the period of economic decline and political crisis in the 1970s and 1980s, migration ceased to be a state undertaking and became an individual attempt to get out of the system. The remittances migrants send home regularly and the cars, money, nice clothes and consumer goods they bring with them on their visits have a clear message: if you want to improve your standard of living and if you want to participate in a symbolic modernity, go abroad. "*To look for greener pastures*" is a common expression in Ghana to refer to the act of leaving the country for economic reasons. Migration has become more and more important as a means of status production. The more the local status system is integrated into the global system, both by family members living abroad sending remittances and by the liberalisation of the Ghanaian market, the more individuals have to get involved in the global system in order to maintain or to improve their position in the local status system. Integration into a wider global system is evidenced by the consumer goods sold on the local markets and by visible manifestations of success, like cars, clothes and houses, which are associated with migrants.

Going to the global centres is equated in Ghana with a gain of status, which has to be performed at home.

To use Goffman's stage metaphor (1990), Europe is the backstage, where you may stop performing social status in order to accumulate money to perform your social status at home, which was itself achieved by travelling to Europe. This leads, in fact, to the consequence that many migrants who are not able to fulfil the expectations of their families do not go home.⁵ The 'silent collaboration' between migrants and their friends and family members 'at home' reproduces and maintains a social reality in which migration is equated with prosperity and access to global modernity.⁶ Both sides keep silent about the backstage, the means of image-production.

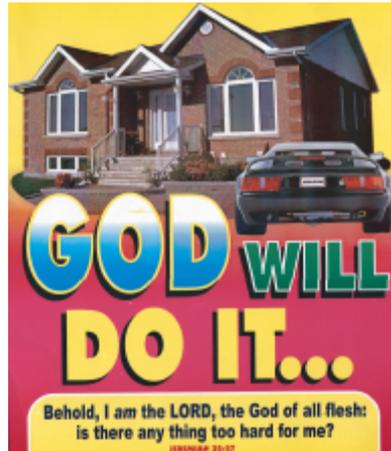
In Germany Ghanaians experience marginalisation in different ways. Coming to Germany means becoming 'socially coloured'. Most of the Ghanaians in Berlin have problems finding a job fitting their qualifica-

⁵ It also explains why deportation is such a serious social catastrophe. It is not only because people get humiliated or hurt by violent procedures, but also because they are not able to save face at home.

⁶ Because of the disparities of wages and currencies, migrants in fact are acquiring wealth according to the Ghanaian standard by doing menial jobs in Europe. A secondary school teacher in Ghana, for instance, earns, converted into Euro, about 60 € and he is not perceived as poor.

tion and are forced to take on work which they would not take on in Ghana. Moreover, the asylum procedure through which a large number of the Ghanaians in Germany have gone has produced “spoiled identities” (Goffman 1986). Finally, the language skills of the Ghanaian migrants are devalued.

To put it briefly, I would like to argue that we can only understand the “life-world” of migrants if we acknowledge the “simultaneous incorporation” (Glick Schiller/Fouron 1999:344) of migrants into two societies and two social status reference systems. The migrants are perceived as socially successful, modern and wealthy in the Ghanaian context and *at the same time* as backward, poor and marginalised in the German one. The gaining of status in one context is achieved by a loss of status in the other. This is what I would like to call the ‘paradox of migration’: living in two status systems with contradictory attributions of prestige at the same time, a condition which is deeply rooted in the process of migration itself. Because the site of status production is not the site of consumption, there is a structural incentive to maintain integration in both systems. Local migrants’ organisations with a transnational orientation are of crucial importance for processing the ‘paradox of migration’. During my fieldwork I became interested in two kinds of institutions; the churches and the Ghana Union.



Religious poster published by Abikorm Productions, Nigeria.

Processing the Paradox (I): Localising ‘long distance nationalism’

The Ghana Union started in Berlin in the 1980s as a support and advocacy organisation for Ghanaians, who were suffering under an increase of police activity against asylum seekers and illegal migrants in Berlin. In the second half of the 1990s the Ghana Union stopped its work, partly because more and more migrants were successful in securing their legal position. When the Ghana Union was re-established in 2001, its orientation was significantly different.

One important reason to reactivate the Union was to provide a contact organisation for the representatives of the Ghanaian nation-state, who became, within the framework of their policy of incorporation, increasingly active among Ghanaian migrants world-wide. The Ghanaian em-

bassy in Germany expressed its wish for an organisation which would be able to link them up with migrants in Berlin. The new government wanted to display its democratic and transparent attitude to the 'Ghanaian diaspora'. By doing so, it tried to connect the attachment of the migrants to their families and their home-contexts with the interests of the nation-state. The paradoxical status link that bridges the two life-worlds should become discursively 'nationalised'. In a time of decreasing development aid, migrants and their remittances are becoming more and more important for the financial well-being of many so-called 'Economically less Developed Countries'. This is well noticed by the Ghanaian government and transferred into political practices. In Berlin, many migrants are interested in participating in meetings with Ghanaian officials because they are gaining symbolic recognition and promoting migrant specific interests (i.e. customs regulation, double citizenship, etc.). Additionally, by reinforcing their national identity, their individual projects are reintegrated into a collective project of national development. Within this discourse it is possible to overcome the implicit accusation of leaving their country and the people at home in the lurch. Meeting the president or the ambassador conveys the impression that these migrants are well respected people whose project of migration is individually and collectively successful. Inside this transnational social field, the status ascriptions are rearranged in a way which temporarily factors out the described paradox of migration.

Processing the Paradox (II): Charismatic Christianity and the construction of identity

The denominational structure of Ghanaian-initiated churches in Germany is very heterogeneous. Quantitatively, Charismatic churches are the most important churches among Ghanaians in Berlin. One reason for this is their significance in the context of the construction of identity.

Within these churches a strong emphasis is placed on a practical and rhetorical modernist discourse that deals with central experiences of migration, reflects them religiously and empowers the believer to further action. On the one hand, the Charismatic churches stabilise migrants' identities, because they construct a symbolic background against which migrants can experience themselves as 'modern' and 'successful' and communicate this to relevant others. On the other hand, the empowerment and prosperity discourse of these churches promises to provide believers with the spiritual means to overcome the symbolic, material and legal obstacles to the affirmation of the constructed self-image.

The ambivalence of this discourse – caught between the individual claim of participation in a symbolically constituted modernity and the reality of not having achieved this completely – reflects the Ghanaian paradox of migration – being a 'successful migrant-entrepreneur' and a

'marginalised poverty-migrant' at the same time – and promises to overcome it.

Religious and national identities provide possibilities for the construction of self for the migrants, with which they are able to reinterpret themselves in the context of migration. Although these religious and national sets of identities provide "a field of situational identification to an intelligent actor" (Schlee 2000: 5) in everyday life, on an organisational level, Charismatic Christianity competes with national identity discourses under the condition of migration for the same resources (i.e. membership, money, dominance in the local arena). The success of Charismatic Churches among Ghanaian migrants may also be linked to the process of becoming disenchanted with the Ghanaian nation-state as the agent of the development and modernity Ghana has experienced over the last decades.

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The People Themselves: the everyday making of ethnic identity in discourse and practice in the context of conflict in West Belfast, Northern Ireland

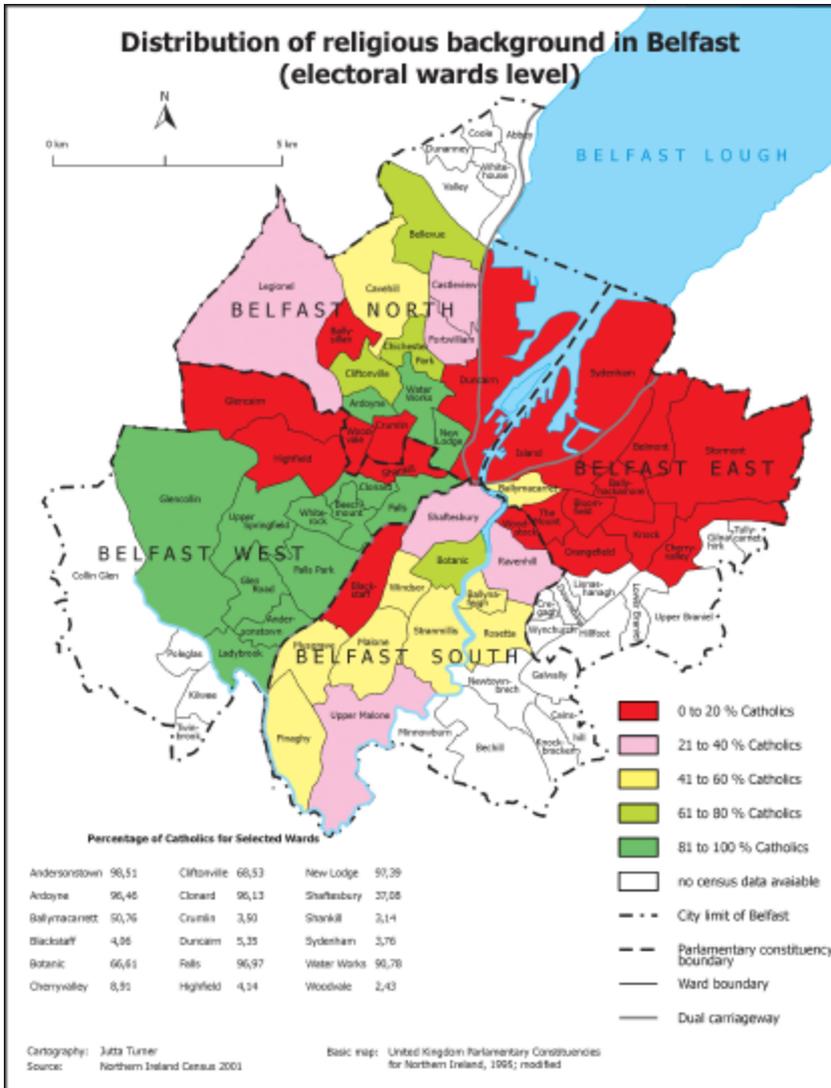
Olaf Zenker

Northern Ireland has become almost synonymous with conflict and violence, especially outside the region and in world media coverage. It is thus not surprising that the 'Troubles', as the conflict is locally known, have constituted a dominant theme of research within the social sciences. As McGarry and O'Leary convincingly argue in their seminal work *Explaining Northern Ireland* (1995), this conflict is rooted in a variety of differences regarding aspirations of political belonging, ethnic identities, religious backgrounds and practices as well as economic ine-

qualities – despite the fact that the Troubles are quite often inappropriately reduced to a single factor and then simply depicted, for instance, as a ‘religious war’ between Catholics and Protestants. Against this backdrop, the conventional labelling of the two conflicting communities as ‘Catholics’ and ‘Protestants’ is not to be misunderstood as referring only to religion as the underlying cause of their Troubles.

Given the preoccupation with conflict in the media as well as in research, ethnicities in the North of Ireland have almost invariably come to be seen as essentially conflicting ones. In other words, by focussing on the Troubles as the phenomenon to be explained, local ethnic identities such as ‘Irish’, ‘British’, ‘Northern-Irish’, ‘Ulster’, etc. have tended to be regarded as rather unproblematic givens, which partly or exclusively explain the conflict precisely because they are assumed to be intrinsically in conflict. Although this dominant focus on ‘ethnicities in conflict’ has provided valuable insights into the situation in Northern Ireland, it has also tended to somewhat misrepresent the overall picture by highlighting the perspective of only one rather radical but articulated fraction of Northern Irish society. This fraction consists primarily of male working class members, who have been disproportionately involved in the regional conflict, both as perpetrators and as victims. Without negating the importance of this perspective, it is vital, however, to take other local perspectives into account that do not frame ethnicity and conflict in the same way. In other words, when investigating local ethnic identities rather than the Troubles as the phenomenon to be explained, as this research project does, it seems preferable to treat the Northern Irish conflict as a crucial context, to which the making of ethnicity relates in diverse ways, rather than as its ultimate ‘essence’.

In addition to this bias towards conflicting ethnicities within the research on Northern Ireland, another preoccupation which is more directly linked to recent studies of local identities can be identified. This literature predominantly focuses on discursive constructions of identity, and thereby (often implicitly) treats ‘practice’ as a mere enactment of these conceptions. However, it is arguably more plausible, in theoretical terms as well as closer to empirical observation, to conceptualise the discursive and the practical levels as only partially independent phenomena, which mutually shape one another without either being reducible to the other. In this sense, both ‘discursive consciousness’ and ‘practical consciousness’ have to be investigated in their dialectical relationship regarding their impact on the everyday making of ethnic identities.



This research project aims to overcome these two shortcomings, first, by shifting the focus of investigation from the rather small group of key players in the Troubles such as political parties, state officials, communal leaders and paramilitaries to the broad category of ‘the people themselves’. In other words, ordinary and more representative people with divergent backgrounds in terms of class, gender, and age are seen as constituting the relevant point of reference for studying the everyday

production of ethnicity. However, this characterisation has to be qualified. Given that the city of Belfast is highly segregated in terms of religious background, and since West Belfast as the research location for everyday participant observation is almost exclusively Catholic, 'the people themselves' are correspondingly likely to be Catholics only. It is in this sense that the term 'Catholics' is used in the following to demarcate the reference group which is studied regarding its ethnic identities.

Second, the project seeks to focus specifically on the dialectics between discourse and practice in constituting local ethnicities and in making the latter relevant in different social contexts. In operationalising the latter point, two complementary research questions can be derived: First, in what sense do practices within the whole range of everyday activities contribute to 'practical identities', and to what extent, by whom, when and why do these 'practical identities' become represented within ethnic discourses? Second, what kind of ethnic discourses do exist, by whom, when and why are they constructed and activated, and in what sense do these 'discursive identities', in turn, structure and orient everyday practices?

Translating this general approach into a concrete research programme, the project scrutinises everyday discourses and practices among Catholics in West Belfast within several dimensions of social life in terms of their interrelations to ethnic identities. Within the political dimension, the conflict in general and everyday experiences of violence in particular is, of course, of great importance. One process, which can be singled out exemplarily here, consists of the effects of the recent peace process. On the one hand, the constitutional and violent struggle during the Troubles has led to a degree of factual reduction of structural discrimination against Catholics and to crucial concessions on the part of the British government in terms of acknowledging the right of political self-determination of the Northern Irish people. On the other hand, the political process of peace talks and mutual convergence has also resulted in broad public recognition, even among many Republican hardliners, that the political unification of Ireland is not an immediate option. How does this ambiguity of political success and failure feed into the present making of ethnic identities? Does this situation weaken the nationalist project of Catholics and does this, in turn, lead to a diversification of ethnic self-ascriptions among them? Does perhaps ethnic identity as such become less important in everyday life – both in discourse and in practical experience?

In the economic dimension, recent class developments deserve particular attention for on the one hand, the decline of the local manufacturing sector in the 20th century has led to general economic hardship in terms of high levels of long-term unemployment, particularly among the traditionally dominant working classes. On the other hand, this situation has somewhat changed and become more heterogeneous since

the imposition of direct rule by the British government in 1972. This is so because the British government has since then dramatically increased public expenditure and thereby employment opportunities in the public sector. It has furthermore adopted an interventionist policy, providing substantial assistance to private companies in the province. This policy has allowed an upward social mobility for a considerable minority of both Protestants and Catholics, resulting, for example, in the emergence of a significant Catholic middle class. Yet, the majorities of both working classes have remained unaffected by these changes, and hence been largely left to their economic hardship. These developments have several implications for the making of ethnic identities among Catholics: how does the emergence of a Catholic middle class transform the formerly strong link between the Republican project and ideals of a socialist world order? Does upward mobility lead to a more moderate stance in terms of political aspirations and, by implication, of ethnic identities? Does the recent increase in class differentiation diminish the relative importance of cross-class ethnicity among Catholics – in other words, is perhaps class becoming more important than ethnicity?

In the religious dimension, the distinction between Catholics and Protestants is obviously fundamental. Comparing Catholicism and Protestantism, a locally relevant difference consists of the fact that every Catholic belongs to only one church, whereas 'Protestantism' is a generic term covering dozens of religious denominations. In other words, the numerically dominant Protestants actually constitute a 'majority of minorities', in which religious belief has considerably less integrative force than among Catholics. In terms of social significance, the Catholic Church has exercised a considerable influence on its community in Northern Ireland – especially through education, which is still highly segregated and exclusively church-run in the case of the Catholic community. Apart from teaching a strong 'Irish' reading of local society and history, the Catholic Church has also vehemently propagated conservative moral values in, for instance, rejecting contraception, divorce and abortion. However, its moral authority lost much of its former appeal locally, when the Catholic Church in the Irish Republic experienced several scandals in the early 1990s including some prominent priests being disclosed as fathers, homosexuals or child-abusers. Reading these religious configurations in terms of their influence on ethnic identities, one might wonder, first of all, what Catholicism actually means from the native point of view. Is it perceived only as a religion which can be easily adopted on pure grounds of belief? Or is it seen, rather, as constituting a social community one can identify with, and does this imply an ethnicised notion of belonging through myths of descent? How do Catholics themselves handle this ambiguity, which is aggravated by the fact that 'Catholic belief' and 'Catholicism by descent' tend to be coex-

tensive due to almost exclusive patterns of endogamy? And how do people then deal with cases of conversion? How do people process their ethnic identities, often strongly related to the unifying force of Catholicism, when some (as the recent Northern Ireland Census 2001 indicates) are increasingly alienated from the Catholic faith and the Church? Are their moral values changing, and what does this mean for the values projected as defining their ethnicities?

Finally, the 'socio-cultural' dimension encompasses two aspects to be mentioned here. One consists of the concrete socio-structural patterns of interaction and resulting interrelations. How are these structured by the high level of residential segregation in Belfast, by situational contexts such as work or leisure, as well as by values and role models related to kinship, gender, age, 'imagined communities', etc.? What practical experiences of sameness and difference are enabled and predisposed by these factors and how do these experiences, in turn, inform collective identities? The other aspect relates more specifically to forms of 'Irish culture' and to the recent Gaelic revival in West Belfast in particular. Since the 1970s, the Irish language has increasingly gained momentum in Belfast by being pushed by activists in growing numbers of Irish-medium schools, social clubs and cultural centres. Recently, even an institution for promoting Irish-medium businesses in West Belfast was established. Other facets of 'Irish culture' consist of traditional music sessions in pubs, for example, or of locally popular Irish sports such as Hurling or Gaelic Football. What is of interest here is the potential of this 'culture' for practically enacting and experiencing sameness and difference, as well as for allowing contesting discursifications of these experiences of identity. To put it differently, the diverse facets of 'Irish culture' may imprint quite diversely on the making of ethnic identities – and it is these identity-related implications that have to be explored on both the discursive and the practical level.

Using methods such as participant observation, interviews, pragma-linguistic conversation analysis, network analysis and archival research, the project seeks to address these and other questions on the basis of fieldwork. In so-doing, it promises two potential gains: First, the project aims to contribute to the theorising of ethnicity by conceptualising discourses and practices as dialectically shaping forces, the actual interplay of which is to be determined empirically. Second, it seeks to provide a more differentiated and thorough understanding of the empirical realities of everyday ethnicities in Northern Ireland, which, while strongly informed by the ongoing conflict as phenomena *sui generis*, cannot be reduced to it.

West Africa

Refugees and Changes in Local Governance on the Chad-Sudanese Border (Dar Masalit)

Andrea Behrends

Dar Masalit (the “home of the Masalit”) historically was and still is 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 Ouaddai 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 national border between Chad and Sudan runs through its western part. Today, post-colonial national politics influence regional processes on either side of the border, resulting, among other effects, in continuous transnational movements. It is especially this flow of people to and fro across the national border as labour migrants, traders, and in particular as refugees which is of central concern to this project.

Although conflicts between Masalit farmers and formerly nomadic Arab herders have been frequent in this region since the late 1950s, their problematic relations recently led to armed clashes on the Sudanese side of the border. As a result of these conflicts, Masalit, and, in smaller numbers, Arab refugees have continuously been crossing the border to Chad since 1997, numbering up to over twenty thousand. Many of these refugees were received by relatives in Masalit and Arab villages respectively. But some of them, in particular those who fled from more distant areas (up to fifty and more kilometres from the border), settled in separated sites close to existing villages, but not among the autochthonous population. In 1998 the United Nations High



Young Arab with her child. (Photo: A. Behrends, 2001)

Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) started to assist in the region, first with an 'urgency programme' that entitled refugees as well as the local population receiving them to food, soap and medical goods. By mid 2000, UNCHR switched over to an 'integration programme', which does not include the distribution of goods, but instead encourages the formation of farming cooperatives in order to make permanent settlement in the region an attractive option for the newcomers.



Sudanese Masalit refugee with her Chadian host. (Photo: A. Behrends, 2001)

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, this project follows a threefold approach: first, to investigate into social and political histories of autochthonous Masalit and Arab settlers in the region; second, to observe the reasons for different strategies of integration and dissociation applied by both, refugees and settlers; and third, to consider the meaning of the national border to both ethnic groups and the meaning of this region to the respective central state regimes of Chad and Sudan. Here, the interplay of local, national and international actors concerning governance processes, the impact of decentralisation, and changes in the notion of citizenship come into closer focus. Starting from the assumption that ethnic and national identities are constructs based on certain historical, structural and collective givens, this project proposes to review the existing theoretical literature dealing with transnational migration and frontiers as well as identity formation in regard to refugee situations to develop a theoretical input consistent with my ethnographic findings.

This research project started in mid 2000. The research took place in the Chadian cities of N'Djamena and Abéché as well as the Chad-Sudanese border close to the border towns and military posts of Adré (Chad, Prefecture Asoungba) and El Geneina (Sudan, Darfur). The following preliminary findings were gained during three consecutive field trips in late 2000 and early and late 2001, lasting about three months each.

Brief Summary of Preliminary Findings on the Micro-Level

The starting point for this research project was a refugee movement, which started in 1995 following conflict and fighting between Arabs and Masalit on the Sudanese side of the border. The attacks were carried out by Arab horsemen who originated from outside the immediate border area, and by Masalit farmers who attacked these Arab groups as well as their Arab neighbours who had been settling in the border region for several decades (and of whom the Masalit thought that they had hosted the strangers who had launched the attacks). After having taken refuge in Chadian border villages, most refugees only had a very vague idea of what had caused the fighting, but they clearly remembered the attacks on their villages, where people were killed and houses and fields burnt, and the loss of property and agricultural yields as well as of livestock which resulted from them. Both Arabs and Masalit took refuge in Masalit and Arab villages on the Chadian side of the border.



Clay figures of horsemen with and without guns are sold on the markets as toys for children. (Photo: A. Behrends, 2001)

The results I am presenting here, are concerned with the changes that were caused by the conflicts and consequent refuge and hosting of refugees. Although no further fighting was noticed on the Chadian side of

the border, formerly more or less friendly relations between Arab and Masalit neighbours were recently broken off. Two significant areas of change can be noted: first, the changing strategies of legitimising contradictory claims by the two groups; and second, the internal structural changes inside the Arab and Masalit communities related to the integration process of the refugees and the access to international agencies:

1. Whereas previously both Arabs and Masalit had managed to solve intra- and interethnic conflicts by turning to their respective local power-structures, these mediatory ways of conflict resolution between the two groups were cut off after the recent fighting and influx of refugees. To legitimise contradictory claims, e.g. on land, Arabs and Masalit now make use of different power structures. The Masalit, who claim the ownership of all land in the border region as their autochthonous territory, still try to solve intra- and interethnic conflicts (like cattle theft, field damage, access to water holes) through their hierarchical local power structures reaching from village headmen to paramount chiefs. The Arabs, whose power structures are less hierarchically organised than those of the Masalit, look for direct access to the local institutions of the state, in this case the prefecture or the police brigade. As a result, the land of the Arab village and its surroundings were recently declared their property by the then sub-prefect in charge – and against the will of the neighbouring Masalit who still think of the land as their own.

2. International assistance was offered to both Masalit and Arabs after the influx of refugees, first by the UNHCR and the WFP¹ in form of medical and food aid, and one year later in the form of an agricultural programme, organised by two different NGOs. The reaction of the Masalit and Arab population in the two villages made internal differences in the two groups evident: while the Arabs were hardly interested in the agricultural development programme offered by the NGOs, the Masalit competed with each other – between villages but also within the same village between refugees and locals – for privileged access to these programmes. Due to this fact, the integration of refugees took longer in the Masalit village, despite of their postulated harmony and seemingly well functioning integration strategies, while the Arab refugees came to be regarded as ‘normal village members’ sooner and without anyone mentioning their former refugee status.

Why are the Masalit, who, compared to the Arabs, did not have access to the local institutions of the state to defend their interests, so highly interested in having access to international power structures which circumvent both the local state institutions and their own hierarchical local power structures? It seems that the privileged access to local and national state institutions, which the Arabs have, renders international assistance less attractive to them. Among the Masalit, whose power

¹ World Food Programme.

structures are more hierarchically organised and where integration is more difficult, international institutions that circumvent both local power structures and state institutions are much more attractive for reaching a better status in the community.

This leads to the following requisites for investigation into existing literature and future field research: The focus of the project now lies on redrawing the lines of alliance between different local groups, and on analysing the influence of the two national regimes of Sudan and Chad – and their local representatives – on the two groups in conflict. As a basic assumption, the atmosphere of tension and conflict which has prevailed in this particular border region since the late 1950s is regarded as determining today's strategies and the interdependency of different sets of actors as well as the emergence of new political associations in the recent conflict between Arabs and Masalit.

Further Approaches

Further field research for this project will be carried out in 2004. While the former research had taken place mainly on the micro-level, the larger perspective, and here mainly the governing sector, will be in focus. By interviewing regional, national and international representatives of various state and non-state organisations, institutions and agencies, the findings and results of my analysis so far will be tested and elaborated on.

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

Andreas Dafinger

This project focuses on the question of how two major ethnic groups, the agricultural Bisa and the agropastoral Fulbe in southern Burkina Faso, share a common environment and negotiate resource use and social and political relations through the construction of a common local identity. Specific attention is paid to the role of the state and transnational (aid-)organisations as major and rather recent actors in this discourse on the definition of bonds and boundaries of a common socio-political landscape. The project is embedded in a wider context, and links to other studies carried out within the department, as well as within and beyond the MPI for Social Anthropology. Conferences and workshops were organised around the central issues of the study and with the intention to create a network of comparable projects: A workshop on the relations between landholding and landless groups in sub-Saharan Africa gathered international researchers to present their studies on differing modes of appropriation of land; a major issue in farmer-herder relations. Based on these topics (farmer-herder relations and land rights), the Cameroon-Burkina comparison led to a series of pres-

entations and publications. A more general view of the politics of landlessness will be available in the workshop proceedings.

A panel on issues of governance (organised jointly with A. Behrends and J. Eckert) helped link several projects at the MPI for Social Anthropology with a wider academic public. It related the crucial issue of national and transnational interference on the local level to developments in other regions and helped refine the microstudy approach. Another trajectory the study followed was the comparative analysis of power relations which linked the discourse on land and land rights to national and transnational political issues.

Preliminary findings

On the one hand, relations between farming and herding populations in the research area date back as far as 300 years and are characterised by a high degree of economic, social and political interdependency. Conflicts between and within the groups tend to be essentially low-level conflicts, with well-established conflict resolution mechanisms.



Inside a farmer's compound. (Photo: A. Dafinger, 2000)

Recurrent challenges to and renegotiation of spatial and social boundaries are essential to this process and create a framework of shared local identity (integrating herders and farmers alike). At the same time, such conflicts serve to externalise intra-group relations, thus regulating internal relations and reinforcing intra-group cohesion, as the research has shown. Local bonds between farmers and herders create settings that crosscut the prevalent ethnic dichotomies (e.g. Fulbe may act as placeholders for farmers in potential cultivation areas, preventing uncontrolled expansion of neighbouring farming communities).

On the other hand, an increasing number of violent clashes and aggravating conflicts over the past two decades gave rise to a general im-

pression of deteriorating relations. This view is shared by parts of the local population, by officials, and by international agencies.

The fieldwork confirmed both the continuing importance of low level disputes as a means of integration and an escalation of conflicts. A differentiated analysis of settings and actors, yet, challenges the assumption of a unilineal process of deteriorating relations. Aggravated conflicts are limited to a specific group of actors, and do not necessarily affect existing bonds. Conflicts as a whole do not seem to aggravate, but one rather sees a new set of conflicts emerging (over new resources; or on different levels), in addition to existing and continuing forms of embedded conflict resolving mechanisms.

Aggravating conflicts can generally be related to a set of factors: Different (generally weaker) inter-group relations exist between resident and newcomer populations, i.e. larger numbers of herders who settled in the region after the draughts in the 1980s and have not managed to engage in close relations with neighbouring farming communities. This coincides with a change in legal and economic frameworks, i.e. the enforcement of administrative and land reform, as well as an increasing demographic pressure, the involvement of donor organisations, and a decreasing economy of both farmers and agropastoralists. Those herders who are least embedded in local social networks are at the same time most affected by the expansion of cultivated areas.

The continued existence of embedded conflicts rather seems to help limit the spread of violent (aggravated) conflicts, as in part suggested by G. Elwert's typology of conflicts drawing on degrees of embeddedness and violence.¹

The project, thus, follows a twofold approach: It engages in the description and analysis of recurrent low level conflicts and interprets them as an integrative force. A second focus looks at violent clashes and conflicts that go beyond local (embedded) conflict resolving authorities.

As preliminary findings suggest, actors and causes for conflict differ significantly in both cases. Where actors can be found on both ends of the scale, their respective role differs accordingly (e.g. as local authority vs. part of a nation-state administration).

Established patterns of dealing with conflictive situations are employed only to a very limited degree when dealing with organisations and administration, and in aggravated conflicts.

New resources, as it appears, not only tend to lead to new (i.e. more) conflicts, but induce a different quality of conflict. Use rights of new resources are not negotiated between local actors and potential users, but invoke third parties (organisations, administration, etc). Arguments

¹ Elwert, G. 2001. "Conflict, Anthropological Perspective," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. Edited by N. Smelser and P. Baltes, pp. 2542-2547. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

employed in local discourse tend to change their meaning in this process: While higher mobility (of the herders) and territorial identity (of the farmers) are considered to be of mutual benefit in the local arena, the territorial approaches of organisations and the state favour agricultural communities and lead to a differential integration into the newly arriving² state, with pastoralists often excluded from resources provided by the state and organisations (schools, wells, health care etc). It is a prime target to identify causes and factors that delimit two types of conflict and focus on actors who oscillate between different layers of conflict and conflict resolution.



*Agropastoralist women milking their cattle.
(Photo: A. Dafinger, 2002)*

To do so, the project necessarily draws on the comparison with other settings and regions. Comparison along thematic as well as regional lines provided, and continues to provide, an ideal testing ground for the major hypothesis (e.g. the aggravation of local conflicts through the emergence of a changed legal framework). Thematic comparison mainly draws on issues of 'governance', the 'arrival of the state' and the impact of national and transnational organisations (such as donor agencies). A further layer of analysis deals with intra-site diachronic comparison: With Fulbe herders being highly respected as warriors and slave-hunters up to the past turn of the century (1900), colonial 'pacification' has brought a change in attitude and a transformation of power relations on the local level. The assessment of this process will determine whether the recent development may be interpreted as suggested, i.e. a qualitatively new set of relations and conflicts, or if administrative and land reform have only accelerated existing tendencies.

² Most parts of rural western Africa see the 'arrival of the state', at a time when states are called to retreat. This process of decentralisation encourages transnational organisations to act as Trojan horses implementing national legislation and administration.

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 pastoral mobility in Mali, Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire. Two interrelated topics, which the project investigates, are the dynamics of identity and statehood as a field of interaction between peasants and pastoralists. Our principal concern during the fieldwork, carried out intermittently, has been to observe and collect data on cattle husbandry, livestock policies, land use, mobility patterns of the Fulbe, and the modalities of their relations with sedentary groups. The description of the project given here deals with the main outlines of patterns that have been found out, some of them (migration patterns, conflict, cooperation, etc) being still at work.

The present situation of the Fulbe cannot be properly evaluated without a reference to the past. Oral traditions about pastoral movements in the border region of Burkina Faso, Mali, and Côte d'Ivoire suggest that the mobility patterns of the Fulbe are historically rooted. In addition to being old, these mobility patterns prove adaptable to new social and political conditions.



Fulbe woman in western Burkina Faso. (Photo: Y. Diallo, 2001)

As the West African ethnography shows, the Fulbe are usually separated from sedentary groups by ethnicity, occupation, and religion (Islam). Conflict and integration – or cooperation – are the general but

permanent characteristics of the pattern of their interactions with sedentary peasants. In a changing pattern of relations, the basic question, therefore, is who is inside and who is outside, or who cooperates with whom.

Information available suggests that strategies of exclusion and integration of Fulbe evolve alternately, according to circumstances and social status, or that they may be used in different ways by the state, societies and sedentary groups with which pastoral nomads interact. In former times, the 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 their partial or total assimilation into village communities and earlier sedentary states. 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'.

A comparative analysis, combining oral traditions and written sources, seems to be helpful in understanding these processes. A limited comparison is likely to enable us to draw up a tentative typology of political integration and exclusion of the West African Fulbe pastoralists. We are thus looking into the position of early pastoral nomads in ancient sedentary states and administrative systems – e.g. the Bambara and Mossi kingdoms in Mali and Burkina Faso respectively – in order to compare it with their current position in post-colonial states. This approach implies that the actions of modern governments must be considered. The political economy of cattle husbandry also involves international relations between the Sahelian countries (Burkina Faso, Mali) and the coastal countries. Fulbe pastoralists are considered wandering producers that governments and development planners try to control if not to settle. The case of Côte d'Ivoire, where the state implemented an attractive pastoral policy and encouraged the Fulbe to involve in the market economy, is an example of tentative politics of control and integration of pastoral nomads into post-colonial states.

Moving into new contexts leads to new arrangements with local groups. Various forms of cooperation and institutional arrangements binding together Fulbe pastoralists and peasants have been noted. In western Burkina Faso and northern Côte d'Ivoire, the basis of grouping is the village community. Access to land seems to be the predominant factor of the integration of strangers into the Bobo, Bwa and Senufo village communities. Therefore, independently of the state intervention, the Fulbe always negotiate with customary landowners in order to stay in villages and exploit natural resources.

Conflict represents the other facet of their relations with local peasants. For the purpose of the analysis, we may distinguish between dis-

pute, conflict of interest or competition, and violent conflict. This distinction is a matter of degree; reality is more complex since the boundary between these forms of conflicts is always fluctuating. Also, the outbreak of violence depends on how the actors themselves handle a situation of dispute. A dispute between a pastoralist and a peasant may escalate into a violent conflict which may involve members of their respective ethnic groups.

In our area of study, crop damage and natural resource competition are the main reasons for conflict between pastoralists and peasants. As a result, rights to residence, grazing rights or rights to water may become fragile and even contested. The pastoralists may ultimately be evicted from their residence in a hard conflict situation. In northern Côte d'Ivoire, we have noted that right to residence tends to lap where Fulbe cattle repeatedly cause crop damage. In the whole area of study, there is evidence suggesting that the state control over land is nominal. Vacant land does not exist in the 'traditional'



Fulbe woman going to the weekly market in Koonaa, western Burkina Faso. (Photo: Y. Diallo, 2001)

conception. Indigenous peasants usually encroach on land delineated by the state as forest zone or seen as empty space to be allocated to pastoral groups. As the Ivorian example shows, the state intervention for controlling and delineating pastoral zones in order to promote cattle husbandry and at the same time reduce peasant-pastoralist conflicts had had a limited impact on the relations between the two groups.

The pastoral mobility may have political consequences. In West Africa, interest groups of peasants are stronger than that of Fulbe pastoralists regarded as 'strangers'. This aspect is illustrated by the Ivorian case. Although they have the support of the central government – because they are supposed to hold a crucial role in the national economy – the presence of the Fulbe in Côte d'Ivoire has become a matter of political controversy. There are indications showing that the recent politicisation of peasant-pastoralist conflicts is connected with the intervention of a range of interest groups trying to take political and economic advan-

tages of pastoralist-peasant interactions. Among these are local politicians, administrative officials, traditional hunters and civil servants.

The writing of the preliminary results is in progress. It is our hope that the study, in its final shape, will contribute to the anthropological and historical understanding of the West African Fulbe.

The Social and Cultural Context of Small-scale Gold Mining in West Africa

Tilo Grätz

At the end of the eighties and the beginning of the nineties of the last century, new mining sites developed simultaneously in several regions of West Africa. Illegal forms of exploitation with simple technologies and gold trading (smuggling) developed beside small enterprises controlled by the state or licence holders. This recent growth of small-scale (artisanal) gold mining is related to massive waves of labour migration into rural areas, above all in Mali, Niger, Benin, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire and Guinea. The exploitation of new mining sites and the reopening of abandoned deposits led in most cases to the rapid establishment of new immigrant communities with new markets, increased circulation of money and the spontaneous development of infrastructures and services. Recently discovered mines also led to the massive immigration of petty businessmen, traders, barkeepers and those offering other services, including prostitution. Within a short period of time, small villages have become large settlements; new settler communities have emerged in all mentioned countries.

The migration to the gold mines can be seen as a reaction to a situation of crisis, especially in the agricultural sector, with fewer job opportunities, the effects of structural adjustment, and the general devaluation of the currency in 1994, causing higher living costs. Other factors relevant to some areas are droughts and civil wars, or social problems linked to communal disputes, marital problems, and criminality.

In most cases, there is a considerable divergence between the official state law – as is developed, for example, in the Code Minier – and local practices, especially significant as regards the access to resources, labour organisation and the legitimacy of mediators. As a consequence, conflicts often emerge between gold miners and state authorities, but also between locals and immigrants, and between interest groups among the miners themselves concerning the rights to exploitation and settlement. Often, there is a similar chronology of events: an initial period of serious conflicts is followed by period of stabilisation and 'working arrangements' between all actors.

The gold mining communities of these new mining frontiers consist of people of extremely heterogeneous social and ethnic origins. The research project examines processes of social, economic and cultural

change induced by these small-scale mining booms in West Africa. It describes the particularities of mining communities, identity processes, and conflicts over resources as well as the relationship of miners to the central state. A specific focus is given to aspects of migration, labour organisation, conflict resolution, risk management and modes of social integration. Local particularities as well as global dependencies of gold mining communities, especially with regard to the international gold trade (Grätz 2000) are explored as well. The major question of the project is how social order is created and maintained in socially and ethnically heterogeneous communities and how these communities sustain themselves in relation to adjacent peasant communities and the state. This summary will refer to some selected results of my study.

The central field site is the southern Atakora mountain region in northern Benin. I knew the region from previous field studies and witnessed the sudden beginning of a veritable boom in the middle of the 1990s. Thus, I was better able to evaluate the dimensions of change that were brought by the massive immigration of miners, the mushrooming of mining pits, the quick establishment of huge markets and the overall monetisation of that rural region, hitherto not very much integrated into the realms of market production. It was the Atakora region where I stayed for longer periods of field research, on and off, and where my study went into various ethnographic details: gold production, economic flows, property issues, conflict regulation, local history and religion, migration patterns and biographies, every day life and festivities, conflicts as well as modes of sociability in the adjacent villages that I could observe, with all the respective changes over time (including the end to the boom-period) over a period of several years (1999-2003). Furthermore, a comparative perspective, based on multi-sited fieldwork, was chosen. Thus I also integrated my findings from other mining sites, especially those from Burkina Faso and Mali, into my overall assessment of the changing face of mining in West Africa. My methodological approach also comprised the study of networking processes, periods of direct participant observation (working with small mining teams) and the tracing back of migrants to their home regions.

A central approach has been chosen with the economic and social anthropology of risk. I argue that risk is a major heuristic category to explore the life-world of gold miners and – related to systems of risk-sharing – a key to understand the creation of cohesion despite divergent interests in an extremely heterogeneous community (Grätz 2003a). Some ethnographic depictions may clarify this point.

Generally, miners work in small teams headed by a team chief, in most cases the owner of a shaft or pit. The teams are mixed in terms of ethnic and regional origins of the workers, hired on the basis of individual abilities and perseverance. The owner may work with trusted organisers and/or work himself in various phases of the gold extraction

process. In any case, he is a kind of small-scale entrepreneur, investing in equipment and the maintenance of his/her workforce, and is generally rewarded with half of the yield. Some small-scale investors may run several shafts, 'sponsoring' the teams. Hierarchies in small-scale gold mining seem, however, to be shallow and flexible: a shaft owner may fail and hire on tomorrow as a simple worker, and vice versa. A gold trader also acts as 'sponsor', i.e. a moneylender trying to bind clients and diversifying income opportunities.

This system of risk-sharing is similar at all mining sites in West Africa that I could explore, especially in reef mining. Different are the wealth of the gold deposits to be tackled and the period involved in exploiting them. Such a social contract comprises a kind of 'trade off': the more uncertain the yield, the more the possible gain for the team chief in case of success. Because of the uncertainty of the yields, there is the risk for the entrepreneur of getting only part of his investment back. On the other hand, he has to supply for the basic needs of his labourers whatever the yield. Sharing in this context means the sharing of the yields according to the division of roles – the investor as head of the team receives the biggest part (50% in most cases). Further shares for all members are divided according to contributions in work and skills. Provided that the venture was successful, there is always a minimum guaranteed share, irrespective of illness, etc., but the share may also vary according to the individuals' work ethic.

Most miners regard these arrangements as fair and risk-sharing for two main reasons: first, the shaft-owner may lose almost all of his investments in case the shaft is not prosperous at all – but at least the workers were maintained during work. In case the team is successful he consequently earns a higher proportion and may deduct his expenses, and second, he (should) know best how to organise the work, including the rental of pumps etc, but also its defence against competitors – pre-conditions to its success.

Elements of a moral economy are important aspects of the rules and modes of organisation in many mining teams. Institutions like friendship point to an ethic of equal sharing and camaraderie. There are also more concrete institutions that help to guarantee benefits for all and organise redistribution. The fact that mining entrepreneurs, team leaders or successful traders are supposed to contribute to fund raisers (French cotisations, caisses) for times of need is important because this limits their accumulation. This is often required as a sort of insurance. Small scale mining is at the same time linked to global market economy. James Scott (1976) applied the concept of moral economy (also developed by Thompson, 1971) to the subsistence ethics of an Asian peasant society. Moral economy refers to the social distribution of risks and institutions of reciprocity in a given society and discusses the moral standards guaranteeing the subsistence of all. My usage of the concept

differs from Scott's account. I do not assume a general contradiction between the two ideal concepts. I detect some components of the economic and social fields, which follow more closely straight standards of risk minimisation and common values guaranteeing a minimum degree of subsistence for all. Other economic practices represent transitional and partly contradicting modes of labour organisation, especially small entrepreneurial logics. I subsume them under the notion of a patronal mode of labour organisation, which shows the interrelation of elements of market logics and moral standards.

It seems that parallel logics may even be a precondition to the persistence of the economic system of gold mining that develops within the proliferation of markets (in both senses) vigorously promoted by numerous gold traders, market peddlers and service providers, all often former gold miners.

We are dealing with a new socio-economic field in the making, different from agro-pastoralist economies, marked by dynamic shifts in migration and a growing professionalisation of translocal actors with various backgrounds. Miners, traders, service workers and others are related in chains of interdependency. Even though there are many conflicts over access to resources, a minimal cohesion as well as processes of social integration into the mining community emerge.

Many normative rules and institutions concerning the organisation of labour, access to natural resources, hierarchies, profit sharing as well as conflict resolution (Grätz 2002) 'roam' from one camp to another, while being partly shaped by local institutions and social structures. This transnationalisation of a very particular legal field has an important side-effect: It enables migrant miners from heterogeneous backgrounds, and newcomers in particular, to relate more easily to others. It promotes a rapid development of a minimal social order and trust in the newly established mining camps.

These scattered mining camps and their markets develop rapidly in rural areas, where social and cultural change is thus introduced inevitably in a manifest, brutal and unparalleled way. We are dealing here



Gold miner in West Africa. (Photo: T. Grätz, 2001)

with the emergence of a multi-local economic and social sphere, shaped by the specific method of gold extraction and labour organisation, but also by the distribution of incomes, linked to spheres of circulation and consumption. It is a very particular socio-economic field (or socio-technical system, Pfaffenberger 1998), organised between equitable corporate modes and entrepreneurial economic logics, fellowship – and patron-client social relations. It is neither related to institutions of agropastoral domestic production, craftsmen's enterprises or trading networks, but dwells on many norms and rules of these different economic fields. Parallel to that, we witness a particular socio-professional identity of miners in the making, shaped through the permanent liminal migrant situation in the camps, specific norms of sharing, modes of communication as well as a discernible lifestyle. I argue that this kind of identity emerges both from labour and risk sharing processes in gold production, specific codes and patterns of sociability in the mining camps and as result of pressure and stigmatising discourses from outside (Grätz 2003b).

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

Martine Guichard

This research project is part of an interdisciplinary project conducted in cooperation with the Universities of Bielefeld (Departments of History [PD. P. Schuster] and Biology [Prof. F. Trillmich]), the University of Göttingen (Department of History [Prof. F. Rexroth]), the University of Luzern (Department of Sociology [Prof. R. Stichweh]) and the MPI for Social Anthropology (Department I, 'Integration and Conflict' [Prof. G. Schlee]). It is funded by the Volkswagen Foundation.

Summary of the Overall Project "Freundschaft und Verwandtschaft: zur Unterscheidung und Relevanz zweier Beziehungssysteme"

(see also www.freundschaft-und-verwandtschaft.de)

Over the last few years, mass media and popular advisory literature have shown special interest in friendship. It is said that in our modern, complex, and flexible society, friendship represents the truly adequate form of modern interpersonal relationships. It appears noteworthy that the potential of friendship relations is often highlighted by reference to ancient philosophical and idealised concepts of friendship. This almost necessarily leads to considerable discrepancies between proposed and realisable friendships. Furthermore, the praise of friendship explicitly or implicitly suggests that relations based on kinship and family have lost some of their importance in societies during the 20th century and therefore have largely had to be replaced by friendship. Thus, the present praise of friendship repeats the fear of Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl of a disintegration of kin and family ties in modern society. Taking into account the present debate, our research will focus on the structure and importance of kinship and friendship in sociological, mediévistic, socio-anthropological and ethological perspective. By using a comparative and interdisciplinary approach, we expect important insights into the social potential and the proneness to crisis of both systems.

Normally, the dichotomies of ascription versus voluntarism, and permanency versus dissolvability are regarded as hallmarks of the difference between the two systems of relationships. The question of how these relations begin, how they can be delimited, and what the precise relation is between the two concepts has so far rarely been examined – even in an international perspective. In our interdisciplinary project it is this problem that will be investigated in a comparative manner. Using historical and intercultural comparisons, we will analyse these two systems of relationships. In addition, we will deal with the analysis of the specific forms and patterns of differentiation of friendship and kinship as developed in modern societies.

In the sociological projects, we will examine the thesis that friendship may function as a transitional formula accompanying new social relations for a while until these are transferred and absorbed into differently named and newly conceived social institutions. Using the recurring historical and modern prominence of friendship themes, we will examine in a comparative manner how far relations of friendship, resp. kinship, can be taken. Friendship, according to our hypothesis, will be overtaxed as soon as it is asked to perform everything that is better done by other forms of relationships. At the same time, one may claim that kinship functions as a kind of invariant alliance by default within the increasing complexity of social relationships, thus constituting the only non-contingent relation which may be used without major cost.

Within the mediævic, socio-anthropological, and ethological projects the focus is also on a comparative analysis of relationships. These projects focus on the phenomena of the interpenetration of friendship and kin relationships. Traditionally, these disciplines have attributed a dominant role to kinship. However, friendship (or cooperative relations) has moved to centre stage more recently. In the existing comparative evaluations of these two systems of relationships, however, a tendency to favour one or the other can be observed. In the present project the aforementioned disciplines hypothesise that the importance of kinship as a system creating relationships in animal and human (historical and non-western and so-called simple) societies has been over-emphasised. Ontogenetically, relational systems become established as parent-offspring and familial relations which enable the people involved to build up a bond which is based on trust and friendship with kin as well as non-kin. The structure of such systems of relationships will be analysed in a comparative way in our project.

Within the cooperation of our disciplines we will investigate

- which historical and cultural variants of the distinction between friendship and kinship can be observed,
- which specific and different efficiency the different construction principles of these relationships imply,
- if a difference in the importance of kinship is discernible with regard to cooperative relationships in human populations on the one hand, and animal populations on the other, and in how far 'friendships' can be documented among animals, which mechanisms they rest upon, and whether the mechanisms leading to friendship resemble each other in humans and animals; and last but not least
- in how far common properties of the specific efficiency of kinship and friendship in human and animal societies can be clarified by the cooperation among the participating sciences and humanities.

Outline of the Social Anthropological Project

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

To date, friendship has primarily been studied in 'complex' or western societies. These societies are considered particularly appropriate fields of study because it is assumed that they are marked by the shrinking importance of kinship as a community-structuring factor. The increasing interest in friendship in the last years does not really include a shift in regional focus: works on friendship in non-western and so-called 'simple' societies remain rare. In fact, many anthropologists are of the opinion that these societies leave little room for friendship as an autonomous form of relationship. This view is nourished, among other things, by the fact that the kinship idiom is often used by the actors for describing friendships with non-kin. But this practice does not coincide with a real elimination of the difference between kin and non-kin, or friends respectively.

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

Another focus of anthropological research will be on the interpenetration of friendship and kinship, and on the verification of the hypothesis that many cases of assistance that have to date been understood as kinship-based, are in fact built on friendship; it will also be examined, based on cost-benefit calculations, under what conditions friends instead of relatives are recruited.

Since, due to a 'kinship-bias', friendship among kin has seldom been mentioned in the literature, it will be necessary to verify the above formulated thesis not only through a systematic re-evaluation of the literature but also through empirical studies. As already mentioned, fieldwork will be carried out in northern Cameroon and northern Benin. These regions have been chosen because institutionalised and non-institutionalised forms of friendship can be found in both. The inhabitants of both regions are primarily farmers and cattle herders or agropastoralists. The latter belong to the Fulbe who are well-known, on the one hand, for their far-reaching friendship networks and their 'stock friendships'. They are also well-known, on the other hand, as a prime

example for the institution of hospitality: many Fulbe could hardly stay in the villages if the farmers did not accommodate them.

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

The relevance of this sphere in the selection of friends will also be studied in comparison with that of non-kin. The latter can be roughly divided into actors belonging to the same ethnic group and ethnic strangers. The meaning of friendships between members of each of these categories will be simultaneously explored and set in relation to one another. In a further step, the question will be discussed of who among the kin and non-kin are in practice 'better' friends. Although indicators exist that would allow one to say that distant or non-kin would come first, this has to date never been specifically studied. A typology of locally existing friendship categories will also be developed. Finally, an analysis of the strategically motivated preference of friends over kin when assistance is required will be carried out.

During the field study (two periods of six months duration each), data collection will involve the following methods: apart from participant observation, informal conversations, including above all guided and narrative interviews, will be held. Selected cognitive anthropological methods will be used in registering friendship categories in an intra- and interethnic comparison. For the study of solidarity and cooperative behaviour, samples will be taken and individual sociograms as well as mobility diagrams will be made that will serve the recording of friendship networks. A gender and generation conscious perspective will be maintained for all these procedures. A processual approach will be of primary importance.

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Integration and Conflict as Dimensions of Cultural Forms: the etiology of the rebel war in Sierra Leone (1990-2000) on the background of cultural tradition and historical experience

Jacqueline Knörr

Jacqueline Knörr is currently finishing up her project entitled *Orang Betawi, Orang Jakarta, Orang Indonesia: construction and transformation of ethnic and transethnic identity in Jakarta*.

In my future project, I will be dealing with dimensions of integration and conflict in the aftermath of the rebel war in Sierra Leone (1990-2000). I will investigate the war against the background of cultural tradition and historical experience that have resulted in a cultural order of dissimulation, which is a central phenomenon of the current cultural complex in the Upper Guinea Coast of West Africa. Conflict and integration are seen as complementary dimensions of culture. It is the same – and not opposing – values and beliefs within a given culture that may result in either social integration or conflict, depending on the respective historical, social, political, and economic context and experience. Consequently, one has to look at how a war was waged in a given society – at the conflictual dimensions of culture that is – in order to find its complementary dimensions and potentials of (re)integration and (re)conciliation.

My approach will make use of etiological concepts. The war was experienced by Sierra Leoneans as a ‘national disease’ that needs to be cured by employing both ‘traditional’ medications – e.g. in the form of secret society rituals aimed at cleansing and reconciliation, and ‘modern’ cures – e.g. in the form of advanced institutional control of political actors. In the same way disease and health are seen as two dimensions of the human condition, conflict and integration are seen as complementary dimensions of social interaction.

Just as one needs to know the reasons for a disease to find the right medication, one needs to know the reasons for a conflict to find its cure. It is the aim of this project to partake in finding a cure.

Integration and Conflict: the Mbororo and neighbouring communities in North West Cameroon

Michaela Pelican

In January 2002, I returned from my field site in North West Cameroon where I had spent 14 months researching interethnic relations and identity politics among Mbororo (agro pastoral Fulbe), Hausa and Grassfields people. Extensive discussions beforehand and mutual visits with colleagues working on related issues in Burkina Faso and Benin helped to broaden the scope of and to integrate comparative perspectives into my research. Back in Halle/Saale, I benefited from participat-

ing in internally organised workshops and international conferences that centred on themes relevant to my dissertation and on topics cross-cutting departmental boundaries and linking up individual researchers' interests.

In the following I will outline two comparative projects that form an integral part of my PhD work and have subsequently been turned into dissertation chapters and (forthcoming) publications.

a) *Comparative Perspectives on Farmer-Herder Relations, Land Rights and State Policy in West Africa*

Land Rights and the Politics of Integration: pastoralists' strategies in a comparative view is the title of a co-authored working paper (MPI for Social Anthropology Working Paper Series No. 48) by Andreas Dafinger and Michaela Pelican. The idea of a comparative article emerged as a result of the workshop *The Landed and the Landless? Strategies of territorial integration and dissociation in Africa*, organised by Andrea Behrends and Andreas Dafinger and held at the MPI for Social Anthropology in May 2002. Subsequently, we developed a theoretical framework to explain commonalities and differences in farmer-herder relations in South Central Burkina Faso and North West Cameroon.

In both research sites, the herders are Fulbe agro pastoralists and form ethnic minorities within farmer-dominated societies. But while one case is marked by peaceful integration, the other is increasingly conflictual. These differences are interpreted via a background of different legal systems and modes of land use. In Burkina Faso, the historical and political setting supports an ideology of a *shared* landscape. This is best illustrated by the interspersed settlement pattern of farmers and herders who together form local communities, continuously negotiating spatial and social boundaries. In North West Cameroon, on the other hand, the territory is *divided* into exclusive farming and grazing areas. Here farmer-herder relations are largely guided by colonial and post-colonial legislation which has been introduced with the aim of reducing conflicts over land and landed resources. We argue that a *shared* use of land and landed resources encourages integration through permanent low level conflicts (Burkina Faso case), whereas a *divided* landscape and the allocation of exclusive land titles increases the potential for violent clashes (Cameroon case). Actors' strategies differ significantly in the two settings. In the Cameroonian example, herders increasingly follow a dynamic and vocal approach, making explicit claims to exclusive tracts of land, becoming engaged in local politics and political networking. The Fulbe in the Burkina Faso case, on the other hand, lay emphasis on keeping a low profile, adhering to an ideology of exit: they claim their rights to specific resources, but do not claim an overall, territorially perceived ownership of all landed assets within a delimited area.

In more general terms, it becomes clear from the above comparisons that where land is primarily an economic asset, exclusion of others and struggles for exclusive ownership may be an adequate strategy. Where land is a social value, helping to define social relations and positioning groups and individuals in the social hierarchy, sharing out the land to non-landowners may be much more profitable. In both cases the nation-state plays an important role, by providing opportunities and by more or less encouraging divided use of the land. It is also the state, along with an increasingly market oriented economy, that will determine the prospects of these systems.

b) Property Concepts and Human-Animal Relations in an Agro Pastoral Community

The workshop *Collective and Multiple Forms of Property in Land and Animals* organised by Günther Schlee, Patty Gray, Florian Stammer and Michaela Pelican and held at the MPI for Social Anthropology in August 2002, joined participants from Department I and II with the aim of comparing concepts of property rights in land and animals and practices of animal husbandry across different ecological zones and political settings.

In my paper I focused on human-animal relations from economic and cultural perspectives. This overlapped thematically with Brian Donahoe's (Indiana University, MPI for Social Anthropology) presentation on Siberia¹. Applying Tim Ingold's² theoretical framework of hunting versus pastoral populations to his case material, Donahoe illustrated how human-animal relations among the Tozhu-Tyva are characterised by trust and respect, while among the Tofa, wild animals and domesticated reindeer are mainly seen in terms of their economic value, i.e. to be dominated and exploited. A similar shift in the human-animal relationship seems



Kinship diagram of a Mbororo cattle herd by Michaela Pelican, August 2002

¹ Donahoe, B. 2002. "Trust" or "Domination"? The Tozhu-Tyva and the Tofa and their differing relationships to the reindeer they raise and the wild animals they hunt. Paper presented at the workshop *Collective and Multiple Form of Property in Land and Animals*. Halle/Saale. August 19-21, 2002.

² Ingold, T. 2000. "The Perception of the Environment," in *Essays on livelihood, dwelling and skills*. London, New York: Routledge.

to have occurred among the Mbororo in North West Cameroon. The Mbororo conceive of their cattle as basic production means in terms of livelihood and social status. At the same time, they have personal and close relationships with their animals, especially those belonging to inherited cattle lineages. Socio-economic and ecological conditions over the past century have encouraged meat over milk production, to which the Mbororo reacted with economic diversification and increased market production. In many families, a part of the herd is designated for social and economic reproduction and a part for market production. Accordingly, the two sections underlie different herd management rationales which entail divergences in human-animal relations (e.g. in terms of naming systems for animals). From a theoretical perspective this implies that the shift from trust and respect to domination and exploitation in human-animal relations is gradual. Potentially and practically both attitudes co-exist, though applied to different herd sections.

The case study on the peri-urban Fulbe in North Cameroon presented by Mark Moritz offered an excellent opportunity for regional comparison.³ Moritz illustrated how changing ecological conditions in Cameroon's Far North made intensification necessary, and how pastoral intensification coupled with Islamic notions of private property led to an individualisation of livestock ownership. In North West Cameroon, ecological and economic conditions as well as the interpretation and instrumentalisation of Islamic ideology take different forms. Here Islamic ideology has been invoked to determine the women's economic role, namely their involvement in the sales of milk and milk products. This part of Mbororo pastoral economy has become conflated with antagonistic interpretations of pastoral and Islamic ideologies and is a key issue in the debate on what it means to be an 'authentic Pullo' (sing. of Fulbe) or a 'good Muslim'. In comparing Fulbe strategies in North West Cameroon and Cameroon's Far North, it becomes clear that, though situated within the same country, historical and political backgrounds, ecological and economic conditions, and the wider social settings vary significantly. Just as these conditions differ and change over time, pastoral practices and ideology remain in flux, offering a wide variety of potential strategies and alternatives.

In addition to these two endeavours I worked on other topics relevant to my dissertation, namely on the role of interethnic friendship as a factor of social cohesion (see also overarching essay by Guichard, Heady, Tadesse, pp. 7-17) and on the manipulation of discourses of cultural difference in the struggle over political power. Furthermore, I edited part of the visual material collected in the field and produced an

³ Moritz, Mark. 2002. Individual Livestock Ownership in Fulbe Family Herds: The effects of intensification and Islam on pastoral production systems in the Far North of Cameroon. Paper presented at the workshop *Collective and Multiple Form of Property in Land and Animals*. Halle/Saale. August 19-21, 2002.

ethnographic video documentary in cooperation with Judith Orland (see report of the MPI Visual Group). Selected sequences of the visual data are integrated into my thesis for analytical and illustrative purposes, reflecting the multimedial character of my dissertation work. In the same way, the comparative and complementary endeavours find expression in substantial parts of my PhD thesis and have significantly contributed to the refinement and precision of my theoretical arguments.



*Screening of the edited video footage to the population in the research site, Misaje, 2001.
(Photo: M. Pelican)*

Changing Chadian Power Dynamics

Stephen P. Reyna

The MPI for Social Anthropology has studied transformations in the power dynamics within Chadian institutions over the last half century. Such analyses involve documentation, first, of the changes to the force resources available to institutions and, second, of the exercise of these resources to achieve different powers. Certain findings concerning Chadian power dynamics stand out.

There have been two, major kinds of change in the distribution of power among Chadian institutions since Independence (1960): The first of these concerns the power of the central government; the second that of a transnational corporation. A civil war began in Chad (1966) that pitted rebel movements against the central government's army. This began a cycle of first decline and then growth of central government's powers. Roughly from 1966 through the late 1980s, the military force of numerous rebel factions greatly curtailed central government abilities in all realms of social development. The Weberian state, one where the central government enjoyed a monopoly over violent force, largely disappeared; replaced by what many referred to as a 'failed' state. However, starting in the late 1980s and continuing through the 1990s, the

central government's military was increasingly successful against rebel factions. The reestablishment of the Weberian state was substantially aided by the victors in the Cold War (France and the US), and was largely achieved by 2000.

Concurrent with the cycle of governmental decline and growth was another set of events that arguably resulted in the replacement of the Chadian government by a US transnational corporation as the most powerful institution in the country. Chad is directly south of Libya; that country has oil; and so, it has long been reasoned, should Chad. French enterprises, to test this reasoning, began oil prospecting in Chad at the end of the colonial period. An American transnational, Conoco, took over exploitation in the 1970s, and found oil in southern Chad in 1973. Exxon-Mobil replaced Conoco in the 1980s and discovered commercially exploitable oil deposits in the Doba Basin (1989). Over the next decade negotiations were conducted between Exxon-Mobil, the Chadian government, and the World Bank concerning how to bring Chad's oil onto the global market. These were completed by the end of the 1990s. Construction of 300 oil wells in the Doba Basin and of a 1070 kilometer pipeline south through Cameroon to the port of Kribi began in 2000. This construction was completed in the summer of 2003, when the first oil began to be pumped. Chad had been integrated into the global economy as a petrostate and Exxon-Mobil had arguably become the most powerful institution in the country. This is because its force resources included more capital than competing institutions and the ultimate support of the US government.

MPI for Social Anthropology research has analysed certain consequence of the rise to power of Exxon-Mobil upon Chadians in the oil producing zone. These consequences from the phenomenological perspective of villagers living near Exxon-Mobil operations have been strongly negative. Villagers have experienced these operations as threatening. The threats are experienced as challenges to the survival. They worry that Exxon-Mobil could cause loss of their farmland, pollution of their water, loss of purchasing power, abuse by security services, and declines in health and educational opportunities. Certain informants described this experience of threat as being like *kon*, which is the emotion of deep suffering. Research suggests that the villagers perceived threats are justified.

Finally, it is suggested that the relationship between Exxon-Mobil and the central government could spark violent opposition to both sets of institutions, leading to another cycle of state decline.

North-East Africa

North-East Africa as a Region for the Study of Changing Identifications and Alliances

Günther Schlee

North-East Africa, for the purpose of this little overview, will be regarded as comprising Ethiopia and the countries surrounding it, in a clockwise enumeration: the Sudan, Eritrea, Djibouti, Somaliland, Somalia, Kenya, and Uganda. Examples of clusters of interethnic relations in smaller parts of this huge area, often cross-cutting international boundaries, were presented at two conferences at the MPI for Social Anthropology in 2001 and 2002. The results of these conferences are currently under analysis and are being prepared for publication¹. A broad synopsis of ethnic and other identification processes in all these countries, undertaken by scholars from an even wider range of countries, shows that there are both parallel processes at work in quite different settings², as well as interconnected conflicts and indirect alliances which span the entire region.

Whereas anthropologists usually focus on single villages or districts, particularly following narrow definitions of local 'cultures' or 'societies', for the present purpose I shall write a paragraph or two on each of the states of the region. Although states and statehood may not be the main subject of anthropology, it is clear that they significantly affect the lives of ordinary people everywhere in the present-day world, and that a local society can no longer be studied as if it were not affected by these wider relations, if indeed it was ever fruitful to do so. In the case of North-East Africa it can be shown that mutually contradictory ideas about what should shape the territory of a state – cultural discontinuities or colonial boundaries – and which principles citizenship and internal administrative units should follow, are a constant source of conflict.

Since the demise of the Mengistu-Regime in 1991, Ethiopia has changed its former provincial boundaries, which systematically cross-cut ethnic divisions, according to just the opposite principle: They were made to fit these ethnic divisions and to form ethnicity-based federal

¹ Schlee, Günther and Elizabeth Watson (eds.), in preparation, *Changing Identifications and Alliances in North-East Africa*.

² For example Ethiopia and Kenya, largely independently of each other, have moved towards making ethnicity the principle of their internal structuring. This leads to similar problems in both cases.

states. The largest of these is Oromia³, but as not all people who speak Oromo claim Oromo origins or identify with Oromia, its eastern boundary with the Somali region of Ethiopia has many contested stretches.⁴ In the southwest of Ethiopia there is a particularly heterogeneous region (partly due to a higher level of linguistic and cultural differences, partly due to a higher degree of attention paid to the usual levels of difference) where the resulting units were too small to justify separate statehood. The result is a conglomerate: the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State. Within it we find the same problems as in the rest of Ethiopia, only on a smaller scale. There are titular nations of certain districts, and as elsewhere in the case of larger units, people have more rights in 'their own' territories. The phrase 'nations, nationalities and peoples' is borrowed from the Ethiopian constitution. This constitution does not, however, attempt to define the difference between 'nations', 'nationalities', and 'peoples'. Hierarchies derived from these categorisations locally, tend to be contested. Tadesse Wolde (below) describes how some groups ended up as plantation labourers and others as land owners depending on whether they happened to live in their 'own' ethnic territory or not.

In the Sudanese borderlands (Beni Shangul, western Oromia) we find tendencies of assimilation of small groups with separate languages into larger units (Arabic speaking Muslims/Oromo). The alternative, namely preservation of the distinct features and striving for proportional (or overproportional) political representation as minorities, is another option. Here we find the paradox that a group should not be too small if it wants to achieve minority status. It needs a certain political weight to do so. Also, being a minority requires a certain size.⁵ Whichever strategy is adopted – assimilation or preservation of separateness – in a political system which works as an 'ethnocracy', ethnicity never gets off people's minds. Essential rights like access to land or education are affected by the question to which group one belongs.

Eritrea, formally separated from Ethiopia since a referendum in April 1993, is based on an entirely different legitimisation. The colonial history under the Italians is given a positive twist and a modernist self-

³ In Department I, the projects of Getinet Assefa, Georg Haneke, and Andrea Nicolas touch on various aspects of Oromo ethnicity. In a way the results of Nicolas' field research can be seen as a negative incidence against a backdrop of ethnicised social relations: the adjudication by elders she describes is based on a system of norms shared by Amhara and Oromo, and mediation happens on the family level, regardless of ethnic affiliation.

⁴ Getachew Kassa in Schlee and Watson (eds.), in preparation; Schlee, Günther and Abdullahi Shongolo 1995.

⁵ Günther Schlee and Getinet Assefa have collected data on the Anfillo of the Dambi Dolo area in Western Oromia in November 2001. Their findings suggest that the Anfillo are a negative instance to illustrate that a minority needs to be of a certain size to successfully adopt a minority discourse. They were too small for this and are undergoing a rapid Oromoisation process.

image is projected. Ethnicity is played down. Since numerous ethnic groups straddle the boundary between the two states, according to the nation-state logic applied to the federal states of Ethiopia, the respective populations in Eritrea and Ethiopia should belong to the same territorial units and the location of the boundaries does not make sense. (Schlee 2003 b). In the recent war between the two countries, however, recourse was rather taken to colonial maps. Matters of collective identity here are closely interwoven with international law and problems of acceptance by international bodies.

One can find a parallel to the Eritrea/Ethiopia case in that of Somaliland/Somalia. Since the breakdown of the Siad Barre regime in Mogadishu in 1991, the former British colony Somaliland has emerged as a *de facto* independent unit again. The continued statelessness, as well as continued extortion and intermittent factional fighting in the remainder of former Somalia, provide little incentive to the Somalilanders, who have got used to relative peace, to join that wider unit again. Somaliland combines different clans in the boundaries of a former colony, while the rest of the country is divided into the power spheres of warlords who in the recruitment of their supporters are bound by a clan and subclan logic. In a way, clan territoriality here parallels the ethnic territoriality Ethiopia applies with mixed success and dubious outcome. It is obvious that the two principles clash where clans straddle the boundary between Somalia, the area of territorial clans, and Somaliland, the territory based on colonial boundaries, and such conflicts have already occurred.⁶

Another parallel exists between Ethiopia and Kenya. Both countries have turned into systems in which political representation is based on ethnicity, either in the form of straight dominance of one or the other ethnic coalition, or in the form of such dominance being mollified by proportional representation ceded to smaller groups. The two systems differ in formalities: in Ethiopia, the rights of ethnic groups are enshrined in the constitution, in Kenya they have evolved through political practice in disregard of the more universalist notion of citizenship laid down in the constitution. Throughout the rule of president Moi (1978-2002), Kenyans got more and more used to political leaders being the spokesmen of ethnic groups, claiming exclusive rights to districts for their ethnic groups⁷, and denying adversaries access to these dis-

⁶ Markus Höhne, a PhD student at the MPI, has taken up field work in the Sool and Sanag regions of eastern Somaliland, which are also claimed by "Puntland".

⁷ The partial fit of district boundaries with 'tribal' areas goes back to colonial days and is not an invention of the Moi period (Schlee 1999). What changed in the Moi era was that the emphasis on 'nation building' of the early period of independence gave way to an increasingly open struggle about the 'national cake' along ethnic lines.

See the essay on 'Three dyads compared' in this volume for a discussion of ethnically based districts (Maasai versus Kamba) in Kenya.

tricts. One of the culmination points of 'majimboism', or ethnic federalism of the Kenyan type, were the 'ethnic clashes' (killings, arson, and expulsions of Kenyans from other areas) in the Rift Valley Province in the early 1990s. The government of the new president, elected in December 2003, still has to fight suspicions of ethnic favouritism.

In the Sudan, the north-south conflict has long ceased to be the only game played. There are fissions in both camps and even cross-cutting alliances. Oil has come in as a new bone of contention. The Sudan is the playing ground of oil interests, religious organisations – often with international links like the ones to protestant churches in the US – international organisations like the UNHCR, and international NGOs. All this is interwoven with co-ethnics in western Ethiopia, both long-term residents and refugees, and the Southern Sudanese/Western Ethiopian diaspora in the US. Ideologies and communication networks developed in the diaspora, and finances stemming from there often escalate conflicts in Africa.⁸

The potential of local conflicts to combine through indirect alliances and to contribute to the escalation of an international war has been illustrated by the Ethio-Eritrean war in 1999/2000. An Oromo movement with a political agenda inside Ethiopia allied with one faction in southern Somalia, which was supported by Eritrea, and Ethiopia in turn directly and indirectly intervened in Somalia. States and ethnic movements, especially those in other states, instrumentalise each other.⁹

This quick overview has shown some of the reasons why, sadly for its inhabitants, North-East Africa can be seen as a laboratory for the study of changing identifications and alliances, quite often in violent settings.

The analytical perspectives applied to this setting comprise

- the categories used for identification
- the process of constructing and changing identifications
- the strategies guiding these processes, prominent among them considerations of group size and relative strength.

Prominent among the criteria used for the delineation of larger scale groups commonly referred to as 'ethnic' is the language. Not only in post-World War I Europe, but also in African colonial administrations the linguistic census has often simply replaced the democratic decision process of opting to belong to one or the other 'nation' or 'tribe'. But there are cases where a stable 'ethnic' identity has nothing to do with language. The Garre, living in the area where Kenya, Ethiopia and Somalia meet, partly speak Oromo, partly Garre, partly Kofar, partly Rahan-

⁸ Christiane Falge at the MPI for Social Anthropology has completed her field research on Nuer in Gambela, Western Ethiopia, and the USA.

⁹ Schlee and Abdullahi Shongolo: chapter on 'Recent conflicts' in *Islam and Ethnicity in Northern Kenya*, in preparation; Schlee: "Brothers of the Boran Once Again: on the fading popularity of certain Somali identities in northern Kenya", a contribution to the ASA conference, Arusha, 2002.

weyn. The latter two are closely related forms of southern Somali, mutually intelligible but kept neatly separate by their speakers. Mutual intelligibility is not given between these and the Oromo language or with Standard (Northern) Somali, which is also spoken by some Garre.

All these languages and dialects belong to the Cushitic family, but when two Garre who do not share any of these meet, they might also opt to communicate in a non-Cushitic language like Swahili or English. This does not prevent them from having a 'Garre' consciousness, from trying to keep internal peace, and from being perceived by others as one ethnic group.¹⁰

Very often ethnicity is a complex notion involving language plus other identifiers like 'history' and 'descent'. It is a rather ideological notion shaped by two centuries of European nationalist writings, the sediments of which have also been washed ashore in Africa. Which parts of real or imagined history are appealed to and which criteria are used to claim a unity of 'descent' vary from case to case and cannot be generalised. Dereje Feyissa's analysis of Nuer versus Anywaa 'ethnicities' describes the two as not just being different ethnic groups, but as having two different types of ethnicity. Not only do they use different features of the same criteria, but differ in their views of which kinds of criteria are relevant (Dereje 2003, see also the essay on *Three dyads compared* in this volume).

Ritual is often used as an ethnic marker. Between the Rendille and Samburu of Northern Kenya there is a mixed zone, where people are bilingual, have economic ties to both sides and are of mixed descent. But a clear decision has to be taken at one point: whether one participates in the Rendille or the Samburu age set promotion rituals.

'Religion' is another criterion for the definition of large-scale human aggregates. As an analytical concept it has the disadvantage of not being a universal category. It is highly culture bound. The word itself (Lat. *religio* - 'being tied backwards to') suggests a dualism between this world and another world, and a link between the two. In other words: it suggests the existence of a supernatural sphere (and thereby also nature) or a transcendental God (and thereby also a profane world). The dualism can be phrased in many ways, but it is by no means clear how many people beyond the Zoroastrian/Judaeo-Christian/Muslim cluster believe in it. Contrary to 'ritual' and 'belief', which we may find in some form everywhere, 'religion' is not a universal ('cross-culturally' applicable) category and therefore not suitable for comparative anthropology.

In many contexts, 'religion' is perceived as something modern and is closely tied to the equally 'modern' nationhood discourse. For the traditionalist Oromo, it is important to have an Oromo religion, and there-

¹⁰ Some would say a separate group from the Somali, some a somewhat different part of wider Somali society.

fore they re-categorise their beliefs and ritual practices – most notably those of the *gada* generation set system – as a ‘religion’. As there is no word for ‘religion’ in the Cushitic language of the Oromo, they borrow two Semitic concepts: *haimanot/imaama* (the same word in Amharic and Arabic, respectively) and *diin* (Arabic).

‘Religion’ is equally important in the context of the “vernacular modernity”¹¹ of the Nuer. Conversion to Christianity (and from one sect to another) and re-shaping prophetic traditions along the model of Christian churches play an important part in claiming to be ‘modern’, educated, and fit for leadership. It also provides links to American Protestant churches, mostly of literalist and charismatic persuasions. The polemics by the Northern Sudanese Islamist government that the groups active among Southern Sudanese have the mentality of ‘crusaders’ might in some cases not be far off the mark. Christiane Falge¹² has found that the church affiliation closely matches (and thereby duplicates, re-enforces) the segments of the Nuer descent system.¹³ Charismatic protestant churches, often of pentecostal inspiration and with North American links, play a major role in social change in Africa and beyond. They are one of the cross-cutting themes of the departments of this institute.¹⁴

Identity construction is done with all these elements: appeals to linguistic similarities and differences, shared history or ritual practices, and many more. As social identities have to conform to conventions and have to be plausible to be of any use in mobilising people or appealing to their solidarity, identity change always requires work: identification labour, and skill: virtuosity in the handling of social symbols. Re-identification is often gradual. It requires time and persuasion by repetition.

We can distinguish two types of change in social identities:

- Individuals or groups claim different identities situationally or permanently (‘conversion’). Or
- The identities themselves change.

The second occurs, for example, when a group undergoes a change of status and the features defining it undergo a change of meaning. Being Amhara before 1991 was being modernist, pan-Ethiopian, and Ethiopian-as-such, ‘universalist’ so to say, in the Ethiopian context. With the

¹¹ A concept Christiane Falge has borrowed from Donham 1999.

¹² Current PhD project at the MPI for Social Anthropology on “Religious Identity and Conversion among the Nuer in Ethiopia and the USA”.

¹³ In other cases, religious affiliation might transcend clan-, ethnic or national affiliation and thereby provide links across such boundaries.

¹⁴ Apart from Christiane Falge’s project within Department I, these churches play a role in the projects of Data Dea, Andrea Nicolas, Boris Nieswand, and Nina Glick Schiller. In Department II, Mathijs Pelkmans deals with the influence of North American brands of protestantism in Kyrgyzstan and Georgia.

take-over of power by the Tigray-dominated EPRDF and the establishment of ethnic federalism, the Amhara became one ethnic group among many.

The two processes (changing one's identity and identities changing) can, of course, co-occur. While history goes on and gives new meanings to social categories, people move from one such category to another.

There is a quantitative dimension to identities. If someone speaks a rare language but belongs to a widespread religion, say one of the 'world-religions', an appeal to solidarity along religious lines might lead to a wider mobilisation.

But also within a given dimension, say the linguistic or the 'religious'¹⁵ dimension of identification, one can appeal to smaller or larger units. In the same way as one can either pick a rare dialect or an entire language family as the linguistic unit with which one identifies, one can move up and down the scale in the field of organised religion: from small sects or brotherhoods to wider church affiliations or even to the level of the monotheist sister religions. The same game can be played with all other forms of identification: smaller and larger units of putative descent, etc.

To address the question of why people play identity games involving size, we must ask in which circumstances it is advantageous or disadvantageous to belong to a large or small group. To understand the material dimension of these advantages and disadvantages, we have to ask what the game is all about.¹⁶ In real-life games like military conflicts, politics, economic competition, the marriage market or pushing competitors and their herds from one's grazing grounds, one usually speaks about resources when trying to say what the competition is about. One can distinguish different kinds of resources, e.g. the essential resources one needs for survival or to liberate oneself from poverty, and resources for building status or acquiring power. Power itself, apart from being an ultimate aim for some people, can be regarded as a resource needed for obtaining access to other resources. The state often is a resource and therefore the bone of contention. Ethnic and other networks compete for public sector salaries and kickbacks, i.e. the legal and illegal rewards of public office.

It is obvious that it is advantageous to belong to a big group or a strong alliance if one wants to acquire such resources. On the other hand, it is obvious that one only gets a small share of whatever one has obtained if one has to share it with many people. An analyst of identity games would therefore expect a more or less regular alternation be-

¹⁵ Without quotation marks in a Judaeo-Christian context, with quotation marks to mark an outside and possibly misleading perspective in many other contexts.

¹⁶ Different languages use different metaphors for what the game is all about. The French call it *enjeu*, which is anything which is in the game, the English expression *bone of contention* evokes the image of dogs fighting over a bone, while the German *Spielball* makes one think of two teams of players trying to get into possession of the ball.

tween inclusionist and exclusivist identity discourses. While striving for a resource one would mobilise many people and appeal for a greater degree of solidarity, once in possession of it one would try to limit the number of people with whom one has to share and deny some former allies their part of the loot, at least on an equal footing.

There are paradox cases, which appear to contradict this principle. The Anywaa of the Gambela Regional State of western Ethiopia are by no means in secure possession of the riverine flood-lands essential for their economy and of the political offices their new federal state provides. Increasing numbers of Nuer contest these resources. The Nuer have the more viable system of bridewealth payment, they increase biologically and they do so by assimilating others. The Anywaa would do well if they did likewise in order to build up a counter-weight. Instead, they adhere to an ideology of purity and exclusion, which limits their own numbers (Dereje 2003). Possibly our model is too simple. We might have to complement economic rationality by a kind of mental economy, which takes into account plausibility, consistency, and moral and religious pay-offs. There might be people who refuse to let go their values and beliefs until they die out with them.

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Value Systems, Institutions and Development in Ethiopia: Gurage and Oromo compared¹

Getinet Assefa

My research focuses on value systems, particularly those related to concepts and practices of reciprocity and mutual-aid among different groups of people, which are often stressed as necessary for the attainment of development at individual, communal, regional, national, etc. levels. In Ethiopia, one such model of communal action that seeks to change the conditions under which people exist is the mobilisation of migrant communities through ethnic-based associations.

The growth in urbanisation in Ethiopia over the last century has resulted in population movements into new areas where various forms of interactions between different ethnic, religious and other groups have been taking place. At the same time, this process has facilitated the emergence of indigenous non-state institutions to help migrant communities cope with challenges in their new environments. The purposes of these institutions range from assistance given in times of difficulties, such as at bereavement or during illness, to facilitation of community development in the migrants' areas of origin. One of the (implicit) values such as assumptions about the basic structure of the associations and of the larger socio-economic world in which the migrants live and the associations operate, which are of course (explicitly) defined in their laws, traditions, and customs, is to support the associations by way of contributions of financial, material, labour, and other resources. In this way, the concept of development is intertwined with the survival strategies of migrant communities and offers the opportunity for its analysis as part of the socio-political and economic processes in which they live.

In terms of their structural set-ups, these institutions constitute part of a larger, non-state structural complex that coexists with structures of the nation state. As such, these institutions have for decades been part of everyday life of people in Ethiopia. Urban-based self-help associations trace back their origin to experiences of reciprocal help in agricultural and other activities and resource pooling for communal purposes such as roads and bridges construction and community security services in rural areas. Most of these associations have been established in the urban setting of Addis Ababa with the aim to mobilise members mainly along ethnic lines for undertaking local and regional development activities in targeted rural areas. My research aims at understanding these institutional complexes, their purposes and the ideals they use to rally membership and consequently to realise their (developmental) objectives.

¹ A PhD Research Project at the MPI for Social Anthropology and Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, Germany.

In a previous research, I analysed the impact of some of these associations on development in the Gurage area in central Ethiopia. My interest then was to problematise local development and issues of concerted actions at community level. The findings indicated that locally based institutions offered people to solve practical problems such as lowering costs of economic exchanges, providing social support in times of crises such as during bereavement, providing support related to migration, etc. These institutions make up a significant livelihoods facilitation mechanism operating side by side with state agencies and the conventional market system. It was then suggested that a thorough understanding of such institutional complexes is necessary to reach a better analysis of local realities affecting development. The research concluded that development needs to be analysed using a comprehensive institutional model containing the market system, the state apparatus, and the civil society sector, under which indigenous institutions and other organisations such as NGOs could be categorised.

The new research focuses on ethnic-based associations as institutions that seek not only to solve practical problems but also serve as sites for imagining communities with various social identities. The research investigates the extent to which individual and shared values of identity have been used to facilitate development through these associations. More specifically, the research seeks to find out which aspects of identity are considered important for undertaking development. It asks whether relations based on ethnic belongingness or shared local origin serve the causes of development better. In this sense, it asks whether ethnic-based associations form concerted actions to criticise the limited development initiatives and distribution of results by the nation state and other organisations, or simply form institutional alternatives coming out of natural processes. By way of these and other questions, the research studies the approaches adopted by various ethnic associations, enquires about the relationship between them and the state, and investigates how differential approaches, if any, of the state towards different associations have affected their evolution over time, the conceptualisation of identity, and the development initiatives based on communal actions. The research takes a historical approach to examine the responses of the three successive Ethiopian governments to the establishment of these associations and how they have shaped later developments.

Examples of the Self-help Development Association of the Gurage and Mecha and Tulema Association of the Oromo (both established in the 1960s) are used to study ethnic associations for what they are and what they do, what concept of identity they use to promote development, and how they relate to and are perceived by the state. The associations are looked at as forums and instruments of interaction, between members and with the state, respectively.

Boundaries of Sacred Power: religion and integration in south west Ethiopia

Data Dea

This project proposes to investigate the significance of various traditions of religiosity in south western Ethiopia with special reference to the question of integration. Particularly in the recent history of this part of the Horn of Africa, there developed an increased interaction and contestation between the Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity, multitudes of Protestantism, Islam and networks of 'spirit mediums'. Each of these connects a set of actors across social space while at the same time drawing boundary between members and non-members. A salient feature of their interaction in this region, perhaps like in many other regions, is that one set of such religious group tries to 'socially expand' while other set(s) of religious actors react so as not to 'disappear' from the socially significant space, and at other times not to lose their dominance in this contested space. This project intends to look at the 'cross breeding' of ideas as well as the boundaries between these religious institutions, and to examine the ensuing patterns of interaction of people across variously defined boundaries.

The project emerges from the ethnographic background I have become acquainted with in the process of doing research in various parts of southern Ethiopia as well as growing up in the region. I shall refer to one recent field encounter in Dawro which raises a number of anthropologically important questions, some of which have been overlooked by ethnographic research in this region. While doing fieldwork in Dawro for my doctoral thesis, I took the opportunity to 'participate' in a night-long indigenous religious ritual. It was hosted by a person locally referred to as in Dawro language *Sharetcho* (spirit medium) – an 'indigenous' religious leader similar to the *Kallu* of the Oromo or *Ego* of the Kaffa.



A spirit medium in Dawro, standing next to the central post of his ritual house, holding a spiritual stick he inherited from his father who was genealogically an Oromo but politically categorised as an Amhara. (Photo: D. Dea, 2000)

At the culmination of this night-long ritual, at about midnight, the *Sharetcho* started speaking in tongues, which was not understood directly by the believers around him and hence had to be 'decoded' by an 'interpreter', who on this occasion was the *Sharetcho*'s senior wife. One person, who was there by accident, as it were, whispered to me that the *Sharetcho* was speaking the language of the *Kaffa*, one of the Omotic speaking groups neighbouring the Dawro. Looking at his genealogy, however, I learned that this *Sharetcho* was of Oromo descent. It was his late father who had come to Dawro from Shoa sometime in the 1920s. His father chose to identify himself as an Amhara in Dawro at a time when to be Amhara was to be highly privileged (unlike today, at least in the south). Some of his family members still now consider themselves as Amhara and are considered as such by most local people around them. But the *Sharetcho* himself says he is Dawro now and downplays his genealogical connection to Oromo and political connection to Amhara. He justifies his being Dawro on the account of being born in Dawro from a Dawro mother and all that this entails. He speaks Dawro as his native language, speaks only rudimentary Amharic, does not speak Oromo and is in no way different from most Dawro of 'similar class'. Moreover, he hosts one of the most powerful Dawro spirits known as *Awayonto* of a locally dominant Dawro clan. This raises important questions about the levels at which he has been integrated into the local society.

He is also, like his father, 'officially' a member of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church but in 1999/2000 there arose a serious dispute between the Orthodox Church and the *Sharetcho* around Waka town – the historical capital of Dawro. While the full complexity of such disputes is yet to be investigated, it is useful to note here that in the background of this dispute between the *Sharetcho* and Orthodox Church is the Protestants' social and theological challenge to the Orthodox Church, relating to increased conversion and accusations of the Orthodox Church about befriending Satan (in this case the *Sharetcho*). This dispute was settled (perhaps temporarily) after a prolonged negotiation but raised interesting questions and left important legacies. Noteworthy for closer consideration in this respect is the existent to which the outcomes of religious contestations are critically swayed by historical and sociological factors.

In the Omotic speaking southwest of Ethiopia, local religious figures like the *Sharetcho* are considered *gesha* (pure, sacred) spiritual leaders by many locals, while many other locals (especially those who subscribe to a 'protestant modernity') consider them a wicked force of witchcraft, demons or the relics of an old tradition, which does not fit modern life circumstances. Nevertheless, the *Sharetcho* not only continue to offer an alternative perspective for many people on how to deal with the natural-cultural-supernatural forces that affect people's lives, but these powerful persons also constitute an important knot in communication

routes, friendship networks and in the formation of alliances over wide geographical spaces and across seemingly rigid political boundaries.

There are some intricate sets of practices around the institution of *Sharetcho* that deserve greater attention. At this stage we can raise a few questions focusing on a few selected themes. One such theme relates to investigating, with some historical depth, how religious ideas (especially those without the organisational and technological resources of Christianity or Islam) have spread in southern Ethiopia and how that might relate to the interconnectedness of the various 'ethnic groups' of the region. Note, for instance, that in Dawro only one *Sharetcho* is considered the main 'representation' of a clan's spirit and all others who might be representing this spirit anywhere else (including those among neighbouring ethnic groups) are expected to come to the main *Sharetcho* with offerings at an annual celebration.

Since the *Sharetcho* networks rely to an important extent on clan/kinship networks which extend beyond ethnic/political boundaries, in this research I shall draw on already available findings of other researchers of the MPI for Social Anthropology (notably that of Schlee and Wolde) on how clanship works in this ethnographic region. On issues such as ethnicity and Protestantism as a practice of modernity, this project will also relate to the works of Feyissa and Falge in Gambela, a region to the west of my proposed main field site.

We can hypothesise in this connection that there has been a shift in the nature of the relationship between the religious and political institutions in recent Ethiopian history: the stronger the central state, the weaker the powers of religious institutions. This is a reversal of an older state of affairs where the stronger the central state was, the stronger was the position of religious institutions as well. But this hypothesis applies to 'official religious institutions'. What happens when a one-time official religion comes to be defined as an 'unfit religion' (by virtue of being the religion of the politically less powerful)? How is sacred power distributed between the 'official' and 'non-official' (subaltern) religious offices?

By combining historical and ethnographic methods, I intend to do multi-sited fieldwork among more centralised and hierarchically organised former kingdoms of Omotic speaking societies: Kaffa, Wolaita and Dawro. The main reasons for such a focus are: firstly, although the rulers of these polities were considered divine kings in some of the literature, it is far from clear how the secular tasks of the kings and the sacred roles (of the *Sharetcho*) co-existed or cooperated. For instance, in Kaffa the highest sacred institution was that of *Gumbachino* and not that of *Kafa-tato* (king). A variation of a broadly similar pattern is observed in Dawro and Wolaita, where the king used to consult and even take blessings from the *Sharetcho* of certain clans. It is curious then to know how the *Sharetcho* as an institution fared in the years following

the abolition of kingship. Secondly, looking at what happened to the institutions of the formerly centralised polities might shed important light on the nature of so-called national integration: how deep or shallow its ideological impact was, how social space was disputed beneath, as it were, the field of coercive force and the transformation of the relationship between the political and religious institutions.

Nuer Vernacular Modernism in Ethiopia and the USA

Christiane Falge

This project is about the ambivalence contemporary Nuer have in their approach toward the undertaking that some define as 'joining the world'. From the discussions I had with several Nuer on that desire to become part of a wider world and other related concepts, I learnt that as much as they are attracted by it, they also associate it with a loss. Next to the loss of cattle, becoming modern stands for the loss of many other things related to a domestic mode of production as a symbol for a 'traditional'¹ way of life with people marrying, reproducing and having enough to eat. Equally, it stands for a way of life in which, as the Nuer say, 'the world is good', but, at the same time, people die in disputes over cattle. A good number of Nuer say, however, that their contemporary world is no longer good and that in this context they want to join 'the world'.



Young Nuer singing Christian songs in the refugee camp Pinyudo. (Photo: Ch. Falge, 2001)

The experience of refugee camps, the relief industry, the new Ethiopian state, as well as the Nuer out-migration to the USA made them part of a wider, global world. While on the Sudanese side, the state is non-existent, the Ethiopian state is launching a national inclusion project. In the face of the experience of loss after nearly half a century of civil war, Nuer society is presently reaching out for

its share in the national cake. It remains to be seen whether a fair distribution of this cake will compensate for their cultural loss or prove the state's failure.²

¹ By 'traditional' I am referring to the former, less urbanised way of life.

² An example for the failure of state inclusion and its disastrous consequences is given by Rottenburg in the case of the Nuba of Sudan (Rottenburg: 9).

Thus, especially Christians see a supplement to their subsistence economy in this new world, and some even find it attractive enough to give up their cattle and become 'poor'.

In looking at the Nuer, I attempt to describe the path that led them to engage in a broader cultural conversation about changes related to their encounter with the modern world. Their transnational networks have contributed to their idea of a new world in which war, destruction and a lack of modern facilities do not seem to exist. On the one hand, they imagine a world of peace and development, ultimately achieved through education and new modes of employment;



Christian Church leaders during Christmas in the refugee camp Pinyudo. (Photo: Ch. Falge, 2001)

on the other hand they are aware of the mercilessness of the global economy connected with this world. With ongoing social change, however, some Nuer groups claim they are no longer the Nuer they used to be (*'ci kon la nueeri tee wal'*), which at the same time functions as a legitimising strategy to enter the modern world.

The Nuer have consistently been considered the most backward by their Arab, Ethiopian and Nilotic neighbours and are now trying to catch up through government jobs, wage labour and the establishment of transnational networks. In a cultural conversation about their imagined place in the world, they both blame their ancestors for their 'backwardness' and come up with a new vision of the future. In this paper I will mainly focus on representations of the 30-40 % Nuer Christians in Ethiopia, who promote this vision in the form of vernacular modernism.³

Considering the level of ambivalence toward the new world, rather than talking about two separate entities the project describes the drawing of borders between different realms and shows boundaries that are characterised by a simultaneity of old and new.

Ethnographic data has been collected in the transnational social field of the Nuer consisting of refugee camps, villages and the diaspora in the USA during 13 months of fieldwork from 2001- 2002.

³ There are no official figures on the exact number of Christians in Gambella. The mentioned figure is based on estimates by the Gambella Mekane Yesus Synod.

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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. Apart from 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 bordertown
Moyale. (Photo: G.
Haneke, 2001)*

The project area was the Kenyan – Ethiopian Highway in southern Ethiopia. A road of this kind 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 transporting 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: from the crowded capital of Addis Ababa as the trade and power centre of the country, to 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. Apart from 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.



Slaughtering of a billy goat in Borana society. (Photo: G. Haneke, 2001)

Although Ethiopia comprises dozens of different ‘tribes’ and languages, the vast majority belong to only 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%). Unlike 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 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 economy, the absence of human rights, repression and a permanent control by the secret service became conspicuous. The largest population group are the Oromo. Although the

Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), the military and political arm of the Oromo opposition movement, claims their own nation state, the struggle is not as strong or as successful as some of the leaders, especially those in exile, had 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 family or sub-clan based daily life practices. For most people it is more important to receive support from 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 basis for any identity. The feeling of belonging to such a unit of this kind is much stronger than an uncertain belonging to the Oromo people. On the meso-level, co-existence with other ethnic groups needs to be organised and requires processes of negotiation, e.g. to gain access to resources. 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 various 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.

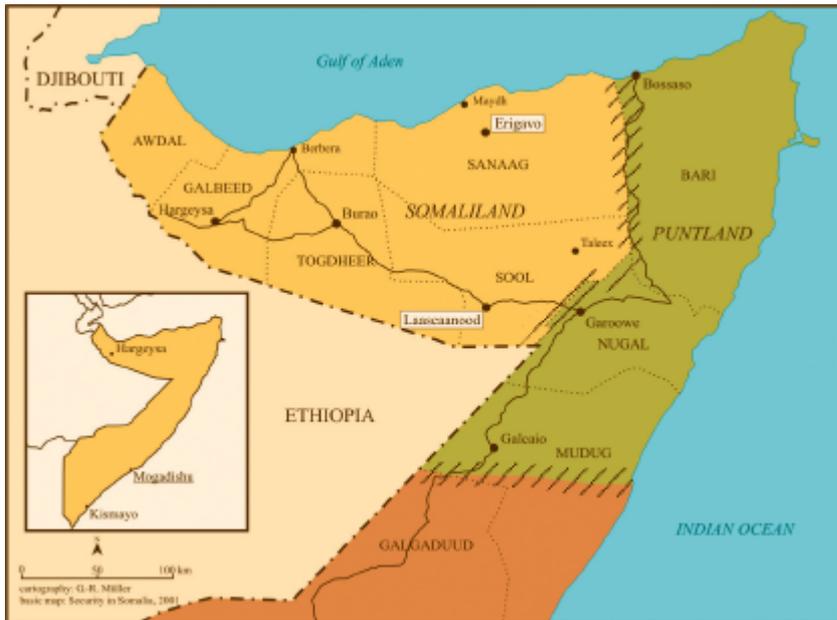
Identity and Conflict in Two Regions of Eastern Somaliland

Markus V. Höhne

Somaliland, a region in northwestern Somalia, seceded from the collapsing Somali state in 1991 based on the former colonial boundaries of the British Protectorate of Somaliland.

The majority of the population of Somaliland belongs to the Isaaq clan-family. The Isaaq dominated the Somali National Movement (SNM), the guerrilla faction that fought against the oppression of the former Somali government in the south since 1982. Members of other clan-families live in the west and east of Somaliland; the majority of them opposed the SNM during the civil war, in which genealogical orientations were decisive.

In the following process of peace and reconstruction during the 1990s, genealogical cleavages deepened by the preceding violence were bridged. To the present day, the framework of a stable democratic state was built under the guidance of traditional authorities, intellectuals, former politicians and military leaders, who are not all Isaaq in origin, and are supported by a large part of the population. So far, Somaliland looks like a 'success story'. The down side is that the Republic of Somaliland is still not recognised internationally. The government in the capital of Hargeisa lacks the resources to implement its politics; and important roles of the state in the fields of legal practice and public security have to be taken on by local authorities to be effective. Even more problematic is the fact that the whole course of politics is contested in some remote areas, where the Somaliland state has only marginal power and other political orientations are prevalent. However, in daily life, pragmatic identifications are necessary to be able to conduct all kinds of transactions, from the social to the economic sphere.



The study will focus on the construction of everyday and political identity on the local level, on how they intermingle and how processes of identification are linked to conflict.

For an everyday identity, various features such as genealogical affiliation, collective and individual memory, economic ties, and personal experiences such as education and friendship have to be considered.

Regarding political identity, two options exist: On the national level the government in Hargeisa evokes a Somaliland identity, based on colonial history, civil war and recent political developments. This identity is said to unite all people living in the territory of Somaliland. On the international level, but also in the territory of rump-Somalia, the national identity of Somalia is maintained; actually on the *14th Peace and Reconciliation Conference for Somalia* in Nairobi, endeavours are being made to establish a united Somalia once again.

On a local and regional level, these options for political identity compete. Central questions are: How do people deal with this competition in everyday life? How is their behaviour influenced by conflict? In which way does their behaviour produce conflicts?

These questions can be addressed by investigating and comparing the situations in Sanaag and Sool, the eastern regions of Somaliland at the border to Puntland. With regard to everyday life, important structural similarities, but also some differences can be observed in these regions. Both regions are basically nomad land at the periphery of the state of Somaliland. Traditional and other local authorities gained new importance in the last decade, and life is regulated very strictly by pastoral nomadic and Islamic norms.

Regarding genealogical structure, Sanaag is much more heterogeneous than Sool. In Sanaag people belonging to different clan-families, the Isaaq and the Darood, live together. While the Isaaq are territorially and, to a large extent, ideologically connected with Somaliland, the Darood clans of the region have strong genealogical ties to the neighbouring Puntland. The Isaaq and Darood clans fought on opposite sides during the civil war. Genealogy, memory and some historical orientations divide their members. In contrast, Sool is almost exclusively inhabited by one clan belonging to the Darood clan-family. Here, collective memory and historical views are more consistent among the population.

According to the colonial boundaries, both regions belong to Somaliland. At the same time, the leadership of the neighbouring Puntland claims parts of the regions as belonging to its territory according to clan affiliations. But this conflict is not restricted to a historical, partly primordial notion of belonging. Puntland still considers itself a part of Somalia and therefore opposes the independence of the Republic of Somaliland. Thus, on a political level, the Somaliland and the Somali national identities clash in these regions, with all international, national and local implications this may have.

Bearing in mind the genealogical heterogeneity of Sanaag, it could be expected that political conflict escalates much more fiercely in everyday life in this region than in Sool, with its clear-cut genealogical structure. Empirical evidence from the two regional capitals, however, shows exactly the opposite.

In Erigavo (Sanaag) the violence is under control; people live side by side and obviously manage to transcend tensions. On the administrative level, the town, and along with it the whole region, is linked to Somaliland. Representatives of the government in Hargeisa are present and have some influence, for example regarding the regulation of the public water supply in town. Nevertheless, normal daily conflicts are dealt with using pastoral-nomadic and Islamic strategies. State administration and local modes of political authority co-exist.

In Lasanod (Sool), genealogical homogeneity does not lead to clear internal and external orientations fostering peace and stability. There are representatives of Somaliland and Puntland in Lasanod, but none of them have any real authority. The number of men carrying guns in public is large. Conflicts and violence within the community escalate quite frequently. Traditional and other authorities have a hard time trying to maintain public security and to find a path towards lasting political and social stability.

The basic question is: Why is the situation more stable in Erigavo (Sanaag) than in Lasanod (Sool)? I suggest that an answer can be found by looking at the practical and political identifications as well as the strategies of conflict settlement used by individuals and groups in the two regions.

Comparing the very different situations with respect to identification and conflict in the two neighbouring regions of eastern Somaliland by various methods such as participant observation, interviews and ego-centred network analysis can

- shed some light on the role genealogy and other forms of orientation play in contemporary Somali society;
- contribute to the research on identity and conflict in a 'non-ethnicised' field in general.

Mediation on Demand. The instituton of elders in Ada'a (central Ethiopia)

Andrea Nicolas

Ada'a, the research area of my dissertation project, is situated in eastern Shewa at the slopes of the Central Ethiopian Highlands. It is inhabited by members of the Oromo and the Amhara ethnic groups. In this setting of a peasant society, where ethnic 'borders' are regularly crossed by intermarriage and living in joint settlements, old men do possess a high status, emphasised by certain rules for addressing them, and demonstrated by good manners and respect for them. They have a right to bless the younger generation and perform various functions in their community, such as the conflict settlement among disputants. They employ special procedures and rituals to reconcile conflicting parties,

most of them families disputing over cases of insult, brawl, and disputes about property, bride-kidnapping or killing. The prescriptive procedures differ in each of these cases and reflect the severity and the possible consequences of the instance concerned. It is of special interest for the project to document such regulations or models of action and to show how and why elders apply them. As it turns out, the rituals and courses of action already have a potential for appeasement in their form and language. They are by far not as arbitrary as they might appear at first glance.



Elders discussing a case of homicide in Ada'a Liiban (Ethiopia). (Photo: A. Nicolas, 2001)

In serious cases of quarrel and bloodshed, for instance, particular time intervals have to be observed 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 it must not be the perpetrator's side, but a third party – the group of elders – who contact the injured's family and enter into negotiations with its representatives. This can avoid acts of revenge and an immediate face-to-face confrontation of the persons involved in the conflict. Certain formal speeches, promises and confessions of guilt by the perpetrators' elders are to induce the other side to yield to the request for reconciliation, etc. A whole spectrum of communicative strategies is used here in order to restore peace, since, despite their respected role in society, success of the elders' endeavours is not guaranteed. The aim of mediation is not primarily to punish guilty persons but to reconcile the families or groups involved.

In serious cases this would mean the reintegration of the perpetrator and his relatives into local society.

My past long-term fieldwork in Ada'a has resulted in a rich ethnographic data-base on the research area, and the analysis of the material provides a promising basis for theoretical and comparative reflection. Above all, the obvious absence of ethnic conflict is noteworthy. It stands in contrast both to the relatively high degree of ethnic consciousness of the Oromo and Amhara in the area (which is partly due to recent political developments in the framework of a new ethnic-federal state of Ethiopia) and to the situation in other areas of the country where tensions and even ethnic 'cleansings' have been reported for the same two ethnic groups. This fact deserves a closer examination. Absence of ethnic conflict is not tantamount to absence of conflict in general. Cases of conflicts I recorded, include killings and other serious incidents. These, however, were not expressed in terms of interethnic but of inter-family conflicts, with one family belonging to the one, and the other family to the other, or both families belonging to the same ethnic group, depending on the specific case. This non-ethnic 'classification' of a given conflict keeps conflicts on a lower scale, since it is obvious that an ethnic group can potentially mobilise more members for its support than a single family.



*Landscape in Eastern
Shewa (Ethiopia).
(Photo: A. Nicolas,
2001)*

An ethnic labelling might otherwise have led to a 'bush fire' of inter-group violence following the same incident. It seems surprising that the ethnic affiliation of the conflicting parties is of no or little importance to the (otherwise quite vivid) 'revenge activity' in the Ada'a area. But a closer look at the legal and procedural setting provides an explanation for this phenomenon. If Oromo and Amhara had each maintained their own, ethnically distinct, laws and procedures, ethnic affiliation would definitely matter, since this would determine which procedure and which law has to apply in a case at hand. But the members of both eth-

nic groups have – over a long historical period – developed a joint, or at least largely shared legal sphere. People make use of the same institutions, and the procedure to be applied in a case of crime or accidental injury of another person is basically the same for everyone. Ethnic affiliation, therefore, becomes a minor factor for the elders' problem of solving the conflict. In this context, it appears to be a task worthwhile to explore how in the course of time apparent 'enemy groups' are capable to build up such central institutions as the elders' mediation.

While many anthropological efforts have been made to explain conflicts and their 'roots' and causes, it seems similarly important to explain peace, where it persists. There is no reason to believe that members of one group would per se have more peaceful and harmonic predispositions than members of any other group. So, what are the 'roots' of peace? The Ada'a material shows that here, as elsewhere, conflict is not absent, but it is kept on a certain level and later on actively settled by representatives of the much respected status group of the elders. The elders' readiness to invest time and much effort into the reconciliation of estranged families is not entirely unselfish, although they do not profit immediately in a specific case. They have an interest in 'law and order' in their society in general, because it protects everyone, including their own family. By generalising individual interests, the concept of a 'public good' emerges. For the protection of this public interest, institutions and procedures are introduced. Sometimes, the question of what would happen if these institutions did *not* exist may deliver quite a good answer to the question of what they are for. Elders' mediation in Ada'a maintains peace.

Transcendental Worlds and Pilgrimages – the limits of politics in the Awliya-Cult

Sven Nicolas

My dissertation project deals with a widely practised spirit possession cult in central- and southern Ethiopia commonly referred to by its followers as the *Qaalluu*-, *Uqabi*- or *Awliya*-cult. In its specific local form of *Ada'a/Shawa*, this religious institution is composed of countless charismatic mediums and their respective followers and comprises a certain kind of divine advocacy of so called *awliya* (from Arabic) or *ayaana* spirits. These spirits are intended and enabled by the mercy of God to read for those people who ask correctly for advice from a heavenly "Book of the Truth" the causes for their troubles and conflicts, as well as the measures to solve them in keeping with the ideal of the 'Early Creation'. So the primary motivation for this religious practice is to acquire and to share a divine transcendental knowledge of the Self and, based on this privilege, to shape and correct one's own social behaviour accordingly. This is not about magic and manipulation, but about divine judgements

and their execution. An immanent part of these pragmatics encompasses, therefore, the necessity of morally and socially acceptable solutions.

A typical medium in the *awliya*-cult is usually visited by a number of different spirits. They all have their own individual personality: they all speak with different voices, in different languages and dialects, use different formulas; they have got all their own specific set of ritual rules concerning the place and time of performances, a certain type of ritual cloth and food, etc., and they are differentiated according to gender, religious adherence, and ethnic identity.



The sanctuary of Sheikh Hussein in Bale (Ethiopia). (Photo: S. Nicolas, 2002)

The only – but rather important – point restricting the performative freedom of the spirits derives from the view that they always appear as an individual refraction of a whole, all encompassing identity. As an illustration: The spirit *Tokolash*, for instance, is always female, always speaks with a high, drunken timbre, always likes candies and so on; otherwise, the initiated people would have no means of recognising her. Nonetheless, *Tokolash* of cult A is different from *Tokolash* of cult B because they both entertain specific one-to-one-relationships with their respective cult-followers as a reaction to the particularities of their local characters and capacities.

The different spiritual refractions of spirits and adherent cult groups meet regularly at the events of frequent pilgrimages, like the central pilgrimage to *Faraqasa/Arsi*. In the course of my field research it became obvious that those locally limited cult groups actually had a radius of action and thinking reaching far beyond their original home regions. What is astonishing in this respect is the actual pilgrimage practice of the majority of people, who travel in local groups consisting of one medium and his/her home audience. Regardless of the pluralistic and foreign surroundings, one encounters a relatively low level of direct inter-

action and melting with the Other. In addition, in the case of *Faraqasa*, a spiritual leadership and consequently the opportunity for a direct conversation with the higher spiritual level are presently lacking. Bearing Victor Turner and his theory on the antistructural power of pilgrimages in mind¹, it seems difficult to understand why the pilgrims invest so much time, money and energy to do in principle the same as they do at home in a distant location.

What is, then, the significant aspect of going on pilgrimage for the *awliya*-cult?

The corresponding conceptualisation outlined below attempts to create an understanding of why the presence of a combined complex of spirit possession and pilgrimages in the Ethiopian context is far from being arbitrary, but constitutes the central basis for the *awliya*-cult in its concrete local expression. A detailed analysis of the interrelations between local and supraregional dimensions of action and argumentation can thereby help us to draw a complex descriptive picture of a religious practice which might be called eclectic, syncretistic and integrative, which would then stand alongside simple and general assumptions made about those features.



Possessed medium at the Irecha-celebration in Eastern Shewa (Ethiopia). (Photo: S. Nicolas, 2002)

¹ Turner, Victor; 1969. *The Ritual Process*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Finally, deriving from an initial survey of my field material (2001-2003), the subsequent preliminary set of theses on the boundaries and limitations of politics within the *awliya*-cult can be summarised as follows:

- Every claim or argument – irrespective of whether it is made by a spirit or by a human participant in the system – must frame itself with reference-producing compatibility – or otherwise will not stand up to scrutiny.
- The criteria for compatibility are fixed traditional values of high social esteem representing – as common sense or tacit conventions – the basic constituents of an ideal and just community. Such reference-principles as seniority, kinship ties or an appreciation of spiritually-sanctioned hierarchies both constitute and mirror an identical map of pilgrimage.
- This horizontal localisation of the reference points of a sacral speech act provides the followers, in their turn, with the possibility for evaluation. The experience of pilgrimage as a field for comparison and decontextualisation is indispensable for related identity checks. Here – and only here – the indirect polling of a political project that claims transcendental authority is performed.
- The quality of syncretism, often attributed to such types of religious institution, is in the present case neither an amalgam nor a hybrid construction, but nothing more than a relationship of independent components.

Ethnic Groups, the State and the Religious Landscape in south western Ethiopia

Wolde Gossa Tadesse

My research in south western Ethiopia covers three interrelated subjects. These are:

- inter-group relations and the relationship between groups and the state in terms of property
- the study of local non-state (indigenous) structures of power, which control property and much social and cultural life
- the situation of a variety of religions found within the region.

Political structures in the research area are characterised by the prevalence of hierarchically ordered sets of generations. Younger generations supply their seniors with meals (Tornay 1998), drink and sacrifices (to the dead). Thus, they continually look backwards in time in order to move forward. I liken these practices to the act of rowing a boat facing backwards in order to be able to move forward in the opposite direction. Understanding these structures is key to understanding the dynamics of social and cultural reproduction in the region.

Kinship and generations are the routes through which these offerings of food, drink and sacrifices to ancestors are organised. The venues for such kin and age-based events are the house and wider public spaces. Provisions and offerings are organised both domestically as well as in the public domain. The house, the lineage, the clan and the generation, which combine to form the groups I work with, reproduce the same principle of feeding seniors and ancestors in their respective domains in order to reproduce over time. Creative power, blessings and political power are handed down to younger generations in exchange for offerings. Negative attributes such as infertility, misfortune, discontinuity and collapse of order are feared to result if the flow of offerings to seniors and ancestors is interrupted.

Offerings are consumed at selected sites: river banks, valleys, streams, on paths, lake shores, mountain tops, forest groves, peace-making sites, fields and mountain pastures. As the venue for communication between generations and as the source of livelihood, land is revered and considered sacred. It is kept potent by a temporally punctuated sacrificial rhythm which complements offerings to seniors and ancestors. Both women and men have sacrificial roles to play (Kashe in Gamo; the wife among the Hor).



Mountain settlement and fields. (Photo: W. G. Tadesse, 2001)

In my research area state political structures and indigenous non-state political structures coexist with a strong bias among the local population towards the latter. At the same time, Christian religious movements of various denominations, NGOs with varying religious and secular affiliations, and political organisations affiliated to the ruling party and those opposed to it compete fiercely to capture the hearts and minds of individuals. Since the early 1990s, people in Ethiopia have been reorganised along ethnic lines. These peoples have been hierarchically ordered in relation to one another as well as to the state. In the

new ordering of peoples, ethnic groups are graded into nations, nationalities and peoples. This has benefited larger ethnic groups and has given them the lion's share of political and economic power. Smaller peoples have remained marginalised and have been lumped together territorially into one larger entity, to become minorities within the larger ethnic groups. This sort of categorisation and reconstitution of groups has produced an ideology of development designed to reproduce inequality. The idea's originators, on the other hand, believe that categorising peoples in such a manner creates an ideal situation for fostering political equality and equity. Local people's lives over the last decade, however, have shown that they are experiencing neither economic equity nor political equality.

My research, carried out in this political and economic context, focuses on south western Ethiopian groups such as the Gamo, Konso (pop.) and Hor/Arbore people. Regarding the first theme, my preliminary findings indicate the following: with respect to property, the attitude of the peoples towards the state has changed. There is increased suspicion of the state as upholder of justice and defender of the law. This is a process that has taken over a century to develop and which materialised particularly when the state appropriated much irrigable fertile land from groups in the south without consultation and without due legal considerations, in order to establish state-owned plantations as well as to distribute the land to outside others. These lands were originally privately owned by members of some of these peoples. In 1975 the revolutionary government (1974-1991) nationalised all land and became the largest landlord in place of the landowners it had abolished by law. Gradually the state appropriated mountain pasturelands and escarpment woodlands for forestry projects while tightening its grip on fertile lowland fields. This resulted in farmers being squeezed off their holdings and pastures, which contributed to low yields of food and growing land insecurity. Subsequent political developments reinforced the deteriorating situation without heeding the possible consequences. Groups that had similar land tenure and ownership rights in their own territory were forced to become plantation labourers. Groups became fractious as a result of such developments and often engaged in violent confrontations. Inter-group violence between Konso and Gato, between Zayse and D'irashe and many others testify to this. In pastoral areas too, similar processes of appropriation have taken place (Miyawaki 1997), for example in Tsamako and D'assanech country, creating much pressure on pastures and resulting in a movement of herders in the direction of lesser resistance and often causing bloody clashes among herders, between herders and plantation owners, and between herders and the forces of the state. In response to this, cultivators in Gamo and Konso have diversified their means of livelihood by out-migration, trading and resorting heavily to non-farming activities such as weaving,

which they have practiced for many generations for domestic use, but now practice with strong emphasis on the marketability of their products. (Tadesse 2003)

Competition for resources has intensified between the state and agricultural groups and what groups in the south hope is that the state will heed local knowledge, recognise indigenous tenure and end its involvement in day to day farming activities. They also hope for an end to farmer's time being taken for forced labour and for voluntary military service, thus allowing farming and herding productivity to reach the levels of the mid-1890s (the pre-conquest period).

Trade networks linking various peoples and markets are widespread and their operation is superimposed on pre-existing networks of friendship. (Galaty and Bonte 1991, Sobania 1991, Tadesse 2002) I argue that pre-conquest economic structures are resurfacing and are showing resilience after years of latent inactivity or activity within limited geographical areas. These complement non-state political structures. Trade routes connect the region with the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, the Lake Turkana region and Southern Sudan. For a few decades after the conquest period, these routes were inactive mainly because of slave raiding and brigandage by the conquest forces. But after a calmer period following the exit of the Italian colonialists these routes were back in use. With the growth of modern transport in the early seventies, roads had nearly made caravan routes redundant – until the late seventies, when police check-points mushroomed and forced traders back onto the caravan routes. Trade routes and networks operate today with the help of institutions such as the Fuld'o in Konso which guarantee the secure flow of traders and property. They regulate and control relations between customers and traders as well as relations between the traders themselves. They are efficient and effective in their exercise of authority and contrast starkly with the institutions of the state. Due to their focus on ethnicity, institutions of the state are inward looking and are generally inefficient. The Fuld'o and other similar institutions, on the other hand, operate beyond ethnic borders and use the national *lingua franca* to communicate with others. They are supra-ethnic, whereas state institutions are ethnic. In the same way as they are organised through networks of trade and friendship, these groups are also connected in terms of religion. On the other hand, the region is also characterised by brief periods of warfare waged between certain members of specific groups. The kind of warfare waged does not aim at securing territory or water resources, but rather at capturing mystical power and cattle from pre-defined, 'preferred' enemy groups (Tadesse 1999).

In the same way as indigenous and state political structures coexist, so do many religious practices in this region. Practices of making offerings to ancestors and seniors described above form the core of religious ideology. At the same time, in Gamo for example, we witness dual

forms of indigenous religious practices (Beni Woga and Essa Woga) that are not totally exclusive in that they share venues and symbols. A third practice, that of Orthodox Ethiopian Christianity, shares spaces and symbols with the old indigenous religions, thus benefiting from the appropriation of the timelessness and respectability of the old Gamo religious practices. Rather than viewing these practices as simply syncretic as is commonly done elsewhere, my findings show that the interweaving of various religious practices has served to legitimise certain practices in specific contexts. One result of this is that followers of the indigenous religions often take part in the celebrations of the Orthodox Church, hence avoiding exclusiveness between religious faiths. Other religious groups are making serious efforts to claim a place in the religious landscape and often begin by attacking the core ideology of local religions, thereby attempting to build exclusive religious spaces.

From my research to date it is therefore clear that inter group relations of war and peace cannot be understood without taking into account the wider picture of state-local relations as well as the complex inter relations between various religious traditions and practices.



Depiction of the Abyssinian Conquest (Frobenius Collection). (Photo: W. G. Tadesse)

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Training, Applied Research and Practice

Training, Applied Research and Practice

Günther Schlee

The Max Planck Society aims to promote basic research irrespective of its potential for immediate application. Nevertheless, findings may have applications in the field of applied science and may be relevant to public policy. Questions about usefulness are also raised by universities. The majority of Max Planck directors have been university lecturers for many years. The appeal of their new position derives from its releasing them from teaching and other university obligations and in giving them more space for research. The System Evaluation of German research, however, has suggested the closer integration of university and Max Planck activities. In addition, recent developments in research funding, which require that Max Planck researchers apply for funds from the same institutions as their University colleagues, either in competition or in cooperation with them, has brought Max Planck Institutes closer to universities again and has made them answerable to them to some degree.

The partly contradictory expectations and demands arising from this situation may lead to dilemmas, but they have not done so in the case of the research theme of Department I, 'Integration and Conflict'. The following examples show that the activities of this department are interesting for other segments of society, both inside and outside academia.

This section, which describes the outreach of the department to other institutions, starts with a contribution about training university students, before turning to the Somali peace process as a field of practical application, and finally describes a project being undertaken in cooperation with the German Technical Aid (GTZ) which has a research, a consulting, and a training component.

Teaching While Researching: student researchers in the simultaneous incorporation project

Nina Glick Schiller

Faced with limited funds and the need to train students in anthropological research methods, the research on new immigrants in Halle/Saale, Germany and Manchester, USA has worked with student researchers for the past two years. In Manchester, an undergraduate student field work project based at the University of New Hampshire has brought students into the field. In Halle/Saale, students from the Institute for Social Anthropology of the Martin Luther University Halle-

Wittenberg who have completed a field methods course have been enlisted as researchers. In both cases, students are being asked to engage in participant observation and to interview migrants. The UNH fieldwork project has been taught twice, each time with ten students. Six MLU students have been enlisted as field workers for work that extends between July and December 2003. Each student will work closely with two migrant households to gain a sense of their daily activities and the ways in which, and the degree to which, migrants both become part of the life of the city of Halle/Saale and maintain transnational ties.

To date, student researchers have proved able and enthusiastic field workers. Two aspects of student's involvement have proved significant in the project's success. First, students take the work seriously because the activities are not class exercises but part of the tasks of data collection. Because they know they are responsible, the students have proved responsible. Secondly, when students are confronted by the life experiences of migrants and refugees, some of whom are only a little older than themselves, they develop a whole new perspective on migration.

Often in the training of anthropologists there is a significant gulf between theory and practice. Even with a course in research methods, students have little direct experience until and if they launch their own research. This form of student involvement is providing students with direct knowledge of the research process.

The Somali Peace Process

Günther Schlee

The international community's focus on Somalia has been rather reduced since the failure of the UN intervention in Somalia in the early 1990s. It was stimulated again by the terrorist attacks against the USA on September 11, 2001. Since then, it has become a universal diplomatic credo that stateless territories need help in regaining their statehood, so that international terrorists cannot establish bases there. Thus, funds for new peace initiatives for Somalia have started to flow once more.¹

Since October 2002, Günther Schlee has spent a total of 88 days in six different periods at the *Somali Peace and Reconciliation Conference* which started at Eldoret/Kenya and was continued at Mbagathi/Nairobi. He was appointed by the IGAD, the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development, as an advisor to the peace process and was attached as a resource person to the *Committee on Land and Property Rights*.

The regime of Mohammad Siad Barre (1969-1991) was marked by a continuous shrinking of the clan base of government, which eventually incorporated the president's clan almost exclusively at the expense of all

¹ For some effects the "war against terror" had in India, see Julia Eckert, this volume.

other clans. The external workings of this shrinking coalition were marked by violence of genocidal proportions, the internal workings by favouritism and misappropriation of public and private property.

When the government was expelled from the capital in January 1991, the country slipped from misrule into statelessness. Faction-based violence has dominated Somali politics ever since. First, the violence focused on the appropriation of the foreign aid sponsored state. When it became apparent that such a state would not re-emerge in the foreseeable future, violence targeted elements of the infrastructure where fees could be collected like ports and airstrips, agricultural land and the peasants cultivating it, who were reduced to forced labour, and any business which could be appropriated or from which money could be extorted. Appropriation was often accompanied by downgrading, meaning that things were not put to their optimal use but to the one with the quickest returns; that they were plundered. Factories, ships and aeroplanes were dismantled and sold as spare parts and scrap metal, buildings were used without maintenance.

The *Committee on Land and Property Rights* had to address the issue of government buildings occupied by militias, urban residential plots which came to be located within the sphere of power of the militia of a different clan, so that the owners could not approach them, clans expelled from their pastures by other clans, agricultural villages occupied and reduced to serfdom, the open range and the sea floor misused for dumping poisonous waste against payment to individuals – who also sold fishing rights which did not belong to them – and other such matters.

Without going into technicalities here, it can be stated in a summary fashion that the *Committee on Land and Property Rights* adopted a strict line of restitution of property which has changed hands by violent means since 1991, and a policy of compensation for property which cannot be restituted or has been damaged. As to the Siad Barre period, the law of that time, inspired by socialist ideas, is respected and so are transactions in conformity with it. Many transactions which were illegal even by the standards of that time, however, will have to be reversed.

The task of the Committee consisted of devising a plan for settling property issues after the establishment of a transitional national government. Theoretically, the proposals of the committee, in the meantime approved by the plenary, will be part of a peace agreement and will be binding for the government, born of the same process. Certain elements of the whole procedure are hypothetical such as whether such a transitional government will ever be formed and, if so, whether it will honour the other parts of the agreement of which it is itself a part.

From the start, the peace process in Kenya has been beset by a number of inconsistencies. The 'leaders', a euphemism for warlords, were courted by diplomats and journalists first and were attributed a key

role. Instead of involving them in the process and putting them under some pressure by exposing them to critical questions posed by the Somali public and human rights organisations, they were shielded in separate residences, surrounded by their own followers, and given the role of grey eminences. They were engaged in discussions of power sharing before the powers to be shared were even defined by the committee working on a draft constitution. Whether a Government formed by them or by people of their choice will have the will or the capacity to put into action any of the resolutions of the peace conference remains to be seen.

Their qualification for participation in the conference was the armed power they command. It was said, rightly perhaps in the light of the outcome of the last peace process in Djibouti, that a peace agreement ignoring the warlords would not be respected by them and would therefore not lead to peace. The armed power the warlords hold is used for extortion, and the proceeds of this extortion are reinvested in armed power. The warlords invited for the peace conference were chosen because they are the most successful players of this game. That this is a feature which disqualifies rather than qualifies them for peaceful rule is one of the many contradictions of this peace process. Whether a state can be built with the worst selection of people imaginable for this purpose in key positions is a historical experiment the outcome of which is more than uncertain.

Conflict Analysis as Part of a Rural Development Programme in Southern Somalia: practical work and PhD training

Günther Schlee

The Mesopotamia of Somalia, the land between the rivers Jubba and Shabelle, is the largest fertile area in the whole country, because of its potential for both rain-fed agriculture and irrigation. It has therefore also been the most contested part of the country. Under the military dictatorship which lasted until 1991, large chunks of land were taken from smallholders and appropriated by people close to government circles. In the stateless period since, the area was the arena of expulsions and occupations. In some cases, farm owners were taken as war spoils along with their land and were reduced to forced labour on what used to be their property.

In 2003, the European Union agreed to finance a development project, *Improvement of farming systems in Bay and Bakool regions, Somalia*, which was to be implemented by GTZ IS¹. It was started later the same year at

¹ GTZ, *Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit*, is the parastatal German development cooperation agency. IS stands for "International Services", the branch of the GTZ which carries out projects financed by supranational bodies like the EU and international agencies.

Hudur (Xudur), the regional capital of Bakool, while the security situation did not permit a simultaneous start in Bay, where factional fighting between different branches of the RRA (Rahanweyn Resistance Army) continued. The role of the Max Planck Institute is to identify potential areas of conflict in the context of improving natural resource management. Latent land conflicts can be expected to erupt when the land in question becomes more valuable by being included in development measures. Another task in the field of conflict analysis is to identify problems and to develop strategies in the field of reintegration of displaced persons and ex-combatants into rural society.

A memorandum of understanding between the MPI for Social Anthropology and GTZ IS specifies that Hege Magnus, a British trained² Norwegian conflict analyst, is employed by the project for a period of two years. She will receive support and advice ('backstopping') from Günther Schlee, who will visit the project area for two weeks each year. The expenses for the two analysts are covered by the GTZ IS for these two years.

After this, Hege Magnus, if she meets the conditions, will have the opportunity to evaluate her practical experience and to do additional field research to collect data which could not be gathered in the framework of the development project. It is planned to offer her a doctoral grant at the MPI. The 'backstopping' by Günther Schlee will continue in the form of academic supervision. Renewed visits to the field by both scholars will also enable a continuation of the dialogue with the other project workers, who will continue with the practical work. This second phase will be financed by the MPI for Social Anthropology.

It is hoped that at the end of the entire five year programme the candidate, Hege Magnus, will have made an interesting contribution to the comparative analysis of conflicts carried out in Department I, will have acquired a doctoral degree, and will have work experience that qualifies her for elevated positions in technical cooperation, policy advice or diplomacy.



Hege Magnus at an IGAD workshop in Addis Abeba, November 2002. (Photo: Conference photographer)

² Peace Studies at Bradford.

Department II: Postsocialist Eurasia

Director: Chris Hann



Chris Hann was born and brought up in Wales. He studied Politics, Philosophy and Economics at Oxford (BA 1974) and Social Anthropology at Cambridge (PhD 1979). After spending the 1980s as a Research Fellow and Lecturer at Cambridge, he was appointed in 1990 to the Chair in Social Anthropology at the University of Kent, Canterbury. He joined the Max Planck Society and moved to Halle in 1999.

*Chris Hann's main research interests are in economic and political anthropology. He has done fieldwork in Hungary, Poland, Turkey and Xinjiang – the last two joint projects with Ildikó Bellér-Hann. Recent publications include the edited volumes *Property Relations* (Cambridge 1998) and *Postsocialism* (London 2002), the monograph *Turkish Region* (with Ildikó Bellér-Hann, Oxford 2000) and the primer *Teach Yourself Social Anthropology* (London 2000).*

This photo shows Hann receiving the traditional Uzbek welcome during a visit to the host family of one of his current PhD students, Julie McBrien (Bazar-Korgon, S. Kyrgyzstan, August 2003) (Photo: I. Bellér-Hann).

Postsocialist Eurasia: Highlights

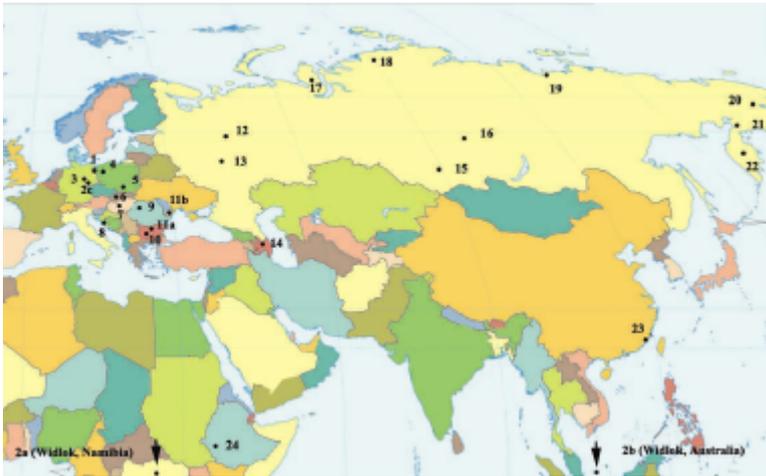
During the years 2002 and 2003 this Department

- *consolidated its first focus theme on “property relations” with a series of workshops, panels at international anthropological meetings, and an international conference “Changing Properties of Property” in Halle itself (organised jointly with the Project Group Legal Pluralism).*
- *specified the long term framework of the Department’s research; both the ethnographic diversity and the ultimate unity of Eurasia have been neglected by anthropologists, and this is the gap we aim to fill in the years ahead.*
- *launched its new publications series (Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia) with a representative volume of studies deriving from the property projects (The Postsocialist Agrarian Question: Property Relations and the Rural Condition, LIT 2003).*
- *concluded the Department’s first PhD dissertation at the Martin Luther University, Halle-Wittenberg; the work of Davide Torsello, “Trust, Property and Social Change in a Southern Slovakian Village”, is published as Volume 3 in the HSAE series.*
- *successfully completed the programme of the Siberian Project Group, which has now been succeeded by a new Siberian Studies Centre as an autonomous new unit within the Institute.*
- *introduced a second focus theme “religion and civil society”, addressing questions of (de)secularisation and the changing public and private significance of religion in postsocialist conditions. The main regional setting for these projects is the Islamic belt of (ex-Soviet) Central Asia. A second regional cluster is based in Romania and neighbouring states.*
- *maintained a range of activities subsidiary to the main research programme, including seminar series and workshops devoted to theory and to the history of anthropology.*
- *extended and deepened cooperative links with scholars abroad, while simultaneously pursuing closer contacts within Germany, and especially our eastern region, e.g. by disseminating results to local audiences, scholarly and lay.*

1. Property Relations

1.1. Introduction

'Property relations' was the original name of the Department and formed the dominant theme for the first three years of our existence. This phase is not yet over: Eidson, Kaneff, Milligan, Tadesse (until September 2003) and Yalçın-Heckmann have continued to work on this theme since the dispersal of most group members at the end of 2002. This cannot be considered a final report on the group. Nonetheless it was possible in the course of 2002-3 to tie at least some threads together. Further detail is available in the first volumes of our new series, *Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia*. Numerous other publications are in the pipeline, among them the papers of the large international conference we organised in June 2001 to honour the work of James Woodburn (Property & Equality: 2 volumes, eds. T. Widlok and W. G. Tadesse, forthcoming Berghahn); publications related to research in Siberia are discussed separately below.



(Map: Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology)

'Property relations': all fieldwork locations, 1999-2003

- | | | | | | |
|---------|-------------|--------|--------------------|-----|------------------|
| 1. | G. Milligan | 9. | A. Cartwright | 17. | F. Stammerl |
| 2.a,b,c | T. Widlok | 10. | B. Cellarius | 18. | J. Ziker |
| 3. | J. Eidson | 11.a,b | D. Kaneff | 19. | A. Ventsel |
| 4. | R. Parkin | 12. | L. Gambold Miller | 20. | P. Gray |
| 5. | F. Pine | 13. | P. Heady | 21. | A. King |
| 6. | D. Torsello | 14. | L. Yalçın-Heckmann | 22. | E. Kasten |
| 7. | C. Hann | 15. | B. Donahoe | 23. | S. Brandtstädter |
| 8. | C. Leutloff | 16. | N. Ssorin-Chaikov | 24. | W.G. Tadesse |

The anthropological literature on property has consistently opened up the field of discussion to include wider sets of economic, legal, political and social relationships. In everyday English the word property usually refers to an object or objects to which an individual or corporation has exclusive ownership rights. Anthropologists, following a tradition established by comparative lawyers in the nineteenth century, draw attention to the fact that such rights are necessarily predicated on social relations between persons. They have been highly critical of the exporting of western property categories, e.g. in regulating land tenure in the colonial period. Instead, they have theorised terms such as 'bundle of rights' and 'estates of administration' as alternatives to the western folk model of unitary, 'absolute' ownership. But, as Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann argued in their introduction to our jointly organised Max Planck Institute conference on *Changing Properties of Property* (July 2003), ethnocentric mis-translations in the past need not hinder us from continuing to use the term property. We see it as a shorthand to encompass the organisation and legitimation of rights and obligations concerning all the goods that a society recognises. We emphasise the multiple dimensions and functions of property relations, and criticise an excessive reliance in so much of the contemporary academic literature and in policymaking upon unproven economic consequences.

One very common metaphor to convey the complexity of property relations is that of 'embeddedness', but it was pointed out at the conference that comparative analysis is not significantly advanced by merely asserting and demonstrating that property relations are inextricably linked to the organisation of markets, courts, bureaucracies etc. We need more careful distinctions; e.g. the position of property law in the context of a wider legal system and general social norms opens up a different field of enquiry from the way in which property relations are linked to other social relations, such as kinship. The von Benda-Beckmanns took the opportunity of our conference to outline a comprehensive analytic framework for property research.* This model distinguishes between four 'layers' of social organisation. 'Categorical' property principles are found at the first, general layer of culture (ideology), and again at the second layer, which is that of institutional and juristic regulation. Plurality and hybridity can be expected at both of these layers. The third layer is that of 'concretised' social relationships. Finally, the layer of 'property practices' feeds back into the other three. Complex causal links between phenomena at the various layers, and then between 'property regimes' and social change more generally, will need to be elucidated for each particular case.

* For an earlier version see F. and K. von Benda-Beckmann. 1999. "A functional analysis of property rights, with special reference to Indonesia," in *Property Rights and Economic Development; land and natural resources in southeast Asia and Oceania*. Edited by T. van Meijl and F. von Benda-Beckmann, pp. 15-56. London: Kegan Paul International.

For us in Department II, the main challenge has been to apply this elegant framework to postsocialist societies. It is widely held, especially among economists, that socialism's 'property vacuum' was but one aspect of its more general 'lawlessness'. According to such interpretations, the problems of postsocialism are then best approached in terms of how to construct new institutions of property, the market etc. on a *tabula rasa*. If, on the contrary, we apply the scheme of the von Benda-Beckmanns, a more complex but intellectually more satisfying account emerges. Socialist collectivisation brought a massive rupture in the previous legal regulation of property, one which ran counter to the norms and values of the mass of the population, at any rate in the countryside. But compliance was obtained through subtle negotiations as well as force, and the new organisations operated not in anarchy but in new frameworks of regulation. Arguably, the very fact that legal title to land was commonly left in the hands of the original owner strengthens the case for viewing Eastern European socialism as an unusual example of legal pluralism, rather than a legal vacuum.

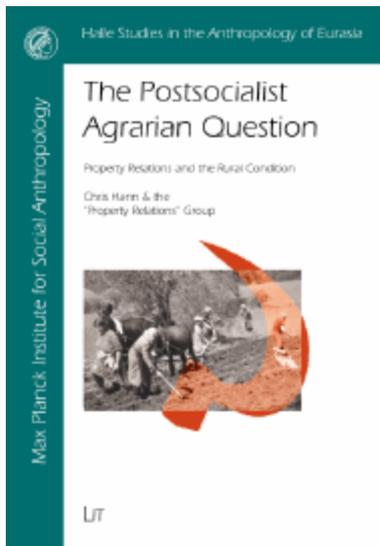
Collectivisation had – almost everywhere – an immediate impact on rural social relationships (layer three), replacing household farming with industrial-style hierarchies of workers, agronomists and managers. Yet at the level of practices anthropologists have documented many continuities, notably concerning the use made of the 'private plot'. The abrupt privatisation of land, on which our studies over the last three years have concentrated, has again set off chain reactions. Outcomes have been strongly influenced by external constraints (e.g. depressed agricultural markets) but also by changes and continuities internal to the property system. For example, our researchers have drawn attention both to the persistence of social norms emphasizing the virtues of private property and enterprise (layer one) but also to the importance of social relationships forged in the socialist period for economic success (layer three). The combination of these factors can help us explain the considerable continuity of elites. At the layer of practices, several commentators have suggested the term 'fuzzy' to indicate that the processes unfolding on the ground are often very different from the anticipated consolidation of markets and unambiguous private ownership. Of course, practices may diverge from the ideal models in other economies as well, including those of the developed West, where the agricultural sector has been intensely regulated for many decades. But our research has shown that the 'fuzziness' of property in the postsocialist world, while reflecting the 'systemic' nature of property everywhere, is also a distinctive variant. All layers of social organisation were affected by the decades of socialist rule; for further analysis of property relations in both the socialist period and its aftermath, the framework suggested by the von Benda-Beckmanns appears to have considerable explanatory potential.



Members of the 'Property Relations' Group during the Workshop in Tázlár, Hungary, in June 2002.

The Postsocialist Agrarian Question: Property Relations and the Rural Condition is the first volume in our new series 'Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia'. It is a collective work deriving from a workshop which took place in June 2002 in one of Chris Hann's field sites, the village of Tázlár on the Great Hungarian Plain. Fourteen ethnographic chapters are preceded by a comprehensive Introduction by Hann, 'Decollectivisation and the Moral Economy'.

The second volume in this series also appeared in 2003 and comprises the papers from our first interdisciplinary conference in December 2001 (Hannes Grandits and Patrick Heady [eds.]: *Distinct Inheritances: Property, Family and Community in a Changing Europe*).



This is an age of neo-liberalism, in which the advantages and virtues of private property are often taken for granted. Postsocialist governments have privatised and broken up state farms and socialist cooperatives. However, economic outcomes and the social insecurity now experienced by many rural inhabitants highlight the need for a broader anthropological analysis of property relations, which goes beyond changes in legal form. A century after Kautsky addressed 'The Agrarian Question' in Germany, it is therefore necessary to address a postsocialist Agrarian Question throughout Central and Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union and China.

(From the cover of this volume; copies of all volumes in our series can be ordered from LIT Verlag, email: vertrieb@lit-verlag.de)

1.2. Property Relations, Historical Justice and Contemporary Survival in the Postsocialist Countryside¹

Chris Hann

Introduction

Speculative assertion concerning the rights and wrongs of property claims has been a prominent theme since the beginning of Western thought and probably characterises all human societies. The emergence of industrial capitalism was accompanied by the rise of liberal “possessive individualism” (Macpherson 1962) but also by its critique, notably the Marxist tradition (but not forgetting such influential predecessors as Rousseau and Proudhon). In our own age the debates about property continue in new guises. The classical liberal model has been reshaped and reasserted ideologically in the form of neo-liberalism (‘Washington Consensus’ etc.). Critical alternatives continue to be advanced, but since the collapse of socialist regimes in the late twentieth century the opposition to private property as the most basic organising principle of human economy has been fragmented and muted.

In this context it is worth looking carefully at both socialist and post-socialist transformations of property not only in the light of anthropological concerns over forms of ownership and the generalisability of the concept of property, but also for the light that they can shed on the speculations of philosophers and political economists over the centuries. The recent history of these societies cannot of course be viewed as a series of laboratory experiments, in which all relevant variables were systematically manipulated. Nonetheless it is the case that on two occasions in the course of the twentieth century the basic ‘ground rules’ of property for most of the Eurasian landmass were subjected to a radical rupture. What lessons do these ruptures hold for all the armchair theorists of property?

My group at the Max Planck Institute has been mainly concerned to explore the impact of radical property changes on the everyday life experiences of ‘ordinary people’. Although anthropological fieldwork was being developed to modern standards at precisely this time, the transformation of property relations by the social engineers of Bolshevism could not be subjected to micro-level scrutiny. This deficit is being painstakingly addressed generations later through archival research, oral histories etc. The position is more promising for the second great rupture, since anthropological access to the postsocialist countries has improved immeasurably. In other words, it has been possible to monitor

¹ This ‘overview’ essay has benefited from comments from numerous colleagues in the ‘Property relations’ group and also from discussion of an earlier version at the MPI conference on *Changing Properties of Property*, 2nd – 4th July 2003.

the effects of the dismantling of socialist property relations through 'participant observation' at the local level.

At the Institute we have sought to take advantage of this research opportunity with a coordinated set of projects enquiring into decollectivisation. The interim results of these projects were published recently (Hann and the 'Property Relations' Group, 2003).¹ Work is still continuing on some of the case studies, many of which will bear fruit in the form of full monographs. In this essay I shall outline some of the tentative conclusions we have reached so far. In very general terms we can say that nineteenth century colonial processes have been repeated: Euro-American, neo-liberal understandings of land as private property, emphasizing exclusion and alienability, have been imposed upon the complex lived practices of other societies. More specifically, I shall use our results to address issues of morality and justice, always a central component of debates about property.

Our case studies range from Central Europe (eastern Germany, Slovakia, Hungary, Croatia) to the Pacific (Kamchatka, Fujian). Comparative projects outside Eurasia have played a significant role but will not be discussed here. Most of the projects have concentrated upon the disintegration of the institutions of collectivised agriculture. Within this focus, particular attention has been paid to the land itself, i.e. to 'real property', which has always enjoyed a privileged status in property theorising as well as in the subdiscipline of economic anthropology. This status derives straightforwardly from the fact that land is a dominant factor of production and of reproduction in most human societies. Its ownership is a prime form of wealth differentiation in preindustrial conditions. The precise arrangements for its ownership, use and transmission between generations have therefore also attracted sustained attention from historians and at all levels, from aristocratic estates to the subsistence-oriented farms of smallholders.

Although collectivisation and decollectivisation were in many respects without precedent, land has been appropriated and reappropriated in previous revolutionary upheavals such as the English Civil War and the French Revolution. Here I follow Jon Elster (forthcoming) in placing recent postsocialist developments into an analytic frame of historical analysis broad enough to encompass these earlier moments of disruption. Elster's frame is built around the idea of historical justice, which is articulated by those whose property rights were violated during the revolutionary upheaval, who in a later period seek precise restitution of those rights or (if this is not possible) some form of reparation (compensation). The appeal to restore prior ownership is intuitively powerful but Elster notes that compelling practical circumstances are always

¹ Most of the work cited in this essay consists of chapters in this book. To simplify both text and bibliography, these contributions are henceforth indicated with *.

likely to mitigate such claims. He cites the reluctant recognition by a classical liberal philosopher, John Stuart Mill:

it may seem hard, that a claim, originally just, should be defeated by the mere passage of time.¹

Justice in regard to a historical property claim is often, perhaps always, irreconcilable with justice in the present, to the current owners and users of the property objects in question. In the French case, Elster notes a residual reluctance in the twentieth century to recognise the property rights of the holders of the so-called *biens nationaux*, appropriated from their previous aristocratic owners during the Revolution. With the passing of several generations, the new pattern of ownership is unlikely to bear much resemblance to the original pattern following appropriation. Whether or not the perpetrators of violent abuses of property rights can be brought to justice, society is faced with a basic dilemma. A policy to restore rights or award compensation to large categories of citizens may enjoy public support, but the implementation of such policies is certain to lead to new perceptions of injustice. It is also likely to lead to economic disruption and to be very costly in terms of the necessary legal implementation through courts and a myriad of regulating agencies – such that in practice the rigors of due process are likely to be abandoned, with the inevitable risk of accentuating injustice in particular cases.

The main factor identified by Elster in his comparative historical analyses is that of time itself. The more time that elapses between a property transformation and the overturning of that revolutionary regime, the less likely it is that the original claim will be restored. The likelihood will diminish further as more time elapses between the (political) restoration and the (legal) resolution of specific property claims. These patterns will not surprise anthropologists, long familiar with the importance of claims to property for maintaining continuities in human communities (von Benda-Beckmann 1979). We shall see that time in Elster's sense is a major element in accounting for the patterns of decollectivisation, despite all the self-evident differences between these processes and earlier eras of restoration.

Political Economy

For ease of exposition I shall separate the discussion of political from moral economy, though the two are of course intimately related and the norms of the latter may only become objects of explicit reflection and discussion when threatening changes occur in the former. The range of variation in our projects has been considerable and we have found con-

¹ Mill, J.S. 1970. *Principles of Political Economy*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, p. 370.

siderable variation, even between regions with similar ecological conditions and belonging to the same state (Stammler and Ventsel*). The following are some rough generalisations:

- Rural people were not asked about the course of institutional change and have generally felt themselves to be powerless to influence the course of events. In some countries (e.g. Hungary) new or re-formed political parties articulated claims for property restitution and historical justice, but such policies nowhere received a state-wide electoral majority.

- Although economic efficiency varied greatly, all socialist economies had modernised and integrated their agricultural and industrial sectors. Most had invested heavily in the material infrastructure of the countryside and continued to pay out substantial subsidies beyond the production of agricultural commodities, e.g. to support rural transportation links and social services. These supports contracted rapidly with the switch to 'market economy', which in many cases destroyed channels of marketing that had emerged under socialism (both formal and informal) without providing any adequate substitute.

- These problems were aggravated by the depressed conditions of agricultural markets worldwide; many ex-socialist farmers, especially in Eastern Europe, were well aware of high levels of subsidy to the agricultural sector in Western Europe and North America.

- The implementation of the new property system was a contested, time-consuming and also financially costly process. Legal institutions such as courts had played no role for most villagers under socialism. It was not possible to put in place efficient mechanisms for documenting and adjudicating claims, and then issuing title documents. In other words, some of the basic conditions for the neo-liberal property paradigm have not been fulfilled and many people continue to recognise informal entitlements and 'custom' (see Cartwright*).

- The fragmentation of collectively owned property, particularly land, has led to gross economic inefficiencies. While it is likely that many state and collective farms suffered from diseconomies of scale, with large bureaucracies remote from the majority of workers and members, the recent division of the land has created units of ownership that are typically too small for efficient mechanised farming. Reconciling the new fragmented ownership pattern with the continued need for larger units of production has created a significant new layer of 'transaction costs'.

- A broad distinction can be drawn between the former Soviet Union and the collectivised countries of Eastern Europe concerning the manner in which land was privatised. In the former (with some exceptions, notably the Baltic states) although the principle for land distribution could vary (Kanef and Yaçin-Heckmann*) it was unrelated to previous ownership. In Eastern Europe there was also considerable variety

(Swain 2000) but previous ownership was the primary criterion. Decollectivisation consisted either in restoring land in its old 'real' boundaries (as in Bulgaria – see Cellarius*) or in providing some form of 'compensation', which could allow for deviations from the old ownership structure in order to preserve a greater measure of economic efficiency (as in Hungary – see Hann and Sárkány*).

•Decollectivisation processes have, finally, caused new forms of social inequality. Tatjana Thelen (2003) has shown how these operate concerning age and gender: in the Hungarian village she studied she was able to identify a renewal of patriarchy as newly empowered landowners were able to impose their will over females and junior males in their households. The emergence of independent farmers and other private entrepreneurs suggests that a new pattern of stratification is taking shape, perhaps even polarisation. However, earlier forms of hierarchy based on political or administrative position have by no means weakened everywhere and may in some cases have gained importance (e.g. where economic shortages have become most severe). Thus one may also encounter variations on the old theme of 'shared poverty': economic difficulties and perceptions of an ever-widening gulf between rural and urban sectors are met by increased solidarity and local dependencies in the form of reciprocity and sharing with kin and neighbours (see e.g. Ziker*).

Moral Economy

The last point brings us directly to issues of moral concern to all human communities, namely how are property rights over things to be brought into alignment with a morally desirable distribution of power and wealth differentials (see also Widlok 2002). Our projects, in line with the close-up studies of anthropologists in many other parts of the world, have shown that the prerequisites of the neo-liberal model are not present in the postsocialist countryside. In the absence of smoothly functioning markets and legal institutions, not to mention unfavourable external conditions, the new reliance on private ownership does not bring the predicted benefits. People's assessment of the new system is inevitably coloured by the economic and social setbacks, even distress, that so many have experienced.

Moral criticism concerning inequality, if it is forthcoming, is typically explained by a neo-liberal economist with a secondary rationalisation: when the markets and legal institutions have established themselves after their awkward birth pangs, people will see for themselves the benefits that private property alone can bring. They will then cease to be critical of widening inequalities and pioneering entrepreneurs, since everyone should be in a position in which, with the necessary hard work, they and their families can become better off in absolute terms.

Our projects sought to engage with these perennial conundrums of philosophy and social science.

Generalisation is even more difficult here than in the realm of political economy. The basis of the neo-liberal approach is that through being given a high concentration of exclusive power over things ('ownership' is simply the standard term for a society's maximum range of rights, never in fact 'absolute' – because always constrained by authority – but often imagined to be such) people will exercise greater care, invest as appropriate, and generally act such that the promotion of their selfish interests will be fully consistent with the collective welfare function of their society. Underlying this approach are assumptions more psychological in character, namely that human persons have a strong tendency to form attachments to specific things, and that the classification of at least some of these attachments as exclusive can obtain social backing or legitimacy in the community (cf. Schlicht 1998).

Both of these predispositions have been confirmed in the course of our projects. They may be obvious but they are far from trivial. For example, the Siberian hunters studied by John Ziker (* p. 380) formed a definite link to particular territories, which often led to a personal naming of this land. Following earlier ethnographers of hunter-gatherers, Ziker documents how others needed to request 'permission' from the 'owner' in order to extract any resources from this land. This is a far cry from neo-liberal models of private property. Although many persons and groups have now been assigned rights to specific tracts of land in this region of Taimyr, the community of hunters studied by Ziker has in postsocialist conditions become more heavily reliant on interpersonal reciprocities and sharing. These "informal entitlements" are the expression of a strong moral economy.

Local endorsement of the classical liberal model can be found in Carolin Leutloff-Grandits' study of post-war Croatia*. Since the Yugoslav state effectively abandoned its collectivisation drive in the 1950s, Leutloff-Grandits has paid closer attention to non-agricultural variables. Houses were a highly contested property object in and around the town of Knin, following the forced exodus of most local Serbs in the mid-1990s. The Knin district experienced a large influx of Croats from other regions, many of whom occupied houses recently abandoned by Serbs. In recent years some Serbs have returned, and international bodies have applied pressure on the Croatian government to recognise their property rights. Nationalist governments in Zagreb received little support from local Croats when seeking to appropriate this property for the collectivity of the Croatian nation. On the contrary, the basic claim of a previous owner, irrespective of whether he or she was the "original" owner or builder, was regarded as having higher legitimacy by the local parties involved.

This support for liberal ground rules is subject to qualification in the case of real property. Our researchers have demonstrated that groups often assert a strong attachment to the lands historically occupied and used by their people. This is often represented as a moral relationship, especially among indigenous peoples in Siberia where the land itself, animals and other elements in the environment are vividly personified (cf. Anderson 2000, King 2002). On the other hand, neither in Croatia nor in the other agricultural case studies did we find much evidence of strong attachment to particular parcels of land, serving as a basis for a claim to exclusive ownership of this good. The view that land should be returned to those from whom it was taken is generally endorsed, but it is also recognised that in many cases the consolidation of fields, road building etc. make a return to the exact old boundaries impossible. There is nonetheless discontent in some circles when this is not the main goal, as in Hungary where former owners have received compensation but no guarantee that they can regain ownership of the plots held previously. I found that this mattered greatly, for sentimental reasons but perhaps also because of a high degree of local soil variation, to some villagers in Tázlár, whereas Mihály Sárkány found no such emotional bonds to particular fields in the village he studied in Northern Hungary (Hann and Sárkány*). Even in Tázlár, more than a decade after a complex redistribution was set in motion it is clear that the great majority now approach land ownership entirely in pragmatic terms. It is one resource among others: a few people have accumulated more of it through purchase, while others farm small parcels for subsistence or, if they lack the resources, they may lease it out or try to sell. A great deal of land, here as throughout the postsocialist world, has fallen out of production (see Hann 2001).



*Abandoned farmhouse and fields on the Great Hungarian Plain.
(Photo: C. Hann, Tázlár 2001)*

In Slovakia Davide Torsello* found that, as in Tázlár, villagers were deeply affected by the strong state interventions of the 1950s. In this case the improvement came more rapidly than in Hungary. Villagers told Torsello that the 1960s was a very positive era in their history, in part because their agricultural cooperative was under community control. In 1974, however, it was merged into a larger entity with its centre in the neighbouring town. The villagers became disaffected once more, and when Torsello asked them for their views about its successor organisation, a decade after the land had been returned to its original owners, most opinions were highly negative. Yet villagers needed this organisation to gain an income from their land, for there was very little interest in establishing private commercial farms. Torsello found that the same villagers, who declared their 'mistrust' in the organisation, deriving from its socialist history, might nonetheless make use of its services, even when private sector alternatives were available. It is important to distinguish between 'uttered mistrust' and what people really think and act out in their daily practices. Torsello makes it clear that trust is primarily a quality generated in face to face relations with kin and neighbours, but it can also be built up towards institutions such as a cooperative or the village administration; and trust, can be forfeited or dissipated if community norms are disregarded.

The Russian villagers in the Volga region studied by Patrick Heady and Liesl Gambold Miller* present a somewhat different picture. Russian villagers experienced collectivisation some seventy years ago. By the time that land was privatised following presidential decrees in 1991, few rural households had members who could even remember the days of independent farming, let alone persons with the skills and capital needed to begin commercial operations on their own. Heady and Miller provide examples of some new entrepreneurs, as do Kaneff and Yalçın-Heckmann* in their accounts from Ukraine and Azerbaijan. As in the rest of the former Soviet Union, land was distributed without regard to what had been owned before collectivisation. For most Russian villagers, becoming a nominal landowner brought no change in attitude or in practice. Heady and Miller highlight the "loneliness of *fermer-hood*" (p. 287) experienced by the exceptions, those who choose to take their land out of the pool used by the successor to the collective farm. Envy is also a part of the moral economy here. Most villagers continue to look to their local farm leaders to provide them with jobs and a minimal level of subsistence in return for using their land. They continue to farm their individual plots intensively, as they always did. But in the absence of a market for land and continuing legal uncertainty about whether or not land can, ultimately, be privately owned and sold as a commodity, it is hardly surprising that the 1991 decree which launched decollectivisation has not in practice brought a new property mentality.

A divisive presence: the fenced walkway, which enables a 'fermer' to walk his cattle to pasture, cuts a communal field in two. Southern Arkhangel'skaya Oblast', 2000.
(Photo: P. Heady)



It seems, rather, that older traditions of community solidarity have been by and large reinforced. Patty Gray* reports from Marii El that local opinion disapproved of these who split away from the socialist successor organisation. Among Bulgarian speakers in southwestern Ukraine, however, Kaneff found that honesty and hard work were enough to legitimate the higher income levels of an independent farmer. Elsewhere, as in the Azerbaijani settlements studied by Yalçin-Heckmann, the socialist institutions vanished and left no successors. Without any obvious organisational vehicle, the moral economy must find expression where it presumably originated, in informal comments, gossip and similar unofficial sanctions. As in many other parts of the socialist world, here too there is no objection in principle to land moving into exclusive private ownership. There is, however, resentment when income and wealth inequalities can be clearly attributed to corruption. The line between high levels of interpersonal trust and high levels of corruption was often fuzzy under socialism, and in this respect the revolution in property relations has brought few changes. Perhaps there is only a more widespread and deeper cynicism today, along the lines of "they pretended to give us ownership rights, but it was just a cover; owning land brings only responsibilities, and wealth is now generated elsewhere, where we are excluded." At the same time there is, at least in some places, a determined effort to avoid *anomie* and maintain or reinvent a 'traditional' sense of community. Ziker's account of how informal entitlements are acknowledged by Taimyr hunters has already been mentioned. In this case the moral economy seems to hinge more on loose interpersonal networks and a cosmology emphasising close links to the natural world, rather than any formal organisation.

In Susanne Brandtstädter's* case study, by contrast, the cosmology emphasises lineage ancestors and the moral economy has a formal ex-

pression in the temple association, which deploys the funds supplied by wealthy emigrants for purposes that amount, ultimately, to a celebration of the community itself (see also Brandtstädter 2001). At the same time there is lavish expenditure on life-cycle rituals, with levels of giving that might appear 'wasteful' to the outsider, but which are in reality a highly rational investment in the personal relations that are likely to count for a lifetime. China is of course a case of particular interest, since it remains officially socialist. Property rights remain indistinct in many fields and yet, as in late socialist Hungary, the decentralisation of responsibility/control combined with provision of effective market incentives seem enough to generate rapid growth in both production and consumption. Brandtstädter's case study, admittedly exceptional in that the prosperity here is massively enhanced by overseas transfer income, shows the two sides of the coin of moral economy in a state of harmony and good order: the collective side is represented by the temple association and the interpersonal side by the efflorescence of gifts on ritual occasions.

Creative Combinations at Community Level

It is tempting at first to label the two aspects of Brandtstädter's moral economy in Fujian Province public and private, but this dichotomy is potentially misleading. There is another agent, not yet mentioned in this brief summary, which in Brandtstädter's account stands outside the moral economy – that is the state itself and its local apparatus. Actually the state has a good legal claim to be considered ultimate owner of most land in this village, and all other villages in China. But the villagers do not trust their state, which even in its post-Maoist, reformist phase has not been able to "create new binding rules to re-embed social relations" (* p. 436). A similar mistrust of remote, macro-level powerholders and complaints about ill-informed local interference recurs in several of our projects. In perhaps the most graphic description, Tadesse Wolde* shows how successive state formations in Ethiopia have ignored the property needs of local people in the southern highlands. According to his analysis, only greater respect for a complex indigenous land tenure system can bring an end to over a century of exploitation. In a similar vein, Patty Gray* argues that the state power behind both socialism and capitalism is fundamentally alike in its inability or refusal to answer to local needs.

Adapting this line of argument more specifically to property regimes, the following picture emerges. Capitalism is evidently strongly associated with the principle of private ownership. But as we have seen, it is futile to proclaim that land is a marketable commodity if this is not accompanied by major institutional changes, such as a system of functioning markets and legal mechanisms which must ultimately be the responsibility of a state. Socialism is similarly strongly associated with a

principle of collective and ultimately state ownership. But those who lived under this system are fully aware of the coercion necessary to impose it and the heavy price paid in most socialist countries for repressing markets and individual initiative. Is there an alternative to these poles? Corporate capitalism and market socialism have been widely touted but neither has ever convinced. The alternative that has proven increasingly popular among anthropologists in recent years, notably among those working in the natural environment where sustainability concerns are the prime issue, has been to argue for forms of community control. Community property does not mean open access property and, far from leading to disaster, the "commons" can be governed in ways that are both efficient and equitable for the persons most directly involved (Ostrom 1990).

But it is hardly realistic to argue that markets and the state can be entirely replaced by community management. Communities often hold contradictory ideas and they, too, can get things wrong or take short-sighted decisions, e.g. from the point of view of environmental sustainability. A market mechanism of some sort is essential for the efficient linkage of the communities, and state control of some sort is essential if market freedoms are not to be abused. In terms of property rules this adds up to an argument for combinations with enough flexibility to take account of particular property objects and local ecological conditions. Perhaps the best example among our projects was Barbara Celarius' study* of a densely forested zone in the Rhodope Mountains, Bulgaria. She found that it took the postsocialist authorities almost a decade to tackle forest privatisation, following the swift decision in 1991 to return agricultural land to private ownership within the old boundaries. It was difficult to create viable farm units, as we have noted, but individual management of forest holdings posed still more formidable problems. Bulgaria had a strong cooperative tradition in presocialist times and in this case (unlike agricultural land) the new powerholders eventually agreed to allow the way for the reconstitution of forest cooperatives, in which the owners would hold shares proportional to their original holdings. The democratic management of these cooperatives poses a further challenge, but the early signs seem encouraging. In other words, unlike the socialist period cooperatives in Bulgaria, modelled on the Soviet collective farm, which in theory placed all property in the hands of a local collectivity but in reality left local people with little control of any kind, the new forest cooperatives seem to provide an efficient solution based on a high degree of self-management, which at the same time redresses a historical injustice.

Other projects have provided glimpses of what might be done, if a judicious measure of decentralisation can be introduced to allow locally appropriate combinations of market and state, of private and collective ownership. Unfortunately the bad odour of the socialist cooperatives

has made it even more difficult to promote such solutions in contemporary Eurasia than it tends to be in other parts of the world.

One hopeful initiative to be found in recent years is the emergence of new forms of *obshchina* in thinly populated regions all over Siberian Russia. *Obshchina* is an old Russian word for community; it played a role in Russian politics in the last decades of the nineteenth century, when Slavophiles and Populists (*Narodniki*) applied it (along with *mir*) to denote the integrity and purity of the peasant commune. Although this was certainly an idealised vision, some form of concretisation of the moral economy exercised decisive influence over village affairs in this period. In particular, the *obshchina* ideally reallocated land periodically, to ensure its optimal distribution according to fluctuating household needs. The land was farmed on a household basis, but it was not in private ownership. Prime Minister Stolypin began to attack this system in the last decade of the Tsarist regime and his reforms seem to have made rapid headway – perhaps more rapid than the postsocialist reforms with a similar thrust, namely facilitating the emergence of independent farmers. The point is that, when the Russian countryside was collectivised by Stalin during the First Five Year Plan, few villagers could look back on more than a single generation of private landownership. Their history was a thoroughly collectivist one, enserfed before 1861 and incorporated into the *obshchina* thereafter.

The concept has not been revived in European ('peasant') Russia, and the postsocialist large-scale farms in the villages studied by Heady and Miller are known as *kolkhozy*, not *obshchiny*. But the term has been adapted to designate a new and loosely specified form of association for the 'small peoples' of Siberia, who in some regions have come forward with alacrity to register a claim on the basis of a historic 'clan' tie to the land in question. The details vary considerably from region to region, and seem to depend on whether this legal status brings advantages in terms of raising credit, obtaining supplies, or marketing produce. In some areas, such as Yamal, studied by Florian Stammler, economic prosperity seems to have rendered this option superfluous; whereas in Sakha, studied by Aimar Ventsel, and in Chukotka, studied by Patty Gray, the formation of *obshchiny* has been facilitated by the authorities and widely taken up (Stammler and Ventsel*, Gray* 2001). So far at least, the granting of this privileged form of ownership to those eligible on the basis of ethnicity does not seem to have created friction with other residents, notably immigrant Russians who cannot claim this special historical relationship to the land. This is probably due to the fact that the entire land tenure situation throughout Siberia remains confused and fluid. Land is still generally abundant and very far from becoming just another commodity available through a market. It would, however, be an error to see in this measure of devolved control alone a solution to the current survival problems of Siberia's population. The

work of Alexander King* in Kamchatka highlights the negative consequences of the withdrawal of state subsidies, loss of public sector secure employment etc. New decentralised forms of land tenure might become part of a solution, but a comprehensive new property regime must also include the private and collective ownership forms which underpin functioning markets and an effective state respectively.

If the latter elements can be put in place, there are compelling arguments for allowing and even insisting upon some form of local community management responsibility or even ownership as regards the land, and possibly some other key resources as well. Private ownership is likely to be a dominant form across a wide range, from houses to combine harvesters, from toothbrushes to snowmobiles. The state needs to be present as the provider of key services, notably health and education. But there are good reasons for treating land, lakes and marine resources as ultimately a common good, which may be allocated to households or individuals for use, but whose ownership is vested in the local community. In this way the moral economy would expand beyond the two facets identified by Brandtstädter*. The era of the locally autonomous *obshchina* is forever past. The inhabitants of postsocialist rural communities need to be integrated into a state as well as organised through some sort of local association or cooperative. They need to be integrated into market systems as well as enjoy the freedom to cultivate close interpersonal relations.

To summarise, the state cannot be excluded from the notion of moral economy, since it is by definition the expression of a higher level of community. But it must always be supplemented by local forms of the kind explored by Brandtstädter, Torsello, Leutloff-Grandits, Cellarius and others in our group. As for markets, they are ideally a realm of impersonal maximising activity and would seem at first glance entirely incompatible with the moral economy. Yet instrumentalist, profit-oriented activity may also receive moral approval. This seems to have been the case for late socialist Hungary, when market incentives provided a successful mechanism for accumulation. Even in a more orthodox socialist rural economy like that of East Germany, Eidson and Milligan* have documented the persistence of entrepreneurial activity within the socialist cooperative, to the general approval of the benefiting community. Of course markets can also be a sphere of division, in which benefits are seldom equally distributed. For this reason it remains partially distinct. It is within the moral economy to the extent that market relations often depend heavily on relations of trust between persons, but the moral economy keeps up a certain constant pressure, which limits the proper possibilities for 'rational' impersonal maximisation. Just as contracts can never specify all the conditions of their fulfillment, so deeds of ownership can never exhaust the social complexity of property relations.



Former cooperative farm chairman (left) in harvest festival parade in a village in West Pomerania. The now disused grain storage buildings in background date back to the era of the landed estate. (Photo: G. Milligan)

This analysis has the following implications for policymakers. The precise mixture of property forms in this expanded moral economy should not be prescribed in state legislation but adjusted to meet distinctive resource constraints and ecological conditions. As far as the most basic means of production are concerned, the recommendation should be to leave land and water resources in common ownership unless the local community itself, through democratically organised institutions such as a cooperative, comes forward with strong arguments for an alternative property mix.

Justice

So far in this essay I have drawn on our recent projects at the Max Planck Institute to illustrate some of the complexities of the postsocialist Eurasian countryside. Beginning with a brief discussion of changes in political economy I went on to consider issues of moral economy and, on this basis, argued for locally specific solutions in which state, markets and community resource management should all play a part. I now want to return to the issues of historical justice, as raised by Jon Elster.

Although Elster claims to offer an explanatory model eschewing normative evaluation, I think he tends to support the view that unjust property appropriation should always be remedied, that culprits should be brought to justice retributively; a failure to do so amounts to a loss of moral nerve on the part of new powerholders. The general dichotomy

between the ex-Soviet case studies and the Eastern European case studies confirms Elster's temporal hypothesis. In Russia, where most farms were collectivised in the early 1930s, there was no serious discussion of returning land to former owners. Instead it was privatised according to principles of equality, (though in some cases with differential treatment according to previous employment history – see Kaneff and Yalçın-Heckmann*). By contrast, in most of Eastern Europe collectivisation occurred a generation later, and at the time of the regime change many villagers still had vivid recollections of the traumas they experienced in the 1950s and early 1960s. Not surprisingly, land privatisation was generally pushed through more promptly in these countries, and there was widespread support for the principle that individuals – or their heirs – should as far as possible be given back exactly what had been taken from them.

However, the analysis cannot stop here. It seems reasonable to assume that the contrasting patterns of decollectivisation are influenced not only by the time that has elapsed since the 'crime', but also by the nature and history of ownership up to this point. The private ownership of land became widespread in Russia only in the early twentieth century. Feudal restrictions were abolished earlier in Eastern Europe and peasants here had made a faster transition to private ownership. Although many villagers in Hungary still operated collective field management until well into the twentieth century (Fél and Hofer 1969), by the time of collectivisation a rather strong ethos of landownership had developed, such that the size of a peasant's holding was the prime indicator of his status or class.

Does the perceived strength of the property claim affect the issue of historical justice? At this point Elster's discussion of the Bourbon restoration and the fate of aristocratic property in France is of little help. In Russia the more pertinent question might be: why not aim at a return to the form of ownership which characterised the village over centuries, namely the *obshchina* (*mir*), rather than the short-lived phase of private ownership between Stolypin and Stalin? In actual fact, no one looked back to a historical baseline. Policies seem to have been shaped primarily by present-day considerations, and egalitarian principles were not contested. In Eastern Europe, by contrast, there was often heated discussion over the baseline. Ownership had in many cases changed dramatically in the decades preceding collectivisation: why, some people asked, should the victims of socialism be awarded their land back, or at least compensation, when the victims of earlier 'democratic' land reforms and the casualties of ethnic deportations were awarded little or nothing of their (ancestors') property? In purely agro-economic terms it might well have been more rational to allocate land in large units to aristocratic families from whom it was taken in 1945 rather than in small fragments to those from whom it was taken in 1960. Political

considerations rather than any noble commitment to justice dictated that the latter claims were the ones recognised, despite the dislocation and long-term transaction costs created by the new pattern of ownership.

Conclusion

Property plays a central role in the 'devolution' of human communities. For most of human history this has been a story of gradual, piecemeal evolutionary change. But when one looks more closely, one finds that there have also been moments of sharp discontinuity, and few sharper than the two I have been discussing here, collectivisation and decollectivisation. The former was a catastrophic act of total social engineering (though we also know of many social continuities, e.g. concerning the private plot). The latter posed the dilemma of how far to tolerate continuities with the socialist era (e.g. through 'successor cooperatives') and how far to attempt to restore links to a presocialist age. The precise paths followed have varied. What is common is that property relations are of necessity lived in the present, and for many people the postsocialist present has been a disenchanting struggle for survival. Many of those who aspired for moral and emotional reasons to regain their private property have come to see that the neo-liberalism of the 1990s has been as deleterious for them as the Stalinism of the 1930s and 1950s. I have argued that an alternative can be sought in pragmatic combinations of property ground rules, with community control playing a central role alongside markets and the state. The backwards-looking call for 'historical justice' has no monopoly of virtue. There are also good moral grounds for pragmatism, and for paying attention to the present and the future as well as property claims grounded in the past.

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1.3. Siberia Projektgruppe

This group came into existence in early 2000 as an unplanned outcome of our original open announcement specifying the theme of property relations, which attracted a large number of excellent applications for work in Siberia. This gave us the opportunity to fill a significant gap in German anthropology, and at the same time to renew local traditions of Siberian research in Halle, which date back to the Great Nordic Expedition of Georg Wilhelm Steller (1709-1746). With some supplementary funding from the Max Planck Society we were able to set up a Project Group which made a full contribution to the Department's investigations of changing property relations while at the same time exploring a wider range of issues comparatively across this vast region. Group composition changed in the course of the three years, as Nikolai Ssorin-Chaikov and Erich Kasten moved to take up posts elsewhere; the following account draws largely on the final report prepared by those working in Halle at the end of 2002: Patty Gray, Alexander King, Florian Stammler, Aimar Ventsel and John Ziker. Readers may also consult the Siberia Project Group website, a virtual navigable summary of the research and activities engaged in by members of the Siberia Project Group, which has been archived at the Max Planck Institute website <http://www.eth.mpg.de/subsites/siberia/index.html>.

The new Siberian Studies Centre which has succeeded the Project Group is introduced elsewhere in this report (see pp. 315-337).



Top: Aimar Ventsel, Erich Kasten, John Ziker (from left); Bottom: Alexander King, Patty Gray, Florian Stammler (from left). (Photo: W. G. Tadesse)

The most important common research themes of the Group concerned people's changing relationships with their most basic natural resources, the land and animals. Land claims have the potential to be highly divisive and politically charged, especially for indigenous peoples engaged in a process of self-determination within the Russian-dominated state. The researchers studied the ways in which indigenous Siberian peoples have been using land, the legal ways in which it is held, and the meanings it has for local identity and self-determination efforts in the post-Soviet period. There is still a widespread understanding of land as common property administered by the state (*zemlia obshchaia, gosudarstvennaia*), but in any case formal title to land is often less important than ancestral, kinship, or spiritual ties. Informal rights to access favourite hunting spots, fishing lakes, or reindeer pasture are the basis of locally defined and managed systems of land tenure. In some cases, local communities have been able to formalise these rights through the establishment of an *obshchina*, a form of legally recognised communal land tenure that certain regions developed in the 1990s, and which was finally codified in Russian federal law in 2000. Both in terms of environmental protection and indigenous rights, Group research suggested that these systems of land tenure should be given greater recognition in policymaking. In other cases, more often in closer proximity to provincial and district capitals, formal titles to land have been claimed as private property. The ability to do so depends heavily on political connections and power, since even in the more 'developed' regions, where land is closer to being a scarce resource in the economist's sense, there is no real land market. Where land is claimed and registered privately, exploitation and socio-economic differentiation are likely to intensify.

All of the individual projects were concerned to track ongoing changes in state farms (*sovkhozy*) and their associated communities in the wake of Russia's privatisation programme, begun in 1992. Researchers discovered many similarities with other postsocialist regions studied in the Department. *Sovkhozy* in Siberia, as elsewhere in the Soviet Union, were 'total social institutions'. Their dismantling therefore meant more than a change in legal formalities; it involved a radical disruption of the way of life of almost all former members, e.g. through redundancies and the disintegration of supply and marketing networks. Due perhaps, at least in part, to the great distances from urban markets and political centres, the property forms assumed by the successors to the *sovkhozy* have been more unstable than elsewhere in Russia. Privatised enterprises in the areas studied have split, merged, re-registered in a new form, and of course some have simply become defunct. Aimar Ventsel found in his research in Sakha (Yakutia) that the municipal administration was the main stabilising force. Similarly, John Ziker observed in the neighbouring Taimyr Autonomous Region that few individuals or groups have ventured to put forward formal land claims, for they do not feel suffi-

ciently competent to negotiate with the regional government. Elsewhere, however, the outcomes of privatisation differed drastically. Yamal, studied by Florian Stammer, is one of Russia's top gas and oil-producing regions, and there is increasing competition for resources here. Yet the strength of the gas and oil industry and the proximity of European Russia seem to create relatively favourable conditions for the herders. Stammer identifies the role of the regional state as crucial in promoting private reindeer herding. The presence of a domestic market for reindeer products in the regional industrial centres creates incentives to engage in reindeer economy, where the benefits are not only financial: indigenous as well as non-native policy makers appropriate the high prestige of successful reindeer herders as an identity marker for the whole region. This leads Stammer to criticise those who attribute the relative prosperity of reindeer herding to the unique cultural traditions of the Nenets people. He concludes that 'culture' is of little use in explaining postsocialist economic performance. Economic endowments, the historical background, geographic conditions and changing socio-political factors are the key explanatory factors.



A coal-powered generating station in Volochanka (Taimyr), originally built as part of the Stalin State Farm. (Photo: J. Ziker)

In Chukotka, investigated by Patty Gray, the picture is more gloomy. Deer headcounts have plummeted, attempts to privatise animals failed completely and, as in Sakha, most of the deer are now in state (municipal) hands. Yet Ventsel's research has shown that herders in Northern Sakha seem to enjoy freedom to pursue their way of life without impediment. The government of Sakha has recently imposed a moratorium on the slaughter of reindeer, in order to increase the number of animals. Reindeer herding has ceased to function as a branch of the economy and reindeer brigades have become mobile bases for people

who live by hunting, in competition with the professional hunters. The new situation is transforming both patterns of land use and practices of herding. Again, the health of industry in the region – in this case diamond mining – seems to contribute to a more favourable economic environment for herding. It is clear that the bureaucratic administrative apparatus is often a decisive variable. All researchers therefore paid close attention to local and regional political structures.

Healing a sick reindeer. The state farm provides free medicine, which reindeer herders use to cure all sick animals irrespective of their formal property status.
(Photo: A. Ventsel)



Reindeer herding is practised throughout the vast territory of the Russian North from the Kola Peninsula to the Bering Strait and naturally formed another key theme of comparative research within the Group. A conference on multiple forms of property in animals was convened by Patty Gray jointly with Department I in August 2002, and a wide-ranging comparative publication is in preparation. There are considerable differences in patterns of migration to the *tundra* and *taiga*. Not only ethnic identities but also technical skills, material culture, organisational structure, regional politics and the economic importance of reindeer herding vary significantly. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the common ideological basis of the planned reindeer herding economy disappeared, together with the generous financial supports. Each region was obliged to develop its own strategy to deal with the crisis, and the underlying concepts of reindeer management exhibited interesting differences. The researchers investigated these different meanings, both for the local indigenous population and for the variety of actors on the national level who are involved in determining the fate of reindeer herding in the Russian Federation. The Group is currently (late 2003) still at work on a substantial jointly authored publication addressing these themes comparatively throughout the regions studied. (For some preliminary indications see the essay by Gray and Stammler

comparing Chukotka and Yamal: "Siberia Between Collapse and Continuity", *Max Planck Research*, 2002; see also the chapter by Stammmler and Ventsel in the Department's collective publication, *The Postsocialist Agrarian Question*, 2003.)



Since about 1991, the velvet antlers (*panyt*) of reindeer have become an important commercial product for herders in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug, Russia, 2001. (Photo: F. Stammmler)

Although most reindeer-herding *sovkhozy* also engaged in hunting and fishing, herding has attracted special attention since it has always been considered more than simply an economic activity. In spite of Soviet experiments that introduced shifts of one to three months, which generally served to alienate herders from herds and pastures, reindeer herding still for the most part entails the year-round presence of the herders in the *tundra*, and thus, a great deal of specialised knowledge about the land and its resource. In short, it provides a connection to the 'traditional' way of life for indigenous peoples and carries specific valence as a kind of cultural property throughout the Russian North.

Contemporary anthropological discussions of 'culture as property' usually refer to the commodification of knowledge, performances, or items which are marked as particular to a specific ethnic group or culture. Property that does not consist of a tangible resource like land, capital, or tools, is usually referred to as 'intellectual property', or simply, 'rights'. The commodification of culture is part of larger processes of globalism and the movement of ideas at an ever faster pace around the world. Cultural commodities are usually represented in terms of ethnic

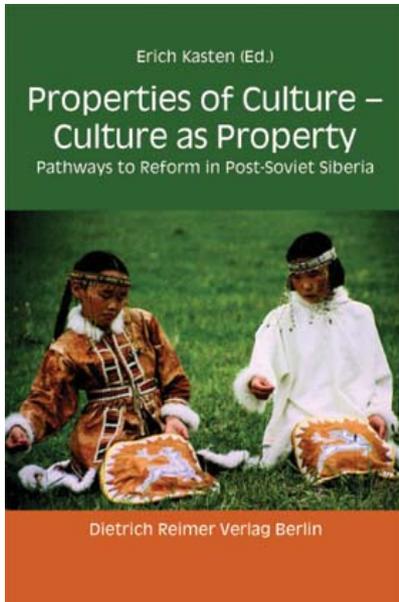
symbols, often playing upon the exotic nature of indigenous Siberians in European and North American markets. The most obvious examples come from art: dance and other performance forms, ritual or traditional carvings or other objects which are readily identified with a particular cultural tradition. Cultural property can be much more than this; it also includes sacred sites, where the land is valued for the religious meaning it has to a group, and not necessarily the productive capacity it may have. The value of cultural commodities, as with art in general, is tied to their authenticity. King has shown how authenticity and identity are open to contestation: real Koryak art is supposedly made by Koryaks, but identifying who is producing authentic Koryak art is a tricky business, one that Koryaks themselves argue about, even when they agree who is and who is not a Koryak. Making matters more complicated, authentic Koryak art need not always be produced by real Koryaks, if the producer can demonstrate real cultural knowledge, i.e. knowledge gained directly from the keepers of tradition – the elders.



Ethnic dances are the best example of culture as property in Kamchatka, Russia. Mengo is the first and only wholly professional ethnic dance ensemble in Kamchatka. Under the Soviets they travelled all over the Union performing. Now they regularly travel to Europe and also visit Taiwan, Israel, and the United States. (Photo: A. King)

Kasten's work on cultural property is closely linked to his concern with the implementation of policies to support those whom the Soviet state labeled 'small-numbered peoples'. He has investigated the extent to which traditional indigenous knowledge and the revitalisation of

presocialist patterns of intercommunity exchange can assist local populations adapt to their new challenges. Kasten and King combined with their Department II colleague Deema Kaneff to organise a workshop on 'A World of Cultures: Culture as property in anthropological perspective', addressing various problems of culture as property; this took place at the Max Planck Institute on July 1st – 2nd, 2002. The papers relating to Siberia will be published shortly as Volume 2 in the 'Siberian Studies' series edited by Erich Kasten (Berlin, Reimer).*



Indigenous groups are reshaping and claiming possession of symbols, not only in the Russian North and other circumpolar regions but worldwide. In addition to material objects and practices, knowledge itself is increasingly claimed as the exclusive heritage of a specific group, whose members then assert privileges on this basis. Negotiations over the 'ownership' of such goods depend on changing legal frameworks, but also on power relations and above all the role of the state and international agencies. The commodification of culture as a form of property is a product of complex processes of identity construction. Native groups in the circumpolar North, although sharing similar natural environments, have experienced very different political histories. This book explores the consequences of this variation for the ways in which culture is nowadays celebrated – as in the Even dance performance pictured here – but also manipulated and reified. The main focus is on Siberia, but the studies will also be of interest to all those following the theoretical and practical debates concerning three key concepts of contemporary anthropology: culture, property and indigeneity. (Photo: E. Kasten)

Copies of the volumes in this Reimer series can be ordered from the publisher: vertrieb-kunstverlage@reimer-verlag.de

In summary, the work of the Group has ranged widely and addressed issues which are of concern to all anthropologists, and not only to those who work on postsocialism. However, the postsocialist context is almost always of relevance to understanding contemporary transformations in Siberia. The researchers of this Group are critical of those who tend to exoticise this region and its peoples. Patty Gray, for example, found striking commonalities between a reindeer-herding village in Siberia and a farming village on the Volga River in a comparison she developed

* Volume 1 of this series, based largely upon our first major conference in November 2000, appeared in 2002 (Erich Kasten [ed.] *People and the Land: pathways to reform in Post-Soviet Siberia.*)

for *The Postsocialist Agrarian Question*. It is crucial to recognise the constraints of a physically harsh environment, the historical force of certain presocialist processes and the continuing relevance of indigenous 'cosmological' beliefs. For example, John Ziker has drawn attention (in his chapter in *The Postsocialist Agrarian Question*) to a possible increase in the salience and practical relevance of such beliefs as people seek to adjust to new uncertainties in property relations and also in their existential security. He also notes an unprecedented return to communal sharing and subsistence economy ('foraging').

The work of the *Projektgruppe* makes it clear that the factors dominating the lives of most citizens of contemporary Siberia are a direct legacy of the socialist period, and above all the collapse of an all-encompassing economic system which – however unevenly, and despite its innumerable problems – had brought them a substantial measure of 'modernity', which they valued highly. Many people tend to look back with nostalgia to the socialist era. Current sentiments of deprivation and enhanced peripherality will be among the principle themes of the Max Planck Institute's new Siberian Studies Centre.



Igor Krupnik addressing the MPI workshop 'Who owns Siberian ethnography?', 7th – 9th March 2002. This workshop was a unique encounter between ethnographers of Siberia from opposite sides of the former "iron curtain", who found themselves in the 1990s suddenly sharing a field site that had previously been closed to foreigners. A publication is being prepared by the principal convenor, Dr. Patty Gray. (Photo: Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology)

2. Religion and Civil Society

2.1. Introduction

What is the significance of religion in human societies? How does it change in modern conditions, i.e. with more complex divisions of labour and representative forms of government? The former question has traditionally been the preserve of philosophers and theologians. The latter has been a central theme for the social sciences since their inception, from Jean-Jacques Rousseau's outline of a "civil religion" in the eighteenth century to Thomas Luckmann's notion of "invisible religion" two centuries later. Contrary to the dominant trends in social science theorising, epitomised in the concept of secularisation, scholars have in recent decades been obliged to recognise that religion has remained a force in the public sphere; in the countries that concern us, it has returned to public prominence after many generations of being confined to the private sphere and, in extreme cases, abolished altogether.

Anthropologists have contributed to the scholarly literature in a variety of ways. First, they have asked searching questions about the very definition of religion. It turns out to be very hard to pin down criteria with universal validity. Some anthropologists favour a looser understanding, perhaps still using the Durkheimian opposition between sacred and profane, but prepared to allow non-supernatural persons and things to enter the category of the sacred. This move may allow the identification of 'secular religions', a frame of analysis that is potentially useful in dealing both with modern nationalisms and with the various forms of socialist ideology.

Most anthropological studies of religion have concentrated on people remote from the modern Western world, whether in time, in place, or both. More recent work has, however, tried to overcome this distancing. Contemporary studies may address religious dynamics anywhere in the world; numerous scholars are paying attention to issues of increasing interconnectedness: e.g. the spread of charismatic Christianity, facilitated by modern communication technologies, to almost all parts of the globe. A rich sampling of current research in this field was presented at the launch conference for this new focus theme in May 2003 (*On the Margins of Religion* – for details see appendix, p. 401).

Most of our projects in the years 2003-2005 (and possibly beyond) investigate the dynamics of changing religious beliefs and practices in the postsocialist countries of Eurasia. It is unnecessary to list all the reasons why this field has been relatively neglected to date. In the socialist period, access to these countries for Western anthropologists was difficult. Studies of contemporary practices (as distinct from 'folk beliefs' and mythology) were virtually unthinkable for foreign and native researchers alike, given that socialist states were ideologically committed to

The nearest church to our Institute is the Lutheran Stephanuskirche; since 1973 it has served as an archive for the Martin-Luther-University.

Research on religion in Halle is carried out in Department II by Nina Glick-Schiller and her team; while 'house churches' associated with new immigrant groups are expanding rapidly, affiliation and practice in the 'historic' denominations remain very low in comparison with West Germany.



Although the German Democratic Republic and the Polish People's Republic were neighbouring socialist states, as far as religion is concerned they represent two extremes. Socialist Poland witnessed the construction of thousands of new churches. Although the basilica in Lichen, (below left), was constructed only after 1990, the expansion of this Marian shrine began long before the collapse of socialism and is illustrative of the very deep roots of the Roman Catholic Church in Polish society. However surviving synagogues, such as this one (below right) in the eastern city of Przemysl, where there is no longer any Jewish community, have generally fallen into decay. (Photos: top: Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology; bottom right: C. Hann; bottom left: adapted from a picture postcard)



combating the forces of traditional religion. As a consequence, the field has been largely left to the 'enthusiasts' on all sides, and we have rather little reliable knowledge of what was really happening to religion under socialism. Research conditions have improved in most countries since the collapse of the classical forms of socialism (including Maoism), but the absence of a strong research tradition and continuing practical barriers in this domain have hampered progress to date.

The scientific puzzles are legion. Socialism was a massive experiment in directing social change, as our first cycle of projects on decollectivisation has well demonstrated. But how far could planners and ideologists modify people's most basic convictions about their place in the world, substitute secular alternatives for life-cycle rituals, and provide a new basis of morality for sustaining trust and social cohesion?

The challenge becomes even more exciting when we turn to the second rupture, namely the abandonment of a secular doctrine of 'salvation here on this earth' and its ostensible replacement by a return to older forms. How are we to explain a strong reassertion of religion in the public sphere in countries that had repressed religion for three generations, while in some others with a shorter period of socialist rule the effects of secularisation seem to be more far-reaching? Apart from such 'internal' comparisons, it will sometimes be instructive to look at other modern states, for the relation between church and state varies enormously even within Western Europe. 'Laicist' France has continued to uphold a strict 'enlightenment' separation of church and state, while in England the monarch is head of the dominant church and in Germany the state collects church taxes for the main Christian denominations. Large Muslim minorities regularly allege discrimination in all three states, and controversies concerning the headscarf and swimming lessons do not abate.

Perhaps one should not be surprised that, following the sudden collapse of socialist power, the older forms of organised religion, previously repressed, surged back into prominence. Is this perhaps only a temporary blip, or are there signs that the older religions are capable of entrenching themselves in new ways? Are they establishing new sources of authority, and finding new means to disseminate and transmit their faith to new generations? How are they dealing with competition on the 'religious marketplace'? Sometimes due to pressure from powerful states in the West or from human rights NGOs, many postsocialist countries have formally proclaimed religious freedoms that must apply 'across the board'. But can one really expect of new political elites, or of the mass of ordinary citizens, that they should treat new sectarian groupings promoted by foreigners on a par with a church that has played a conspicuous role in the life of their nation? What factors are at work in promoting conversions, or a re-embracing of the old religion after a long period of atheism? Our projects will address questions such

as these through long-term fieldwork in local communities. Detailed ethnographic reporting is likely to go against the grain both of dogmatic powerholders who assert the primacy of a single 'national church', and of the religious human rights lawyers with their unrealistic calls for the creation of a 'level playing field' between every possible kind of religious community.

We use the term civil society in order to highlight our interest in how religious beliefs and practices resonate in society generally. How are social relations affected by changing religious dynamics, and vice-versa? These questions can be explored at all levels, beginning within the family and culminating in new ideologies of state and national identity.

By civil society we thus mean more than the currently fashionable usage, which associates it with the world of NGOs, or the 'voluntary' or 'third' sector. Rather, it seems time to return to earlier, pre-Hegelian usage, in which civil society does not stand in opposition to the state. One key element in the traditional meaning of civil is the element of tolerance (associated in particular with John Locke). We are interested, in the course of these projects, in establishing whether and how changing religious dynamics are contributing to greater civility and tolerance: not just of rival organised religious communities, but of other groups in society generally. What is the local understanding of tolerance?



The Orthodox Cathedral of Christ the Saviour in central Moscow. An earlier cathedral was detonated by socialists in 1931, and the site was later used for a swimming pool. This is the largest of numerous projects to (re)construct churches following the end of socialist rule in Russia. (Photo: adapted from a flyer of the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour)



Red Square, Moscow, where the Cathedral of St. Basil the Blessed has been impressively restored in recent years. While this building remains a state museum, a new Orthodox Cathedral has been built at the other end of the square (right); it is devoted to the Kazan Virgin. (Photos: adapted from picture postcards by pol.s.tar.)

As social scientists, it is not our job to evaluate the policies, activities and concrete human agents that we study. Our job is to describe them, to understand or interpret them, and also to explain as best as we can why things happen in the way they do. We do not expect to be drawing up policy recommendations at the end of these projects. We do, however, expect to come up with fresh anthropological accounts of the ‘postsocialist religious question’, which we hope will also be of interest to many outside our discipline.

This focus theme consists of nine individual projects, listed separately in this report. They are divided into two main clusters, one working in Central Asia and the other in East-Central Europe. Within each of these clusters there are more specific links, intended to optimise comparative outcomes (e.g. between the two PhD students working on Greek Catholics; see below). In addition we have a number of ‘associated projects’, also listed separately below. Finally, we hope in the course of fieldwork in 2003-4 and during the analysis phase in 2004-5 to expand our contacts with other scholars working on similar issues; we are particularly keen to forge close links with scholars based in the countries where we work.

Article 18

“Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.”

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

In addition to contributing to postsocialist studies and several branches of anthropology, these projects will address numerous issues of wider concern in the social and political sciences, among them how to define 'civil society' and 'public sphere'; and how to reconcile religious human rights with respect for traditions and the need to maintain social cohesion. Finally, the postsocialist countries may be an instructive setting in which to revisit the concept of 'civil religion'.

To facilitate comparison and contribute to an overall picture of the postsocialist religious landscape, all researchers are expected, in addition to the specific concerns of their own project, to gather basic data on the following subjects:

- Religious practices in the socialist period – how are they remembered, for different periods and for different social groups?
- Recent legislative changes – what is the legal status of religious congregations? Are they all treated alike? Is it necessary to register? What exactly are the criteria applied?
- International aspects – do people look abroad for their models of proper religious practice? What new religious currents have appeared on the national scene in the postsocialist period? How do people perceive them, and explain their relative success or failure?
- How far can religious observances of all kinds be linked to changing socio-economic conditions? Which marginalised elements take refuge in organised religion? Do people also have more diffuse recourse to religion outside organised congregations?
- Is religion in general a force promoting positive or at least negative tolerance in postsocialist societies? Can we say that some of its organised currents more conducive to 'civil society' than others?

Whereas data on this last topic will invite comparisons with projects under way in Department I of this Institute ('Integration and Conflict'), the data concerning legal status will be pertinent to work in the Project Group on legal pluralism. In the latter case we do not assume that changes in state law have necessarily worked through to other levels; several of our projects will investigate how local officials, both religious and secular, may counter or undermine doctrines and ideals, in both religious and secular law, which they are formally required to support and enforce.

2.2. Central Asia Group

Whereas the formation of a Siberian Project Group in 2000 was a happy accident of the original recruiting process for 'Property Relations', the announcement of the new research theme 'Religion and Civil Society' specifically encouraged research proposals with a regional focus on Central Asia. Five researchers were chosen to investigate religious dynamics in this under-studied region of the world. Later, three associated researchers from Bochum University, the University of Poznan, and the Council on Cultural and Anthropological Studies in Moscow were connected to the core MPI projects in order to broaden the geographical and thematic scope of the investigation. The group worked together at the Max Planck Institute in Halle during the pre-fieldwork stage in spring 2003 in order to design a series of individual projects with overlapping research goals. The most basic of these goals is to understand the connections of contemporary religious processes with those of the Soviet past. Another focus is to explore specifically public dimensions of religion and to use the findings of these inquiries to contribute to wider academic debates on this topic. Fieldwork on the Central Asian projects began in early summer 2003 and will continue until late summer 2004. A series of workshops in Halle is planned for 2005.



(Map: Department II Field locations in Central Asia; Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology)

Project Overview

(Summary prepared by core group members, I. Hilgers, K. Kehl-Bodrogi, J. McBrien, M. Pelkmans, J. Rasanayagam)

In 1991 the five Soviet republics in Central Asia gained independence – Kyrgyzstan, Kazakstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan. The republics all have Muslim majorities and except for Tajikistan they share and cherish a Turkic cultural and linguistic background. To some western observers, there is little to set Central Asia apart from the rest of the Soviet Union. The republics appeared to be oases of stability and conservatism, steady suppliers of raw materials to the Soviet economy such as oil, natural gas, cotton and meat. Central Asia formed a blank spot, not least on the political map of Islam. Indeed, the apparent passivity of Muslims in Soviet Central Asia surprised and disappointed some foreign observers. In the 1990s these ideas about Central Asia were replaced with depictions of ‘religious revival’ and concern about the potential threat of ‘Islamic fundamentalism’. But these depictions served only to obscure the complexity of contemporary religious dynamics. Hence the need for in-depth studies of the significance of religion in social life after socialism.

The Postsocialist Believer

The Soviet state attempted, with varying intensity, to combat religion and to control its public manifestations. Such attempts were only partly successful and Muslims found ways of adjusting to the rigidities of Soviet rule – outwardly conforming to the demands of the state and internally relying on informal lines of religious authority. Despite such continuities, the available evidence suggests that participation in religious affairs and knowledge about religious doctrines declined significantly, especially in urban areas. This situation changed in the 1990s, when it became safe and even fashionable to declare oneself religious. But although the ‘resurgence’ of religion is visible in, for example, the number of newly constructed mosques and the new public significance of religion, this is not always accompanied by an increased involvement in religious affairs. There is a need to examine patterns of socialisation and transmission of knowledge, and how this relates to actual religious practice. Moreover, in several cases radical discontinuities have occurred between post-Soviet religious forms and their pre-Soviet referents. Such discontinuity is especially relevant when considering the influence of various missionary groups who commenced activity in Central Asia after 1990. Protestant missionaries are most active in Kazakstan and Kyrgyzstan, while the views of ‘Wahhabi’ missionaries have found some resonance among inhabitants of the densely populated Fergana valley.



The Kyrgyz city of Osh is dominated by a rocky hill named after the prophet Suleiman. At the top, a shrine where Muslims pray and tie votive ribbons, suppressed under socialism, was re-opened soon after Kyrgyz independence.



This picture shows a new mosque complex in the city centre of Osh. The lady between the vehicles is practising ritual purification: when cars stop at this busy crossroads she fumigates them in the hope of receiving a modest payment. (Photos: C. Hann)

Religion and the State

Former communist leaders have been quick to appropriate religious rhetoric in political speech. In each of the five Central Asian republics the 'Islamic heritage' proved important in promoting and consolidating viable national identities. Amalgamations of nationalist and religious ideologies have ranged from a vision of Islam that is centred on the 'god-like' figure of *Turkmenbashi* in Turkmenistan to a moderate adoption of 'Islamic traditions' in Kyrgyzstan. These appropriations of religion by nationalist elites sometimes go hand in hand with oppression of forms of religion that deviate from the state-endorsed ideal. An important area for research is how 'official' versions of Islam are disseminated among the population, and how official categorisations facilitate or inhibit particular forms of Islam. The relations between religion and the state prompt the question of how ethnic and national identities tie in with religious identities and how such ties are reinforced by various actors operating within different national arenas. Clearly religious insti-

tutions are important in providing the means for citizens to express their concerns and organise collective action, but the relation between dominant and minority religions and their connections to the 'nation-states' may lead to intolerance of groups that do not conform to officially endorsed ideals.

The research projects of the core members of this group focus on the various ways in which meanings of Islam are negotiated in public contexts (projects of Kehl-Bodrogi and McBrien), on the relation between religious and other forms of authority (project of Rasayanagam), and on aspects of religious conversion and personal religious change after socialism (projects of Pelkmans and Hilgers). By analysing the relations between individuals, religious institutions and the state, the projects aim to present a dynamic picture of the return of religion to the public sphere and to understand how, through these complex relations, the limits and main characteristics of civil society in Central Asia are being redefined.



Julie McBrien outlines new MPI projects during a poster presentation in May 2003. Professors Ingeborg Baldauf and Jürgen Paul from Humboldt University, Berlin and Martin-Luther-University, Halle respectively were the main guests at this pre-fieldwork workshop. (Photo: Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology)

2.2.1. Individual Projects

The Development of Religious Groups in Uzbekistan and the Question of 'Uzbekness'

Irene Hilgers

Irene Hilgers was trained in anthropology at the Universities of Bonn and Cologne, where she obtained her Masters in 2002 with a dissertation titled *Transformationsprozess im Norden Kirgistans. Sozio-ökonomischer Wandel am Beispiel eines Dorfes*.

Since the implementation of a new legislation after the independence of Uzbekistan from the Soviet Union in 1991, the major religions, such as Islam, Russian-Orthodoxy and Roman-Catholicism have experienced a renaissance. Likewise, new religious groups from abroad establish themselves in the country and attract new adherents. These developments of 're-emergence' of established and the 'emergence' of new religious groups are promoted by the Law of Religious Freedom, implemented in the Uzbek constitution. Furthermore, this right is officially regarded as an important factor for the development of a tolerant society by the government. However, since 1998, the right of religious freedom has become increasingly restricted. Religious groups are forced to register with the Committee for Religion and the Ministry of Justice. The Uzbek government reserves the right to refuse registration to groups, which are judged as dangerous to democratic ideas.

Despite the restrictive policy towards religious movements in Uzbekistan and the strict control, Islam Karimov, the president of Uzbekistan, officially concedes religion, especially Islam, an important role in the creation of the nation-state and national-identity. Karimov sees the role of religion in "...implementing the highest spiritual, moral and ethical values, and in forming a part of the historical and cultural heritage among the population."¹

In the process of nation-building and the legitimisation of an Uzbek nation-state, Islam Karimov is propagating the creation of a collective 'Uzbek' identity – the concept of 'Uzbekness' – on the basis of the 'Uzbek' titular nation. The term 'Uzbek' is vague and not clearly defined. It implies a set of distinct cultures, traditions and customs, wherein 'Muslimness' is one common category. The key elements of this category are an emphasis on being non-European, indigenous and sharing a basic history, culture and relationship with the outside world. Furthermore it is not exclusively reserved for the 'Uzbeks', but rather used by all other peoples of Turkic origin to differentiate themselves

¹ Karimov, I. 1997. *Uzbekistan on the threshold of the 21st century*. Richmond: Curzon Press, p. 38.

from the 'non-Muslim' population in the region of Central Asia – for example the Russians.

This research project focuses on the relationship between religious groups and the development of a civil society in Uzbekistan. The main question in this context will be as to what extent the specific normative and ethical framework of these groups has an impact on the development of a 'civil society' and how this framework is being absorbed and transformed in society. This will be investigated using the case of conversion from Islam to other denominations in order to show how the frameworks provided by the religious groups are adopted by individuals and to what extent they are used for creating a personal or even national identity. In this context, the local perception of what is being considered 'Uzbek' and the official discourse of the creation of a national 'Uzbek' identity on the state level will be taken into consideration. It will be investigated how 'Uzbekness' is defined and how religion, especially Islam, is used in this process of reversion to Islamic culture and traditions, as well as which position is given to non-Islamic groups in this process of nation-building and the creation of a civil society.

Fieldwork will be carried out between June 2003 and September 2004 in Tashkent and the city of Fergana, where most of the religious groups in Uzbekistan are based.



Rag-fair in Tashkent, Uzbekistan: Selling of religious and socialist symbols. (Photo: I. Hilgers)

Saints, Holy Sites and Pilgrimage: continuity and change of local religious traditions in Uzbekistan

Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi

Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi was born in Budapest, Hungary. She completed her graduate education in ethnology at the Free University Berlin in 1986 with a dissertation entitled *Die Kizilbas/Aleviten: Untersuchungen über eine esoterische Glaubensgemeinschaft in Anatolien*. Before joining the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi worked as assistant professor in the Department of Comparative Religion at the University of Bremen. Her current research project deals with local religious traditions in post-socialist Uzbekistan.



Pilgrims at the grave site of Sultan Wais in Karakalpakistan, Uzbekistan. (Photo: K. Kehl-Bodrogi)

In Central Asia, the veneration of saints – living or enshrined – and corresponding ideologies have long been at the very core of Muslim religiosity and identity, particularly in the nomadic zones of the region.

It was only in the classical centres of Islamic scholarship that mosques successfully competed with the cultural power of the shrines and other holy places. Transforming ancestor worship into the veneration of Sufi saints – who often became incorporated into ‘tribal’ genealogies –, the peoples of Central Asia appropriated Islam and made it a meaningful expression of their social reality. In many parts of the re-

gion, religious life depended upon the activities of particular descent groups, rather than of learned experts of the Script. The holy status of these groups guaranteed their members inviolability and enabled them to function not only as intermediaries towards God but also in situations of social conflict.

Unlike normative Islamic practices and institutions, shrines and shrine-based religious practices resisted Soviet anti-religious policy, even if they lost much of their spiritual significance. Shrine pilgrimage became, alongside life-cycle rituals, a marker of Central Asian cultural and ethnic distinctiveness and helped to maintain Islamic identity even for atheists. When the former Soviet Republics of Central Asia gained independence in 1991, Islam was declared to be an integral part of national culture and identity and incorporated into the new nation-building policy. At the same time, shrines and shrine pilgrimage received official acknowledgement as sources of patriotism and national integration. In most of the new states the governments provide financial aid not only for the construction of mosques but also for the restoration of demolished holy sites.

This research project deals with the question of how, in a given local context, the political changes accompanying independence affect people's everyday religious life. Fieldwork will be carried out in a multiethnic setting in Choresm, southern Uzbekistan. Alongside the Uzbek majority, the village population includes members of a Turkmen 'holy tribe' and a small minority of Iranian Shiites. The research will pay particular attention to shrines and shrine pilgrimage, asking about their role in reshaping and sustaining collective – 'tribal', regional, ethnic and/or national – identities. Do shrines tend to be used for multi-ethnic veneration, thus representing inclusiveness? Or are they rather visited by members of a particular ethnic or 'tribal' community, symbolising exclusiveness? Thus the shrines visited by the villagers will be analysed in the light of community models and identities generated by those who venerate them, rather than in terms of their spiritual significance. The research will further investigate how far members of the 'holy groups' are regaining religious and social importance. Exploring individual motivations and the social background of those visiting the shrines, the research will also seek to verify the assumption that they mainly represent the 'losers' of postsocialism.

The Public Face of Islam in Kyrgyzstan

Julie McBrien

Julie McBrien obtained her BA at Biola University in California (1995). She worked for several years as a teacher, journalist and Peace Corps Volunteer before getting her Master's degree in Anthropology at the University of Amsterdam in 2003. She joined the Max Planck Institute in 2003 as a PhD candidate. Her current project examines the emergence of Islam into the public sphere in Kyrgyzstan.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the new laws regarding freedom of religion in Kyrgyzstan, Muslims are once again allowed to publicly express their Muslim faith and identity. This renewed presence of Islam in the public sphere has been hotly debated in politics and the media, especially in reference to the political and religious stability of the region. Yet there is little substantial in-depth information regarding the actual processes of religious transformation. The project aims to fill this gap by investigating how Islam is entering the public sphere in Kyrgyzstan, why it is emerging in the way that it is and what significance this emergence has for Kyrgystani Muslims, the Kyrgyz state and the nature of the public sphere in Kyrgyzstan. Special attention will be paid to the way that contemporary religious transformations are tied to the socio-political processes, structures and ideals of the Soviet period.

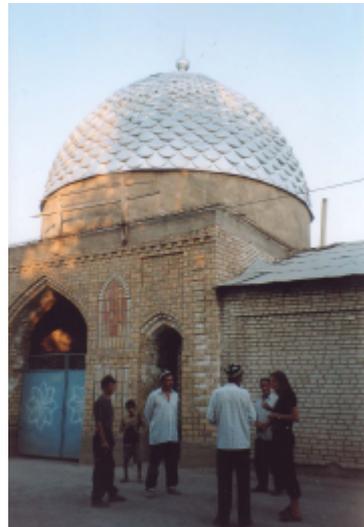


The large mosque in Bazar-Korgon dominates the landscape of the town's central zone. By examining its social and political history, Julie McBrien seeks insight into the ways Islam is re-entering the public sphere in Kyrgyzstan. (Photo: J. McBrien)

The project will explore Islam's new public face in Kyrgyzstan by looking into the construction and use of new Muslim structures. These places are excellent sites for the investigation of Islam's emergence into

the public sphere precisely because they are fields where a multitude of actors must negotiate the new public life of Islam. State officials, religious leaders, local Muslims, non-Muslim community members and a variety of international actors all take part in shaping the construction and use of these public places. Moreover, the places serve not only as actual sites of Islamic expression but as symbolic ones as well. A newly constructed Mosque conspicuously placed or an often frequented shrine pique the internal and external dialogue of actors around issues of identity and belief.

The research will begin its inquiry into Muslim structures with an investigation of a recently constructed mosque in Bazar-Korgon, a small town in southern Kyrgyzstan. The research will map the network of relationships centred on the mosque in order to explore ties between religious, economic and political spheres of life. This analysis will also illuminate links, and conflicts, between various communities involved in the construction and use of the structure. Moreover, the research will explore the social makeup of the town – nearly evenly divided between Kyrgyz and Uzbek – to examine possible connections, or perceived connections, between ethnicity and religion. The research on the mosque will be expanded to include investigation into other Muslim space – like shrines, cemeteries and medresses. This will make it possible to discuss some of the various ways in which Islam is being made public and the reactions and interpretations these endeavours spur. Finally, the investigation into recently constructed Muslim space in southern Kyrgyzstan will be complemented by a comparable study in a northern town near the regional centre of Karakol.



*Julie McBrien will also pay attention to the more intimate sphere of the mahalla or neighbourhood, where smaller mosques such as the one shown here complement the large edifice in the centre.
(Photo: C. Hann)*

Religious Frontiers after Socialism: Islamic renewal and conversion to Christianity in Kyrgyzstan and Georgia

Mathijs Pelkmans

Mathijs Pelkmans was born in Nijmegen, The Netherlands. He obtained his MA in cultural anthropology at the University of Nijmegen in 1996. He finished his PhD at the Amsterdam School for Social Science Research, University of Amsterdam in 2003 with a dissertation titled *Uncertain Divides: Religion, Ethnicity, and Politics in the Georgian Borderlands*. In February 2003, he joined the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology. His new research project looks at changes in the frontier between the Muslim and Christian realms after socialism.

The project explores and compares dynamics of religious change in northern Kyrgyzstan and in the Ajarian autonomous republic of Georgia. The majority groups in both settings have a Muslim background and each experienced high levels of secularisation during the Soviet period. Moreover, both regions have been targeted by missionary groups since the collapse of socialism. The resulting religious confrontations have spurred patterns of conversion to Christianity as well as efforts to defend and redefine local understandings and practices of Islam.



Open air prayers at the charismatic 'Church in Bishkek.' The picture astonished the researcher's Muslim Kyrgyz acquaintances for whom the hats and the slaughtering of the cow signified Muslim traditions. However, for the participants it proved that Christians did not have to compromise their national identity. They could be simultaneously real Kyrgyz and true Christians. (Photo: M. Pelkmans)

Since the early 1990s protestant groups, predominantly from North America, have been active in Kyrgyzstan. Apparently they perceived the end of state-atheism as a unique opportunity to spread 'the gospel' in a Muslim setting. Their activities were enabled by the liberal stance of the Kyrgyz government towards foreign missionary groups, though at the local level opposition to these activities and tensions between Christian

and Muslim Kyrgyz were reported. Whereas in Kyrgyzstan the missionaries are 'new' and 'foreign', this is not the case in Ajaria. Here missionaries belong to the Georgian Orthodox Church, which is tightly connected to the nation-state. In the nineteenth century the inhabitants of Ajaria had defined themselves as radically different from Christian Georgians. This changed during the Soviet period when a 'secular' Georgian national identity took root among Ajarians. When in the 1990s the national ideal became tightly connected to Orthodox Christianity, the position of Ajarians who saw themselves as Muslim Georgians became difficult. It resulted both in patterns of conversion to Christianity and in attempts by some Muslims to redefine their position in a Christian state.

These two cases of Christian expansion and Muslim renewal form the empirical core of this project. One important task is to explore how contemporary religious dynamics are related to the destabilisation of Soviet and Muslim legacies and how they are tied to citizens' efforts to come to terms with the profound changes in their environment. This involves tracing the ties between religious identity and ideas of 'modernity', 'nationality' and 'locality'. Another strand of the research will explore how conversion is linked to class, ethnicity and gender. How far do material and ideological benefits determine people's decision to convert? By analysing the social relations between religious leaders, state structures and individual citizens, this project will reveal a dynamic picture of the complex return of religion to the public sphere after socialism.



Returning from a mevludi celebration in Ajaria, Georgia, 2000. (Photo: M. Pelkmans)

Modes of Authority: Islam and the state in Uzbekistan

Johan Rasanayagam

Johan Rasanayagam received a BA in Middle Eastern Studies from Durham University and an MA in Turkish Studies from the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. He completed his PhD at the University of Cambridge in 2002 with a dissertation entitled *The Moral Construction of the State in Uzbekistan: its construction within concepts of community and interaction at the local level*.

In the context of a strong, authoritarian state the relationship between religious personnel and state officials can be complex. In Uzbekistan central government authorities attempt to control the form Islam takes in society, utilising it as a source of legitimacy for government policy while preventing any similar appropriation by groups in opposition to the regime. This project will attempt to situate Islam within its wider social and political setting by focusing on the concept of authority and on the various moral systems which underpin different modes of authority. These modes might include, among others, state and administrative authority, authority which derives from knowledge of the *Quran* and other Islamic texts, the authority of local mullahs, which is a product of their religious knowledge, personal conduct and reputation, and also authority, which derives from a person's belonging to certain lineage groups, or descent from Muslim saints. Among the sources of legitimation for these might be ideas of group identity, ideals of interaction within the family and community, and concepts of social justice which are the product of Soviet ideology and practice as well as deriving from sources locally attributed to Islam. Global discourses of Islam, democracy and the free market might also play a part.



*Shahi Zinda tomb complex, Samarkand.
(Photo: J. Rasanayagam)*

In studying this, the project will focus on two themes. The first of these is the relationship between official and unofficial clergy. The Uzbekistan government regulates the Islamic religious establishment, including mosques and institutions of higher Islamic learning, and it appoints the imams of larger mosques. This official religious establishment exists alongside unofficial mullahs, chosen by their communities, who work within smaller local mosques. The project will look at how religious personnel negotiate different forms of authority and whether they are perceived by their congregations as representatives of the state, as religious specialists or both. It will explore the extent to which state authority is extended into local communities via the relationship between local and officially appointed mullahs.

Religious and secular modes of authority do not exist in a vacuum. They are exercised within a context of local moral frameworks and ideals of interaction. The second theme will be the *mahalla*, which is a neighbourhood unit found in both cities and rural areas. Each ideally contains its own mosque and residents elect a number of representatives including an *oqsoqol*, who is the leader of the *mahalla*, and a mullah. These officers coordinate and preside over communal events such as wedding feasts, festivals and life-cycle rituals, and mediate disputes between and within households. The *oqsoqol* and mullah also perform a mediating role between local residents and state authorities, representing the interests of households to state officials and enforcing government policy within their communities. The project will explore the social and economic relations between residents, the moral basis of interaction, and the way in which state authority is mediated through the institution of the *mahalla*.



Musicians at a wedding feast. (Photo: J. Rasanayagam)

2.2.2. Associated Projects

Pawel Jessa: The cult of saints in Uzbekistan and South Kazakhstan

Pawel Jessa obtained his Masters in Anthropology at the Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznan, where his dissertation examined the world view of Kazak nomads. His PhD dissertation project (supervised by Prof. Dr. Zbigniew Jasiewicz, Poznan) deals with changing aspects of popular religion in Uzbekistan and the south of Kazakhstan, which is traditionally regarded as a more religious region than the rest of the country. More than 300,000 Uzbeks live in this area, and the mausoleum of Oja Ahmet Yasawi in Turkistan plays an important role in their religious life. In Uzbekistan research will concentrate in Surchondare district and the Fergana Valley. Suchondare is a region where local forms of Islam have been influenced both by Zoroastrian religion and by shamanism. The Fergana Valley is regarded as a stronghold of Islam and Sufi brotherhoods are numerous. The sphere of women's rituals still reveals traces of pre-Islamic beliefs. This project will also investigate the significance of the *mahalla* (neighbourhood) for religious as well as secular local groups.

Field research was launched in 2003 by visiting local *mazars*, participating in family ceremonials and accompanying a pilgrimage to Samarkand.

Galina Khizrieva: Muslim identity in the South of Russia

Galina Khizrieva obtained her Masters at the Philological Faculty of the Moscow State University. In 2002 she defended her PhD in Anthropology at the Council on Cultural and Anthropological Studies. Her main research interests are historical anthropology and sociology, especially concerning the Muslim world.

The ideological legacy of 'old official Russia' as well as the stereotypical 'folk view' were effectively corroded after the collapse of the Soviet system. Islam became the most important political force in numerous Muslim regions of the newborn Russian Federation: Tatarstan, Dagestan, Chechnya and Ingushetia. Supported in part by the Max Planck Institute, Galina Khizrieva plans to spend a year in Dagestan (Novolakhskoye), a region to which she has personal links, and Ingushetia (Malgabek). In Ingushetia she has already carried out historical research into the Qadiri and Naqshbandi orders, especially the Kunta-hajji order. Since the mid-19th century Kunta-hajji teaching has stimulated spiritual and religious life among all Muslims of the region. From the very beginning socially oriented, it gave birth to different theories of the 'ideal state' and facilitated strategies and structures of religious minor-

ity survival under the atheist Soviet Union and the post-Soviet Russian state. Galina Khizrieva will carry out further oral history and archival researches into this movement, in addition to investigating its present political background. She will examine the nature of civil religion and religious and quasi-religious rhetoric, and plans to extend the comparative analysis to include Tatarstan.

Manja Stephan: Moral socialisation in postsocialist Tajikistan

Manja Stephan obtained her Masters in Anthropology at the Free University Berlin and in Central Asian Studies at the Humboldt University in Berlin. This project forms part of an international research group investigating *Islamische Bildung in der Sowjetunion und ihren Nachfolgestaaten* based at the Ruhr University Bochum and headed by Prof. Stefan Reichmuth. Manja Stephan will be writing up her work along with other members of the Max Planck Institute Group in Halle and will submit her PhD in Ethnologie at the Martin-Luther-University.

Tajik society is traditionally influenced by Sunni Hanafite Islam, but has been greatly affected by processes of secularisation during the Soviet period. Islam played an important role during the civil war of 1992-1997 as an element of collective and regional identity and as a factor galvanising political opposition. Whilst the state educational system is weakening as a result of economic crisis, there is a proliferation of Islamic institutions and activities of Islamic learning. Given this context, the research will focus on moral and religious education in the family. It will investigate existing ideas and conceptions of the older generation concerning moral and gender-specific aspects of the child's socialisation. It will also consider the transmission of religious knowledge, its contents, and the sources and the carriers of this knowledge. A comprehensive account of family-based socialisation requires investigation of both the mosque and the state school, and the channels through which the discourses of these institutions are carried into the family. The work will thus bring insight into the micro-foundations of post-Soviet changes in Tajikistan's newly emerging public sphere and civil society.

Field research was commenced in 2003 in the capital Dushanbe and its rural suburbs and will be continued in 2004.



Young woman reading the Quran, Kofarnihon district, Tajikistan 2003. (Photo: M. Stephan)

2.3. East Central Europe Group

This second regional cluster was not targeted in our 2002 advertisement but emerged as a result of the strength of individual applications specifying projects in neighbouring countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Two of these, Moldavia and Ukraine, were formerly part of the Soviet Union. The others, Romania, Hungary, Slovakia and Poland, varied considerably in the policies pursued towards churches in the socialist period and in the role of religion in postsocialist society. Despite this variety, the same broad questions being posed by the Central Asia Group concerning the postsocialist believer and the changing role of religion in the public sphere can also be explored in these Eastern European cases. Each individual project in this cluster will involve fieldwork in two neighbouring countries (see Map for the precise locations).



Fieldsites of the East-Central Europe Group researchers

In addition to the comparisons drawn by the individual researcher between the two fieldsites, comparisons will also be pursued with the Central Asia researchers. For example, it will be interesting to see how far the impact of Pentecostal missionaries in Eastern Europe (see Fosztó below) resembles their impact on Central Asian societies (see Pelkmans above).

Christianity's 'Internal Other'

The dominant religious tradition in Romania, where most of the projects in this cluster are at least partly based, is that of Orthodox Christianity. While a good case can be argued that Christianity as a whole has been neglected by modern anthropology, the deficit seems especially large in the eastern Churches. Yet the Orthodox Churches are full of interest for the discipline, e.g. as illustrations of how a 'world religion' evolves distinct variants as it adapts to and integrates local religious traditions. The common Western denigration of Orthodox Churches as 'caesaro-papist', i.e. as tied inseparably to a repressive state, is an influential stereotype which ethnographic enquiries into Orthodoxy might undermine. In short, there is an urgent need for more systematic anthropological enquiry into Christianity's 'other', non-Western stream.

We cannot claim that the few projects outlined here represent a major step forward in addressing this agenda. In particular the largest Orthodox Churches, those of Russia and Ukraine, do not feature at present in our programme. We do, however, aim to make a major (though still not comprehensive) contribution with projects focused on one highly distinctive "hybrid" religious tradition.

Greek Catholics

The Greek Catholics are Christians who practise an Eastern rite but nonetheless belong to the 'universal' Catholic Church and acknowledge the Pope as its head. Such Churches can be found in many parts of the world but the largest concentration developed in Central Europe in the course of complex secular and ecclesiastical political processes in the post-Reformation period. The first Union took place among the Orthodox inhabitants of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in Brest in 1596. Today this region belongs to the western Ukraine, Belarus, Poland and Lithuania. The Union of Uzhorod was signed in 1646 and it was accepted in the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom. It affected people whose descendants can be found in Hungary, Slovakia, Subcarpathian Ukraine, Romania and Serbia. The Union of Alba Iulia (1698-1700) represents the birth of the Greek Catholic Church in Transylvania. These churches were mostly repressed under socialism, but have in many places enjoyed a spectacular re-emergence in recent years. Exact numbers are uncertain, but the Greek Catholic Churches of Central Europe certainly number several million members today.

Greek Catholics are of interest to anthropologists for many reasons. The centuries during which they combined the 'practical religion' of the East with a political and theological orientation of the West provide an instructive case of syncretism within one and the same religion. This Church has often been a channel for spreading 'Latin' features among Eastern Christians, a fact highlighted by the Orthodox. Yet there have also been periods in which 'pure' eastern traditions have been reasserted, and the strength of the current revival can be interpreted as evidence that somehow these Churches did manage to establish their own distinctive identities, 'between East and West'.

Greek Catholicism in Poland is today tightly linked to Ukrainian nationality and numbers about 120,000 faithful. In Slovakia the number of Greek Catholic Slovaks and Rusyns/Ruthenians is estimated at 220,000. Greek Catholicism in Romania has been similarly linked to Romanian nationality and is concentrated in Transylvania. The latest census indicates approximately 200,000 church members. The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church is by far the largest and claims as many as 3,000,000 members. In every case the Greek Catholic Churches find themselves delicately positioned alongside other denominations and tangled issues of secular (national and regional) identity are also omnipresent. Chris Hann has explored these issues since the 1970s in the context of Polish Greek Catholics; the recruitment of Buzalka and Nau-mescu together with the associated project of Stéphanie Mahieu (see below) will enable diverse paths of development to be compared throughout the Greek Catholic zone of Central Europe.



This Greek Catholic Church was constructed, with financial help from North America, in the village of Komancza, South-East Poland, in the 1990s. A fine old building from the early nineteenth century, which previously served the Greek Catholic Parish, was taken from them under socialism and given to the Orthodox. In this corner of Poland the Greek Catholics are frequently in conflict both with the Orthodox and with their "sister" Roman Catholic Church. (Photo: C. Hann)

2.3.1. Individual Projects

Social Transformations, Nationalism, and Europeanisation among Greek Catholics in Poland and Slovakia

Juraj Buzalka

Juraj Buzalka graduated from Comenius University, Bratislava, Slovakia with majors in political science and journalism. His main interests during his studies were political behaviour, its socio-cultural determination and symbolic meanings of politics in the transformation from state-socialism towards a western-style democracy. He later turned to social anthropology and during his studies at Sussex University, Brighton, UK (MA in Anthropology of Europe) he became increasingly interested in the anthropological dimensions of political culture and 'bottom-up' understandings of social changes. After beginning a PhD at the Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava, he carried out fieldwork in rural southern Slovakia.

His current project at the Max Planck Institute investigates and brings together three major changes that have taken place in Poland and Slovakia after the demise of communism: postsocialist transformations, changes connected with various nation-building projects and nationalisms, and changes related to integration into the European Union. How are these changes and their ideologisations affecting the Greek Catholic religion, which is discursively located between the renewed West and the renewed East? How does this religion influence the perception and understanding of these processes among the people in the regions around the cities of Przemysl (southeastern Poland) and Prešov (north-eastern Slovakia)? This project examines the role of religion in the making of 'actually existing' civil society in the respective regions, and in particular the relations of Greek Catholics to the dominant (Roman Catholic) and minority (Orthodox, Lutheran) traditions, and how these are shaped by state ideologies and practices.



Greek Catholic Jordan procession, in the city of Przemysl, Poland, 19th January 2003. (Photo: Juraj Buzalka)

Charismatic Christianity among Roma in Romania and Hungary

László Fosztó

László Fosztó was born in Romania and obtained his first degree in Hungarian Language and Ethnography at the Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj/Kolozsvár. He was awarded an MA in Nationalism Studies at the Central European University Budapest in 2000. He worked (2000-2002) as Local Faculty Fellow for the Civic Education Project, teaching anthropology at the Hungarian Language and Culture Department of the BBU. His main research interests are Eastern European Roma and charismatic Christianity.

The emergent Charismatic/Pentecostal movement gained converts among Roma in Western Europe at least since the 1960s. In the eastern part of Europe, Pentecostalism slowly gained ground during the socialism, but since the fall of the regimes the appealing power in order to recruit new members to the Pentecostal churches seems to have increased. Religious conversions are a distinct characteristic of the postsocialist social landscape and Eastern European Roma are a particular group among whom Pentecostal conversions happen on a larger scale.

In approaching the question of why the charismatic movement is relatively successful among Roma in Eastern Europe the analysis will attempt to go beyond the perspective that identifies Pentecostalism just as an emerging force in the competition in the religious marketplace. Without ignoring the global dimension of the charismatic movement this research inquires into the nature and dynamics of religious change in order to contribute to a more general understanding of the social and cultural developments in the region. In a comparative framework the fieldwork will be carried out among Roma in Romania (Transylvania) and Hungary. In a wider context further comparative aspects could emerge through contrasting with the other projects in the Department focusing on Eastern Europe and beyond.

Problems of the definition of the emerging religious public sphere versus the 'private religiosity' of the earlier period and the relation between the liberal/secular conception of civil society and the ethnographically observable domains of relations of trust, civility and tolerance are the general frames of this research project. More specifically the role of religion in shaping social relations in minority communities and the interaction between mainstream and minority groups of these societies will be considered.

Some further questions are: How can religious change influence the inclusive/exclusive tendencies in these societies? How do religions contribute to the articulation of the collective identities among Roma and non-Roma? How does Pentecostalism alter the social relations and interactions in Roma communities? Can Pentecostalism become an emancipatory force for Eastern European Roma?

The Role of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Moral Education in Romania and the Republic of Moldova

Monica Heintz

After studying philosophy at the University of Paris IV-Sorbonne in France (1993-1997), Monica Heintz went to Great Britain to study for a master in Social Anthropology at the University of Oxford (1998), then for a PhD in the same subject at the University of Cambridge (2002). Her PhD was on *Changes in Work Ethic in Postsocialist Romania* and involved fieldwork in her native town, Bucharest.

The current project, which started in January 2003, pays particular attention to the role of the church in moral education, as compared to the role of other educational agents (school, family, media), against the background of social and economic factors shaping daily reality in Romanian and Moldovan villages.

The Orthodox Church is the majority Church in Romania (86.8 % population in the 2002 census) and a national church (religion and nationalism being so closely linked that being Romanian is equated to being Orthodox). The Orthodox Church in the Republic of Moldova is split in two, one part depending on the Russian Orthodox Church, the other on the Romanian Orthodox Church. The latter, to which the parishes to be studied belong, is in a minority position and in conflict with both the other Orthodox Church and the Moldovan pro-Russian government. Therefore the issues of nationalism and of state-church relation come to the fore in this part of the study.

The main focus is the analysis of the aims, means, difficulties and results of the activity of the clergy at the local level (the parish). Several perspectives will be considered:

- The church as an organisation with its own aims, functions, hierarchy and means of top-down control that influence the actions of the clergy at the local level.
- The interface between the clergy (priests, nuns etc.) and the community in terms of moral teaching and moral judgments as evidenced in sermons and in concrete behaviour (for example in schools).
- The actions and discourses of the community analysed from an ethical point of view and situated in the socio-economic context.
- The content of teaching and its historical development (including its capacity to adjust to new themes such as bioethics, changing patterns of sexuality etc.).

Fieldwork will be conducted from August 2003 in a village in the Republic of Moldova, from July 2004, and later, in a village in Romania.

The Revival of Greek Catholic Churches in Postsocialist Romania and Western Ukraine

Vlad Naumescu

Vlad Naumescu was educated in Bucharest, Romania, where he specialised in social psychology and only later turned towards social anthropology, attracted in particular by fieldwork methods. He thus completed an MA in social anthropology at the National School of Administrative and Political Studies, where he investigated the appropriation of personal traumatic memories by collective memory and the construction of group narratives of identity. His Masters thesis examined the politics of memory in postsocialist Romania through a case study of the construction of places of memory in the Greek Catholic Church.

The current research will examine and compare the expansion of Greek Catholic Churches: in western Ukraine and northern Romania. These are the largest Greek Catholic communities of Central Europe. Religious competition and the dynamics of belonging and confessional affiliation will be investigated both in village communities and among church elites. Religious practice was essential to the survival of the Church during the underground period. Today it is negotiated with the new Church structures and local religious 'authorities' are being challenged by institutional attempts to define 'the true rite'. The role of collective memory in the process of reconstructing a religious identity will be explored in the larger framework of nationalism and the rewriting of national history. In the past, Greek Catholicism was imagined as a space where religious and national identity came together; hence the reviving of this confessional identity might be related to the present project of building the Ukrainian nation. Relationships between dominant and minority churches, state policies and Western models of civil society are all contributing to shape the evolution of Greek Catholics in these two postsocialist states.



Village procession on the occasion of a visit by the Greek Catholic Bishop. Maramures, Romania 2002.

(Photo: Alexandru Roja)

2.3.2. Associated Project

Stéphanie Mahieu: The Greek Catholics in Hungary

Stéphanie Mahieu defended her PhD thesis on the recent history of the Greek Catholic Church in Romania at the *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales* (Paris) in June 2003. Currently the holder of a post-doctoral Fellowship at Viadrina University, Frankfurt (Oder), with the help of a fieldwork grant from the Max Planck Institute she will undertake two months of fieldwork in Hungary in the course of 2004. Hungarian Greek Catholics are an interesting case for several reasons; in Habsburg days both the Hungarian language and Hungarian ethnic identity made inroads among minority groups in the Magyar controlled parts of the empire, and in the socialist period this was the only Greek Catholic Church of the region to escape political repression. Mahieu's fieldwork will investigate how this Church has adapted to postsocialist conditions, with a view to complementing the comparative projects of Buzalka and Naumescu. She is particular interested in memories and oral history of the communist period, everyday life and relations with Roman Catholics, Orthodox and Protestants, liturgical changes, and the political background, especially concerning European integration and transnational ecclesiastical relations.

3. Other activities



Chris Hann giving his plenary lecture at the 5th Congress of the Russian Ethnologists and Anthropologists in Omsk, Russia (9th June 2003). (Photo: T. Darieva)

3.1. Theory and History of Anthropology

While the focus themes described above are our collective priorities, they do not by any means exhaust the general anthropological interests of departmental members. These cover a very wide spectrum, from work on history and memory (Eidson, Kaneff) to research into environmental issues and nutrition (Cellarius, Ziker). This range is illustrated in seminar series, conferences and workshops which the Department has organised.

Beyond a general commitment to empirical data collection in the field and comparison, there is no attempt to impose theoretical uniformity in the Department. Thus, although Hann has recently published articles critical of the concept of culture and of approaches from the 'new institutionalist economics', other members of the Department do not necessarily subscribe to his views.

One workshop stands out from the many others we organised in 2002-3 in terms of linking recent controversies in anthropology to more general debates in the social sciences. *Debating Collective Identities* (May 2002) opened with a lecture by philosopher and social theorist Steven Lukes in which he revisited classical problems of cultural relativism in

the light of recent work on the culture concept and the celebrated exchanges between Sahlins and Obeyesekere concerning Hawaiian history. The brainstorming continued the next day with contributions from visiting sociologists Friedrich Heckmann, Jacques Lautmann and Claus Offe, with Georg Elwert, Christian Giordano and Günther Schlee presenting anthropological contributions.

This Workshop was followed by a major lecture series on the history of anthropology to mark the official inauguration of the Max Planck Institute (11 June 2002). The revised versions of these lectures have recently been submitted to Chicago University Press (coordinated by Chris Hann).

The Department's other major activity concerning disciplinary history was the organisation of a small conference on *Socialist Era Anthropology in Eastern and Central Europe* in August 2003. For Hann at least, this meeting had moral as well as scientific motivation. On the one hand, he was interested in uncovering fragments of disciplinary history ignored or little known in the English-speaking world; some of these may still be worthy of attention and even contain valuable hints for future research agendas. Even where the links between political regime and scientific ideology and practice were particularly close, looking carefully into disciplinary history may have much to teach us. In addition, to take a familiarising look at the intellectual landscape of the recent past in this region seems ethically warranted from practitioners of a discipline which has for decades been wrestling with problems of post-colonial guilt. The integration of East Germany into the Federal Republic is in many ways quite unlike the colonisation processes of former European Empires. Nevertheless some distinctive traditions in our discipline were in effect eliminated, some colleagues lost their positions, and our Max Planck Institute is in a certain sense one of the principal successor institutions.

It seems likely that this political background shaped our conference in many subtle ways, and that it hindered our efforts to attract speakers from the former Eastern Germany. Hungary and Poland were more open to Western influences under socialism, while Czechoslovakia was by and large closer to the DDR. In none of these neighbouring countries did the collapse of socialist power have such dramatic consequences for anthropology as it had in the former East Germany. However, the influence of Western academic trends, notably American cultural anthropology and cultural studies, is to be observed almost everywhere in the ex-socialist world, and this could well be a suitable subject for a future conference.

In addition to co-convenors Mihály Sárkány (Budapest) and Peter Skalnik (Pardubice), Hann was grateful for the support of Max Planck Institute colleagues John Eidson and Tilo Grätz on this occasion.

3.2. Cooperation



Some of the participants of the Workshop "Socialist Era Anthropology in Eastern and Central Europe", 28th – 29th August 2003 at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology. (Photo: courtesy of T. Schippers)

Both quantitatively and qualitatively, our cooperation activities increased significantly in 2002-3. Wherever possible we prefer flexible, informal arrangements to the complexities of contracts.

The best way to avoid charges of scientific (neo-)colonialism is to build up mutually beneficial links to research partners, and not only in those countries where the Max Planck Institute has current fieldwork projects. Many of the countries where we work have long and distinguished traditions of anthropological/ethnological research. The entire academic world in postsocialist Eurasia has been in flux since 1990. In some countries there has been an enthusiastic embracing of the latest fashions from the west; lots of people want to be anthropologists, but few have qualifications or fieldwork experience. There are enormous difficulties of staffing, of professionalisation, of providing books.

We would like the Max Planck Institute to be recognised as a focus for an open cosmopolitan anthropology, explicitly comparative and rejecting the constraints of 'national ethnography', which in some places has fought a rearguard action against innovation, whether from outside or from within. We may respect these forms of local knowledge, but still offer help whenever possible to promote more expansive and inclusive approaches. In the course of implementing our research agendas, it will be in our own interests to draw the attention of our partners to classical works in 'world anthropology', and also to collaborate in building up new departments and teaching programmes. We may, e.g. through our guest programme, be able to provide at least indirect assistance to colleagues working to stabilise the current situation and secure the future of our discipline in the postsocialist academic landscape. The best way to convince others of the merits of our approaches is to share the research process and the results as fully as possible. We convinced that ourselves have much to gain from this interaction.

3.3. External Research Grants

3.3.1. Social Inclusion and Exclusion in Bulgaria and Poland: an anthropological study

The VW Foundation has awarded a grant of 300 000 Euros for a three-year (2003-6) comparative investigation of kinship networks and forms of inclusion and exclusion in Poland and Bulgaria, respectively one of the most and least successful countries undergoing postsocialist reform in eastern Europe. The lead researchers for the project are Dr F. Pine (for the Polish research) and Dr D. Kaneff (for the Bulgarian research). Frances Pine (PhD Cambridge) and Deema Kaneff (PhD Adelaide, and already a senior researcher in the MPI) both have long-term experience in the host countries. Each will work with a PhD student and employ a research assistant in the host country. The project will build on collaboration between the Max Planck Institute and Bulgarian and Polish consultants: Prof. Yulian Konstantinov, New Bulgarian University, Sofia, will be the partner in Bulgaria and Prof. Zdzislaw Mach, Jagiellonian University Kraków, will be the partner in Poland. The project will commence in November 2003.

Project Description and Significance

(Summary, prepared by Drs. D. Kaneff and F. Pine)

Postsocialist reforms, initiated some 14 years ago across eastern Europe, have had a mixed degree of success, with considerable variation evident both between countries and between different regions of the same country. Some states, such as Bulgaria and Romania, have fared much worse than others. But even in the apparently more successful postsocialist states – such as Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic – the reforms have not been a resounding success. High unemployment, increasing levels of poverty and political corruption, amongst other problems, explain why a growing section of the population is disillusioned and nostalgic for the securer times of the socialist past. If this situation is to be turned around in the future, careful and detailed work must be conducted into the nature and extent of the problems.

This project seeks to uncover some of the basic reasons for the lack of success in postsocialist reforms. The choice of Bulgaria and Poland follows from their comparable histories of socialism and similar ambitions in attempting reform since 1989, but contrasting degrees of success in terms of political, economic and social reform. The project is concerned with examining local responses to the reform processes and discovering the ways in which citizens are either successfully integrated or increasingly marginalised from their societies. Researchers will examine the importance of kinship (broadly defined to include 'fictive' ties as well as more 'conventional' understandings of biological relatedness) in politi-

cal and economic activities during times of general upheaval, paying particular attention to the expanding informal economy. There is evidence of two quite different processes at work: on the one hand kin ties are narrowed down in order to consolidate and protect scarce resources, while on the other, networks are expanded at both local and national levels in order to gain access to resources in a context of increasing impoverishment.

Methods will combine participant observation with interviews and the collection and use of survey material. Data will be obtained from two sites in each country: a village and an urban centre. Inclusion and exclusion will be examined primarily in terms of social, primarily kinship, relations. Three different levels will be analysed: the household, the community and the state. Activities across the fieldsites will be carefully coordinated to maximise the scope for comparison.

Anthropological research on Europe lags behind that of other regions of the world and this project will develop better analytical models for dealing with societies in transition through the comparative method. The leaders of this project attach considerable importance to the training of graduate students. This will be realised through PhD supervision, guidance in methodology and participation in workshops/conferences. Young scholars from Germany and other countries of the region will be invited to participate in these activities, in addition to staff and students from the countries which constitute the focus of this research. In this way it is intended to create new opportunities for the study of eastern Europe in German anthropology, as well as to establish opportunities for Polish and Bulgarian students to gain international experience.

The detailed qualitative analysis provided by this project will give insights into the large gaps which are often evident between policy planning at the national or international level, and policy implementation at the local level. The research therefore has considerable practical relevance.

Increasing wealth differentials across the continent lead to higher rates of migration – both internal and transnational – crime and economic and political instability, which affect all European Union nations. In a less dramatic but ultimately penetrating way, the long-term effects of political and economic uncertainty and the coping mechanisms that ordinary people develop to counter them are of utmost concern everywhere in Europe. Results from this research project will have relevance for policymakers in all European postsocialist states, as well as for international organisations, for NGOs, and for European planners currently grappling with issues of EU accession.

3.3.2. The European Union

The Department primarily in the person of Dr. Patrick Heady, who has experience of the labyrinthine mechanisms and procedures of the Brussels Commission in another context, has taken several initiatives to secure funding for additional projects from the Sixth Framework Programme of the European Union. Two Specific Targeted Research Projects were submitted in 2003, one on *Concept and Practicality in Sustainable Rural Development* and the other concerning *Kinship and Social Security*.

We were notified in summer 2003 that the latter proposal (see box below for a brief summary) had been positively evaluated, i.e. it had been graded well above the threshold for funding; and at the time of writing (November 2003) we have just received an invitation to negotiate a contract with the European Commission. Whether or not this project is finally approved (with the MPI as principal coordinator), the activities of Dr. Heady in building up networks and sharing research ideas have served to make the priorities of the Department better known to scholars in numerous disciplines in many European countries.

In addition to the activities of Patrick Heady, Chris Hann has taken an active role in a consortium preparing an application for an Integrated Project in the field of 'Citizenship and Multiple Identities', led by the *Wissenschaftszentrum zu Berlin*. If successful, this will bring a new project complementary to those already running in the field of "Religion and Civil Society". The link to a large multidisciplinary team working on issues of citizenship will also be useful for Dr. Lale Yalçın-Heckmann's proposed research focus on "citizenship from below" in the post-Soviet Caucasus (see below, 'Summary and Prospect').

Kinship and Social Security (Summary, prepared by Dr. P. Heady)

The state and the family (including the whole network of relatives) are the two greatest providers of social security in modern Europe. Like the state, the family provides care, education, financial support, and help in finding employment. It also influences (and occasionally controls) choices involving career and marriage. However the role of the family is not constant over time and space. We know, from statistical sources and from sociological and ethnographic studies, that it varies greatly between different parts of contemporary Europe. Changing patterns of marriage, cohabitation and divorce, declining fertility and aging populations, also have implications for the family's social security role.

The only method that is capable of capturing enough factual detail about kinship networks, and how these relationships are actually experienced, is ethnographic fieldwork. This must be followed by both interpretative and mathematical analyses of the resulting data, with careful reference to historical context. The fieldwork studies will be carried out in eight European countries and the implications for policy will be examined in the final part of the project.

4. Summary and Prospect

In 2002-2003 the Department has successfully consolidated its first research theme 'property relations' and accomplished the smooth introduction of its second major research theme 'religion and civil society'. Although financial stringencies have forced a cut in the number of researchers in the Department, a new international team was assembled in early 2003 and the morale of this scholarly community is very strong. Cooperative links have been strengthened significantly in this period, both inside and outside Halle.

It is generally recognised that the duration of research projects in social anthropology tends to be longer than is usual in other social sciences. The requirement to spend a full year in the field, which is often coupled with the need to learn a new language and to negotiate a variety of practical hazards, including the impediments of red tape, combine to ensure that very few doctoral projects can be brought to completion within the standard three year funding period. This helps to explain why the flow of publications addressing our core themes has only really got going in the present review period. For the previous period our main 'output' was the edited volume on *Postsocialism*, which appeared at the end of 2001 with contributions drawn for the most part from leading international authorities. In the years 2002-2003 we have begun to establish a reputation on the basis of our own contributions. Our current publishing profile is well reflected in the first volumes of our new series with LIT: a collective volume of essays by MPI staff on our first core theme, edited volumes pertaining to our region in which MPI staff are well represented, and a scholarly monograph by one of our own students. This series does not of course exhaust our dissemination strategy. Members of the Department have also published books in prestigious international series and contributed articles to leading international journals. Their output has demonstrated the advantages of working together as a team in a concerted effort that no university-based group could possibly emulate; that is exactly the rationale for the creation of the Max Planck Institute in the first place.

As in our first report two years ago, it seems useful to close this departmental account with a brief look to the future. The implementation of these ideas will proceed in the light of comments from members of our Advisory Board, colleagues in the Max Planck Society, research partners in other institutions and other interested parties.¹

¹ Most of the projects outlined above will draw to a close in 2004-5, making it in principle possible for us to plan major new initiatives from the beginning of 2006. This implies a recruiting process during 2005; it would therefore be helpful if comments and criticism could be sent to Chris Hann (hann@eth.mpg.de) before the end of January 2005.

The Department is currently named 'Postsocialist Eurasia', since this is where the great majority of its projects are being undertaken. We wish to maintain a profile connecting us to other social scientists working on general issues of transformation in the postsocialist countries. The projects on property relations will be concluded in 2005-6, but in addition to the new VW Foundation project described above, from 2006 we shall have a new cluster headed by Lale Yalçın-Heckmann (following her promotion in October 2003 to a C3 position in the department). This group will investigate "Citizenship from below", with special reference to the Caucasus.

At the same time, however, the Institute is committed to pursuing comparisons on an even larger scale, and we have noted that the pertinence of 'postsocialist' is bound to decline as the socialist era recedes further into the past and new patterns of differentiation emerge. It is therefore proposed that we drop 'postsocialist' from the Department's designation from 2006. This expansion to include vast regions of East and South Asia, plus Western Europe, the Mediterranean and the Middle East, is already anticipated in the title of our new publication series – see Hann's 'Preface to the Series' in *The Postsocialist Agrarian Question*. Reasons for retaining the notion of Eurasia are outlined in this Preface and also in Hann's Working Paper, No. 57. The framework can be expanded to include other parts of the world when warranted; but the expectation is that we shall continue to recruit clusters comparable to the current groups working in Central Asia and in East-Central Europe.

It is too early to predict exactly what will emerge from these groups, whose members only began their fieldwork in 2003. However, the relative neglect of Central Eurasia in the international anthropological literature suggests that it might well be worthwhile to continue to give priority to this region in the next cycle of projects. One option would be to expand our coverage eastwards, and seek to establish new projects in China and in non-Islamic regions of ex-Soviet 'inner Asia'.

Regardless of the precise location of future projects, their basic structuring is likely to remain unchanged. In other words, after a half-year of pre-fieldwork preparation and harmonising of individual projects, researchers will spend a full year in the field, followed by 18 months for writing-up and comparative analyses at the Max Planck Institute. This pattern suggests itself as the logical consequence of the combination of standard research procedure in modern anthropology, with strong emphasis on meticulous data collection by the individual researcher in one fieldwork setting, plus the funding norms of the Max Planck Society, which set a limit of three years for most of our staff. It might, however, be possible to modify this schema, particularly at the postdoctoral level, e.g. by devising team projects and historical projects that need not necessarily contain a fieldwork component at all.

The introduction of such innovations at the Max Planck Institute should be determined pragmatically, in the light of the objectives of the main thematic foci from 2006 onwards. One possible focus of our future endeavours might be the *Comparative Anthropology of Norms and Values*. This would allow some researchers to work according to much the same model as current staff and to retain a focus on postsocialist transformations. Such work would build upon and perhaps draw together the results of the two main research foci investigated to date. Work in 'Property Relations' has pinpointed conflicts of values as new individualist forms of entrepreneurship replace the institutions of collective farming in the rural community, while work in 'Religion and Civil Society' explicitly addresses the role of churches in transmitting values, alongside other channels of socialisation. Some new projects might, however, be based outside the former socialist zone, or they might compare a former socialist community with one that has experienced different forms of modernity. Finally, some researchers might explore this vast theme against the long-term historical canvas, i.e. the emergence of hierarchically structured civilisations in Eurasia over the last ten millennia, and the continuing legacy of agrarian empires for the societies we inhabit today. Such a programme would be one way of addressing the call made by Steven Lukes, in his MPI lecture mentioned above and in several recent publications, for a comparative investigation of moralities. Lukes cites the opinion of philosopher Isaiah Berlin that "more people in more countries at more times accept more common values than is often believed".¹ The challenge is to enquire how far the historical and ethnographic evidence supports this claim.

This research would be innovative in a variety of ways. First, within anthropology: while many scholars have addressed societies in terms of 'moral systems', the comparative study of moral ideas and how they impinge on practice has tended to fall outside the usual specialisations and has therefore been neglected. Second, the topic opens up rich opportunities for dialogue with other social scientists and philosophers concerned with issues of group diversity and value pluralism in the contemporary world. Third, a recent Presidential Commission of the Max Planck Society has identified this topic (*Normen und Werte*) as a priority, so that we could expect fruitful exchanges with numerous sister institutions. Finally, as with the Department's previous thematic foci, the suggestion made here would seem certain to fit in well alongside other ongoing projects at this Max Planck Institute.

Chris Hann

¹ Cited by Lukes 2003, *Liberals and Cannibals: the implications of diversity*. London: Verso, p.98.

Project Group Legal Pluralism

Heads of the Group:

Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann

1. General Developments

The programme of the Project Group as stated in the Max Planck Institute's report 1999-2001 (pp. 129-165) positioned its theoretical assumptions and research objectives in the current international development of the anthropology of law, provided an outline of the research projects initiated, and identified a number of key issues to which the Project Group wants to contribute through its individual research projects and by joint efforts. The general research objective of the Project Group is to analyse and explain different constellations of legal pluralism and the relative social significance of each type of law with special attention to the significance of religion and religious law in plural legal constellations and the transnational dimensions of legal pluralism. The research programme also identified a number of conceptual, methodological and theoretical challenges that transcend the more specific research questions of the individual projects.

Two years later, the research of the 'first generation' (the von Benda-Beckmanns, Turner and Eckert) has shown first results. A summary of their major findings is given later in this report. The Project Group has since then attracted three new post-doc researchers with three-year fellowships. Dr. Tatjana Thelen and Dr. Fernanda Pirie started their work in September 2002, and Dr. Anja Peleikis joined the Group in January 2003. Their new projects and previous research experience and publications have considerably enriched and expanded the regional and thematic research interests of the Group. They have also created new cooperative linkages with the researchers of the two Departments. Thelen did her PhD research in Hungary and Romania and has started research in the city of Rostock. Pirie obtained her PhD with a dissertation on disputing and the maintenance of order in rural Ladakh and has started a new, comparative research project in Tibetan Amdo (China). Peleikis has done work on Lebanon and has now started research in Nida on the Curonian Spit in Lithuania. Furthermore, thanks to the projects of Thelen and Peleikis it was possible to take up research on legal pluralism in Germany/Eastern Europe – a direction of study that has long been an express desire of the Project Group (see Eidson et al. pp. 71-77 in this report).

2. Consolidation of the Research Programme

With the continuation of the first research projects, the new projects, and some substantial input from guest researchers, the research programme has acquired a clearer and more concrete profile. This is shown by the ways in which the individual research projects relate to the four interconnected thematic domains of the research programme, in the elaboration of topics for comparative analysis, and in the selection of conceptual, methodological and theoretical issues.

The Four Thematic Domains

The Use of Different Institutions and Procedures for Dispute Management

The projects of the von Benda-Beckmanns in Indonesia, Eckert in urban India, Turner in Morocco and Pirie in Tibet focus in different ways on three related issues.

- The question of how the processes of disputing, disputants, and decision-making agencies relate to prevailing ideologies of social order.
- The differential access to institutionalised procedures of dispute settlement, patterns of forum shopping between, and shopping for cases by such institutions.
- The question of how patterns in the use of disputing institutions and their outcomes are shaped by the prevailing relations of power and economic dependence between parties and institutions, and what sort of exclusions these patterns entail.

Each of these projects investigates the emerging possibilities for dealing with disputes outside the court systems and at the reasons why these modes of conflict management are chosen. Many states seem to be jumping on the bandwagon of alternative dispute resolution, which is often regarded as superior. The research of the Project Group investigates these attempts to steer away disputes from the court system. The studies allow a better understanding of the advantages and disadvantages of these developments. Pirie's research in Tibet is the most systematic comparative research, in which she will compare her research in Amdo with her earlier research in rural Ladakh. Several guests of the Project Group have contributed to this discussion. Barbara Danczul from the University of Vienna and Hans Christian Nielsen from the University of Aarhus study mediation in Egypt. Marc Galanter from the University of Wisconsin, Madison, works on neo-traditional institutions of dispute management in India. The discussions within the Project Group have resulted in plans for a comparative workshop on *Order and Disorder* in 2004.

Property Rights and Natural Resource Management

The Project Group shares the interest in property issues with Department II, focusing specifically on the economic and political problems arising from the co-existence and instrumentalisation of plural and conflictive definitions of property rights in rural development processes. One focus is on natural resource management under the influence of decentralisation and nature protection policies. This is a central theme in the research of Turner and the von Benda-Beckmanns. Due to Peleikis' research project in Lithuania and the work of our guest Melanie Wiber, these interests have broadened to cover property rights in fisheries, and cultural property and its conversion into economic property. Peleikis looks at how different actors in Nida construct different pasts as a cultural property in their struggles over ownership of the village.

The first fruits of our comparative efforts have been presented in the conference on *Changing Properties of Property* that was jointly organised by Department II and the Project Group (see below p. 308f. and the report of Department II, p. 204). One of the main results of the collaborative work thus far has been the development of an analytical framework for the study of property regimes from a comparative perspective by the von Benda-Beckmanns and Wiber.

Changes in Complex Social Security Systems

This is the central theme in Thelen's research in Rostock, where she explores the transformation of the 'mixes' of social security arrangements of current and past employees of a former state enterprise after German reunification. An important point of departure for her research, and that of others, is that social security not only comprises the regulation and provision of goods and services by the state, but also relations and transfers based on other social relationships (kinship, neighbourhood, employer-employee relationships etc.). Peleikis investigates the ways in which the residents of Nida invest in social relationships with 'Heimweh-tourists', who help them secure their livelihood while at the same time providing the German tourists with the possibility of symbolically re-appropriating their hometown. Thelen's and Peleikis' research is focused on the transformation and privatisation processes after the collapse of communist governments in the former GDR and Soviet Union.

Changes in social security arrangements also play an important role in the von Benda-Beckmanns' research in West Sumatra. They will also participate in the research project on *Kinship and Social Security* (KASS) that has been submitted to the EU by Department II. Changing social security is also the central theme of Keebet von Benda-Beckmann's PhD students Gerhard Anders and Barbara Rohregger, who have both spent several weeks at the Institute as guests to work on their respective pro-

jects on changing social security for bureaucrats (Anders) and semi-urban residents (Rohregger) in Malawi.

Changes in Governance under the Conditions of Legal Transnationalisation, Decentralisation and Privatisation

This is a central issue in the research of all members of the Project Group, who, however, each emphasise different aspects of this thematic complex. In the project of the von Benda-Beckmanns, the major theme is decentralisation in Indonesia and its effects on the configuration of customary, religious and state law, with specific attention being paid to the influence of foreign development agencies on this process. In Turner's research, similar questions are pursued in the context of a UNESCO biosreservation in southern Morocco. Eckert particularly investigates governance in the fields of law and order, crime and security and how this is shaped by, but at the same time affects, notions of the nation, international discourses on security (i.e. 'the war on terror'), and ideas of the state and about citizenship.

The transnationalisation of law was also topic of an international conference entitled *Mobile People, Mobile Law: expanding legal relations in a contradicting world* organised by the Project Group in November 2002 (on the conference see pp. 307-308). Specific attention was given to the significance of law in planned development, which has increased with globalisation and the increasing transnationalisation of law. Our guest researcher Markus Weilenmann has worked on the way in which 'project law' is generated within the German Technical Assistance (GTZ). A workshop on law and development will be organised together with the section Development Anthropology of the German Society for Social Anthropology (DGV) in 2004.

Comparative and Theoretical Issues

The programme follows a comparative approach aimed at contributing to theory building. Comparative discussions have centred on fundamental questions of legal anthropology beyond the particularities of single research settings. These have also enriched the approaches to the individual projects as our endeavours at comparison have forced each of us to look at our own material from the new perspectives contributed by other projects. Tentative conclusions resulting from a comparison between two case studies could then be tested against other, very different cases. Our essay *Vitality and Revitalisation of Tradition in Law: going back into the past or future oriented development?* is an example of this collaborative comparative effort (see 3. below). Members of the Group have also made several contributions to a better conceptual and analytical understanding of legal pluralism, governance, transnationalisation of law and globalisation, property rights in plural legal settings, and of the interre-

lations between state, customary and religious legal orders (see appendix). These discussions have also induced us to plan an international conference on *Religion in Plural Legal Orders* in 2005, which will also strengthen our common interest with the new theme in the research programme of Department II.



A training workshop on decentralisation for village functionaries in West Sumatra organised by the UNDP Partnership for Governance. (Photo: K. v. Benda-Beckmann)

3. The Individual Research Projects

Changing Constellations of Legal Pluralism in West Sumatra, Indonesia

Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann

Research on Decentralisation

This project consists of a long-term research in West Sumatra on the process of decentralisation and the effects of the reorganisation of local government in Minangkabau villages. It started shortly before the national law on decentralisation was passed. This gave us a unique opportunity to study a major political and constitutional reform from its inception and its evolution over a number of years. The research provides insights into the complex parallel processes of law making at different levels of state organisation and their consequences for the actual political organisation, as well as into the reactions of the population. It also allows us to study the impact of transnational actors on these processes. We focus on the implementation and consequences of decentralisation at district and village level. Our main research questions are whether and how these changes affect the relations and relative significance of state law, *adat* (custom or customary law), and Islamic law in the domains of political organisation and rights to natural resources. The research is carried out in cooperation with the Dutch-Indonesian research programmes on *The Impact of Crisis in Indonesia* and *Indonesia in Transition*.

We have continued our research with field visits in 2002 and 2003. In this period, district and village regulations were negotiated and designed, elections for mayors and village councils were held, and the first new mayors and village councils assumed office. In addition, we have also gathered the first material on the new financial structures of village government and collected case materials on the struggles over rights to the village commons. Five major insights have emerged out of the research thus far.

1. While the process of 'going back to the *nagari*', the traditional Minangkabau village, was initiated by the provincial government as a top-down process, it has since been actively taken up by actors in districts, towns, and villages. With the prospect of actually being able to participate in important decisions rather than being told what to do from above, and with the expectation that regional autonomy would re-channel economic resources to local levels, district officials and villagers have become more involved in village and district matters than they had been before. As a result, the policy has been concretised with considerable active participation at all levels, from the province down to the village.

2. This active participation has resulted in considerable variation in the ways in which the provincial regulation of local government has

been concretised at the level of districts and villages. The difference between districts appears in the differing importance given to *adat* and Islamic institutions and in the way they regulate economic relations with the villages. There are also differences in actual village organisation. Villages have made use of all the room for manoeuvring they were allowed in the provincial and district regulations. The main differences concern the role of traditional leaders, the nomination and election procedures for village mayors, village councils and the role of religious councils.



Women on their way to the installation ceremony of a lineage head (*panghulu*), March 2001. (Photo: F. v. Benda-Beckmann)

3. The new opportunities for generating part of the village funds from the exploitation of village resources have renewed interest in the village commons. These had largely been under state control as state land or forest. They are now increasingly being reclaimed as village land governed by *adat* law, and with some successes. However, these initial successes lead to new conflicts over these resources within villages between the official village government and *adat* leaders.

4. These processes have changed the configuration of *adat*, Islam, and the state in the region. The return to the *nagari* has raised a general interest in *adat* as a rallying factor in political and economic negotiations. *Adat* leaders and *adat* principles of decision-making have been quite prominent in the transition from the old to the new village structures. These developments have wider implications for the way people view the relationship between the three normative orders and use them in political action. *Adat* has gained in influence, but not as much as some protagonists wanted; Islam temporarily seemed to be pushed to the background, but is in the process of regaining its influence as a moral order; national and provincial state administrations seem to have lost the most in terms of political and economic influence while the

districts in turn have gained. However, major attempts are being made to re-establish some of the central power.



Neo-traditional adat house in West Sumatra, built by returned migrants. (Photo: K. von Benda-Beckmann 2002)

5. Decentralisation and restructuring of village governments seem to transform the Indonesian state from a strongly hierarchical organisation to one which has both horizontal and hierarchical features. The major instrument for maintaining the central state's vertical lines of control, the ministries and the then ruling Golkar party, have lost their dominant position. New all-Indonesian horizontal networks and organisations of governors, district heads and parliaments, *adat* organisations, etc. have emerged with the encouragement and financial support of the international donor community. They engage in pressure group politics and facilitate the exchange of experience and information, which has an unexpected but important integrating effect.

Research on the Use of Civil, Administrative, and Religious State Courts in West Sumatra

In 2000, we initiated a long-term study of the use of civil state courts in central Minangkabau. In 2002, we decided to expand this research to cover all civil and Islamic state courts of the province. In addition, a short survey of the registers of the administrative court in West Sumatra was carried out, in order to find out to what degree they were dealing with land issues. Data from the court registries on court use and court decisions have been collected for the past 20 years with the help of staff members and students of the Centre for Alternative Dispute Resolution of the Faculty of Law at Andalas University in Padang. In combination with our data on court use in the mid 1970s, we now have a unique set of data that allows the analysis of long-term developments in court use. Our data analysis has only started and will be continued in 2003 and 2004, but our preliminary findings suggest some interesting

and unexpected outcomes. We had started the research with three hypotheses:

- that economic and political changes between 1975 and 2000 would be reflected in a rising litigation rate;
- that the general weakening of Minangkabau customary (*adat*) law would lead to a decrease in court judgements based on *adat* law and to an increase of judgements based on official state law;
- that the increasing political significance of Islam and the extension of the jurisdiction of the Islamic courts to include inheritance would cause a shift from the state civil courts to the Islamic courts, as has been reported for Aceh.

None of these expectations seem to be confirmed by our data.

- In terms of per capita litigation rate, the last 25 years have shown a slight decline.
- There is a remarkable continuity in the kinds of cases for which state civil courts are used. This is despite a major change in village organisation that had considerably reduced the influence of *adat* and traditional leaders. The great majority of cases still concern family land (*pusako*), land pawning, and inheritance, to which *adat* law is applied. This is true for the whole province, in spite of considerable regional socio-economic differences.
- Finally, disputes over inheritance, donations and testaments have not shifted to Islamic courts, in spite of the change in jurisdiction.

Our research on decentralisation and village reorganisation suggests that there is an increase in interest in the village commons (*ulayat*) and that villages have started to reclaim such lands. However, by 2001 there had been very few cases about village commons in civil and administrative state courts. We will have to wait to find out in the years to come whether such cases have simply been delayed. Our research so far suggests that such claims are primarily negotiated directly with the district administration and the enterprises holding leases on village lands.

Rules of Law and Laws of Ruling (new project title)

Julia Eckert

The project on legal security under conditions of a changing state set out to look at the reorganisation of governance in Mumbai (formerly known as Bombay) where different processes of formal and informal decentralisation of the administration of law produce changing constellations of legal pluralism. The project examines the emergence of specific constellations among various state and non-state institutions that are involved in governmental activities, such as matters of access to services, distribution of resources and, particularly central to the project, adjudication, security and the regulation of legality and illegality. Law

(and public order) is administered by welfare-oriented NGOs, the heads of local branches of political parties, 'community leaders' with effective alliances in the governmental apparatus and leaders of organised crime groups, as well as the police. During fieldwork carried out in 2002 and 2003 it became evident that the police constitute the central agency: firstly for administering and mediating the relations between these competing institutions; and secondly, the police operate as mediators between the local population and other state agencies. The project has therefore focussed on police practices and police roles in order to examine the shaping of constellations of legal pluralism and its relation to political power structures.



*Women waiting in a police station.
(Photo: J. Eckert 2002)*

The police are one of the central institutions for resolving disputes for a large proportion of the urban population. Initial evaluation of this phenomenon has led to the conclusion that this role is a result of the increasing ineffectiveness in adjudication and mediation of traditional or community organisations, such as caste councils, etc., and the inaccessibility of state judicial institutions.

However, the police are actively involved in curtailing the effectiveness of other institutions and in practice determine which alternative institutions can operate effectively and which cannot. The specific division of labour established by the police with competing organisations involved in governance is related to the various economic and political networks within which the police

are embedded. The police are subject to political control through the politics of transfers and promotions; this control of police practice is frequently used by politicians to protect economic networks that are vital for the financing of electoral campaigns, or to hamper the economic networks of political rivals. Certain organisations that are part of this so-called nexus protected by the police thus also dominate the configuration of adjudicative institutions; police protection awards them an immunity that also makes their adjudication effective, as they become the 'last instance'. Thus, the configuration of adjudicative institutions

(and other governmental activities) is strongly related to the (democratic) competition between political parties for political office. They all operate within a common political space and compete in this space for the various sources of power. Above all it is 'people', i.e. the command over the support of large numbers of clients, that determine the status and influence of these institutions. Democratisation has intensified this competition, thus introducing different forms of checks and balances that bind the power of political actors to the interests of their various client groups. The structure of legal pluralism is thus shaped by a high degree of interdependence between these various agencies.

The frequent involvement of the police in local disputes, however, also points towards an ambiguous relationship between the urban population and state institutions. On the one hand, expectations of the police express notions of the law residing in the state, that is, the state and not any other agency being responsible for the upholding of law and order and the state acting according to the law: on the other hand, the instrumental use of the police as a weapon in local conflict also exploits aberrations of police practices for the urban population's own benefit.

Due to their mode of operation, the police have become a formidable weapon in local conflicts. Tools most frequently used are such measures as preventive arrests, expelling people from their places of residence and taking bonds. All these measures are covered by policing laws that stem from the colonial period and entail wide discretionary police powers. These discretionary powers, and the sidelining of the judiciary have been further institutionalised by the recent introduction of various new policing laws, namely the new anti-terrorism law POTA, regional variants of a law to combat organised crime, and others. These laws legalise police practices that were hitherto illegal, like the arrest of family members, or long-term incarceration without a magistrate's review.



Slum dwellers are gathered at a rally of the Congress Party.

(Photo: J. Eckert 2003)

These legislative innovations relate to a changing political debate on notions of security, and perceptions of 'the enemy within' which have been heightened by the collusion of increasingly communalised Indian politics and the adoption of the discourses of the 'international war on terror'. The dominance of Hindu nationalist organisations and Hindu nationalist discourses in Indian politics, the massive violence against the Muslim population in India, and several terrorist attacks attributed to, or executed by, Muslims have strengthened perceptions of national security as being threatened by a 'clash of civilisations' that is fought out globally as well as in India. The collectivisation of a national 'right to self-defence' merges with discourses of revenge and feeds into authoritarian perceptions of the state and the role of the police. The heightened legitimacy of police brutality, as evident, for example, in the frequent 'encounter killings' of alleged criminals and terrorists is related to these notions of security, self-defence and revenge. Likewise, restrictions on civic rights are plausibly being justified using these new and internationally embedded discourses of national security.

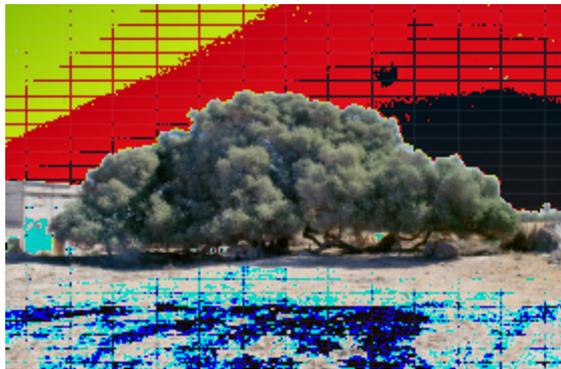
Central to the project proposal were the questions of how such changes in governmental regimes of security and law and order would affect legal security and access to law, and in particular how these changes might stratify access to both law and legal security socio-economically. Preliminary conclusions point towards a specific trajectory of the state of the rule of law in India. Firstly there has been a diversification of institutions responsible for the upholding of the rule of law in terms of civic rights; the mandatory introduction of State Human Rights Commissions in all states of India, and their frequent use by citizens, indicates increasing access; and the regular establishment of commissions for judicial enquiries is a sign of the persistent division of power. On the other hand, the other meaning of the rule of law, namely the securing of law and order, is increasingly seen to be promoted by shifting police competencies. At the same time, large sections of society are subject to various processes of informalisation of adjudication: state-induced judicial reform programmes accompany the informal delegation of disputes to specific non-state courts by the police. Finally, specific social groups, particularly the Muslim population of India, and in a less explicit way other minorities as well, are systematically cut off from access to legal security and civil rights through the discourse of national security.

In the next phase of the project, the material will be evaluated in terms of the themes and questions raised above and the specific dynamics of what Ayesha Jalal has termed 'democratic authoritarianism'.

Legal Dimensions of Natural Resource Management in the Argan Zone in Southwestern Morocco: between sustainable development and 'taking the best from nature'

Bertram Turner

Access to scarce resources in southwestern Morocco is regulated by a complex and partly overlapping constellation of legal frames of reference. Its constitutive elements are national state law, official and unofficial 'local' Islamic legal forms, and local variations of traditional law ('urf). The research focuses on the recent transformation processes of this constellation which have been initiated by transnational legal agencies. The institutional framework through which these became influential was the initiative for the establishment of the first UNESCO biosphere reserve in Morocco in 1998. The biosphere reserve is intended to protect the Argan forest in southwestern Morocco, a unique ecosystem which provides, together with agriculture, the essential means of livelihood for large parts of the local population. While a more detailed picture of the legal regulation of access to scarce natural resources was drawn in the Institute's last report (1999-2001), this report considers recent empirical findings and new developments that necessitate a considerable reorientation of the research agenda.



*Holy Argan tree from Tin Mansour.
(Photo: B. Turner 2001)*

Since the beginning of the research in the Argan zone, economic, political and legal issues have become more complex on several different levels. On the one hand, transnational legal policies have acquired a more substantial impact at the state level through treaties and international cooperation. On the other hand, the activities of different transnational agencies have intensified legal differentiation at the local level. Attempts to integrate measures geared towards reducing rural poverty into a policy aiming at sustainable development have forced people at all levels to reorient their strategies. The initial focus of the research

project on the biosphere approach has had to be broadened and set within the wider framework of the UNESCO programme against desertification. Intensified transnational cooperation against rural poverty also implies a stronger emphasis on the social dimension of access to scarce resources. At the same time, the expansion of irrigated cash crop production in the region has led to further complications. The incompatibility of strategies promoting sustainability in combination with the modernisation of agricultural production gives inconsistent legal signals to the actors in local environments. This in turn leads to an increasing demand for legal security from local actors, and to attempts to construct new 'appropriate' local legal frameworks.

Since 2002, one strategy of transnational agencies in the Argan zone has been to incorporate the approach of environmental protection and sustainability into the wider framework of the international programme against desertification. At the political level, this enables the widening of the scope of interaction to incorporate a greater number of Moroccan state institutions and political decision-makers and to diversify political contacts. Furthermore, donor states and agencies continue to insist on the creation of appropriate institutional and legal conditions to facilitate their interaction with regional and local levels without the intervention of distant officials representing the centralised state administration. Both the Moroccan state and the transnational donors consider the politics of regionalisation and state-controlled reorganisation of civil society in the rural periphery a means to enhance cooperation between local and transnational actors. This has had the paradoxical result that the influence of the transnational actors on environmental matters has increased. Yet at the same time they are challenged by the policy of increasing cash crop production. This is due to the fact that the Moroccan state agrarian agency relies on the expansion of irrigated cash crop production and seeks to attract Moroccan and foreign investment partners, while other state institutions build on sustainability and the environmentalist discourse in cooperation with their transnational partners.

Moreover, the diverse types of Argan oil production cooperatives initiated by different transnational agencies transform local legal notions of access to land and to Argan fruits, modes of agrarian production, and herding in line with different legal constructions of socially acceptable sustainable resource use. The creation of oil production cooperatives of one specific, economically successful type has become part of an official EU investment programme against rural poverty by supporting 'rural women'. However, in some cases there is no control over Argan tree fruit collection methods and traditional usufruct rights are not observed. Fruits are collected by simply beating them from the trees, and collection is extended into zones where the collectors have no access rights. Commercial investors in Argan oil production acquire access to local resources through local NGOs and cooperatives. One strategy in

this context is to organise cooperatives on the basis of descent ties. This allows for the control of the preparation of Argan oil production and to prevent, for example, the 'recycling' of fruit kernels that have been consumed by goats. These local production entities work on demand for commercial entrepreneurs.



Local NGO activists proving their capacity in attracting people to eco-educational tourism.
(Photo: B. Turner 2002)

In addition, other global players, in particular Islamist movements, have recently started to demand increased attention in the local legal arena. Islamist activists challenge the whole spectrum of local legal reality, no matter whether the relevant legal rules are part of Moroccan state law, official or informal Islamic law, or different spheres of local law. This also has a potential impact on the regulation of access to natural resources.

All these new trends have led to more competition among local actors, who have been motivated to organise themselves as local NGOs, production cooperatives or religious groups in order to obtain access to outside financial support. These organisations build on local ideas of collective action perceived as traditional while at the same time conforming to the legal requirements of new Moroccan NGO legislation. In conclusion, one can see that local legal practices are on the one hand revalidated and instrumentalised by transnational agencies as a blueprint for a locally and transnationally acceptable model for regulating sustainable development, while on the other hand, they are challenged by state intervention in agricultural exploitation of land and by different Islamist versions of Islamic legal thought. All actors involved in the competition for legal predominance advance different legal perceptions. Different global players confront local people and organisations with very different visions of what sustainability should be. A variety of Islamist groups try to implement their different interpretations of reli-

gious truth. The local people who have to react to these legal trends seem to do so without following a consistent strategy.

As a consequence of these developments, the focus of the research has been widened. The research will have to address the additional questions of:

- how the obvious failure of the legal initiative in the framework of the UNESCO *Man and the Biosphere Programme* will affect the further transformation processes of the plural legal sphere;
- what impact the new strategies of transnationally operating agencies, donor states and organisations will have at the local legal level and how 'effective' they are, in particular with regard to the tensions between the UNESCO programme against desertification and the policy of expanding irrigated cash crop production;
- how the concurrence of different models of sustainability with the reorganisation of civil society creates legal variation and transforms local regulation of access to scarce resources; and
- what effects Islamist activities have; which are rather unpredictable at the moment following the terrorist attacks on May 16th, 2003 in Casablanca and given initial reactions to this event at state and local levels.

Conflict Avoidance and Dispute Resolution in Ethnic Tibet

Fernanda Pirie

Tibetan peoples living throughout a region stretching from India in the west to China in the east have long-established methods of avoiding, suppressing and resolving their disputes outside formal state legal structures. This region, therefore, offers the opportunity to study and compare different forms of 'customary law' in relatively isolated settings and within the very different regimes of the Indian and Chinese states.

Ladakh

The isolated villages of Ladakh, in the west of the region, maintain considerable autonomy from the centre, including control over their political organisation and judicial affairs. Through extensive fieldwork I have observed the connections between mediation practices and moral concerns, a secular universe which remains sharply distinct from the religious and ritual worlds, and have documented the importance of local structures of power and authority. This research has, above all, highlighted the centrality of order as an epistemological phenomenon. The villagers have a clear sense of the boundaries of their communities and the importance of resolving disorder within them. Overt antagonism turns conflict into a community problem, which must be resolved with a ceremonial restoration of good relations between the protagonists.

This underpins the authority of the village meeting to intervene in such cases and the acceptance by individuals of their negotiated solutions.

From the starting point of this village research, carried out for a doctoral degree at Oxford University, it has been possible to consider and develop a number of wider issues in the current MPI for Social Anthropology project. These include the effect law of rights-based legal orders introduced by the centre on the village, the relationship between the realms of politics and that of ritual and religious practices, and the development of new legal forms, based on village procedures, in the urban centre:

1. Notions of individual rights are unknown in the villages. They do not form the basis of mediation practices, in stark contrast to international and Western legal systems which, among other things, aim to protect and uphold the rights of the individual. Such orders, however, impinge on Ladakhi lives in the form of a) state laws, which give children rights of inheritance to property, in contrast to the long-established practices of primogeniture, b) a form of village justice derived from the Western adversarial model and c) models of social justice promoted by development organisations. These radically different concepts of justice encounter tacit local resistance, but have unintended consequences, such as the distancing of younger generations from their households.

2. A fundamental disjunction between the political and ritual spheres can be identified in Ladakh's villages: a secular morality underpins political and legal organisation, while ritual practices, directed at a pantheon of local numina, pose quite separate concerns for the villagers. This separation is maintained despite the conversion of the people to Buddhism a long time ago, which, typically of world religions, purports to provide account for both morality and salvation beliefs. This local insistence on a secular morality is an important finding in the context of debates on law and religion.

3. Research in Ladakh's urban centre has revealed a conscious expansion of village justice in the form of a central mediation service set up by the local political party. Operating alongside the state courts, this consciously follows local forms, providing mediation without sanctions, promoting agreement between the parties and appealing to and extending the local sense of community and concerns for disorder.

Amdo

The current project is being extended through comparative fieldwork in Amdo. The first field visits took place in 2003. The nomadic people who herd yaks, sheep and goats on the plains in the far east of the Tibetan region are similar in language, culture and religion to the Ladakhis. However, their communities are organised along tribal lines into clans, which often clash over pastureland.



*Young nomad on the Amdo grassland.
(Photo: F. Pirie 2003)*

Research carried out before the Chinese occupation in 1951 indicated a prominent tradition of feuding, based upon principles of revenge. This suggests that the Amdo people have a radically different attitude to notions of order and violent retribution. There is also evidence of more elaborate and rhetorical forms of mediation undertaken in order to resolve such feuds, the involvement of senior monastic figures and hints of beliefs that conflict angers the local spirits.

While both feuds and local mediation have been officially suppressed under Chinese rule, initial research indicates a recent revival associated with a certain loosening of state control and the simple fact that official punishments for violent 'crimes' do not meet local expectations of retribution and compensation.



*Labrang monastery, Amdo.
(Photo: F. Pirie 2003)*

This project will, therefore, contribute to the major themes of the Project Group: by investigating the contrasting ideas of order and disorder between these culturally similar peoples, it will significantly deepen current understandings of order and disorder; a study of the dynamics of the relations between the political/moral and the ritual/religious worlds in these settings concerns the interrelation between law and religion; and the comparison between the constellations of legal pluralism within the very different state regimes of India and China concerns the revitalisation of traditional law within the context of the modern nation-state.

**Who Owns the Village?
Legal Pluralism, Cultural Property and Social Security in a Baltic
Tourist Centre: the case of Nida on the Curonian Spit/Lithuania**
Anja Peleikis

The project explores the dynamics of the implementation and practice of a new postsocialist legal order on a local level, specifically, the Lithuanian transition from a Soviet Socialist Republic to an independent state. Taking the example of the Curonian Lagoon region, a border region divided politically between Lithuania and the *Kaliningrad Oblast* (an enclave of the Russian Federation), the project examines recent political, socio-economic, and legal transitions in the context of broader historical changes in the southeastern Baltic. The study aims at contributing to the understanding of complex social processes of change and continuity in a specific locality over time, through the interrelated domains of legal pluralism, cultural property, and social security.

Changing Constellations of Legal Pluralism

The region under study, the Curonian Lagoon area, also known as *Memelland*, Prussian Lithuania or Lithuania Minor, can be characterised historically as an area of shifting political and legal systems with a high degree of population transfer, displacement, deportation, and resettlement. Today's reality of belonging to two states is a rather new situation. Apart from the interwar period (1919-1939), when the northern part belonged to Lithuania and the southern part to Germany, the Curonian Lagoon area was always part of a single political entity: until the end of World War I it belonged to the eastern provinces of Prussia and Germany. After World War II, it became part of the Soviet Union until Lithuania gained independence (1991) and *Kaliningrad Oblast* was integrated into the Russian Federation. Up until World War II, the Curonian Spit was inhabited mainly by a Curonian speaking ethnic group of fishermen. Most of them were also fluent in German, as they identified nationally with Germany. After the Curonians fled the region after the war, people from very different regions of the Soviet Union were settled there by order of the Soviet state.

Profound political changes are often accompanied by basic changes in the state legal system, with new governments trying to eliminate most of the existing legal structures and replacing them with a new legal order. At the same time, former normative orders may persist or are at least remembered, thus creating dynamic and complex situations of legal pluralism, which again may change under new political conditions. Given the changing political affiliations of the Curonian Lagoon region within the last one hundred years, the study expects various constellations of overlapping and intertwined articulations of diverse legal orders at different times in history. Taking the example of the

small town of Nida (Ger. *Nidden*) on the Curonian Spit, the project is interested especially in identifying present-day constellations and in understanding how legal plural articulations, with their Soviet, German/Curonian, and Lithuanian elements, are relevant in contemporary social interaction. One of the main goals of the research is to understand how diverse local, national and transnational social actors use similar or competing laws and norms as a source of power and social capital in redefining and reconstructing the political, socio-economic, and legal landscape in this Baltic tourist centre.

Struggling over Cultural Property and Competing Pasts

The thematic emphasis will be on the touristic transformation of Nida after 1991. The project will analyse local and national political efforts to implement a (new) touristic infrastructure in a period of political change and a national move towards 'Europe'. It is argued that different actors – local and national authorities, local Lithuanian inhabitants, the *nouveau riche*, that is affluent Russian, Lithuanian and Latvian tourists, German tourists and the former German/Curonian inhabitants of the town – make use of diverse and often conflicting versions of the past in an effort to claim the symbolic or material rights of ownership to the land, history, and artefacts. The study will identify these competing narratives and analyse current struggles over competing ownership.



*'The Making of the Past'.
(Photo: A. Peleikis 2003)*

In the attempt to reconstruct Nida from an exclusively Soviet tourist space into a new European tourist resort, local authorities make specific use of the German/Curonian past of the town. Narratives of a traditional fishing culture, famous personalities like Thomas Mann and German expressionists, who had formed an artists' colony in Nida, are mobilised and re-imagined in a bid to move away from Soviet appearances and practices towards a Western European cultural model.

The new tourist centre of Nida, with its expensive restaurants and hotels, with newly renovated wooden fishermen's houses, the 'Thomas Mann Cultural Centre', the reconstructed Protestant church, a newly constructed historical museum, and countless Western tourists, can be understood as giving the *nouveau riche* Lithuanians an opportunity to 'con-



*'Remembering the Past'.
(Photo: A. Peleikis 2003)*

sume the West' at home. Many of them have bought old Curonian fishermen's houses or built new ones in a similar style. 'Their money' has shot up the prices, turning the locality into an exclusive touristic space and a platform to exhibit postsocialist 'new-rich' lifestyles. By contrast, the former German inhabitants and their offspring have quite different versions and applications of the locality's past. Despite having lived in Germany since the end of World War II and not being allowed to visit their place of origin, the memory of *Nidden* was relived, reimagined, and shared with others over the years in the course of meetings of *Heimatvertriebenen* organisations, *Memelland* groups, and *Niddener* gatherings. After the independence of Lithuania and the opening of the region for travel, *Niddeners* and their offspring have had an opportunity of revisiting and re-appropriating their 'places of memory'.

Money was raised for the reconstruction of the *Niddener* Protestant church, which was officially reopened in a ceremony in 1992, reuniting some old *Niddeners* for the first time with their place of origin. Other meetings and reconstruction projects followed. In analysing the activities of the *Niddeners* and understanding their reorientation to present-day Nida, the project firstly tries to explore the various symbolic and material means they use to re-appropriate their 'village of origin' and secondly, looks into the conflicts that could arise with local authorities and the local population.

Changing Social Security Arrangements

The redefinition of Nida as an exclusive touristic site had consequences on the lives of local inhabitants. The cost of living has risen dramatically, making life especially difficult for the elderly and the immobile. Some of them can no longer afford to live in Nida and have had to move to places with a lower cost of living.

It is argued that one of the strategies is to invest in social relations with former German/Curonian inhabitants, their offspring, and German *Heimweh-Touristen* in general. Will we be confronted with a situation where Lithuanians provide Germans with the possibilities of re-appropriating their 'hometown' symbolically, while they in turn secure people's incomes through gifts, money, contacts and other forms of assistance? The project will examine these diverse forms of social networks in which Lithuanians, Germans and tourists of other nationalities are embedded and are involved in processes of 'exchanging' social security for cultural property.

Furthermore, the project will attempt to find out how local inhabitants have remobilised religious relations to secure their everyday livelihood. It will be asked whether access to different networks, i.e. to the Catholic Church on the one hand, and the Protestant church and the German Protestant donors on the other, has brought about new friction.

Social Security in Change: a case study in Rostock

Tatjana Thelen

This research project explores changes in normative rules and functions of different providers of social security in the former GDR. The special situation in the so-called 'new' federal states offers a unique opportunity to study the influence of law on social organisation and practice. In contrast to other former socialist states, the transformation in the former GDR is characterised by a rapid and complete take-over of the West German political and legal system. Part of this fundamental change was the transformation of state regulations and state-financed institutions regarding social security. The assumption of this research project is that despite this rupture, everyday knowledge and routines change much slower than outlined by new legal regulations and political incentives. It is likely that there are still traces of the old legal system to be found as well as of the normative principles that guided interactions during the former social security regime. These new conditions can be viewed as a situation of legal pluralism that becomes manifest in individuals' convictions about their rights, but also in views and decisions of social security officials or in the encounters between them and their clients. It is likely that the transformation not only changed the relationships between individuals and state agencies but also affected interactions between individuals. Therefore, a special focus will be on changing functions of personal networks for the provision of social security. As an integral part of social life, social security is central to the understanding of change. An understanding of changing social security functions will therefore also enhance our understanding of the transformation process in the former socialist countries.

State Social Security in Socialism and Capitalism

The welfare states in West and East Germany before unification were in some respects very similar, while differing profoundly in others. The capitalist West German system is mainly based on different status and professional groups. Not only civil servants, but also many professional groups, such as architects, engineers, or priests have their own pension schemes. In addition, the main principle for paying benefits (be it unemployment benefits, pensions, or alimony) to those who fall out of the labour market is to secure the former living standard of the recipient. Besides, there is material help for those who for one reason or the other have never, or not for a longer period of time, taken part in the labour market.

In contrast to this, the socialist security regime was based on the right to work. In theory at least, it had abolished poverty, and thus a special policy for the needy was superfluous. Nevertheless, because of shortages of consumer goods and services, definitions of need developed along very similar lines as in the West. Another similarity between the two systems was to be found in the respective pension system. Like the professional pensions in the FRG, the GDR introduced special pension schemes for people in leading or technical professions.

But there also developed a different kind of corporatism, due to a differing emphasis on labour participation. In contrast to West Germany, an ever growing part of the benefits distributed in East Germany were tied to the workplace. This included housing, medical care, childcare, shopping, and holiday facilities. This means that one main strategy for improving personal living conditions was to join an enterprise that had more distributable social security resources than others, such as those economic entities that were placed at the heart of what was considered to be an important industry. The principle of distributing resources via enterprises also influenced personal networks. That housing facilities were tied to the enterprise also meant that a colleague was potentially also a neighbour. Additionally, many private problems were dealt with in an informal manner through the workplace. People in leading positions, having access to scarce goods, were often approached with problems which would be considered to be private problems in capitalist enterprises. On the other hand, due to the shortage of services, it could be useful for people in high positions to have friends on the lower levels. Moreover, the workplace not only provided material resources, it was also the source for leisure time activities such as visiting cultural events with the *Brigade* or coming together with the work group for a barbecue. In other words, relationships at the workplace were multiplex, crossed different hierarchical levels, and produced a kind of corporate identity with the enterprise.



Former enterprise hostel before it was torn down.

(Photo: T. Thelen 2003)

This kind of corporatism closely tied another typical socialist trait in that the state defined broad social categories as having the same interests. Apart from 'the youth', 'the workers' and 'the rural population', 'the women' were also defined as having special needs. Though a 'women's policy' also exists in capitalism, the strategy to overcome these 'special needs' led to quite distinct gender regimes in the two Germanies. West Germany has a comparatively low rate of full-time employed mothers and a high degree of dependency of women on their husbands. Divorce often means dependency on state aid for single mothers, and low pensions for women means that old-age poverty is predominantly a female problem. In contrast, the former GDR tried to enable women to participate in the workforce and reproductive tasks such as cooking and washing were socialised to a high degree, even more than in other socialist countries. Consequently, a high percentage of women worked and received their own pensions. Unlike in West Germany, divorce entailed almost no economic or social risk. Due to the high divorce rate, as well as to the diminished influence of the church, being a single mother was socially accepted.

Exploring the Changes in the Social Security Functions of Personal Relationships

The change from the socialist welfare regime in East Germany to the West German model after unification in 1991 basically meant that most strategies to secure people's living standards were suddenly almost worthless. The former strategy of looking for a job in one of the more 'important' industries is useless when capitalist firms do not care about providing meals, housing, cultural life, or care for the former employees (the 'veterans' as they were called during GDR times). Also, the shortage of consumer goods and services ceased to be a problem after the unification, and in its place the threat of unemployment became the major source of insecurity. A new social policy for those in need was introduced and replaced the broad definitions of particular groups with special needs. This change in principles required a change in institutions, too. Organisations, especially the church-linked institutions that

took over formerly state provided social security functions such as childcare, care for elderly, or poor were alien to GDR society. This meant that clients of the system had to learn new strategies, for example, where to go to apply for financial aid, how to explain ones needs in terms of the new system. The functions of personal networks had to undergo a profound change, too. The research focuses on these two aspects of the changes that took place since the *Wende*. Special attention is paid to the question of how relations at and to the workplace changed and if other networks such as religious affiliations are gaining importance.



*Boat trip – part of the current programme of care for the 'veterans'.
(Photo: T. Thelen 2003)*

With regard to the gender regimes entailed in state welfare, the unification of the two German states meant that two very different systems were merged. Statistics about the high acceptance of female employment and out-of-home care for children among the eastern German population show that norms and values established during socialism did not change as quickly as the politics and administrative changes did. Nevertheless, women experience more difficulties in finding a job, reaching better positions and getting childcare, especially if they work in shifts. These changes may influence roles in the family, self-perceptions, and plans for the future as well as how parents advise their own children with regard to schooling or family planning.

Because of the high impact of the workplace in providing social security, the research focuses mainly on one former large enterprise in the city of Rostock. By concentrating on one former large state enterprise, the research traces these changes on different levels. The enterprise archive allows insights into the past when the firm provided the whole range of social security services to its employees. Also, 'care for the veterans' still exists, so access to the former employees provides yet another perspective. Working habits and people's life histories show these changes on the individual level today. By spending one month in each department, the fieldwork also allows an insight into the differences between social groups such as men and women, different age groups, and hierarchical levels. The additional participant observation in two social projects and interviews with officials allow some insights into the new organisation of social work and networks.

4. Comparative Essay

Vitality and Revitalisation of Tradition in Law: going back into the past or future-oriented development?

Franz von Benda-Beckmann, Keebet von Benda-Beckmann, Julia Eckert, Fernanda Pirie, and Bertram Turner

Global Unification, Local Differentiation and the Revitalisation of Tradition

In the current era of a globalisation and transnationalisation of law, the continued vitality and revitalisation of tradition in legal systems seems paradoxical. During the period of post-colonial modernisation policies, it was assumed that state law would make traditional laws obsolete. Models for economic and political development, the organisation of the state, economy (land rights), and family relationships were mainly taken from so-called modern, European or US legal systems. The plural legal situation as defined by earlier, colonial legislation was increasingly abolished and replaced by a uniform, codified law. Non-state laws were generally treated as an obstacle to social and economic development. Increasing transnational interconnections of political, economic and cultural institutions and processes over the past 20 years have occurred hand in hand with a rapid diffusion of western legal forms. Western legal forms are being exported to Third World states and the states of the former Soviet Union to an extent that goes far beyond legal transplantation during the colonial period. There is also a dramatic increase in the creation and expansion of international and transnational law. State institutions, international organisations, as well as non-government organisations are important actors in the creation of such a law. There seems to be a widespread consensus that we are witnessing a far-reaching global homogenisation of law, resulting both from international and transnational legal regulation and from transnationally assimilated national legal systems. Traditional legal forms are thus being imagined as destined to disappear altogether under the double pressure of state and transnational law.

At the same time, however, parallel and partly contradictory developments are emerging. Traditional legal forms are often revitalised, their scope of validity expanded, and their social significance strengthened. Tradition is gaining prominence in three different but related processes. So-called 'traditional legal orders', customary or religious law, play an increasingly prominent role in social life and legal practice. Secondly, tradition is more widely recognised as a valid kind of law by state and international law. Thirdly, customary and religious law are undergoing important substantive changes. These developments figure prominently in our research projects in West Sumatra (Indonesia), in the Souss in south-western Morocco, in Tibetan Amdo in China, in rural Ladakh in northern India, and in the urban context of Mumbai (Bombay) in India.

But we can speak of nearly universal processes that can be observed in many African and South-, Southeast- and Central Asian countries as well. Striking examples are the rise of customary law in decentralisation policies in Indonesia, the increasing importance of indigenous law in many Latin American states, and the resurrection of traditionalist chieftaincy in South Africa and other African states. In many states, demands to recognise religious law, notably Islamic law, as official law have become more forceful and religious law is gaining in significance in socio-legal practice. These developments are part of a broader tendency towards changes in the configuration of plural legal orders. They affect the relative significance of state, customary, and religious laws in various domains of socio-political organisation, causing new tensions or open and sometimes violent conflicts between them.

The investigation of these kinds of changes is one of the research issues identified in our research programme which transcends the more specific research questions of each of the individual projects. It thus becomes a central issue for our research to understand and explain these seeming paradoxes of transnational homogenisation on the one hand, and local differentiation and revitalisation of traditional legal forms on the other, as well as critically revisit earlier attempts to describe and explain them.

One common explanation considers the renewed emphasis on tradition in law as an indication of the failure or the imminent breakdown of the state. The revitalisation of traditional structures is assumed to correspond to the extent to which centralist modern states have lost their power of governance and legitimacy. Traditional law and traditional forms of dispute management are presumed to step into this void as 'alternatives'. Another explanation sees the revitalisation of tradition primarily as a rejection of dominant economic, cultural, and also legal globalisation processes. It is regarded as a conservative and often even fundamentalist return to original values and regulations for social organisation, as a tendency to turn away from the modern or postmodern world to original local identity. In both explanatory approaches, traditional law primarily figures as a relic from the past and attempts to revitalise it are seen as inward and backward looking.

We argue that these explanations are unsatisfactory. As a first step towards a better understanding, this essay proposes some preliminary ideas and conclusions. Traditionalism may often be an expression of a paradise lost and a backward or an inward-looking reaction to either state failure or globalisation. However, our research suggests that it usually results from present- and future-oriented strategies for (re)asserting collective identities and for dealing with competing political and economic claims. We discuss the effects of differing processes of revitalisation of traditional law on plural legal configurations, the possible affirmation of boundaries through processes of 'purification' associ-

ated with re-traditionalisation, and their role in the reorganisation of political authority and access to resources.

What Leads to the Paradoxical Simultaneity of Global Unification and Local Differentiation?

In some regions, traditional legal institutions have always been dominant in governing social life, whether they were incorporated into state organisations or not, and no matter how well adapted they were to cultural, political and economic changes. In rural Ladakh, for instance, the Indian state, its law, police, and courts remain so distant, both spatially and politically, that there is hardly room for legal contact and conflict with the state legal order. The state does not seriously attempt to enforce its own law, and the population continues to live predominantly according to its own legal norms. Even in the towns, where the state is more prominently present, local forms of conflict management continue to dominate. Under these conditions, one cannot speak of a revitalisation of tradition; continued vitality would be a more appropriate characterisation. But it is facilitated by the state which has developed a keen interest in out-of-court modes of conflict management. This in turn is part of a larger global trend away from formal courts to what is commonly called 'alternative dispute resolution'. Situations like that of rural Ladakh, however, have become exceptional. More common are revitalisation endeavours under conditions characterised by longstanding intensive co-existence of different legal orders, where tradition is invoked by a variety of actors, such as local communities, state agencies, and international and transnational organisations.

These different references to tradition as a basis for claims to legitimacy and authority are embedded differently in historical and contemporary political relations and can only be understood if analysed in the context of the wider, interregional, national, and transnational political and economic conditions. Usually it is not mere conservatism that makes people look for alternatives. Discontent with the dominant legal organisation and actual practice of the allocation and distribution of political authority and economic resources is a powerful drive for turning away from prevailing legal orders. It is these conditions that make people or particular groups search for alternatives to the prevailing state organisation and the substantive laws that organise and legitimate political and economic power. Recourse to ethnic customary or religious laws provides justifications for political and economic claims rather than being based on a desire to return to the past.

In post-colonial situations, the revitalisation of ethnic or regional customary laws often grows out of and structures the aspirations for economic and political autonomy of intra-state population groups. Especially in situations in which the state has encroached on local political authority and economic control over resources, pressure builds up in the

face of an economic and political apparatus that has disappointed expectations for an independent society in which a more just distribution of political power and economic resources had been promised, or when it has disadvantaged particular sections of the local population that claim or aspire to greater representation. Claims to these resources often cannot be based on state law or on religious law. Therefore, traditional legal forms and their legitimate authority over natural resources in the village commons are mobilised against the law of the state, as in the case of West Sumatra. In many situations, juridification of political and economic struggles largely removes such claims from the purely political arena and is therefore particularly attractive for opposing authoritarian regimes. Juridification in the sense of referring to traditional legal norms is often the only viable possibility to publicly express discontent with the government.

Our research suggests that retraditionalisation efforts, based on tradition, religion, or 'modern management', have their own logic and constraints, and that their value as resources in social, economic and political struggles are therefore different. Revitalisation of customary law is typically limited to smaller regions. It reinforces and actualises former ethnic boundaries and is an anti-homogenising force. While it often takes the form of resistance to the state and its law, the struggle for wider recognition generally does not challenge the state as a legitimate overarching organisation but aims at a rearrangement of law through a greater recognition of customary law within the structure of the state. Only under extreme conditions does such revitalisation challenge the state as a whole, i.e. in aspirations to secede from the state system. Religious law, on the other hand, largely transcends ethnic and sometimes national boundaries and competes with secular state law for political and social legitimacy on the state level and with ethnic customary laws on local levels. This becomes apparent when Islamic fundamentalists confront the Moroccan or Indonesian state and at the same time confront local social organisations with the demands for instituting an Islamic state. However, the case of Morocco shows that this relation can also be reversed. 'Tradition' is here abstracted from its traditional ethnic or tribal frame of reference and instrumentalised as a more inclusive, transethnic identity marker with homogenising functions. The local population and the state mobilise a unified tradition against the threat of Islamic fundamentalists whose claims are redefined as particularistic. In India, it is the Hindu-right currently dominating the central government which claim to be deprived of their just rights within India by the secular norms of the Indian constitution. They strive for homogenised and canonical 'Hindu law' and Hindu culture (*Hindutva*) that would obfuscate not only the legal norms of religious minorities but also the regional and social plurality of Hinduism and the secular norms of state law. Here, traditionalisation expresses claims of specific political groups

to a new organisation of political and economic power, new norms of inclusion and exclusion, and new bases of legitimacy of state power.

Other examples show that the government itself may initiate or actively take up aspirations for more traditional law, and that local actors and state legal agents often act in concert. This may be done to contain local political and economic aspirations, or, in a different vein, to find solutions to notoriously poorly functioning parts of the state judicial system. In India, next to the 're-traditionalisation' of the 'nation', tradition is also being rediscovered in an attempt to develop alternative modes of conflict resolution. These attempts do not remain uncontested. There is quite some scepticism among the target group of the state judicial reform in India towards the introduction of *Lok Adalats* as promoted by lawyers and international organisations such as the World Bank. The objective of this judicial reform is to make state law accessible to those who cannot afford long and costly court procedures. These institutions rely on consensual decisions and compromise, assuming that such procedures are more akin to the traditional institutions of disputing in India. The contradiction inherent in the *Lok Adalats* is that they aim at making state law more accessible, but this very state law is regarded as foreign to 'the Indian tradition' and thus inappropriate. But many of the groups affected by the reform see in the compromise-oriented procedural rules a weakening of their rights guaranteed by the state. Those who are assumed to 'be' traditional do not accept the re-traditionalisation of judicial procedures.

In Morocco, attempts have been made in the context of the state-ordered reorganisation of civil society to build upon customary legal institutions with collective responsibilities such as village councils, and to transform them into local NGOs or advisory boards composed of male family heads to organise public works. Relevant projects are, for instance, the construction of public buildings such as schools or installations providing drinking water. At the same time, state institutions cooperate with transnational partners and with recently established local NGOs for rural development to work out neo-traditional local regulations for access to scarce natural resources in order to implement transnational legal standards of sustainable development. Policies aimed at reducing rural poverty also rely heavily on a revitalised tradition.

In West Sumatra, both the state administration and local leaders attempt to give traditional legal elements a stronger position in the state administration. This is done in the context of decentralisation and reorganisation of village governments. While the return to tradition here has become the official government policy, actors on district and village levels operate with different interpretations of this policy. For some, a return to tradition means far reaching authority for traditional functionaries beyond the recognition of *adat* elements in the new village

governmental organisation. *Adat* leaders also attempt to revitalise 'pure' *adat* governance parallel to the state regulation of village governments and control claims to the natural resources on the village territory. Some of the more radical protagonists posit customary law and not state sovereignty as the basis for legitimation and deny a superior legitimation of the state.

Our research, therefore, shows that the reliance on tradition and traditional law does not necessarily imply a radical disinterest in the state as in Ladakh, but rather often involves a transformation of the state: its distributive norms, its recognition of authority, and the procedural norms that govern its administration.

Internal and External Forces: transnational actors

International organisations and donor agencies have, after a long period of neglect, also discovered the advantages of traditional structures and institutions and have started to support them. This process runs parallel to the ongoing policies of modernisation and a legal policy of neo-liberal market expansion. This new recognition is primarily confined to the field of natural resource management, in connection with environmental protection and sustainable resource exploitation, conflict management, and good governance. One of the reasons for this change of mind is the insight that the formal legal abolition of local laws and institutions has not led to their actual disappearance. Besides, contemporary attempts to promote the strengthening of civil society in connection with good governance have drawn attention to the existence of traditional structures and institutions, which often compare quite favourably with the undemocratic regimes in many Third World states. Another reason is the 'discovery' of indigenous knowledge by those converted from the ideologies of progress to that of sustainable development. This led to an idealisation of traditional institutions instead of their earlier denigration. But this renewed positive interest in tradition and traditional law has wider implications. In particular, the research projects in West Sumatra and Morocco show how western organisations perceive local institutions and law as relevant to their goals. Local legal regulations are perceived as well adapted to local social and environmental conditions. Donor states and agencies therefore exert pressure on governments and project management to take local institutions and law much more into account than before. But they often also bypass state administration and establish direct relations with local institutions. Stereotypical constructions of traditional law are invented by both sides in these encounters, which often have little to do with its actual historical character and its contemporary dynamics. Local actors gladly enlist the external actors' interpretations of traditional law as a welcome resource in their own struggles to enhance the validity of their own interpretations. But the more successful both sides are, the more

problematic these coalitions become. This is most visible in the sphere of sustainable resource management. For the external non-governmental organisations, the actual or expected positive effect on resource management is the main reason for promoting the recognition of traditional law. Often this means that local actors and their understanding of their own law are 'frozen' in a largely obsolete tradition, subject to the demands of a sustainable and non-commercial exploitation of resources. Through the freezing of tradition, one salient characteristic of traditional law, its flexibility, is removed. This process is reminiscent of colonial practices and is likely to have similar consequences. But it is unlikely that these interpretations of tradition will fully substitute the older, more flexible ones. As in the colonial period, we may expect that local actors will reject this frozen interpretation and reclaim the authority to state what 'their' law is.

Transnational influences, however, are not confined to international organisations and development institutions. Despite the various official schools and the innumerable local variations, world religions are transnational. Both reformist and fundamentalist interpretations of Islam and Islamic law, or legal interpretations of various Christian denominations find their way through networks of transnationally operating organisations to challenge current interpretations and practices relating to Islamic or Hindu law or to other religious teachings. They also challenge state law, local customary law, and more generally existing configurations of legal pluralism. In Morocco, the current precarious conditions of insecurity and the collective feeling of being threatened by Islamist terrorism (of *Salafiyya Djihadiyya*) led to a process of strengthening the position of 'tradition' as a commonly shared value. Tradition now has to be defended by all means against 'foreign' transnational influences, even if this influence pretends to be in accordance with Islamic orthodoxy. Tradition, which so far had been a local discourse, has now become the symbol and consensual basis for 'Moroccan identity' in its full complexity (Arab and Berber), to be protected by the state.

All these processes show that the renewed strengthening of tradition in law does not necessarily mean that the actors have traditionalist values and objectives. Nor is it a process that is only supported by local elites; many well educated, urban actors or diaspora communities fully integrated in the market economy play a leading role in the revitalisation of tradition and traditional law. In West Sumatra, for instance, many 'traditional' heads of descent groups promoting a wider validity of *adat* law are academics, civil servants or businessmen. In India the push for the institutionalisation of specific interpretations of tradition comes primarily from the urban, well-educated elite, and not from the rural areas.

Revitalisation of traditional law thus is related to globalisation processes in manifold and contradictory ways. Certain aspects of contempo-

rary globalisation have opened up new possibilities to press for more influence of tradition. For instance, the world-wide promotion of good governance and decentralisation policies has created favourable conditions for making the case for non-state laws in the public arena, where previously state repression would not have tolerated such claims. It has also increased the transnational mobility of actors and resources supportive of local peoples' cause, whether these are human rights NGOs or foreign Islamic fundamentalists.

Historical Conditions

The contemporary processes through which tradition is revitalised in law are shaped by historical conditions, particularly the specific ways in which traditional (non-state) legal forms had been recognised by and within the official state law as well as the balance in the actual significance of the different orders.

In Morocco, the French had artificially created a 'Berber (customary) law' during the Protectorate era, to distinguish them from the Arabic population and their Islamic law. As a result, for a long period after Independence 'traditional law' was not considered to be a publicly acceptable category. When they created this Berber law, the French representatives of the Protectorate administration had only a rough idea of what the Berber local legal order meant in practice. Like all colonial powers, the French introduced French criminal law. In order to prevent French interests from normative collision with 'Berber law', criminal law was kept under French control and new 'traditional institutions' were installed to ensure that legal procedures take place according to French expectations. Customary law thus was discredited as a colonial category of separation and ethnic classification of the Moroccan population into Berber and Arabs. It was the fight against this 'Berber law' (*Dahir Berber*) that is widely regarded as the starting point of the Moroccan independence struggle. On the other hand, official Islamic law became an unquestioned symbol of national identity in the independence struggle. It still remains very important and provides the official foundation for national state law, whereas the unofficial Islamic legal sphere, which is closely interlinked with local custom, was, already by the French, robbed of its most important conflict settlement institutions. After Independence, the state agencies largely accepted and tolerated local jurisdictions as 'local customs'. Some of these customs were incorporated into the state law, but mostly in their homogenised French version. For the rest, such mere 'customs' had a weak political position as 'non-law'. More important, they were no longer regarded as a challenge and potential alternative to the state's assumed legal monopoly. The official aim was to find a way to 'take account' of local and religious custom interpreted as being conform with state law through the estab-

ishment of pseudo-traditional legal institutions, such as the *hakim*, introduced in 1972, and modelled after its protectorate predecessors.

By contrast, the traditional *adat* (customary) law of the Minangkabau in West Sumatra had been recognised as 'law' during and after the colonial period. Even though its sphere of validity had been increasingly restricted and its practical significance had decreased, it continued to exist as a legal form. In the course of time, state courts and legal literature transformed *adat* law through their ethnocentric interpretations in ways that differed from the operation of *adat* in the villages. But in local legal practice as well as in the West Sumatran state courts, *adat* law still is the valid legal source for decisions over property and inheritance. This legal characteristic becomes the point of departure in the present period of revitalisation. This becomes particularly clear in the attempts to mobilise *adat* law against the law of the state to legitimise claims to village *adat* land that had been declared state domain during the colonial period. *Adat* constitutional legal forms are given more room in the recent village constitutions in relation to state bureaucratic notions of democracy.

India has again a different history of colonial policy. The colonial administration, in consultation with indigenous textual experts, *pandits* and *ulamas* respectively, codified the so-called 'Anglo-Hindu' Law for Hindus and 'Mohammedan Law' or later 'Anglo-Muslim Law' for Muslims, as well as separate laws for Indian Christians and for Parsees. The whole population was thus classified according to religious affiliation, and local practices were treated as variations of and increasingly aberrations from the versions of Hindu or Muslim law that had textual basis. Canonisation and homogenisation by colonial legal practice thus created official Hindu law, where no such uniform system had existed before. These religiously founded legal systems were restricted to the sphere of family law; in other spheres of civil law and in criminal law, the colonial state enacted various Common Codes that were deemed to be uniform regardless of race, caste, religion, or group-affiliation. The situation remained much the same after Independence in 1947, with most legal spheres being dominated by universally applicable norms and the plural legal norms based on particular religious interpretations being restricted to family law. State law, thus, recognised versions of 'traditional' religious law that were largely state constructs; while traditional legal norms existed in local practices without any official relation to state legal norms. The officially institutionalised legal pluralism, based on the religious status of persons and pertaining to family law only, is coming increasingly under attack by the political Hindu-right under the guise of a demand for a uniform civil code with an explicit reference to the 'Hindu tradition' of India.

These historical preconditions do not, of course, fully determine the conditions under which actors promoting a wider range for their own,

non-state legal order can be successful, but they influence the way in which tradition can be made legally relevant. It is relatively easy to create more room for a specific legal order if it has long been recognised as 'law' in the dominant system(s) like the recognition of *adat* in West Sumatra. In Morocco, the negative association of customary law with the protectorate past currently makes it difficult to have the mixtures of Berber customary law and local Islam recognised. It is even more difficult to claim validity for plural or divergent versions of legal systems such as 'Hindu law' in India that were homogenised and canonised by colonial legal practice. This is particularly problematic where the canonised version has been part of an institutionalised legal pluralism, and where the collectivity created by such a unified and homogenised version is the basis for claims to political authority. In India, the legal canonisation of religious law accompanied the definition of a social collectivity, 'the Hindus'; thus, any challenge to the unity and uniformity of the law of a specific collectivity would also challenge the claims to the political representation of that collectivity. But while there are many factors that hamper recognition of tradition, the world-wide expansion of the 'rights' discourse, the growing recognition of 'legal pluralism', and the recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples by international organisations (ILO Convention 169) facilitate such claims.

The Revitalisation of Tradition and the Configuration of Legal Orders

These illustrations show that processes of revitalisation and strengthening of traditional law are not simply endogenous developments internal to a certain ethnically or religiously defined population group. They always occur in specific contexts shaped by a combination of forces within the group and forces outside these groups. In fact, the fields of action in which these processes have occurred often blur the boundaries between what is 'external' or 'internal'. The frequent simultaneity of these different processes of 'traditionalisation', of politically driven claims by local groups or governments, or the management driven traditionalisation of governments and NGOs affect the configuration of legal orders and their respective social significance and political power.

Revitalisation of traditional law not only involves the relationships between state law on the one hand and traditional, customary, or religious law on the other. It also may affect the relationship between various non-state legal orders, such as religious law and ethnicity-based traditional legal orders, or the traditional law of a majority or dominant group and those of minorities. Thus, what appears to affect the relationship between two bodies of law always potentially affects the whole configuration of legal plurality. Finally, these negotiations often involve tensions and conflicts within each of the respective legal orders, i.e. when interpretations compete over the 'true' or 'correct' interpretation,

or the 'modernist' or 'traditionalist' nature of these laws and the scope of their official validity.

Hence, the boundaries between legal systems are often accentuated in these processes even if and where historically the interrelationships between state, customary, and religious laws had been characterised by mutual borrowing and substantive adaptations. There are many examples where elements from different legal orders were hybridised, as in the case of Morocco, where customary law and the local variety of Islam have become indistinguishable. West Sumatra has a long history of different interrelationships between the legal orders. At times, *adat* and Islam were clearly separated. But the contradictions between the systems were also 'harmonised away', and both *adat* and Islamic law incorporated elements of the respective other into its own system. Furthermore, Minangkabau *adat* has also incorporated many features derived from the law of the state. Processes in which traditional law is revitalised tend to break up these earlier peaceful cohabitations and hybridisations between legal orders. In order to enhance legitimation by reference to tradition, actors (re-)construct a 'purified' traditional law in which traces of other laws (be it religious and state law in customary systems or vice versa) have been eliminated. This has long been the case in India, where, as has been demonstrated, an ever more homogenised vision of Hinduism and Hindu law is gaining ground and syncretic practices are being increasingly marginalised. It can also clearly be observed in the propagation of orthodox versions of Islamic law in Morocco and Indonesia. In the context of decentralisation in West Sumatra, there is also a tendency towards a clearer separation of *adat* law from Islamic authority in the reconstruction of traditional village government.

What traditional law is or should be and what role it should have within complex legal systems is negotiated in different constellations of actors and in different contexts. Our research shows that struggles and negotiations over traditional law and their outcomes in one context – be it state recognition, state court proceedings, negotiations with foreign donor agencies or in the everyday life of people – cannot be generalised and extrapolated to other contexts of interaction. What these processes share is the interpretation, reconstruction, restoration, or reinvention of tradition in the light of the future-oriented strategies of different actors. This shows that traditional law is less characterised by age and stasis, but rather by its flexibility in reaction to legal and political needs, despite the recurrent attempts to 'freeze' it.

These preliminary conclusions lead to questions which we want to pursue in more detail in the ongoing research projects and discussions within the group. Further comparative analysis of the conditions under which religious and customary laws are created, promoted, and mobilised against state law or within state law will be one of the major objectives for the Project Group in the years to come.

5. Conferences, Networking and Academic Meetings

In the course of the past two years, the Project Group has intensified its attempts to strengthen anthropology of law by (co-)organising conferences, expanding its own network in the field of the anthropology of law and governance, and building cooperative networks with other institutions and scholars. We shall only highlight the major events here (for a full list of activities see appendix).

Organisation of Workshops and Conferences

Transnationalisation and Globalisation of Law

The international workshop *Mobile People, Mobile Law: expanding legal relations in a contradicting world* held at the MPI for Social Anthropology in November 2002, was the first of a series of meetings planned together with Dr. Anne Griffiths, University of Edinburgh. The aim was to look at the mobility of law under conditions of accelerating mobility of persons, capital, technology, communications and knowledge in a transnational world, making its presence felt across national borders. In contrast to most studies of law and globalisation, which deal with the interface between international and national arenas, the conference engaged with local perspectives and their integration with or resistance to these broader arenas. Transnational law in its various social settings competes with and shapes not only existing state law and individual self regulatory mechanisms, but also customary and sometimes religious law. The contributions provided new insights into political and social processes through which transnational law is locally appropriated by different actors. Empirical studies of processes of confrontation, adaptation, vernacularisation and hybridisation of law due to its transplantation across borders of national states were discussed. The papers also presented studies of modern dynamics of legal change, with a keen eye for the historical processes in which current legal changes occur. They challenged assumptions of homogenisation of law and show that transnationalisation of law appears to create homogeneity, fragmentation and ambiguity, creating space for negotiation for some, while barring others from making legitimate claims. The conference showed how users of law, who often operate in multi-sited situations, are forced to deal with increasingly complex legal constellations. Such users represent a diverse range of actors, including migrants who have a foot in more than one country; state officials and others who, through modern means of communication, are connected with and operate in many localities within and beyond a specific state; local citizens who may draw on multiple forms of law, including international conventions on human rights, in ordering their daily lives; and 'law merchants' who work for organisations of development cooperation, for international

organisations, or for NGOs. The contributions addressed the hegemonic and counter-hegemonic processes involved in the latest waves of transnational mobility of law that affect power positions of actors differentially situated at national and local levels. It also highlighted the ways in which the resurrection of customary law, occurring in many parts of the world, is a development intimately related to the high mobility of both people and law. The contributors assumed an actor-oriented perspective, focusing on political and social processes through which people appropriate, use and create legal forms in plural legal settings.



Participants of the Workshop on Mobile People, Mobile Law: expanding legal relations in a contradicting world, organised by F. and K. von Benda-Beckmann and Anne Griffiths in November 2002. (Photo: MPI for Social Anthropology 2002)

These issues will be explored in further international meetings. The Wenner Gren Foundation and the British ESRC have provided financial support for the next seminar series on *Developing Anthropology of Law in a Transnational World* to be held in Edinburgh in 2004 and 2005. The series will conclude with a conference/seminar to be held in Halle in 2006.

Property

Another major international exchange of empirical and theoretical ideas took place at the conference on *Changing Properties of Property* in July 2002, jointly organised with Department II and Professor Melanie Wiber.

The conference dealt with property theory and the role of law in creating, disputing, defining and refining property rights. It provided new theoretical material on property systems, as well as new empirically grounded case studies of the dynamics of property transformations. On

a clear anthropological basis the discussions also engaged with the neo-classical economic property school, ecological models, legal reform, common property theories and classic anthropological models. The case studies were selected for the theoretical contributions they could make to this wider body of property theory. The conference included empirical material dealing with both new and old forms of property, and from locations as diverse as Iceland, Indonesia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa, Russia, Eastern Europe, Germany, the U.S.A. and Madagascar. Most cases dealt with land, with concepts of justice, restitution, expropriation and the public/private divide, as well as addressing the historical and political ramifications of property regime change. Some cases dealt with water, forest and fisheries, cultural property and the human genome, to show how rights in new property objects or rights held by new property-holding entities often subsume and supersede the old property rights that predated them (addressing themes of privatisation, intellectual property rights and cultural property). Furthermore, in taking the 'bundle of rights' metaphor seriously, the conference provided new and significant theoretical insight into the social dynamics of property structures.



*Participants of the Workshop on Changing Properties of Property.
(Photo: MPI for Social Anthropology 2003)*

Several contributions showed how property claimants, who often operate in situations of legal pluralism or disputed jurisdiction, are forced to deal with increasingly complex legal forms for controlling resources and their flow of benefits. The property claimants discussed in these papers represented a diverse range of actors, including postsocialist states and their citizens, those receiving restitution for past property losses in Africa, Southeast Asia and in Eastern Europe and collective, corporate and individual actors. Ideological, institutional and behavioural processes through which people appropriate, use and create property forms were also examined, as was the role of legal reforms or transformations in facilitating them. The conference thus provided a comprehensive analysis not only of property structures and ideologies but also of property (and its politics) in action.

The conference also contributed to the perennially heated debates on privatisation, on group or culture-based property rights, on new networks and constellations of property rights holders and on the economic and social impact of various forms of property. But a significant advance was that it also explored the systemic nature of property regimes, how any one form of property is connected to other types, influenced by other types of law, functions in many social settings (including kinship, religions and governance), and requires other social and political institutions to function well. The conference questioned the sharp division between public and private that underlies most property regimes and discussed a number of fundamental problems of this distinction. Empirical studies of resistance, adaptation, and transformation of property law through both productive and political processes provided insight into modern dynamics of property, challenging assumptions about increasing homogeneity in property systems.

Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism Conferences

With Keebet von Benda-Beckmann as its president and Franz von Benda-Beckmann as a member of its Executive Board, the MPI for Social Anthropology was host to the Executive Body of the Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism and has played a major role in the organisation of the conference on *Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law in Social, Economic and Political Development* and a course on *Resource Rights, Ethnicity and Governance in the Context of Legal Pluralism* in Chiang Mai in April 2002. The conference and course, supported by a Ford Foundation grant of US\$150,000 to the MPI for Social Anthropology, attracted widespread participation from South and South East Asian scholars and practitioners dealing with legal pluralism. The Project Group is actively preparing for the next congress, which will be held in 2004 at the University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, Canada, and is being organised by the Commission's Secretary, Prof. Melanie Wiber, who spent several months in 2002 and 2003 as a guest in our Project Group. Bertram

Turner has been recently elected to the Commission's Board. Together with Fernanda Pirie, he will organise a panel on religion and law at the Fredericton conference.

Young Socio-Legal Scholars' Conference

In June 2003, the Group hosted a conference for young socio-legal scholars in Germany, which was coorganised with the *Berliner Arbeitskreis Rechtswirklichkeit*, the Sociology of Law section of the German Association of Sociology. The conference on *Law as a Transdisciplinary Challenge* sought to bring together young scholars of various disciplines working on socio-legal issues in order to facilitate debate and establish first contacts in this field of research that, in Germany, is rather dispersed. As one of its aims the conference wanted to examine the different concepts of law, the assumptions about the connection between law and social action that different disciplines operate with, and the methodological issues that arise from these different conceptual approaches. It proposed a comparative perspective of socio-legal studies and assembled a thematically wide range of papers: these included perspectives of institutional economics; constructivist approaches to law and cultural sociologies of human rights, historical analyses of processes of the transnationalisation of law as well as political science models of the latter; anthropological approaches to legal pluralism; and several papers on legal approaches to regime changes. As the forum for debate and academic exchange beyond disciplinary boundaries established here was appreciated by all participants a follow-up conference was decided upon, to be held in Bielefeld in 2005.

Law and Development

In September 2002, the Project Group, together with our guest Markus Weilenmann, organised a small informal meeting to discuss matters of law and development, which was attended by representatives and consultants of the German Technical Corporation (GTZ) who expressed great interest in the issue. It was an attempt to engage in a dialogue between legal anthropologists and policy makers beyond conventional law and development discussions, by specifically focusing on the question of the extent to which development institutions create their own 'project law' and how this affects the relationships between 'donors' and 'target groups'. These issues will be the topics for a seminar to be held in Halle in 2004, organised in cooperation with the Developmental Anthropology section of the German Association of Anthropology (DGV).

Cooperation and Networking

In addition to the activities mentioned above, the Project Group and individual group members have been active in expanding networks in the anthropology of law and governance. The Halle-Edinburgh link has widened cooperation with colleagues in the UK. Julia Eckert spent three months at the Department of Anthropology at the London School of Economics, initiating cooperative relations based on the institution's work on the anthropology of the state, and that being undertaken at the MPI for Social Anthropology. She discussed possible cooperation with LSE's Centre for Development Studies' 'crisis state programme', particularly their projects on India and Afghanistan. We have also intensified our contacts with colleagues in Austria. In January 2002, the Project Group organised a one-day seminar on *Anthropology of Law: Perspectives from above and below* together with Prof. André Gingrich, Prof. Werner Zips and Dr. René Kuppe at the University of Vienna. These meetings will be continued in the coming years. We have also developed closer contact with Scandinavian legal anthropologists through our guests Lund and Nielsen. There is also an ongoing exchange on the judicial reforms in India with Marc Galanter, University of Wisconsin and his colleagues working on the issue. This discussion led to the creation of a panel at the conference of the Law and Society Association on the *Reach of Law in India*. Keebet von Benda-Beckmann has been invited to become the European representative in the organisational committee for the 40th anniversary conference of the Law and Society Association in Chicago in 2004.

In Germany, various contacts and ongoing discussions exist with the Centre for Development Studies in Bonn (ZEF), particularly regarding reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan and the role of legal pluralism in natural resource management. Members of the Project Group have participated in MPI 2000+ conferences on decentralisation. Discussions with the MPI for Foreign and International Criminal Law in Freiburg about closer cooperation are ongoing.

Pursuant to the first meeting of German anthropologists of law in May 2001, we have set up a network mailing list *mail-rechtsethnologie.de* which serves as a forum of communication for German-speaking anthropologists of law. The Project Group has increasingly become a place where legal anthropological expertise is expected and where young scholars, funding agencies and development agencies seek advice. Members of the Project Group have also been involved in policy debates on issues of international development cooperation and human rights. Keebet von Benda-Beckmann served until April 2003 on the Dutch Advisory Council on International Affairs. As a member of the Young Academy of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences, Julia Eckert is involved in several inter-disciplinary projects, among them the or-

ganisation of a conference on *Solidarity beyond the Nation-State* and a project on organisational dynamics of transnational NGOs.

The Project Group has also been a focal point in the main international network of anthropology of law, the Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism. Keebet von Benda-Beckmann has been its president for the past six years (until May 2003) and she, Franz von Benda-Beckmann and Betram Turner are members of the Board. The past meetings of the Executive Board have taken place in Halle and the newsletter has been produced during the stay of the Commission's secretary, Melanie Wiber, at the Institute. The institutional basis of the MPI for Social Anthropology has proven to be a fruitful anchor for this international network.

In their research, the members of the Project Group cooperate with local universities. Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann participate in the Dutch-Indonesian research programmes on *The Impact of Crisis in Indonesia* and *Indonesia in Transition*. These programmes, in which the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague and the Universities of Nijmegen, Utrecht and Amsterdam and in Indonesia the Universities of Jakarta, Padang, Yogyakarta and Makassar participate, are financed by the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences. Participation in this programme has led to fruitful comparisons between the process of decentralisation in West Sumatra and other regions in Indonesia. Preliminary findings have been presented at a number of international workshops and conferences (see appendix).

6. Teaching

During the past two years, the relations between the Project Group and the Universities of Halle and Leipzig have become more intensive. Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann have been appointed honorary professors for ethnology at the University of Leipzig. Members of the Project Group have taught courses in Halle, Leipzig, Rotterdam and Berlin (see appendix). Since the last report, five PhD theses under the supervision of the von Benda-Beckmanns have been successfully defended at the Universities of Wageningen and Rotterdam (see appendix).

The Project Group has also played a central role in designing and teaching an international course on legal pluralism at the international conference in Chiang Mai of the Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism. This course has led to new initiatives to develop courses on legal pluralism in Jakarta and Padang, Indonesia.

Siberian Studies Centre

Directors: Chris Hann and Günther Schlee

Coordinator: Joachim Otto Habeck

Introduction

The Siberian Studies Centre was officially founded in mid-2002 and has been active since early 2003. Building upon the successful work of the Siberia Project Group (which existed from 2000 to 2002, see pp. 224-231), our aim is to establish a permanent centre for anthropological studies of Siberia and the Russian North at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology. Our research themes investigate the specific socio-political conditions prevalent in Siberia today in the context of contemporary issues and debates in social anthropology.

The Siberian Studies Centre is an inter-departmental unit of the Max Planck Institute and engages in comparative research in collaboration with members of the other units and departments. Research directions of the Siberian Studies Centre, its members and their individual projects are presented in the following section. It is planned to increase the number of members and research projects in 2004 and 2005.



The members of the Siberian Studies Centre as of August 2003. Top row: Katharina Gernet, Brian Donahoe, Agnieszka Halemba, István Sántha. Bottom row: Virginie Vaté, Joachim Otto Habeck. (Photo: J.-Y. Salabaj)

Building upon the questions of rights to land and property relations addressed by the Siberia Project Group, our focus is directed towards a finer understanding of individuals' and groups' experiential relations to the land and the landscape. Recent anthropological research has stressed that not only do places belong to people, but people also belong to places (Anderson 2000; Feld and Basso, eds. 1996). A 'place' in this sense is not limited to a discrete location in space; 'place' can equally well refer to people's movements and biographies. The place that one belongs to may be multi-located and include the taiga camp as well as the house in the village as well as the flat in town. For many individuals in Siberia, movement between such locations has become a customary phenomenon, and households can extend over hundreds of kilometers. However, over the last decade travelling has become extremely difficult in many parts of rural Siberia. The mobility that people had previously enjoyed is now severely limited. Consequently, their relationship to the land and specific places has changed in a multitude of ways.

Land is therefore to be approached in combination with ritual, religion and belief systems in the wider sense, as demonstrated in the research projects of Agnieszka Halemba, István Sántha and Virginie Vaté. Shamanic practices are particularly closely connected with land and the landscape; however, sacred sites are important also for Buddhists and Christians. Sacred sites are sometimes interpreted as indigenous ways of protecting the natural environment. From a Western perspective, indigenous peoples are often considered to live in a harmonious relationship with 'nature'. Representatives of the new-age movement attempt to recreate 'traditional' Siberian shamanism at a time when almost no-one in Siberia can recall shamanic practices of the pre-1930 period. While the revival of religious rituals depends to a large extent on contemporary reinterpretations of early ethnographic descriptions, Soviet holidays such as 8 March or 1 May are now considered 'traditional' institutions. These holidays are pertinent to what may be considered a belief system in its own right: Communism, which, albeit shattered and discredited, continues to coexist and compete with other belief systems.



Matrena Paraeva from the village of Kōkōrū, Altai Republic, makes a ritual offering at the Buguzun arzhan-suu (sacred healing spring). (Photo: A. Halemba, summer 1999)

A further focus of activities in the period from 2003 to 2005 is on young people. Members have been involved in the preparation of a conference at the Max Planck Institute from 15 to 17 November 2003, with the title *'Everything Is Still Before You': Being Young in Siberia Today*. This conference will usher in a period of fieldwork with the express purpose of examining how young people assess their own lives and their expectations for the future. This quest is based on the observation that many young people are rejecting 'traditional' livelihoods in favour of 'urban' life-styles (see the research projects of Katharina Gernet and Joachim Otto Habeck). How do young people acquire and select the cultural values whereby they develop specific life-styles? What makes a certain activity or life-style more attractive than others? These questions cannot be explored without particular attention to gender relations, which have been strongly informed by Soviet concepts of social life. The 'House of Culture' appears to be a predominantly female sphere, while tundra and taiga camps constitute a predominantly male sphere.

Research on gender relations and concepts of masculinity and femininity will also shed light on the question of how conflicts are negotiated in groups of different sizes. Most accounts of northern communities paint a picture of frustration, hopelessness and despair, leading to alcohol abuse, violence, and suicide. Early ethnographers' descriptions of 'Arctic Hysteria' and the concerns about alcohol as a 'killer of small nations' are just two examples of such characterisations. One goal of the Centre's researchers is to understand why in some situations individuals direct their aggressions toward themselves, while in other situations they direct them against other individuals. To what extent is physical violence legitimised as 'masculine' behaviour? Do individuals opt for violent behaviour as part of a certain lifestyle? Is a violent action such as suicide the outcome of an individual's decision, or rather the result of some *force majeure* such as a local spirit or the 'master' of a place?



Cha-Cha Shyngylai cranks the generator while his wife, Rosa, communicates with the village of Kham Syra via long-wire radio (Tozhu District, Tyva Republic.). Most Tozhu herding camps no longer have radios like this one. Communications difficulties and remoteness from population centres are forcing many Tozhu, especially women, to abandon life in the taiga, leading to an increasingly marked contrast between the village as a female sphere and the taiga as a male sphere. (Photo: B. Donahoe, summer 1998)



*Sea-mammal hunters, northern Chukotka Peninsula.
(Photo: V. Vaté, 1999)*

Examination of the meanings of ‘place’ and ‘space’ in combination with different expectations about gender roles and one’s own future also entails a critical reassessment of ‘tradition’ and ‘culture’ as socio-political concepts (see the projects of Brian Donahoe, Katharina Gernet and Joachim Otto Habeck). Soviet and post-Soviet society have had a remarkably strong commitment to social engineering on the basis of social evolutionism, which through Engels’ and Morgan’s works leads back into the history of anthropology itself. Probably more than any other region, Siberia has been a laboratory for ranking peoples on an evolutionary scale and engineering their progress along an externally prescribed path towards their collective ‘advancement’. The historical roots of this concept predate the Soviet period and may be traced back to 18th-century Russian interpretations of Enlightenment philosophy. The concept persists and its consequences are still manifest in structural approaches to socio-economic development and in many individuals’ considerations of how they should live their lives in present-day Siberia.

Finally, no region has more consistently been perceived and represented as ‘the periphery’ than Siberia. Cultural and political values have been promoted from the outside to such an extent that the inhabitants have come to see themselves as a peripheral part of society. Until recently, Moscow represented the centre of the cultural and political universe, whereas over the last fifteen years so-called ‘Western values’ have become increasingly important. Siberia, which is a major provider of valuable natural resources, continues to be perceived as a recipient of ‘culture’, which needs to be imported from the centre, regardless of whether the centre is Moscow or ‘the West’. We intend to question this habitual usage of concepts of ‘centre’ and ‘periphery’ and its underlying assumptions by viewing the local community as the centre of an individual’s sphere of action and perception.

Rather than treating individuals as victims of political and economic processes imposed from the outside, we see them as actively and crea-

tively combining elements of 'traditional' and 'contemporary' life. Creative combination of diverse strategies is more than just a strategy of economic survival. It is a way for individuals to exercise agency and develop their own senses of self. Only through intensive engagement on a local level can scholars get an understanding of such strategies and perspectives. Participant observation, the core method of anthropological fieldwork, is the most appropriate way to study these questions.

Colleagues from other organisations are invited to discuss these thoughts and to identify areas of mutual interest for scientific cooperation by sending an e-mail to the coordinator: habeck@eth.mpg.de.



Fieldwork sites of the researchers of the Siberian Studies Centre

Individual Research Projects

Ethnicity, Indigeneity, and Conflict in the Making

Brian Donahoe

In 1993, the Tozhu people, an ethnic subgroup of the Tyva people numbering 5,200 and residing in the remote, inaccessible, and resource rich northeastern corner of the Siberian Republic of Tyva, were officially designated as one of the *Malochislennye Korennyye Narody Severa* (Small-Numbered Indigenous Peoples of the North) of the Russian Federation. The Tozhu themselves had nothing to do with this – it was decided by ethnographers at the Russian Academy of Ethnology and Anthropology in Moscow. This designation, originally assigned to 26 ethnic groups in 1926 in an amazing feat of state-sponsored construction of ethnicities, has since the collapse of the USSR expanded to include 45 ethnic groups. In theory, it entitles the Tozhu to certain rights, privileges and concessions denied to the rest of the Tyva population, who would also be considered indigenous by most definitions, but who number more than 50,000, so therefore are not eligible for this official designation.

This case study throws into high relief the local-, state-, and global-level forces acting upon constructions of ethnicity and indigeneity in the former Soviet Union. It can also serve as a springboard from which to explore the paradoxical nature of the discourse of ‘indigeneity’ and the tension between anthropological theory and practice that it creates. As Adam Kuper (2003) has pointed out, the concept of ‘indigeneity’ poses serious challenges to anthropologists, as it pits anthropological theory against anthropological practice, especially that branch of anthropology known as ‘action anthropology’ and other forms of engaged activism for the rights of indigenous peoples. ‘Indigeneity’ is a relatively new form of expressing ‘identity’, yet it is generally articulated via the romanticized images and discourses of the ‘from time immemorial’ sort. Claims of indigeneity are usually framed in the essentialist idiom of descent – in other words, on the basis of ‘blood’ – the same metaphor dominant majorities have used to justify exclusionary and racist practices (Kuper 2003:395), and a notion anthropology has worked so hard to discredit. Ingold likewise notes that “the genealogical model is fundamentally a colonial model” (Ingold 2000:151), and suggests a ‘relational’ definition of indigeneity based on a “people’s lived experience of inhabiting the land” (Ingold 2000:133). Yet Ingold’s model also raises troublesome issues. Any attempt to put this relational method to work in policy would effectively limit indigenous peoples to a subsistence lifestyle based on the land if they are to qualify for the rights and privileges that go along with the status. Hence, it would either discourage people from choosing a ‘non-traditional’ way of life off the land, or, in the event they were to choose such a ‘non-traditional’ path, would jeopardize their

indigenous status. Russian law stipulates that, in order to qualify for *Malochislennye Korennye Narody Severa* status, an ethnic group must “lead a traditional way of life” and must number no more than 50,000. This definition, too, is problematic: it threatens to fossilize people in some vaguely defined ‘traditional’ way of life, and the population maximum is arbitrary and encourages ethnic groups to further subdivide in order to drop below this number.

Levels of Integration and Conflict

The purpose of the proposed research is to use the Tozhu and other related cases from south Siberia (Tofa, Soyot) to explore the ramifications of the special designation *Malochislennye Korennye Narody Severa* at different levels of interaction. At the republic level, the analysis of ethnic integration and conflict must be separated into two issues: the Tozhu people’s relationship to other Tyva people, and the Tozhu and Tyva peoples’ relationship to non-indigenous ethnic groups (predominantly Russians and Ukrainians). The Tozhu people recognize and take pride in their Tozhu identity, but not exclusive of nor in preference to a Tyva identity. However, their recent inclusion into the ranks of *Malochislennye Korennye Narody Severa* creates incentives for them to try to distance themselves

from the rest of the Tyva, and creates the potential for conflicts over the definition of indigeneity and the boundaries of ethnicity. Such conflicts are most likely to arise from and manifest themselves in struggles over natural resources, particularly wild animals and gold. The Tozhu, as *Malochislennye Korennye Narody Severa*, have the right to hunt such animals without permits, as long as it is for subsistence use. However, many non-Tozhu people (both Tyva and Russian) come into the Tozhu District and hunt these animals, in many cases to supply the black market in contraband animal parts (bear gall bladders, elk genitalia, musk-deer glands), putting great pressure on the animal resources in the district. There is now the possibility for the Tozhu to try to use their privi-



A prize bel (Rus: taimen), pulled out of the Kham Syra River, Tozhu District, Tyva Republic. With problems of overfishing and pollution from gold mining, fish this size are a very rare sight indeed. (Photo: B. Donahoe, summer 1998)

leged status to exclude all non-Tozhu people from hunting in the Tozhu district. Hence, the rest of the Tyva population are resisting recognizing the Tozhu as a distinct ethnic group. Clearly, the potential for this to explode in ethnic conflict exists, despite historically amicable relations between the groups.

For similar reasons, there is the even more volatile issue of potential conflict between Tozhu and non-Tyva ethnic groups, predominantly Russians. Again, there is a history of good relations between the groups, but the pressure on natural resources threatens this. For example, gold mining activities scare off wild animals and damage their habitat, and run-off from gold mining has polluted some formerly very productive rivers that the Tozhu used to rely on. In addition, the workers of the gold mines (95% non-indigenous) hunt and fish illegally in these areas, while other Russians use the gold-mining camps as bases for hunting and fishing, further depleting these natural resources. Again, there is the possibility that the Tozhu will be able to use recently passed federal-level legislation to declare their entire district as a “territory of traditional natural resource use,” and have it declared off-limits to all non-Tozhu people for industrial and extractive activities.

This discussion of federal-level legislation leads to the topic of relations between the Tozhu and state-level organs. The Tozhu, as one of the recognized indigenous minorities, qualify for limited federal funds specifically earmarked for their social development. But the earlier lack of distinction between the Tozhu and the Tyva population in general has led to problems of effective representation for the Tozhu at both the republic and federal levels. At the republic level, none of the officials in the administration who deal with issues related to the Tozhu people and the Tozhu district is an ethnic Tozhu. The Tozhu people’s newly recognized ethnic identity is also vulnerable to abuse and misappropriation in far-away Moscow, where the Russian Association for the Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON) is headquartered. RAIPON has uncritically accepted non-Tozhu people as legitimate representatives of the Tozhu, and funneled funds through these representatives who, in their turn, have misused the funds.

Research Questions

This case study of ethnicity-in-the-making offers an ideal opportunity to explore the processes involved in constructing and maintaining ethnic groups (cf. Barth 1969). To what degree are the Tozhu and Tyva people integrated, and to what degree in conflict? Which characteristics and core values will come to the fore in the process of defining the boundaries of who belongs and who does not? Will this ultimately lead to the exaggeration of cultural differences between the Tozhu and Tyva that had heretofore been ignored or downplayed? Will these boundaries shift as the situation shifts from Tozhu vs. Tyva, to Tozhu and Tyva vs. Rus-

sian, and if so, how? Will the Tozhu people's official designation as one of the *Malochislennyye Korennyye Narody Severa* prove to be a source of genuine empowerment, or will their relative lack of representation allow others to appropriate the potential benefits of their status? Will people who do not at present consider themselves Tozhu try to lay claim to Tozhu ethnicity in order to qualify for the rights and privileges accorded the *Malochislennyye Korennyye Narody Severa*, as has happened among the Tofa to the north?

At present, there is burgeoning interest in post-Soviet studies and in the indigenous peoples of Siberia. These peoples have a fascinating history of involvement and conflict with the colonizing Russian 'incomers' and their Soviet successors. Like the native-colonizer interactions the world over, this history is characterized by human rights abuses, exploitation of natural resources (gold, timber, fur-bearing animals, gas, oil), related environmental degradation, and now, the politics of ethnic differentiation. Thus, at the level of more general application to anthropological theory, this research will be analyzed in the broader context of the international discourse of indigenous peoples' rights, and debates over the meanings of such contested concepts as 'indigeneity' and 'tradition'. As such, it will provide a rich and productive basis for comparison to complement the work of researchers in other areas of the world.

Post-Soviet '(Neo-)Traditionalism' in Central Kamchatka, Russian Far East

Katharina Gernet

Over the course of the past decade, the indigenous groups of Central Kamchatka (Evens, Koryaks, Itenmen) have exhibited a certain tendency to return to 'traditional' economic activities (hunting/trapping, fishing, reindeer herding, gathering) as principal sources of subsistence. The revival of these economic activities causes what may be called a 'village exodus'. While most of the nomadic minority groups had been forcibly settled in villages in the 1930s and subsequent decades, their descendants have now started to (re-)locate from the villages back to the taiga and tundra.

In Central Kamchatka this development does not represent a massive movement. Yet, more and more members of the indigenous communities, especially unemployed men, are leaving the settlements to resume life in the taiga and tundra and pursue their forefathers' occupations. Even a few Russians – predominantly men who in the process of privatisation had lost their jobs – have started to spend most of their time hunting and fishing outside the villages. With regard to reindeer herding, the situation is somewhat different: the reindeer husbandry of Central Kamchatka has suffered a severe decline during the last decade. Nowadays it provides only a limited number of jobs. Many of the former

herders, however, who had been dismissed in the mid-1990s, would greatly like to work with a herd and live in the tundra again. Their desire to do so is consistent with the observed pattern, though the opportunities do not exist at the present time.



El'ia and other formerly unemployed women have recently founded a cooperative in the village of Anavgai, Kamchatka, and sew souvenirs for tourists as well as reindeer-skin clothing for hunters, herders and other clients. In the past, sewing was not an income-generating activity, but now it allows these women to earn some much needed cash and raise their standard of living.

(Photo: K. Gernet, 2003)

A major focus of this research will be on the meaning of 'tradition' in the context of these developments in Central Kamchatka. In the early 1990s Aleksandr Pika fervently promoted 'neotraditionalism' as a new state social policy for the indigenous peoples of the Russian North. Does the new 'traditionalism' in Central Kamchatka mean a mere return to the past, or is it, as Pika envisioned, "a forward-looking development" that allows "for a person to inculcate the 'modern,' 'developed' and the 'ethnic' simultaneously" and the development of "entrepreneurial activities in the non-traditional branches of the economy" (Pika 1999:23-25)? It is especially interesting to examine how young indigenous people look at this issue. A new generation is growing up which did not experience life under the Soviet regime and has only indirect knowledge about pre-Soviet times. How do these young people assess the 'traditional' lifestyle of their forefathers?

What are their expectations for their own future, and what role can 'neotraditionalism' play in realizing those expectations?

The project will also focus on the rural and the urban as spheres of living of the indigenous population in Central Kamchatka. In order to understand the relations between these spheres, the cultural values that people associate with life in the tundra and taiga, village, town, and city will be investigated. Which of these spheres do people, for example, experience as 'centre' and 'periphery' of their everyday existence? These two 'colonial' notions will be studied from an emic perspective, which has not been done so far in the case of Siberia. Earlier field research has established that the notions of 'centre' and 'periphery' do not apply to the situation in Central Kamchatka in the same way they are usually applied in our Western thinking. This issue will be part of the larger

question of how people organize and make use of their environment in a spatial sense.

This research will contribute to debates on broader topics such as ethnic identity and indigeneity; migration and mobility; gender and age; subsistence, market economy, and globalization; land, natural resources, and ecology.

The main methodological instrument will be field research in the form of participant-observation. Certain explorative techniques of visual anthropology will be used to break down barriers and provide the means to approach topics that are more easily addressed through pictures than words. As there are numerous ethnographic descriptions of indigenous groups in various parts of Siberia which may serve for interethnic comparison, a comparative framework will be central to the processing of the collected material. On the intra-ethnic level the pre-revolutionary situation in Central Kamchatka will be compared with that of the Soviet and post-Soviet periods. New observations will be juxtaposed with descriptions made by ethnographers and travellers earlier in the same place, as well as with oral histories and archival sources.

Cultured Places in an Uncultured Landscape

Joachim Otto Habeck

This research examines the notions of 'culture', 'civilisation', 'progress' and 'tradition' among inhabitants in rural and urban communities of the Russian North and Siberia. It is an analysis of some key values in people's self-perception and self-definition.

Recent anthropological research (Anderson 2000, Kwon 1997, Ssorin-Chaikov 2003, Vitebsky and Wolfe 2001) has shown that the notion of 'culture' can be mapped out, as it were, across the landscape of Siberia and comparable areas in the Russian Federation. Vitebsky describes a continuum from what is perceived by mainstream society as 'uncultured' to what is perceived as 'cultured' and this continuum coincides with the pathways from the reindeer herders' camps to the villages and through to the towns and cities. While villages appear to be 'less cultured' than towns and cities, they are nonetheless equipped with isolated centres of 'culture', such as the village school, the boarding school (Bloch, forthcoming), the 'House of Culture' (Grant 1995), and the village museum. The Soviet institution of 'culture bases' in the 1920s and 1930s (Slezkine 1994) represented the epitome of a policy that sought to bring 'culture' to allegedly uncultured peoples in far-flung places.

In a sense similar to that of 'culture', 'progress' and 'civilisation' seem to be distributed unevenly over space, at least according to habitual interpretations of these concepts in post-Soviet society. The reasons for these disparities are to be found in the tendency to equate civilisation with technological infrastructure and, more importantly, in Soviet and

pre-Soviet ideas of social evolution and the ranking of peoples on an evolutionary scale. Such ideas have created what Fabian (1984) calls 'coevalness' and Thomas (1989) describes as being 'Out of Time'.

What is more, since the 1960s these disparities are mirrored by what anthropologists have described as gendered space. The cultural institutions in the villages and towns are mainly occupied by women, whereas the surrounding 'nature' turns into a predominantly male sphere, depending on the distance from the village or town. In recent fieldwork in the Komi Republic and adjacent regions, Habeck has analysed these gendered spheres in the context of reindeer herding (2003). The question of why many young people are no longer willing to work in reindeer husbandry must be answered for each gender separately. Thus, an important component of the research is to ask young people about their willingness to work in specific occupations as well as about their expectations of what they will do in the future and where they will live.

An appropriate point to start exploring the disparities of culture and gender in a spatial sense is the very 'heart' of culture: the schools. Habeck intends to work (part time) as a language teacher in rural and urban schools, which will help to build up a pragmatic relationship with young people in a comparatively short time. The school as a point of entry will help him to understand the socio-political tenets upon which education and cultural values are based, and the mechanisms by which these values are disseminated.

From the school, the direction of this research may move in various directions. It may follow those who work and live most of the time in 'nature' (i.e., in the tundra or taiga). Alternatively, the research may lead to town, a place that presumably offers more opportunities, scope for action, and space for self-expression, particularly for young people.

Asserting that the predominant notions of 'culture' and space constitute a continuum does not mean that there is only one single understanding of the term 'culture'. Individuals may have very different interpretations of which places are 'cultured' and which places are 'uncultured'. For example, a sacred site may be an important and 'cultured' place to a select subset of the community, while others in the community are indifferent or not even aware of it.

As co-ordinator of the Siberian Studies Centre, Habeck plans to carry out this research in various rural and urban settlements throughout Siberia in comparatively short fieldwork periods. The purpose of this strategy is to visit as many research sites of his colleagues as possible without neglecting the organisational work at the group's home base in Halle.

The Land and its Multiple Values: the Altai as a focus of religious and political practices of the Altaians

Agnieszka Halemba

The Altai is the name of a mountain range that transverses the state borders of the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan, Mongolia and China; but it is also a notion that plays an important role in the mythology of Turkic-speaking peoples throughout Eurasia. In this context, the Altai is either conceived as a far-away and mystical place of origin, a beautiful land with powerful energy, or a historical homeland. Among the Altaians, the worship of Altai, its power and its relations to humans are recognised as the foundation of all human creativity.

The themes and methodology of the present research project are closely linked to the researcher's previous work conducted in the Republic of Altai. Over the course of the last ten years she has investigated Altaian identity in relation to politics, processes of nation-building, issues of ethnic diversity and religion. She has also conducted long-term research on the basic notions that organise practices and concepts among the Telengits, one of the groups generally included under the broader term 'Altaians' (Halemba, 2001; in press).

The notions and practices which form the crux of this recent research are informed by anthropological discussions of religion, ritual and landscape (Bourdieu 1993 [1972]; Desjarlais 1994; Humphrey 1994, 1995, 1996; Basso 1996; Vitebsky 1992). The focus is on Telengit rituals and religion and their interaction with the processes of nation-building in the post-socialist context. The argument starts with an exploration of the Telengit way of life. Its basic tendencies are explicated through an analysis of religious experience and ritual. The results of this study are relevant to the understanding of contemporary postsocialist processes of national unification. Research to



*This Buddhist stupa stood near the village Boochy, Altai Republic, until 1999, when it was destroyed by local inhabitants in a demonstration of their preference for animistic beliefs.
(Photo: A. Halemba, 1998)*

date shows that 'land' and 'movement' are notions crucial to understanding the Telengit way of life. New research will build upon previous findings to address the following research themes:

Religion

Altai ja? (Altaian way of life, mostly in relation to spiritual or religious matters) is based on people's relation to land. The worship of the Altai, its power, and its relations with humans are recognised by Altaians (including the Telengits) as the foundation of all other notions, images, practices and identities of the people living in this territory. People and land are so tightly bound up with one another that at times they cannot even be conceived as separate ontological entities. The Altai is seen as forming a part of a person, and people can also affect the state of the land.

Hence, the concept of 'religious tolerance', which is constructed around the notion of individual freedom, cannot be straightforwardly accepted in Altai. Religion, and especially ritual practices, are not a matter of individual conscience, but an active force with a powerful potential for making changes in the world. The Altaians are concerned not only about Christian, Buddhist and Islamic missionary activities, but also about *priezzhie* (newcomers) who see the Altai as a source of energy, a base for spiritual development or a spiritual refuge. According to the local Altaian population however, one cannot just worship the Altai in any way s/he wishes. Any ritual intervention can change the state of the land and hence its influence on the lives of local people.

These dynamics create an extremely complicated and tense religious situation in the region, especially in the context of contemporary discourses contesting the place of religion in the national ideology of the Altaians.



The kam (shaman) Aiyldash Tebekov gives instructions to his male apprentice while two women observe and record the proceedings. Beltyr village, Altai Republic, summer 1999.

(Photo: A. Halemba)

Nature Reserves, Parks, Protected Areas

The Altai, both as a land and a spiritual entity, and its inhabitants have increasing contacts with individuals and organisations committed to the protection of the natural environment. The World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF Russia) has prepared a nature protection initiative for the Altai-Sayan Ecoregion, which includes the establishment of several new nature reserves of various statuses in the Republic of Altai (Kuprianov 2001). The people who have actually planned the particular protected areas say that their main concern is the protection of fauna, flora and geological objects. They have not taken into account the reactions of people who live in these territories and rely on them for their subsistence. In addition to the WWF-supported parks, there are older reserves from Soviet times that have recently been subjected to changes in their regulations and borders. At first sight, this 'protecting nature' approach seems to fit very well with the Altaians attitudes towards their motherland. Educated Altaians often assert that among their people there is a strong sense of 'ecological culture'. However, the situation around the proposed and existing nature reserves is more complex than it appears at first sight, and requires further research. In the process of creating nature reserves, it has already become obvious that nature protection sponsored by the state or international organisations is often at odds with a more local approach that favours living on the land in a way that preserves it for future generations.

The most interesting development is the fact that some Altaians themselves have initiated the establishment of nature reserves, most of which do not coincide with the areas chosen for protection by WWF. This raises the question of differing standards of what is 'natural', 'beautiful', important and worth preserving. Moreover, some of these local initiatives have met with violent protest from other Altaians, who think that no codified legal limitations on the use of land should be allowed. According to them, the land can be protected only through the freely chosen, respectful behaviour of the people who live there. They are also concerned that designating any given territory as worthy of special protection will trigger an influx of tourists, which will in effect pollute the land instead of preserving it.

Tourism

In the last three or four years Altai has experienced a considerable increase in the flow of tourists. This is a trend which, given the growing number of tour agencies operating in the Altai, will certainly continue in the coming years. Local people in the northern regions of the Republic already discuss how crowded with tourists the area has become, while people in central and southern Altai are preparing themselves in anticipation of the expected stream of visitors.

As noted above, one's behaviour influences the spiritual dimension of the land. Hence, the Altaians have started to think about ways to communicate to tourists what the Altai means to them. For the Altaians it is a crucial question, because the spiritual state of land directly influences their lives. Several initiatives at both the local and republic level aim at facilitating this communication.

A related interesting issue is the increasing popularity of so-called 'energy tourism' (in Russian: *energeticheskii turizm*). This refers to tourists who believe that the Altai is a place filled with various sorts of energies and who go there in order to 'charge themselves up'. The Altaians generally agree that the Altai is full of energies, but they also believe that one cannot simply come and 'plug into' these energies. In fact, any effort to do so can be dangerous both for the person in question and for the people who live nearby.

New Ideas for Cooperation

Cooperation with local scholars enhances the research perspectives and Halemba is therefore developing collaborative research projects with two Altaian anthropologists, whose interests coincide with hers.

- Dr Svetlana Tyukhteneva (Institute of Altaistic of the Republic of Altai) is helping to develop a project comparing identity, religion and attitudes to land in the Khovd region of north-western Mongolia and the Kosh-Agach district in the Republic of Altai.
- Dr Vasilii Oinoshev (Agency for Cultural and Historical Heritage of the Republic of Altai), coordinator of all the archaeological research within the Republic of Altai, wants to develop a project on the attitudes towards archaeological sites among the local inhabitants. This research is very topical as there have recently been violent conflicts between archaeologists and local Altaian people. Dr Oinoshev's research is relevant in that the very concept of digging the earth and disturbing the dead goes against Altaians' sensibilities and principles of spirituality.

Buryat-Evenki Interethnic Relations

István Sántha

During his research at the Siberian Studies Centre, István Sántha will investigate interethnic and intra-ethnic relations among peoples living on the western side of Lake Baikal: Buryats in two different ecological zones (taiga and steppe) and Evenkis/Tungus (in the taiga). Additional fieldwork sites will be on the eastern side: in the northern part of the Republic of Buryatia and in the Chita Region. His research builds upon extensive fieldwork (Sántha 2003) as well as recent anthropological studies of the Evenkis (Anderson 2000; Ssorin-Chaikov 2003) and Eastern Buryats (Humphrey 1998).

Background

The indigenous peoples in the research region are the Buryats and the Evenkis. While the Evenkis are the most populous of all the so-called 'small-numbered indigenous peoples' of the Russian North (numbering approximately 30,000), they are widely dispersed throughout the taiga zone of Central and Eastern Siberia. Within the research area, they represent a very small minority in comparison to the dominant ethnic groups – the Buryats and the Russians. In fact, however, official ethnopolitical denominations and self-ascriptions in the region are much more complex and volatile. For example, those who are officially registered as Evenkis separate themselves into two groups: the *Evenkis*, who live in the taiga and use reindeer for hunting; and the *Tungus*, who live in the transition zone between steppe and taiga and use horses for hunting. This research will help clarify how ethnic identities are ascribed and negotiated in various areas. These areas can be defined along ecological and economic lines (notably taiga and steppe).



Western Buryats sacrificing a horse. The meat is divided into portions according to the number of family members. Women and children may eat this meat only inside their houses. Morsels and left-overs must not be thrown away; they may only be used for "feeding the fire". (Photo: I. Sántha, 2000)

Tensions between Buryats and Tungus (Evenkis) are described in historical sources dating back to the 18th century (Baldaev 1970). Ethnic tensions are nowadays played out in various ways. For example, they are visible in asymmetric mixed marriage patterns. Evenkis and Buryats rarely intermarry, but when they do, the patterns of these interethnic marriages offer insights into the relative social prestige of the ethnic groups in each period, showing perceived hierarchies among these ethnic groups.

Social structure and the reckoning of descent are organised differently. On a more spiritual level, the consideration of whom to claim as an 'ancestor' also reflects the awareness of ethnic distinctions connected with the land. Buryats in the steppe region will only pray to purely Buryat ancestors, whereas Buryats in the taiga region may also invoke Tungus ancestors if it helps to express ancestral ties to the land. Further intricacies of ethnicity arise with different livelihoods. For example, Western Buryats believe that Evenki are the better hunters and have a special moral entitlement to hunt. The Evenkis, on the other

hand, think that Buryats are entitled to keep domestic animals and use open fields to make hay.

Apart from Buryat-Evenki interethnic connections, interaction with Russians living in the area interjects an additional layer of complexity. Anthropologists have sometimes assumed that women of the 'small-numbered indigenous peoples' marry Russians in order to attain a more comfortable position in society, while the men of the small-numbered indigenous peoples are left out in the taiga with no opportunity to find a marriage partner. On the basis of his previous fieldwork data, Sántha contends that the issue is much more complex: often these 'Russian' husbands turn out to have a mixed Evenki-Russian background themselves, while the 'Evenki' women likewise turn out to be of mixed descent. The pattern appears to be that individuals of mixed ethnic descent choose marriage partners of similarly mixed ethnic background.

Ethnicity and ethnic relations must be studied within the Soviet-era political context as well. In Soviet ideology, Evenkis were considered the epitome of primitive society, who as such required special attention from the state to engineer their progress to a more advanced stage of development. Members of the Buryat intelligentsia attracted special attention from the Soviet state for a different reason: they were deemed a threat because of perceived pan-Mongolistic sentiments. In both cases, the state took various measures to repress strong ethnic identification and to encourage acceptance of a Soviet identity.

Research Questions

Sántha intends to examine the following questions: How did political events in Russia in the 20th century influence the local society of the Western Buryats and the Baikal Evenkis? How do local-level events recorded in local archives reflect 'big' politics? What kinds of ethnic identifications have people chosen at different times as a response to changing political circumstances?

A separate strand of questions will address the relations between the natural environment and ethnic identification: What role do the taiga and the steppe as ecotypes play in the different spheres of Western Buryat society and culture? What are the ethnic and areal phenomena (land use, life-styles, kinship and marriage patterns) in the transition zone between taiga and steppe? To what degree do social phenomena and different perceptions of prestige observed in intra-ethnic relations (e.g. between taiga Evenkis and steppe-taiga Tungus, or between steppe Buryats and taiga Buryats) correspond to those observed in the inter-ethnic relations (e.g. between Evenkis and Buryats)?

A two-month period of field research in autumn 2003 will lay the groundwork for longer, more comprehensive research into the micro-processes of ethnic self-ascription. In this research, Sántha will make every effort to present the points of view of representatives of all the

ethnic groups present (Buryat, Evenki/Tungus, and Russian). This research will serve as a basis for comparison and as a model for similar studies of ethnic dynamics in other ethnically diverse regions of Siberia. This work will also contribute to a more complete and nuanced understanding of ethnicity, kinship and land in the Altai-Sayan region.

**Maintaining or Reinventing a Relation to 'Nature':
religious practices and systems of representation in contemporary
Chukchi society (Siberian Arctic)**

Virginie Vaté

This research focuses on the conception of and interaction with 'nature' in contemporary Chukchi society. 'Relation to nature' is defined as the symbolic relationship that the human community maintains with both its 'natural' (landscape, animals, etc.) and its 'supernatural' (spirits and other entities) environments.

One of the spheres most directly affected by Soviet policies has been the relation to 'nature'. Collectivisation, sedentarisation, the policy of educating nomadic children in boarding schools, and state-promoted atheism were aimed at effecting a radical shift in forms of interaction with 'nature' and at destroying the conceptions related to it. However, today's situation regarding interaction with and conceptions of 'nature' shows not only change but, just as importantly, a subtle pattern of persistence and continuity over time.

There has been quite a long hiatus in research in Chukchi religious practices. The main sources of information date back to Bogoraz (1904-1909) at the end of the 19th century, followed by Kuznetsova (1957) and Vdovin (1976), in the Soviet era. Yet despite this lack of recent attention, the post-Soviet religious situation in Chukchi society is highly diverse and interesting.

*A Chukchi autumn herding ritual.
Painting faces with reindeer blood
represents the link between people
and deer.
(Photo: V. Vaté, 1997)*



1. First, there are 'pre-Soviet' rituals which still exist in attenuated form today. Herding rituals, for example, can still be observed in a form close to those described a century ago by Waldemar Bogoraz, the author of the most complete monograph on Chukchis. This has been possible only in areas where herding remains alive, in places that were located far from the central Soviet power.

2. Among sea-mammal hunters and in urban areas, on the other hand, rituals no longer exist in their 'traditional' forms. Instead, one can observe 'Soviet-inspired' rituals and/or attempts at reviving 'pre-Soviet' rituals.

3. In this emerging 'revivalism', we sometimes find the burgeoning influence of the *New Age* movement. This is due in particular to the Russian translation of Michael Harner's books, in which middle-aged Chukchis are able to find information to add to their inherited knowledge. Harner is a trained anthropologist who left academia and in 1987 founded a for-profit organisation called the *Foundation for Shamanic Studies*. He is very active in Russia and is involved in funding research in Moscow on shamanism. 'Western shamanism', as developed by the *New Age* movement, was inspired by 'exotic' indigenous cultures, but has created its own 'global' model. This model, called 'core shamanism' by Harner and his followers, is now returning to the places it came from, but in another form.

4. Lastly, the Chukchis are now a target of active proselytism by Protestant denominations. Attempts by missionaries in the 19th century to convert the Chukchis to Christianity were largely unsuccessful. But Protestant movements, such as the Seventh-Day Adventists and the Pentecostals, have managed to gain a growing influence over the last ten years in Chukotka. They are now beginning to reach even those reindeer-herding regions where 'traditional' rituals are still performed.

Within this complex context, Vaté plans to study how all these elements interpenetrate and influence one another in Chukchi representations of 'nature' today. This study brings together the anthropology of religion and the anthropology of nature. She will pay particular attention to studies on Siberian shamanism and on neo-shamanism, but not only these. Her approach is also influenced by Philippe Descola (1986), who considers that 'it is illusory and useless to separate technical determinations from mental determinations'. As earlier fieldwork has revealed, for Chukchis the 'pragmatic' is closely connected to the 'symbolic'. Indeed 'nature' and 'supernatural' entities are conceived as belonging to one continuum, which includes also human beings.

In this research, Vaté aims to differentiate attitudes towards this religious diversity according to the gender of the subjects concerned, their generation, their knowledge of Chukchi language and the environment from which they come. She will pay attention to the interactions between different religious influences and to their circulation in different

areas (city, herders' and hunters' villages, tundra), and she will explore these from diachronic as well as synchronic perspectives.

This will raise the issue of form and content of rituals present at different levels, from the 'traditional' rituals to the Protestant movements. For instance, today 'pre-soviet' rituals still persist in their old form, but do they also show persistence in content? 'Traditionally', herders and hunters have different ritual cycles, but do these distinctions reflect different representations of their relationship to 'nature'? Atheist Soviet policy attempted to create rituals 'national in form, but socialist in content'. Did they succeed in their attempt? As noted, some middle-age Chukchis look to Harner's books for content for their rituals. Does this new content, in turn, influence the form? Pentecostals and Adventists radically condemn the form of all Chukchi ritual practices. But can they replace their content?

This research builds on 31 months of fieldwork, undertaken both in rural and urban areas of Chukotka, including six months in tundra encampments. Further fieldwork is planned in herding areas and sea-mammal hunting areas as well as urban areas. The work will be complemented by archival research in Saint-Petersburg.

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Coordination, Representation, and Services

Research Coordination

Bettina Mann

Together with the administration and the IT-department, research coordination is one of the central service units at the MPI for Social Anthropology. Having started with a research coordinator and two translators, the team gained an assistant to the research coordinator in April 2002 and will add two further members for documentation and project funding by the end of 2003.

Guest Programme

Since the founding of the MPI for Social Anthropology, the extended guest programme has been one of the main pillars of an active scientific and social life. Visiting scholars are invited to augment and complement ongoing research and to present their own projects to the Institute's staff (see appendix). In the last two years several scholars have been invited jointly by the MPI for Social Anthropology and its partners at the universities in Leipzig and Halle. These kinds of joint invitations will increase in the future, not least because of the immediate neighbourhood of the Institute for Social Anthropology of the Martin Luther University in Halle, which moved into its permanent location next door to the MPI for Social Anthropology in November 2003.

The time that visiting researchers spend at the MPI for Social Anthropology is carefully prepared by the administration, the visitors themselves, and the MPI colleagues who invite them. Visiting researchers receive detailed information about the Institute and are personally introduced to the service units and to the colleagues at our Institute. Members of the research coordination unit, together with the departmental secretaries, give assistance in practical and organisational matters during their stay. Since April 2002 the Institute has been able to offer accommodation in its adjacent guesthouse, which consists of nine apartments of various sizes. Visiting researchers are provided with an office and computer facilities, so that they can start working immediately upon arrival.

Conference and Event Management

The research coordination unit coordinates conferences, workshops and further events for all departments and research groups at the Institute. It is involved in the planning of scientific activities and coordinates the schedule for the current and following years. In close cooperation with

the Institute's administration and the departmental secretaries, research coordination supports the researchers in the organisation of workshops and conferences and relieves the convenors of responsibility for the practical management of events.

Public Relations, Research Documentation and Publishing

A further task of research coordination is to produce and coordinate the institute's joint publications, including the contributions of the Institute to several regular publications of the Max Planck Society (Yearbook, Guide to the MPIs, etc.), the bi-annual report of the Institute and the MPI for Social Anthropology Working Paper Series. The unit's staff does editing, copy-editing and typesetting. In addition, it manages the print production and posts the Working Papers online on the Institute's webpage. It also assists the researchers in proof-reading in German and English and does German-English and English-German translations.¹ In cooperation with the researchers and members of the IT Department, research coordination produces promotional material about the Institute, e.g., an Institute flyer in German and English as well as posters presenting the research projects. The research coordination unit documents the research done at the Institute by gathering, organizing and archiving the data, and it compiles information for different audiences inside and outside the Institute.

In close cooperation with members of the IT-group and the secretaries of the departments, the unit designs and maintains the Institute's website and coordinates the ongoing development of the intranet for employees and visiting researchers. During the last two years the Institute's intranet has gained increasing significance as a medium for internal communication and has been improved according to the needs of different user groups. Staff and guests have the option of making announcements in order to inform their colleagues about scientific and social events. The research coordination and members of the IT-group are deliberating over plans to enhance the intranet's function as an archive of research activities.

Because of the increasing importance of the public understanding of science, the Institute has an open house policy, welcoming individual students and student groups from the universities in Leipzig and Halle. Research coordination tries to facilitate informal visits by students and scholars by introducing them to researchers and the library staff and giving overviews of our research programme. In 2002 and 2003, the MPI for Social Anthropology, working together with colleagues in Halle, was active during the *Lange Nacht der Wissenschaften* ('Long Night of Sciences'), which is organised by the Martin Luther University. On these

¹ See the contribution on translation by Andreas Hemming.

occasions the Institute introduced itself to a wider audience. Around 300 visitors attended the talks, films and slide-shows of our researchers, engaged in direct discussions with MPI colleagues and became acquainted with our new location, to which we moved at the end of 2001.

In addition, researchers have given public talks to wider audiences in the context of various popular events organised by local NGO's and associations (see appendix). In lectures and film presentations based on materials gathered during fieldwork and in discussion forums, anthropological knowledge has been transferred to the interested members of the general public. Members of the Institute have been interviewed by local and national radio stations and by newspapers as well.

Internships

Over the course of the last two years, the Institute has improved and enlarged its programme for interns and trainees. Students of anthropology and neighbouring disciplines and pupils and trainees interested in administration, IT or research coordination are invited to apply for an internship at the MPI for Social Anthropology. The research coordinator collects applications from prospective interns who are interested in scientific research and arranges internships with members of the scientific staff. Interns are integrated into ongoing research projects and are supervised by one or two researchers. The respective supervisors discuss objectives and tasks with the interns, so that they may gain insights into different aspects and problems of scientific work and enjoy a productive stay at the Institute.²

In-House Training

As mentioned in other sections of this report, the MPI for Social Anthropology has broadened its in-house training for Institute members over the last years. In a series of seminars, members of the scientific staff have been introduced to Institute facilities and to administrative procedures relevant to researchers. Because of the central significance of extended fieldwork and related methods and technologies, special training is offered before researchers leave for fieldwork. Practical training includes an introduction to the wide range of technical equipment which is used during fieldwork, audio-visual technologies, the use of special software for qualitative and quantitative data analysis, fieldwork methods such as micro-censuses and the genealogical method and more general discussions of research design and methodology. Depending on their contents, the seminars have been led by senior researchers of the Institute, members of the IT-group, research coordination or external

² See also the contribution by Nina Glick Schiller, pp. 195-196).

scholars (see the reports of the Visual Group and the IT-group). The Institute organises German lessons for new international colleagues.

Support for Fund Raising

Due to recent developments in the public funding of science on national and international levels, the raising of external financial support is becoming increasingly important. In the last two years, members of the MPI for Social Anthropology started to apply for external funding, especially for projects which follow up and expand upon questions stimulated by ongoing research. The research coordination collects and distributes information on project funding by national and international organisations and provides advice for researchers. Researchers are supported by the research coordination staff in preparing funding applications. The research coordinator keeps an overview of applications and works as liaison officer with the respective officers in the administrative headquarter of the Max Planck Society and other science foundations. As the Institute's EU-liaison officer, she is involved in the scientific and practical aspects of the preparation of applications in the context of the Sixth Framework Programme of the European Union (see pp. 265-267).

Selbstverwaltung and Interdepartmental Cooperation at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology: a report on the founding and functioning of the Researchers' Assembly

John Eidson and Bettina Mann

In December 2002, the members of the scientific staff of the MPI for Social Anthropology resolved at a meeting attended by a quorum of all scientists in residence to found a deliberative and consultative body to be known as the Researchers' Assembly (RA). The RA includes all active and visiting members of the scientific staff in both Departments and in the Project Group on 'Legal Pluralism', as well as the new colleagues from the Siberian Studies Centre with the exception of the members of the Kollegium. The institute's research coordinator attends each meeting, and members of the Kollegium and the administration are invited to attend for special events or to discuss particular substantive issues. The RA meets once a month. The chair of the RA is rotating. Each new chairperson and secretary is chosen from the members of the scientific staff, regardless of their status as doctoral candidates, holders of stipends, or postdoctoral staff members. Usually, the meeting of the RA precedes the meeting of the Kollegium by a day or a few days. At the subsequent meeting of the Kollegium, the researchers are represented by the past chairperson and secretary, who communicate the resolutions of the RA to the Kollegium.

The RA was founded over two years after the first members of the scientific staff arrived in Halle to begin building up the MPI for Social Anthropology. In the first two years of our institute, scientists discussed matters of common concern and conveyed their concerns to the members of the Kollegium informally. However, with the growth of our institute, especially after the move into our permanent quarters on Advokatenweg at the end of the year 2001, the researchers felt the need for a more formal, systematic and regular way of exchanging ideas on various issues, making decisions, and communicating with the Kollegium.

Most generally, topics of discussion at the RA have touched upon the role of the members of the scientific staff in institute governance and in planning the scientific program. The RA has provided orientation for new members of the scientific staff and helped clarify procedures for drawing up budgets for field research. In addition, the RA took the lead in planning and carrying out a methods seminar for fieldworkers in 2003, in cooperation with the research coordination staff. Issues pertaining to the ownership of intellectual property resulting from field research by members of the scientific staff have also been an ongoing topic of discussion. Currently, the members of the RA are helping to articulate plans for a data archive, which will include materials gathered

by fieldworkers in their capacity as Max Planck scientists. The RA also attends closely to difficulties that members of the scientific staff may experience during their employment at the MPI. For example, the RA has taken the initiative to support the interests of colleagues who have had difficulty in obtaining the visas required for visiting foreign countries for scientific purposes. Finally, the RA has played an active role in planning and composing this second biannual report of the MPI for Social Anthropology.

The RA serves to establish a forum for all members of the scientific staff, regardless of status or departmental affiliation, to exchange ideas and arrive at decisions on various issues. No less important than administrative issues is the cross-fertilisation that occurs among researchers working on varying topics in different geographical settings. As a result of both informal contacts among researchers in the course of everyday activities and more formal exchanges at the monthly meetings of the RA, a number of scientific projects have been initiated. These include cooperative and comparative endeavours, such as joint papers and plans for future workshops and conferences. In this way as well, the RA has provided a valuable supplement to the very active informal contacts that have characterised relations among all scientific members of our institute since its founding.

The MPI Visual Group

Judith Orland and Michaela Pelican

The MPI Visual Group was formed in 2002 and is a joint project involving researchers from Departments I and II, members of the research coordination and the IT department. Our aim is to develop the creative and interactive potential of visual anthropological methods in research and representation. Our field experience has shown that textual material (i.e. typed interviews, reports, articles, books) is often incomprehensible or relatively meaningless to people on the ground. Photographs, film, multi-media and role playing, on the other hand, attract people's interest and encourage their active participation in the research endeavour irrespective of their educational backgrounds. This experience applies not only to the people with whom we have worked in our various field sites, but also to academic and public audiences to whom our presentations are addressed. This has resulted in an attempt at integrating alternative and complementary forms of communication and representation into our work, despite the fact that scientific conventions favour textual over visual thinking.

MPI researchers are provided with modern media equipment and basic training in camera handling, image processing, digital editing and multi-media presentation. Many researchers have made various uses of these skills, ranging from elaborate Power Point presentations at workshops to the production of ethnographic documentaries. The positive feedback from our partners in the field, from academic colleagues and audiences has encouraged us to continue in this direction.



From 'Getting along in the Grassfields'. Preparing for the 3 day video screening in Misaje, Cameroon. (Photo: M. Pelican)

In their documentary *Getting along in the Grassfields* Michaela Pelican and Judith Orland introduce the fieldwork situation and illustrate methods of data-collection and feedback processes. Video-sequences were selected and edited to visualise the anthropologist's attempt to deal with the complexity and dynamics of ethnic interaction. The film does without a narrative-style explanatory voice-over and includes only a few commentaries, so as to encourage the viewer to develop his/her own

associations and interpretations. The themes addressed are interethnic relations and identity politics in a culturally, religiously and ethnically complex setting.

The first part of the documentary illustrates the link between national festivals and cultural activities in village life. Through its cultural policies, the current Cameroonian government strengthens ethnic consciousness and social difference by encouraging participation in national festivals in ethnic terms. In their performances the villagers draw on cultural activities in village life, i.e. on rituals and ceremonies guided by social norms and restrictions, which, in turn, affect participation in national festivals. Muslim adult women, for example, find it highly problematic to perform in public; their participation in national festivals is therefore mainly a political statement. The second part of the film starts with an overview of the market scenery, illustrating how the various groups contribute to the village economy and how economic activities tend to be associated with ethnicity, gender and religious affiliations. Interviews with market participants further represent individuals' assessments of their economic involvement against the background of socio-cultural conceptions and economic constraints. The film also says something about the interrelation of the anthropologist with the 'field'.

In the third part, we see the anthropologist as participant and actor in the local setting. We listen to the comments of informants – now becoming authors themselves – reflecting on the visual ethnographic venture. Muslim women perceive the opportunity of taking part in plays or films and being seen in foreign countries as a chance to transcend social boundaries and present themselves to the public without contravening social and religious norms. Other spectators point at the reflexive capacity of ethnographic film: in confronting their reality of ethnic and cultural plurality and heterogeneity they recognise the needs and benefits of getting along and learning from each other. Participants also declared that viewing the ethnographic video footage helped them to better understand the technical aspects of film-making and the nature of anthropological research.

The film was presented and discussed within the MPI, at anthropological conferences and with visual anthropologists. It has been successfully incorporated into public presentations (i.e. at the *Long Night of Sciences* and the *Africa Week* in Halle/Saale in 2002).

Apart from this documentary, a number of other films produced by MPI researchers were shown at various public events in the Institute: Aimar Ventsel's *Popular Culture in Sakha* (2002) illustrates the emerging pop-music scene in rural Siberia. Alexander King's *Xololo Ritual among the Nymylan in Kamchatka, Russia* (2002) closely documents the process of a particular hunting ritual. John Ziker in cooperation with Oliver Weihmann visualised *Life and Death in Taimyr, Siberia* (2003). And Judith Orland's short film *...they call it Ramadan atmosphere...* (2003) depicts a Ramadan evening celebration with Christian and Muslims in Amman, Jordan.

Current activities of the Visual Group include regular film screenings followed by discussions and the organisation of in-house training in camera handling, image processing and digital editing. This is supplemented by focused instruction by external experts. In June 2003, for example, the visual anthropologist Peter Loizos was invited by Department I (Integration and Conflict) to give a seminar on fieldwork methodologies which included a two-day intensive workshop on 'Video and Ethnographic Film'. Exposing the workshop participants to different film styles, conventions and ethical issues, he contributed significantly to sharpening their conceptions and understanding of the use of photography and video in the field. Researchers also had the opportunity of enhanced training in camera handling and sound recording.

The Visual Group plans to continue its film screenings and to enhance its members' skills in the fields of filmmaking and multi-media production. New video projects are envisaged. The Central Asia Group, for example, plans to analyse and draw comparisons from video footage taken by the researchers in the course of their PhD and post-doc fieldwork in Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakstan and to produce a short film. Vlad Naumescu will shoot footage to eventually make a documentary on Greek-Catholics in Ukraine and Romania. In addition, the Visual Group intends to invest more into multi-media production.

Translation at the MPI for Social Anthropology

Andreas Hemming

The Research Coordination unit at the MPI for Social Anthropology includes two translators; one each for translations into English and into German. Diana Quetz has been with the institute since March 2000 and is primarily responsible for translations into German. She studied British and American Studies, Arabic and Linguistics in Halle and Aberdeen. Andreas Hemming, who studied Anthropology, Philosophy and Media Studies in Waterloo (Canada) and Marburg, is responsible for translations into English. He joined the institute in September 2001.

The work of the translators can be divided roughly into two main areas. The first and most important is the translation and stylistic correction of scientific manuscripts that are to be submitted to international scientific journals, published in collected works, editions of conference papers or as part of the Institute's Working Papers Series. Shorter reports, conference papers and posters intended for both internal scientific exchange and public relations purposes are also gone over by the translators. Other texts of a scientific nature such as peer reviews, letters of reference, correspondence and grant applications are also translated or reviewed by the translation staff.

The second area where the translators are active relates to official documents and administrative matters. While most scientific staff

members speak English, not all are proficient in German. Administrative documentation and memoranda, legal requirements and similar documents have thus to be made available in English. In addition, the translators are often asked to translate orally official and semi-official correspondence of a banking, insurance and tax nature and help in the filling out of municipal or civil authority documentation.

What does translation entail at the Institute? Texts written in a for the author second or third language often reveal the struggle for words and phrases, the grasping for the correct vocabulary for expressing ideas and concepts that are complete in the authors mother tongue. The finding of an adequate vocabulary for expressing complex ideas can be a long process; a dialogue that extends over several pieces of writing. The role of the translator is to represent the writing style as equally sovereign in another language. The issue here is one of faithfulness – *belle infedeli, brutte fedeli* – what is beautiful is unfaithful; what is faithful is ugly. The translation is a tightrope-walk between these two poles; it is not a process of replacement of words with their English or German synonyms and the simple reorganisation of phrases in accordance with the grammar of the target language. A feel for what is being said needs to be developed, comprehension of the content and the context is required; only then can a successful translation be made, negotiating the line between loyalty to the form of the text and the grammatical and stylistic criteria of the target language. And again, a dialogue between author and translator needs to be maintained, so as to avoid misinterpretations and misunderstandings, to isolate and rectify instances where the translation, in its search for the right formulation misses the argument of the source text.

Not all the work of the translators is 'translation'; in fact, a good two thirds of their time is spent working on corrections of texts. Many researchers at the Institute are neither German nor English native speakers. Texts presented to the translators for editing and correction may be written by Romanian, Slovakian or Ethiopian native speakers – each bringing with them new and different challenges for the process of translation and editing. A close cooperation between authors and translators/editors made possible at the Institute is thus vital and has proved fruitful in accommodating different scientific writing styles. The translators' social science background in particular is helpful in acquiring an intimate knowledge of various anthropological discourses taking place at the Institute so as to ensure a very close appraisal of the writing being produced here.

Library Report

Anja Neumann

The library at the MPI for Social Anthropology is a specialised scientific library for the field of social anthropology providing literature and information to the scientists at the Institute. The collection policy of the library is based on the research foci at the Institute: Integration and Conflict, Postsocialist Eurasia and Legal Pluralism as well as Siberian Studies. General works from related disciplines, such as sociology, history and the political sciences are also part of the collection.



*Reading Room, Library.
(Photo: Ines Mathiebe
2003)*

Personnel changes

The new head of the library, as of March 2003, is Anja Neumann. In February 2003 a scientific library committee made up of six scientists, two each representing the Institute's two Departments and one each from the Project Group and the Siberian Studies Centre was newly elected. The members of the committee are John Eidson, Tilo Grätz, Joachim Otto Habeck, Irene Hilgers, Boris Nieswand and Bertram Turner.

Holdings

The library has made printed and electronic media available as the working basis for the research at the Institute since 1999.

The library holdings include 11 300 monographs, 1900 journal volumes, 120 current journal subscriptions, 90 audio-visual media (Video, DVD, CD-ROM) and 310 maps. Our holdings grow at an annual rate of about 3000 media units.

Acquisitions/Cataloguing

Books are bought primarily via local book suppliers or through second hand dealers. Donations, estates and book trades add to the growth of our holdings. Moreover, a sizeable part of the material is acquired through document delivery services and inter-library loans. The library committee as well as every scientist at the institute can make acquisition suggestions.

The buying focus for the Postsocialist Eurasia Department has been extended, since the beginning of 2003 to include literature on the topic of *Religion and Civil Society*.

The literature is catalogued using the integrated library software PICA. The library is part of the *Gemeinsamer Bibliotheksverbund GBV* (Common Library Network).

Usage

The library is available for scientists and guests of the Institute at any time. Since July 2003, scientists have been able to use an automatic booking system for borrowing monographs and non-book materials. During regular staff hours the library is open to the interested public,



Open stacks, library. (Photo: MPI for Social Anthropology)

for whom it is exclusively a reference library. In the reading room several computer provide access to the library's web catalogue and databank research materials. The monographs are open-stacked following the Library of Congress classification system. Bound copies of journal volumes are organised alphabetically and available in a compact open-stack system. Current journal issues, reference material and new acquisitions can be found in the reading room. The library staff offers introductions and help in accessing library services at any time as well as training in using databanks. The use of the library is subject to a library regulation, established in June 2003.

The library does not lend books in the existing interlibrary loan system. Copies of materials will be made upon request.

Electronic Media/Homepage

A wide variety of full-text materials from various disciplines are offered within the framework of the electronic general services of the Max Planck Society via underwriting agreements with a great number of publishers. The library also has access to the online-version of several of the journals it subscribes to. These are made available via the *Elektronische Zeitschriftenbibliothek EZB* (Electronic Journals Library).

Various databases financed centrally by the Max Planck Society are available for collecting bibliographic materials and abstracts (Web of Knowledge, Ovid and CSA). Search results are linked to full-text versions via the programme SFX if an appropriate subscription exists. The library provides one full-text database *JSTOR* in which journals from for the Institute important disciplines are indexed (anthropology, sociology, Asian and African studies etc.). Furthermore, the library offers access to the purely anthropological database "Anthropological Index Online" of the Anthropology Library at the British Museum.

Newly available is the Max Planck Virtual Library (VLib). An information portal for the Max Planck Society, it provides integrated access and simultaneous searches across heterogeneous information resources such as library catalogues and reference databases.

The library has its own pages on the intranet and internet, which describe all the major services provided by the library and links to databanks and catalogues. Scientists can order books for purchase or for interlibrary loan online through the intranet.

Cooperation Agreements

The library has grown as an important part of the library environment since its founding. Numerous contacts have been developed with the libraries of other anthropological and Max Planck Institutes as well as anthropological institutions for the exchange of information and publications. A particularly close cooperation exists with the Branch Library for Anthropology and the Centre for Oriental Studies (OWZ) at the University of Halle.

Bertram Turner, member of the library committee, takes part in the project *Virtual Library for Social Anthropology*, which is maintained by the University Library of the Humboldt University Berlin. The project should create an information portal for the field of social anthropology. It went online in October 2003.

IT Group Report

Armin Pippel and Gordon Milligan

In the initial phase of the Institute, an IT infrastructure was built up as a stable base for standard computer applications, and a range of devices and programmes purchased to engage in research related techniques including qualitative and quantitative data acquisition in the field (for details, please refer to MPI-Report 1999-2001).

In the current report period, with increasing numbers of researchers, guests and staff, the number of PCs and peripherals has been increased, as has the capacity of network and server equipment, and the spectrum of available software updated and enhanced. By the end of 2003, a complete exchange of the central servers for data storage and communication services is planned to fit the capacities and functions required for the coming two to three years. These include the requirement for on-line access to all stored and archived mass data (images, video and audio recordings). The equipment and software programmes for some special applications and multimedia processing, introduced and tested during the previous period, have now been installed in computer pool rooms and been used extensively for research and presentational purposes. In this connection, user support and individual help services have been extended, with a help desk of student assistants functioning ably in introducing new co-workers and guests to the computer environment of the institute.

For newcomers to the institute, a series of training sessions was held, organised partly with external lecturers and partly with colleagues from within the institute. These covered topics such as the creation of web pages, use of GPS technology, and graphics packages used, for example, in the making of posters. Methodological issues were covered in discussions about visual methods and analysis of spatial data and were related to the use of specific hardware and software. One session was included on the use of statistics and surveys, and another on the analysis of qualitative data using the software product 'AtlasTI'.

Two workshops on special methods were organised: Michael Schnegg (University of Cologne) gave a theoretical introduction to relational data and network analysis, complemented by John Ziker's demonstration of its application using his field data on resource allocation and social embeddedness. Edward Hagen (Humboldt University Berlin) demonstrated his programme 'descent' for kinship analysis and discussed functions and features to be added in a further release.

The institute web site was extended, bringing in the creativity of a variety of researchers and staff members, and was afterwards technically consolidated in a more integrated and redesigned form. The Intranet as a central medium of internal communication has been enhanced by a

number of additional functions. The use of a content management system as a platform for internet and intranet is in preparation.

A number of different device types for mobile data acquisition in the field were tested and a certain level of practical standard was established, (despite continuing rapid development in this field of consumer electronics). IT methods – closely related to anthropological research such as statistics, kinship and network analysis, as well as qualitative methods – start to provide a substantial contribution to the research process.

Further consolidation will provide potential for a further improvement of technical and application specific services: concentration on programmes and equipment that have turned out to be the most effective and flexible; computer based management tools in the IT-group and other infrastructural units (becoming applicable now in the more stable work flow of the institute); training and documentation on selected applications and techniques; combination of commercial and in-house software to form a common user environment.

Current members of the IT committee are Christiane Falge, Monica Heintz, Gordon Milligan, Vlad Naumescu, Judith Orland, Olaf Zenker and Armin Pippel.

IT Cooperation with the University of Hargeisa, Somaliland

Armin Pippel, Günther Schlee, Oliver Weihmann

The former British colony of Somaliland in the north of the Horn of Africa has, since the dissolution of Somalia in 1991, become a de facto independent state. Through a system of dual representation, a clan balance has been struck and – in comparison to the south of what used to be Somalia – relative peace has been achieved. Although diplomatic recognition has been withheld, on the level of technical cooperation numerous links have evolved between international agencies and Somaliland institutions.

At the request of the Somaliland Verein in Northrhine-Westphalia, Günther Schlee wrote a circular letter asking other Max Planck Institutes to donate IT equipment, which was outdated by their own advanced standards, to be used in Somaliland. There was a generous response from the MPI for Foreign and International Criminal Law, the MPI of Experimental Endocrinology and the MPI of Microstructure Physics.

Computers, Monitors, an LCD display for overhead projection, printers, a set of network components (hubs, cables, host-adaptor, etc.) and a couple of other accessories were reconditioned, preconfigured, tested and packed into 18 boxes (amounting to over three cubic metres).

In July 2002, Oliver Weihmann from the IT department accompanied Günther Schlee to Hargeisa, handed over the equipment, helped to set it

up according to local needs, gave training on usage, and discussed plans for future development. Additionally all computers and printers already available there were included into the network, which drastically enhanced their utilisation.



*Oliver Weihmann networking the computer pool of the University of Hargeisa.
(Photo: G. Schlee)*



*Surrounding area of the University of Hargeisa, marked by the severe destruction of the civil war.
(Photo: Ö. Weihmann)*

This element of practical cooperation, somewhat unusual for an institute primarily concerned with basic research, can be justified not only in terms of transfer of technical knowledge and of equipment which is no longer used here but is useful in other places, but also in terms of research carried out by the MPI. In the subsequent year, Markus Höhne took up his doctoral project on Somaliland and it can be expected that the earlier contact improves the social and administrative environment in which his research takes place.

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Working Papers, ISSN 1615-4568**

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No. 41: *John Flower, Pamela Leonard*: Bifeng Gorge Nature Park: the ownership of landscape in postsocialist China. Halle/Saale 2002.

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No. 43: *Günther Schlee*: Taking Sides and Constructing Identities: reflections on conflict theory. Halle/Saale 2002. *A revised version of this paper has been accepted by the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute. The working paper version has been taken out of circulation.*

No. 44: *Steve Tonah*: The Politics of Exclusion: the expulsion of Fulbe pastoralists from Ghana in 1999/2000. Halle/Saale 2002.

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No. 53: *Tilo Grätz, Michaela Pelican, Barbara Meier*: Zur sozialen Konstruktion von Freundschaft. Überlegungen zu einem vernachlässigten Thema der Sozialanthropologie (Schwerpunkt Afrika). Halle/Saale 2003.

No. 54: *Tilo Grätz*: Sharing and Sustaining: the thrusts of friendship among young artisanal gold miners in northern Benin (West Africa). Halle/Saale 2003.

No. 55: *Barbara Meier*: Nähe und Distanz: Freundschaften bei nordghanaischen Migranten in Accra/Tema. Halle/Saale 2003.

No. 56: *Michaela Pelican*: Interethnische Freundschaften in Nordwestkamerun: ein Vergleich ethnischer und gender-spezifischer Konzepte und Praktiken. Halle/Saale 2003.

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No. 60: *Dru Gladney*: Ten Reflections on 20 Years of Fieldwork Between China and Eurasia. Halle/Saale 2003.

No. 61: *John Eidson*: Compulsion, Compliance, or Eigensinn? Examining Theories of Power in an East German Field Site. Halle/Saale 2003.

No. 62: *Lale Yalçın-Heckmann, Andrea Behrends, Carolin Leutloff-Grandits*: Property Regimes in the Context of War and Displacement: Chad, Croatia and Azerbaijan in comparison. Halle/Saale 2003.

Appendix

Professional Memberships

Assefa, Getinet

Ethiopian Sociologists, Social Workers and Anthropologists Association
Ethiopian Management Professionals Association
Associate member of Ethiopian Economists Association
Studienwerk Sudan e.V.

Behrends, Andrea

African Studies Association
European Association of Social Anthropologists

Benda-Beckmann, Franz von

Dutch Organisation for the Social-scientific Study of Law *Member of the Executive Body of the Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism of IUAES*
Dutch Association of the Sociology of Law
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
European Association of Social Anthropologists
Royal Institute for Linguistics and Anthropology
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Rechtsvergleichung
Vereinigung für Rechtssoziologie e.V.

Benda-Beckmann, Keebet von

President of the Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES) Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde Dutch Association of the Sociology of Law
Law & Society Association Dutch Advisory Council on International Affairs, *vice-chairperson of the Committee on Human Rights of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Development Co-operation, and Defence and the State Secretary of Europe* Vereinigung für Rechtssoziologie e.V.

Cellarius, Barbara A.

American Anthropological Association
International Association for Southeast European Anthropology
Society for Applied Anthropology

Dafinger, Andreas

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
African Studies Association
European Association of Social Anthropologists
Frobenius Gesellschaft

Darieva, Tsypylma

European Association of Social Anthropologists
Netzwerk Migration

Dea, Data

Ethiopian Sociologists, Social Workers and Anthropologists Association
 Organisation for Social Sciences Research in Eastern and Southern Africa

Diallo, Youssouf

Groupe d'Etudes Comparative des Sociétés Peules
 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
 European Association of Social Anthropologists
 African Studies Association

Donahoe, Brian

American Anthropological Association
 Society for Applied Anthropology
 Soyuz: The Research Network for Postsocialist Studies

Eckert, Julia

European Association of Social Anthropologists
 Sektion Entwicklungssoziologie und Sozialanthropologie der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie
 Ad hoc Gruppe "Ordnungen der Gewalt" der Deutschen
 Vereinigung für Politische Wissenschaft

Eidson, John

American Anthropological Association
 European Association of Social Anthropologists
 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde

Falge, Christiane

Professional Association of Sociologists and Social Anthropologists in Ethiopia
 American Anthropological Association
 Studienwerk Sudan e.V.

Finke, Peter

American Anthropological Association
 Society for Economic Anthropology
 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
 Central Eurasian Studies Society
 European Society for Central Asian Studies
 Soyuz: The Research Network for Postsocialist Studies

Glick Schiller, Nina

American Anthropological Association
 American Ethnological Association
 Society for Medical Anthropology
 Society for Urban, National and Transnational/Global Anthropology
 Society of the Anthropology of North America

Grätz, Tilo

European Association of Social Anthropologists
Sektion Entwicklungssoziologie und Sozialanthropologie der
Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie
African Studies Association

Halemba, Agnieszka

Central Eurasian Studies Society

Haneke, Georg

Wissenschaftlicher Arbeitskreis 'Horn von Afrika' e.V., Berlin

Hann, Chris

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

Heady, Patrick

Royal Anthropological Institute
European Association of Social Anthropologists

Hilgers, Irene

International Association of Central Asian Studies
Central Asian Research Network

Kaneff, Deema

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

Kasten, Erich

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
International Arctic Social Sciences Association

Kehl-Bodrogi, Krisztina

Central Eurasian Studies Society

King, Alexander

American Anthropological Association
American Ethnological Association
Society for Linguistic Anthropology
Soyuz: The Research Network for Postsocialist Studies
Society for the Study of Indigenous Languages of the Americas
Association of Social Anthropologists

Knörr, Jacqueline

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
Vereinigung deutscher Afrikanisten
European Association of Social Anthropologists
European Association for Southeast Asian Studies
European Social Sciences Java Network

Leutloff-Grandits, Carolin

European Anthropological Association
International Association for Southeast European Anthropology

Mann, Bettina

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
Sektion Religionssoziologie der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie

Naumescu, Vlad

Romanian Society of Social Cultural Anthropology

Peleikis, Anja

Deutsche Arbeitsgemeinschaft Vorderer Orient Middle Eastern Studies Association
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde

Pelican, Michaela

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

Pine, Frances

European Association of Social Anthropologists
Royal Anthropological Institute
Association of Social Anthropologists

Sancak, Meltem

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
European Society for Central Asian Studies

Schlee, Günther

African Studies Association
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
European Association of Social Anthropologists
Vereinigung deutscher Afrikanisten
Studienwerk Sudan e.V.

Tadesse, Wolde Gossa

Association of Social Anthropologists
European Association of Social Anthropologists

Thelen, Tatjana

European Association of Social Anthropologists

Turner, Bertram

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
Deutsch-Marokkanische Gesellschaft
Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism of IUAES
Sektion Entwicklungssoziologie und Sozialanthropologie der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie

Yalçin-Heckmann, Lale

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

Ziker, John

American Anthropological Association
European Association of Social Anthropologists
Human Behaviour and Evolution Society
International Arctic Social Scientists Association

Professorships**Benda-Beckmann, Franz von**

Professor at Wageningen University, The Netherlands
Honorary Professor at the Universität Leipzig, Germany

Benda-Beckmann, Keebet von

Extra-ordinary Professor at the Erasmus University Rotterdam,
The Netherlands
Honorary Professor at the Universität Leipzig, Germany

Hann, Chris

Honorary Professor at the Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-
Wittenberg, Germany
Honorary Professor at the Universität Leipzig, Germany
Honorary Professor at the University of Kent at Canterbury,
UK

Schlee, Günther

Honorary Professor at the Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-
Wittenberg, Germany
Honorary Professor at the Universität Leipzig, Germany

Editorships**Benda-Beckmann, Franz von**

Journal of Legal Pluralism (Associate editor)
Recht der Werkelijkheid (Co-editor)
Australian Journal of Asian Law (on editorial board)
Focaal (Consulting editor)

Benda-Beckmann, Keebet von

Journal of Legal Pluralism
Australian Journal of Asian Law
Focaal

Glick Schiller, Nina

American Ethnologist
Social Analysis
Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power

Hann, Chris

Archives Européennes de Sociologie

Kaneff, Deema

Ethnologia Balkanica

Kasten, Erich

Siberian Studies
Posobie po iazyku i kul'ture korennykh narodov Kamchatki

Schlee, Günther

Zeitschrift für Ethnologie
Nomadic Peoples

Yalçin-Heckmann, Lale

Frauen in der Einen Welt

Cooperation

Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Germany
 Institut für Ethnologie
 Juristische Fakultät
 Orientwissenschaftliches Zentrum
 Universität Leipzig, Germany
 Institut für Ethnologie
 Institut für Afrikanistik
 Sonderforschungsbereich 586 'Integration und Differenz' (Universitäten Leipzig und Halle)
 Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum für Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas, Leipzig, Germany
 Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin, Germany
 Universität Bielefeld, Bielefeld, Germany
 Europa-Universität Viadrina, Frankfurt/Oder, Germany
 University of New Hampshire, Durham, USA
 University of Khartoum, Khartoum, Sudan
 Sinnar University, Sinnar, Sudan
 Addis Abeba University, Addis Abeba, Ethiopia
 University of Hargeisa, Hargeisa, Somaliland
 University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland
 Royal Institute for Linguistics and Anthropology (KITLV), Leiden, The Netherlands
 Institute of Social Studies, The Hague/CERES research school, The Hague, The Netherlands
 University Andalas, Padang, Indonesia
 Tribhuvan University, Chiang Mai University, Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism, Kathmandu, Nepal
 Faculty of Law, Erasmus University Rotterdam, Rotterdam, The Netherlands
 Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism, New Brunswick, Canada
 Matching Technology and Institutions, Wageningen, The Netherlands
 Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai, Thailand
 MPI für ausländisches und internationales Strafrecht, Freiburg, Germany
 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) GmbH, Nairobi, Kenya
 Franckesche Stiftungen, Halle/Saale, Germany

Recent Institutional Developments: university affiliation and the board of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde e.V.* (German Society for Social Anthropology)

In the course of the last two years the MPI for Social Anthropology enhanced its cooperation with national and international universities and research institutions. The cooperation with the Universities of Halle and Leipzig has been deepened on different levels. Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann became honorary professors at the University of Leipzig where Günther Schlee and Chris Hann had been co-opted already (as they have been at the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg) and the founding process of the Institute for Social Anthropology of the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg has been completed with the move of the Institute to its permanent location adjacent to the MPI. A further step to strengthen the cooperation with the Institute for Social Anthropology (MLU) and to establish Halle and the region as a location for anthropological research has been the recent election of a new chair of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde* for the next two years. At its biannual meeting in Hamburg (October 2 - 4 2003) the members of the German Society for Social Anthropology elected the new board which comprises of the following persons: Günther Schlee, MPI (chair), Richard Rottenburg, Institute for Social Anthropology (MLU) (vice chair), Jacqueline Knörr, MPI, (treasurer), Bettina Mann, MPI (PR-officer). Furthermore it was decided to hold the next conference of the Society in the year 2005 in Halle.

Teaching

Behrends, Andrea

Summer Semester 2002, Afrikaner in Leipzig, *jointly with Boris Nieswand*, Universität Leipzig, Institut für Ethnologie, Leipzig, Germany

Benda-Beckmann, Franz von

01. - 05. April 2002, International Course in the anthropology of law of the Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism on Resource rights, ethnicity and governance in the context of legal pluralism, Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu and Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai, Thailand

15. - 17. April 2002, PhD Training Workshop (5) of the Matching Technology and Institutions Programme, at Tribhuvan University, funded by Ford Foundation in cooperation with Wageningen University, Kathmandu, Nepal

23. - 25. October 2002, PhD Training Workshop (6) of the Matching Technology and Institutions Programme, at Thrissur University, funded by Ford Foundation in cooperation with Wageningen University, Thrissur, India

Benda-Beckmann, Keebet von

Winter Semester 2002, Anthropology of Law, *jointly with Gerhard Anders*, Erasmus University Rotterdam, Faculty of Law, Rotterdam, The Netherlands

01. - 05. April 2002, International Course in the anthropology of law of the Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism on Resource rights, ethnicity and governance in the context of legal pluralism, Tribhuvan University Kathmandu and Faculty of Social Sciences Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai, Thailand

Winter Semester 2003, Anthropology of Law, *jointly with Gerhard Anders*, Erasmus University Rotterdam, Faculty of Law, Rotterdam, The Netherlands

Dafinger, Andreas

Winter Semester 2001/02, Anthropologie des Raums, Universität Leipzig, Institut für Ethnologie, Leipzig, Germany

Donahoe, Brian

06. January 2000 - 09. May 2003, Language and Culture: An Introduction to Linguistic Anthropology, *jointly with Dr. Philip LeSourd*, Indiana University, Department of Anthropology, Bloomington, Indiana, USA

Eckert, Julia

Winter Semester 2003/04, Die Entwicklung des Rechts im kolonialen und postkolonialen Indien, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie, Halle/Saale, Germany

Finke, Peter

Summer Semester 2002, Regional Course: Soviet and Post-Soviet Central Asia, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Halle/Saale, Germany

Fall term 2002, Economic Anthropology, University of New Hampshire, Department of Anthropology, Durham, New Hampshire, USA

Fall term 2002, Peoples and Cultures of Central Asia, University of New Hampshire, Department of Anthropology, Durham, New Hampshire, USA

Spring term 2003, Introduction to Cultural Anthropology, University of New Hampshire, Department of Anthropology, Durham, New Hampshire, USA

Spring term 2003, Ethnicity: Theories and Selected Case Studies, University of New Hampshire, Department of Anthropology, Durham, New Hampshire, USA

Spring term 2003, Anthropology of Socialist and Post-Socialist Societies, University of New Hampshire, Department of Anthropology, Durham, New Hampshire, USA

Fosztó, László

Winter Semester 2002/03, The Ethnography of Economic Life (seminar in Hungarian), *jointly with Dr. Gazda Klára*, Babeş-Bolyai University, Hungarian Ethnography and Anthropology, Cluj/ Kolozsvár, Romania

Grätz, Tilo

Summer Semester 2003, Anthropologie der Freundschaft, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie, Halle/Saale, Germany

Karagiannis, Evangelos

Winter Semester 2003/04, Religion in the Balkans, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität, Institut für Slawistik, Jena, Germany

Kehl-Bodrogi, Krisztina

Winter Semester 2002/03, Die Aleviten in der Türkei – Geschichte und Gegenwart, Freie Universität Berlin, Institut für Turkologie, Berlin, Germany

Leutloff-Grandits, Carolin

Summer Semester 2003, Soziale Sicherung im postsozialistischen Europa, *jointly with Tatjana Thelen*, Freie Universität Berlin, Institut für Ethnologie, Berlin, Germany

Nieswand, Boris

Summer Semester 2002, Afrikaner in Leipzig, *jointly with Andrea Behrends*, Universität Leipzig, Institut für Ethnologie, Leipzig, Germany

Peleikis, Anja

Winter Semester 2003/04, The Anthropology of Place and Space, Universität Leipzig, Institut für Ethnologie, Leipzig, Germany

Pelican, Michaela

29. September 2003 - 15. January 2004, Ethnographic film screenings, University of Kent, Department of Anthropology, Canterbury, UK

Pine, Frances

March - April 2002, Gender and Anthropology post graduate lecture series, Bergen University Norway, Department of Anthropology, Bergen, Norway

January - May 2003, Director of Studies for Social Anthropology, Girton College Cambridge, Cambridge, UK

September 2003, Research Methods Training Seminar, University of Bergen, Centre for Women's and Gender Studies, Bergen, Norway

December 2003, Gender and Religion, Institute of Anthropology, Warsaw, Poland

Schlee, Günther

27. - 28. June 2002, PhD Training Workshop of internal and external PhD Candidates, Halle/Saale, Germany

14. May 2003, The Somali Peace Conference in Kenya 2002/2003, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Philosophy, Ljubljana, Slovenia

15. May 2003, Purity and Power in Islamic Context: Strategies of Exclusion, University of Ljubljana, Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Ljubljana, Slovenia

Thelen, Tatjana

Winter Semester 2002/03, Gender in postsocialist transformation, Freie Universität Berlin, Institut für Ethnologie, Berlin, Germany

Turner, Bertram

Winter Semester 2002/03, Ethnographie Nordafrikas, Universität Leipzig, Institut für Ethnologie, Leipzig, Germany

Widlok, Thomas

Summer Semester 2002, Ethnographie Australiens, Universität zu Köln, Institut für Völkerkunde, Köln, Germany

PhD-examinations

Benda-Beckmann, Franz von

Esther Roquas, Stacked law: Land, property and conflict in Honduras. 12.02.2002, Wageningen University

Renske Biezeveld, Between individualism and mutual help: Social security and natural resources in a Minangkabau village. 14.02.2002, Erasmus University Rotterdam (with K. von Benda-Beckmann)

Jeroen Vos, Metric matters: The performance of volumetric water control in large-scale irrigation in the North Coast of Peru. 17.06.2002, Wageningen University (with L. Vincent)

Vishal Narain, Institutions, technology and water control. 28.04.2003, Wageningen University (with L. Vincent and P. Mollinga)

Esha Shah, Social designs. Tank irrigation technology and agrarian transformation in Karnataka, South India. 12.06.2003, Wageningen University (with L. Vincent and P. Mollinga)

Dik Roth, Ambition, regulation and reality: Complex regulation of land and water resources in Luwu, South Sulawesi, Indonesia. 14.11.2003, Wageningen University

Benda-Beckmann, Keebet von

Renske Biezeveld, Between individualism and mutual help: Social security and natural resources in a Minangkabau village. 14.02.2002, Erasmus University Rotterdam (with F. von Benda-Beckmann)

Hann, Chris

Tatjana Thelen, Gewinner und Verlierer in der postsozialistischen Landwirtschaft – Eigentum und (Dis-)Kontinuität sozialer Beziehungen in Mesterszállás (Ungarn) und Kisiratos (Rumänien). 28.05.2002, Freie Universität Berlin (with Georg Elwert and Wolfgang Kaschuba)

Mathjis Pelkmans, Uncertain Divides; religion, ethnicity and politics in the Georgian borderlands. 25.06.2003, University of Amsterdam (with Anton Blok and Henk Driessen)

Davide Torsello, Trust, Property and Social Change in a Southern Slovakian Village. 11.07.2003, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie (with Richard Rottenburg)

Schlee, Günther

Dereje Feyissa, Ethnic Groups and Conflict. The case of Anywaa-Nuer relations in the Gambela Region, Ethiopia. 11.07.2003, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie (with Richard Rottenburg)

Abdulkadir Alim, The Changing Nature of the Global Refugee and Immigration Movement: the case of Somali people. 10.07.2002, Universität Bielefeld, Fakultät für Soziologie (with Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka)

Pius Mutuku Mutie, In Spite of Difference: making sense of the coexistence between the Kamba and the Maasai peoples of Kenya. 06.06.2003, Universität Bielefeld, Fakultät für Soziologie (with Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka)

Visiting Scholars 2002

Name	University	Date
Robert Parkin	Oxford University	10.01. – 15.06.
Yulian Konstantinow	New Bulgarian University	18.01. – 24.01.
Stanislaw Stepień	Southeast Europe Institute Przemysl	15.02. – 15.03. and 04.04. – 03.05. and 23.08. – 22.09.
John Flower	University of North Carolina	27.02. – 01.03.
Pamela Leonard	University of North Carolina	23.02. – 08.03.
Maja Veselic	University of Ljubljana	28.02. – 22.03.
Al-Amin Abu-Manga	University of Khartoum	01.03. – 31.03.
Paul Robert Magocsi	University of Toronto	30.05. – 02.06.
Markus Weilenmann	Office for conflict research in developing countries, Rüşchlikon	22.04. – 01.06. and 29.09. – 30.11.
Mihály Sárkány	Hungarian Academy of Sciences	15.05. – 15.06. and 19.08. – 12.09.
Marc Galanter	University of Wisconsin-Madison	18.05. – 24.05.
Liesl L. Gambold Miller	University of California in Los Angeles	21.05. – 30.11.
Christian Giordano	Universität Fribourg	27.05. – 24.06.
Sydel Silverman	City University of New York	29.05. – 12.06.
Anatoly M. Khazanov	University of Wisconsin-Madison	31.05. – 30.11.
Fredrik Barth	University of Oslo	02.06. – 12.06.
Melanie Wiber	University of New Brunswick	02.06. – 30.11.
André Gingrich	University of Vienna	02.06. – 14.06.
Gerhard Anders	Erasmus University of Rotterdam	03.06. – 25.06. and 08.07. – 13.07.
João de Pina-Cabral	University of Lisbon	03.06. – 09.06.
Zdenek Uherek	Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic	06.06. – 12.06.

Name	University	Date
Gabriela Kiliánová	Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava	08.06. – 12.06.
Juraj Podoba	Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava	08.06. – 12.06.
Adam Kuper	Bruñel University	09.06. – 12.06.
Frances Pine	University of Cambridge	14.06. – 30.11.
Maria Teresa Sierra	University of Mexico	24.06. – 27.06.
Barbara Bodenhorn	University of Cambridge	29.06. – 13.07.
Barbara Rohregger	Österreichisches Institut für Internationale Politik	24.06. – 05.07.
Steve Tonah	University of Ghana	13.07. – 23.08.
Michael Schnegg	Universität zu Köln	31.07. – 02.08.
Sveta Sivtseva	Sakha National TV NVK	01.08. – 13.08.
Hugh Beach	Uppsala University	14.08. – 20.08.
Petr Skalník	Netherlands Institute for Advanced Sciences in the Humanities and Social Sciences	18.08. – 23.08.
Ali Balla Bashuna	Marsabit, Kenya	29.09.01 – 31.03.02
Don Kalb	University of Utrecht	07.10. – 31.10.
Barbara Danczul	University of Vienna	12.11. – 12.03.03
Elvira Mamytowa	Kyrgyz State University	02.12.02 – 23.01.03

Visiting Scholars 2003

Name	University	Date
Barbara Vogelsang	University of Manchester	23.02. – 27.02.
Barbara Rohregger	Österreichisches Institut für Internationale Politik	17.03. – 30.03. 07.07. – 03.08.
Gerhard Anders	Erasmus University of Rotterdam	18.03. – 30.03. 07.07. – 19. 07.
Frances Pine	University of Cambridge	04.04. – 31. 07.
Paul Robert Magocsi	University of Toronto	14.04. – 01.06.

Name	University	Date
Abdullahi Shongolo	Marsabit, Kenya	29.04. – 30.06.
Serhiy Bilenky	University of Toronto	02.05. – 01.06.
Hege Magnus	GTZ IS, Nairobi, Kenya	05.05. – 09.05.
Vesna Vucinic	University of Belgrade	11.05. – 16.05.
João de Pina-Cabral	University of Lisbon	12.05. – 22.05.
Stéphanie Mahieu	EHESS Paris	13.05. – 20.05.
Bertalan Pusztai	University of Szeged	14.05. – 19.05.
Galina Khizrieva	Russian State University of Humanities, Moscow	15.05. – 31.05.
Yasin Dutton <i>(jointly with the MLU)</i>	University of Edinburgh	21.05. – 24.05.
Gulnara Ismukha- nova	Institute for Social Research, Almaty	22.05. – 31.08. 01.12. – 21.12.
Melanie Wiber	University of New Brunswick	01.06. – 31.07.
Peter Loizos	London School of Economics	09.06. – 19.06.
Steve Tonah	University of Ghana	20.06. – 31.07.
Katja Werthmann	Johannes Gutenberg- Universität Mainz	15.06. – 19.06.
Anne Griffiths	University of Edinburgh	01.07. – 06.07.
Robert Layton	University of Durham	01.07. – 02.08.
Mihály Sárkány	Hungarian Academy of Science	03.08. – 06.09.
Petr Skalník	University of Pardu- bice, Czech Republic	25.08. – 30.08.
John G. Nyuot Yoh	The Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies, Amman	09.09. – 16.10.
Hans Christian Kors-holm Nielsen	University of Aarhus	22.09. – 17.12.
Mariam Orkodashvili	Tbilisi State University	02.10.03 – 31.01.04
Elvira Mamytova	Kyrgyz State University	06.10. – 20.10.
Patrick McAllister <i>(jointly with the MLU)</i>	University of Canterbury, New Zealand	15.10. – 30.11.
Carola Lentz	Johannes Gutenberg- Universität Mainz	20.10. – 18.12.

Name	University	Date
Dmitrii Funk	Institute for Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow	10.11. – 16.11.
Elisabeth E. Watson	University of Cambridge, Newnham College	18.11. – 25.11.
Anatoly M. Khazanov	University of Wisconsin, Madison	18.12. – 22. 12.

Conferences and Workshops

Workshop: Changing Entitlements: social security, land ownership and rural-urban differences, 28 February-1 March 2002

Convenors: Susanne Brandtstädter, Chris Hann

External participants:

John Flower (Department of History, University of North Carolina at Charlotte) **Pamela Leonard** (University of North Carolina) **Frank Pieke** (Institute of Chinese Studies and Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology, Oxford University)

Conference: Who owns Siberian Ethnography, 7-9 March 2002

Convenors: Patty Gray; Peter Schweitzer (University of Alaska Fairbanks), Nikolai Vakhtin (European University in St. Petersburg)

Papers presented:

Peter Schweitzer (Department of Anthropology, University of Alaska Fairbanks) Historical overview of Siberian research **Anna Sirina** (Russian Academy of Sciences) Russian/Soviet Theoretical Approaches & Siberian research in the Soviet period **John Ziker** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Theoretical Approaches in the United States **David Anderson** (University of Aberdeen) British and Canadian Theoretical Approaches **Olga Murashko** (Institute of Anthropology, Moscow State University) Review of post-Soviet changes in Field Research **Konstantin Klokov** (Institute for Geography, St. Petersburg State University) Fieldwork techniques **Natalia Novikova** (Russian Academy of Sciences) Where is "the field"? Multiple locations, multiple levels **David Koester** (University of Alaska Fairbanks) Collaborating with local communities **Tatiana Argounova** (Edinburgh) Practical and ethical issues in advocacy anthropology **Piers Vitebsky** (Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge) Dealing with poverty and social dysfunctionality **Erich Kasten** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Sharing results with local communities and incorporating feedback **Nikolai Vakhtin** (European University in St. Petersburg) Team research or lone ethnographer? **Evgenii Golovko** (St. Petersburg) International collaboration **Alexander King** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Research topics and local agendas **Igor Krupnik** (Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution) The lure of the past: Anthropologists or Historians? **Patty Gray** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Finding funding and dealing with foundation agendas **Tatiana Roon** (Sakhalin Regional Museum) The role of museums in contemporary Siberian research **Yulian Konstantinov** (Institute for Anthropological Research, New Bulgarian University) Research Training inside and outside academia **Nikolai Ssorin-Chaikov** (University of Cambridge, Department of Social Anthropology) Post-Colonial Theory and Siberianist Anthropology

Conference: Changing Identifications and Alliances in North-Eastern Africa II, 18-20 March 2002

Convenor: Günther Schlee

Papers presented:

Michael Bollig (Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Cologne) Specialisation, intensification and diversification in East African pastoral systems: The case of the Pokot of North-West Kenya
Neville Dyson-Hudson (Department of Anthropology, Binghamton University) Identity politics as contingent response behavior
Rada Dyson-Hudson (Department of Anthropology, Binghamton University) Change through time in identity and alliances of pastoral Turkana. An empirical study
Abdullahi A. Shongolo (MPI for Social Anthropology) Conflict and alliance in Northern Kenya
Tadesse Wolde Gossa (MPI for Social Anthropology) A divided world, defied boundaries and invisible routes
Hermann Amborn (Institut für Völkerkunde und Afrikanistik, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München) Mobility, knowledge and power. Craftsmen in the borderland
Alexander Kellner (Institut für Völkerkunde und Afrikanistik, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München) The significance of oral traditions in perceiving and shaping ethnicity and interethnic relations. The Liban story of the Burji as an example
Jon Abbink (African Studies Centre, Leiden and Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) The fate of the Suri: ethnic conflict and decline on the South West Ethiopian frontier
Tesema Ta'a (Addis Abeba University) A brief historical account of the Goma of the Ethio-Sudanese frontier (1880s-1950s)
Christiane Falge (MPI for Social Anthropology) Segmentary Christianity among Nuer in Gambella
Akira Okazaki (Kanagawa University, Kanagawa) Being a Muslim Sudanese by day, and a non-Muslim Gamk by night: Conflicting identities on the Islamic frontier in Eastern Sudan
Tadesse Berisso (Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Abeba University) The Guji-Oromo and their neighbours: Changing alliance in North-Eastern Africa
Al-Amin Abu-Manga (Institute for African and Asian Studies, University of Khartoum) The rise and decline of lorry driving in the Fallata migrant community of Maiurno on the Blue Nile
Thomas Zitelmann (Zentrum Moderner Orient, Berlin) Rumours, networks, alliances. Bin Laden's shadow on the Horn of Africa
Günther Schlee (MPI for Social Anthropology) Descent and descent ideologies: The Blue Nile Area (Sudan) and Northern Kenya compared
Elizabeth Watson (Newnham College, Cambridge) Summary and future research perspectives

Conference: The Landed and the Landless? Strategies of territorial integration and dissociation in Africa, 27-29 May 2002

Convenors: Andreas Dafinger, Andrea Behrends

Papers presented:

Han van Dijk (African Studies Centre, University of Leiden) Risk, land tenure and social relations: mediating access to resources in Central Mali **Youssouf Diallo** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Territorial and social integration in Burkina Faso **Carola Lentz** (University of Mainz) Landlords and settler-farmers: (post)colonial transformation of land tenure in the Black Volta Region (Burkina Faso/ Ghana) **Mark Breusers** (Department of Geography and Planning, University of Amsterdam) 'The teeth and the tongue are always together, but it happens that the teeth bite the tongue': Fulbe's social and political integration in Moaga society and their access to natural resources. A case study from Burkina Faso **Sandra Evers** (Free University, Amsterdam) Expropriated from the Hereafter: The Fate of the Landless in Madagascar **Thomas Widlok** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Land as a moral good in southern Africa **Günther Schlee** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Nomads, old and new, and the concept of bounded territory **Mirjam de Bruijn** (African Studies Centre, University of Leiden) The 'Non-Existant People': livelihoods of marginalised pastoralists **Alula Pankhurst** (University of Addis Abeba) Access to land and the changing status of craftworkers and hunters in Southern Ethiopia **Luvuyo Wotshela** (University of Port Elizabeth, South Africa) Land occupation, patronage politics and resource manipulation in contemporary South Africa - the case of the Northern Ciskei and the Eastern Cape, 1990 to 1998 **Derrick Fay** (Boston University) Informal and Formal Land Reform in Xhosa District, South Africa **Data Dea** (University of Bergen) Land in 'Majority-Minority' Relations in Dawro, Southern Ethiopia **Dereje Feyissa** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Contesting autochthony: Strategies of land entitlement among the Nuer of the Gambela Region **Michaela Pelican** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Conflict through integration: state policy and local perspective in relation to land-access. The example of the pastoral Fulbe in the Cameroon Grassfields **Deborah James** (London School of Economics) Tenure reformed: policy and practice in the case of South Africa's landless people

Workshop: Debating Cultural Relativism and Collective Identities, 30 May-1 June 2002

Convenor: Chris Hann

External participants:

Steven Lukes (London School of Economics) **Jacques Lautman** (Université de Provence, Aix-en-Provence) **Friedrich Heckmann** (Universität Bamberg, Europäisches Forum für Migrationsstudien) **Christian Giordano** (Séminaire d'anthropologie sociale, Université Fribourg) **Georg Elwert** (Freie Universität Berlin) **Claus Offe** (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin)

Series of Lectures: Four Traditions in Anthropology, 3-11 June 2002

Convenor: MPI for Social Anthropology

Lecturers:

Fredrik Barth (Oslo), **André Gingrich** (Vienna), **Robert Parkin** (Oxford), **Sydel Silverman** (New York)

Workshop: Property Relations Group Tázlár, 16-23 June 2002

Convenor: Chris Hann

External participant:

Mihály Sárkány (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Hungary)

Conference: A World of Cultures: culture as property in anthropological perspective, 1-2 July 2002

Convenors: Deema Kaneff, Erich Kasten

Papers presented:

Thomas Hylland Eriksen (Department of Social Anthropology, University of Oslo) Culture as investment capital **Erich Kasten** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Cultural Heritage: property of individuals, collectivities or humankind? **Hannes Siegrist** (Institut für Kulturwissenschaften, Universität Leipzig) Historical Perspectives on cultural property **Silke von Lewinski** (MPI for Foreign and International Patent, Copyright and Competition Law) Folklore: the perspective of law **Thomas Miller** (Department of Anthropology, Columbia University New York) Object lessons: collecting wooden spirits and wax voices as cultural property **Alexander King** (MPI for Social Anthropology) How to dance like a real Koryak **Alona Yefimenko** (Arctic Council for Indigenous Peoples, Copenhagen) Indigenous people and sacred sites **Mare Koiva** (Folklore, Tartu) The Land Myth of Estonia: what has become of it? **Paola Filippucci** (Department of Social Anthropology, University of Cambridge) The only place in France without a cheese: marginality and the problem of heritage in rural North-East France **Barbara Bodenhorn** (Pembroke College, University of Cambridge) Is being 'really' Inupiaq a form of cultural property? **Catherine Alexander** (Depart-

ment of Social Anthropology, University of Cambridge) The cultures and properties of empty buildings **Deema Kaneff** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Culture for sale: local-state relations and the production of cultural objects in rural Ukraine **Mary Bouquet** (University College, Utrecht University) (Ethnographic) Museum collections as a form of cultural property **Julia Kupina** (Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, St. Petersburg) Heritage and/or property: the Siberian ethnographic collections in Russian museums **Sonja Lührmann** (Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt) Beyond repatriation: collaborations between museums and Alaska native communities

Conference: Collective and Multiple Forms of Property in Animals: cattle, camels and reindeer, 19-21 August 2002

Convenors: Patty Gray, Michaela Pelican, Günther Schlee, Florian Stammer

Papers presented:

Anatoly M. Khazanov (Department of Anthropology, University of Wisconsin/Madison) Pastoralism and property relations in contemporary Kazakhstan **Hugh Beach** (Department of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology, University of Uppsala) Milk and antlers: The dual ownership system of reindeer herding in northern China **Günther Schlee** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Multiple rights in camels and cattle: An East African overview **Peter Finke** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Property rights in livestock among pastoralists in western Mongolia: Categories of ownership and categories of control **Steve Tonah** (Sociology Department, University of Ghana) Fulbe Pastoralists and Changing Property Relations in Northern Ghana **Florian Stammer** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Of earmarks and furmarks: On the limitations of generalised property categories in Yamal reindeer herding **John Ziker** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Socio-ecological contexts of livestock theft **Michaela Pelican** (MPI for Social Anthropology) From cultural property to market goods: Changes in economic strategies and herd management rationales of pastoral Fulbe in North West Cameroon **Brian Donahoe** (Department of Anthropology, Indiana University) "Trust" or "Domination"? The Toszhu-Tyva and the Tofa and their differing relationships to reindeer they raise and the wild animals they hunt **Youssouf Diallo** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Acquisition and transmission of cattle among pastoral Fulbe (Burkina Faso) **Mark Moritz** (Department of Anthropology, University of California at Los Angeles) Individual livestock ownership in Fulbe family herds: the effects of intensification and Islam on pastoral production systems in the Far North of Cameroon **Patty Gray** (MPI for Social Anthropology) "I should have some deer, but I don't remember how many": Confused ownership of reindeer in Chukotka, Russia **Aimar Ventsel** (MPI for

Social Anthropology) Reindeer: Property you can own and use, but not eat

Conference: Mobile People, Mobile Law: expanding legal relations in a contracting world, 7-9 November 2002

Convenors: Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann; Anne Griffiths (Old College, University of Edinburgh, UK)

Papers presented:

Laura Nader (Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, USA) Americanization of international law **Shalini Randeria** (Institute for Sociology, University of Munich, Germany) Traveling laws and trajectories of transnationalisation **Markus Weilenmann** (Office for conflict research in developing countries, Rüschtikon, Switzerland) "Project law" - normative orders of bilateral development cooperation and social change: an example from the German Technical Cooperation **René Kuppe** (Institute for Law und Religion, University of Vienna, Austria) Law and German-Venezuelan development cooperation: Recognition of indigenous rights **Tilo Grätz** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Migration and accumulation, conflict and social integration: Gold-mining communities, moving legal fields and the state in West Africa **Mark Goodale** (Department of Anthropology, Emory University, Atlanta, USA) Romancing modernity: Bolivian encounters with law and liberalism **Francis Snyder** (CERIC, University of Aix-Marseille III, France) Economic globalization and the law in the 21st century **Werner Zips** (Institute for Ethnology, Culture und Social Anthropology, University of Vienna, Austria) Global fire: Repatriation and reparations seen from a Rastafari (re)migrants perspective **Nina Glick Schiller** (Department of Anthropology, University of New Hampshire, Durham, USA) Transborder citizenship: legal pluralism within a transnational social field **Monique Nuijten** (Department of Rural Development Sociology, University of Wageningen, The Netherlands) Marginal migrants: Changing forms of ordering in transnational fields **Rüdiger Schott** (Bonn, Germany) Emancipated women and emaciated traditional law among the Lyela in Burkina Faso **Marie-Claire Foblets** (Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium) Muslims, a new transnational minority in Europe? Cultural pluralism, fundamental liberties and inconsistencies in the law **Alison Dundes Renteln** (Department of Political Science, University of Southern California Los Angeles, USA) The cultural defense as the test of true legal pluralism **Hans-Jörg Albrecht** (MPI for Foreign and International Criminal Law, Freiburg, Germany) Immigration, Transnational Communities and Shadow Economies - The Emergence of New Subcultures and Subcultural Norms **Gordon R. Woodman** (Faculty of Law, University of Birmingham, UK) Customary laws of ethnic minorities in the UK **Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka** (Faculty of Sociology, Univer-

sity of Bielefeld, Germany) Institutional multi-culturalism and its alternatives: accommodating religious minorities in Middle Europe **Sally E. Merry** (Department of Anthropology, Wellesley College, USA) A vernacular human rights? Tensions between global human rights law and its local appropriation **Anne Griffiths** (Old College, University of Edinburgh, UK) Transnationalism, human rights and reconceiving justice for children in Scotland **Barbara Oomen** (Van Vollenhoven Institute for Law Governance and Development, Leiden, The Netherlands) How categories have consequences: the constitutive effects of cultural rights legislation in Sekhukhune, South Africa **Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Time, mobility and sedentarisation of law **Melanie Wiber** (Department of Anthropology, University of New Brunswick, Canada) Mobile law, globalism, and community innovation in fishery sector **John McCarthy** (Van Vollenhoven Institute for Law Governance and Development, Leiden, The Netherlands) Contesting decentralization: Power and struggles over access to property in Central Kalimantan, Indonesia **Anne Hellum and Bill Derman** (Faculty of Law, University of Oslo, Norway) International, national and local law and water management in Zimbabwe

Workshop: Legal Pluralism and Development, 30 September 2002

Convenors: Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann

External participants:

Helen Ahrens (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit) **Friederike Diably-Pentzlin** (Lehrstuhl für Gesellschaftsrecht Fachhochschule Wismar) **Wolfram Heise** (Wedemark) **Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka** (Universität Bielefeld) **Mechthild Rüniger** (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit) **Markus Weilenmann** (Office for conflict research in developing countries, Rüschlikon, Switzerland)

Conference: Koexistenz und Konflikt von Religion in Europa, 28-30 November 2002

Convenors: Hartmut Lehmann (MPI for History, Göttingen), Günther Schlee

Papers presented:

Stefan Magen (MPI Recht zur Erforschung von Gemeinschaftsgütern, Bonn) Die symbolische Wirkungen des Rechts und ihr Beitrag zur Lösung religiöser Konflikte **Thilo Marauhn** (Universität Gießen) Über rechtliche Konfliktlösungsmechanismen für multireligiöse Gesellschaften in Europa **Altana Filos** (MPI für Ausländisches und Internationales Strafrecht) Religiöse Toleranz im Verfassungsstaat – Rechtsprobleme der staatskirchlichen Strukturen in Griechenland **Markus Rau** (MPI für Ausländisches und Internationales Strafrecht) Religiöse Toleranz im Verfassungsstaat – „Sekten“ und Grundgesetz

Christian Walter (MPI für Ausländisches und Internationales Strafrecht) Religiöse Toleranz im Verfassungsstaat – Islam und Grundgesetz
Tilman Nagel (Universität Göttingen) Der Verfassungsstaat, mit muslimischen Augen betrachtet – Zur „islamischen Charta“ des „Zentralrats der Muslime“
Silvia Tellenbach (MPI für Ausländisches und Internationales Strafrecht) Das Religionsprivileg im deutschen Vereinsrecht und seine Streichung
Günther Schlee (MPI für ethnologische Forschung) Somalia und die Somali-Diaspora vor und nach dem 11. September
Dietmar Rothermund (Universität Heidelberg) Religiöse Praxis und die Artikulation sozialer Identität
Bernhard Dahm (Universität Passau) Neue Konfliktfelder in traditionell religiös toleranten Regionen im rahmen des Kampfes gegen den Terrorismus

Conference: Friendship, Descent and Alliance: new perspectives on social integration and dissociation in changing African societies, 16-18 December 2002

Convenors: Youssouf Diallo, Tilo Grätz, Martine Guichard, Günther Schlee

Papers presented:

Martine Guichard (MPI for Social Anthropology) Reflections on anthropological studies of friendship
Paul Spencer (School of Oriental and African Studies, London) Maasai friendship and the shift from descent to alliance
Mario I. Aguilar (St. Mary's College, University of St. Andrews) From age-sets to friendship networks: The continuity of *soda* among the Boorana of East Africa
Alice Bellagamba (Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici, Università del Piemonte Orientale, Turin) Trust between people: Dependence, history and society in Fuladu, the Gambia (1880-1994)
Richard Warmis (Department of Anthropology, Southwest Texas State University, San Marcos) Friendship and kinship among merchants and veterans in Mali
Tilo Grätz (MPI for Social Anthropology) Friendship and social integration among gold miners in West Africa
Justus Ogembo (Department of Anthropology, University of New Hampshire) Friendship and kinship in the vicissitudes of daily life in Gusii
Tadesse Wolde Gossa (MPI for Social Anthropology) The place of friends/friendship in three East African communities
Mark Breusers (Department of Geography and Planning, University of Amsterdam) Friendship and godparenthood among Moose and Fulbe in Burkina Faso
Michaela Pelican (MPI for Social Anthropology) Inter-ethnic friendship in North West Cameroon: A comparison of ethnic and gender specific forms and concepts
Steve Tonah (Sociology Department, University of Ghana, Legon) "Some of the Mamprusi are also our friends" – Interethnic relations and the articulation of friendship between the pastoral Fulbe and the Mamprusi in Northern Ghana
Tal Tamari (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris) Joking relationships in West Africa: A political and sociological analysis
Youssouf Diallo (MPI for Social Anthropology) The Fulbe and their

neighbours: On joking relationships in Western Burkina Faso **Sten Hagberg** (Department of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology, Uppsala University) The politics of joking relationships in Burkina Faso **Georg Klute** (Institut für Ethnologie, Freie Universität Berlin und Zentrum Moderner Orient, Berlin) From friends to enemies. Negotiating nationalism, tribal identities and kinship in the fratricidal war of the Malian Tuareg **Richard Werbner** (Department of Social Anthropology, University of Manchester) "Down-to-Earth": Friendship and a national elite circle in Botswana

Workshop: Research Seminar Department 1, 19-20 December 2002

Convenor: Günther Schlee

Conference: On the Margins of Religion, 15-17 May 2003

Convenors: Chris Hann; João de Pina-Cabral (Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon), Frances Pine (University of Cambridge)

Papers presented:

João de Pina-Cabral (Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon) The straw roof cathedral: religion and politics in late colonial Mozambique **Ramon Sarró** (Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon) Elders' cathedrals and children's marbles **Thomas G. Kirsch** (Institute for Social Anthropology, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg) Logistics of the spirit: African Christians, spirituality, and transportation **Afe Adogame** (Department for the Study of Religion, University of Bayreuth) From house cells to warehouse churches? African migrant churches and the politics of religious syncretism in Germany **Ingo W. Schröder** (Institute for Comparative Cultural Studies, Philipps-University of Marburg) What is Native American religion today? Belief, power, and politics in a plural society **Olga Tchepournaya** (European University in St. Petersburg) Independent religious communities as a part of civic culture in Russia: historical perspective **Fernanda Pirie** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Angry villagers, dangerous spirits and reincarnate deities: morality, cosmology and Buddhism in the Himalayas **Grant Evans** (Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong) Revival of Buddhist royal family commemorative ritual in Laos **Simon Coleman** (Department of Anthropology, University of Durham) The abominations of anthropology: Christianity, ethnographic taboos and the meanings of 'science' **João Vasconcelos** (Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon) Between science and religion: spiritism and psychical research in late 19th and early 20th centuries **Heike Drotbohm** (Institute for Comparative Cultural Studies, Philipps-University of Marburg) Spirits between the worlds: reconsidering space, gender, and the nation among Haitian immigrants in Montreal **Beatrix Hauser** (Institute for Social Anthropology, Martin-Luther-

Universität Halle-Wittenberg) Hinduism, gender and possession: considering female religious expressions in India **Galina Lindquist** (Department of Social Anthropology, University of Stockholm) The unspeakable and the margins of religious discourse: Russian magic spells and their use in the working life **Sonja Lührmann** (University of Michigan) Lutherans, Pagans, and others: defining religion in Russia's Volga region **Tatiana V. Barchunova** (Novosibirsk State University) Intersection of faith-based and lay communities of practice (Novosibirsk case) **Agnieszka Z. Koscianska** (Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Warsaw University) On celibate marriages: the Polish Catholics' encounter with Hindu spirituality **Galia Valtchinova** (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences) Coping with trauma: suffering, religion and medicine in the 'marketing' of Bulgarian seer Vanga **Cornelia Sorabji** (Central European University, Budapest and Foreign & Commonwealth Office, London) Bosnian neighbourhoods revisited: civil relations in pre and post war Sarajevo **Ursula Rao** (Institut für Ethnologie, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg) Negotiations of religious boundaries in the urban space of contemporary India **Jonathan Parry** (Department of Anthropology, London School of Economics) The sacrifices of modernity in a soviet-built steel town in central India **Rubie and James Watson** (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, and Department of Anthropology, Harvard University) Geomancy, politics, and the legacy of colonialism in rural Hong Kong **Stephan Feuchtwang** (Department of Anthropology, London School of Economics) Centres and margins: the organisation of extravagance as self-government in China

Discussant: **Maurice Bloch** (London School of Economics)

Workshop: Greek-Catholics between East and West, 19th May 2003

Convenor: Chris Hann

External participants:

Bertalan Pusztai (Department of Ethnology, University of Szeged) **Stéphanie Mahieu** (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris) **Paul Robert Magocsi** (Ukrainian Studies, University of Toronto)

Workshop: Religion and Civil Society in Central Asia, 23-24 May 2003

Convenor: Chris Hann

External participants:

Ingeborg Baldauf (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) **Jürgen Paul** (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg)

Conference: Rechtsforschung als disziplinenübergreifende Herausforderung (Nachwuchswissenschaftlertreffen), 2-3 June 2003

Convenors: Judith Dick (Berliner Arbeitskreis Rechtswirklichkeit), Astrid Epp (Sektion Rechtssoziologie der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie), Julia Eckert
Papers presented:

Anusheh Rafi (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) Rechtsforschung als disziplinübergreifende Herausforderung **Anne-Sophie van Aaken** (Humboldt Universität Berlin) Deliberative Institutionsökonomik: Eine Theorie für die Rechtspolitik? **Peter Stegmaier** (Universität Düsseldorf) Wissen, was Recht ist **Barbara Heitzmann** (Institut für Sozialforschung Frankfurt) Die Stellung des Rechts in der Meinungsbildung zum Schwangerschaftsabbruch **Alexandra Obermeier** (Universität Augsburg) Vom Umgang mit Ungewissheit im Strafrecht **Margareth Lanzinger** (Universität Wien) Normen in der Praxis – Praktiken der Norm: Eheverträge in der 2. Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts **Elke Fein** (MPI für internationales Strafrecht, Freiburg) Recht als politischer Faktor in osteuropäischen Transformationsgesellschaften – Der KPDSU-Prozeß vor dem russischen Verfassungsgericht **Daniel Schulz** (TU Dresden) Verfassungsrecht und Politikwissenschaft in Frankreich. Disziplinenkonkurrenz in der V. Republik: Konkurrenz um Deutungsmacht **Christoph Thonfeld** (Universität Bremen) Rechtssprechung als Indikator politischen und gesellschaftlichen Wandels in der SBZ (1945-49) **Christoph Hönnige** (Universität Potsdam) Das Spannungsdreieck von Verfassungsgericht, Regierung und Opposition **André Brodocz** (TU Dresden) Situationale Selbstthematizierungen des Bundesverfassungsgerichts **Judith Beyer** (Tübingen/Bishkek) Transformationsprozess im kirgisischen Rechtssystem **Wolfgang Gabbert** (FU Berlin) Recht und Struktur in indigenen Gemeinden Mexikos **Carsten Raddatz** (Berlin) Gesetzgebende Prozeduren, Formulierungsarbeit und praktische Handlungen **Bernd Ternes** (FU Berlin) Die Gewalt in der Gewalt des Rechts **Stefan Sperling** (Bielefeld/Princeton) Bioethik zwischen Recht und Lebenswissenschaft **Julie Trappe** (MPI für internationales Strafrecht, Freiburg) Komplexität und Normativität des Rechts – juristische Vergangenheitsbewältigung in Rumänien nach 1989 **Tilo Grätz** (MPI für ethnologische Forschung) Vigilanten und Milizen: Zur Problematik vergleichender Untersuchungen juridischer Selbsthilfegruppen jenseits des Staates in Afrika **Margrit Seckelmann** (Deutsche Hochschule für Verwaltungswissenschaften Speyer) Mobile Weltbürger um 1900 – Internationalisierung des Patentschutzes (1871-1914) **Christoph Humrich** (Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung, Mainz) Von einer zukünftigen Ménage à trois? Internationale Beziehungen, die Soziologie internationaler Gesellschaft und das Völkerrecht **Milena Büchs** (HU Berlin/Stirling) Recht und Soft Law in der Arbeitsmarktpolitik der EU **Thorsten Bonacker** (Universität Oldenburg/Marburg) Weltrecht oder globale Rechtsgemeinschaft? Inklusion und Integration der Weltgesell-

schaft durch Menschenrechte **Sibylle Kalupner** (Universität Erfurt) Kultursoziologie der Menschenrechte. Probleme und Forschungsansätze **Christine Künzel** (Hamburg) Zwischen Fakten und Fiktionen: Vorstellungsvermögen in der richterlichen Urteilsbildung **Thomas Weitin** (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) Aporien des Authentischen. Zeugenschaft in Recht und Literatur des 18. und 19. Jahrhundert **Thorsten Berndt** (Universität Düsseldorf) Rechtsprechung und Richteridentität – zwei Seiten einer Medaille **H. Kutscher, F. Anders, K. Stoll** (Universität Bielefeld) Bialystok in Bielefeld: Zur historischen Betrachtung von Strafverfahren wegen NS-Gewaltverbrechen **Manuela Pötschke** (Universität Bremen) Regelbefolgung in differenten Situationen und Orientierung am Verhalten Dritter **Ina Rust** (Universität-GH Kassel) Wie technische Normen in der Genese technischer Anlagen den Charakter rechtlicher Normen annehmen **Clemens Körte** (Berlin) Against all Principles of Justice: Santi Romano und das Recht irischer Whiteboys **Christoph Jahr** (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) Antisemiten vor Gericht. Zur juristischen Verfolgung eines politischen Radikalismus im deutschen Kaiserreich

Conference: Conflict, Violence and Procedures. Empirical advances in the theory of conflicts and the institutionalisation of conflict, 14-20 June 2003, Hanse Wissenschaftskolleg, Delmenhorst, Germany

Convenors: Hanse Wissenschaftskolleg Delmenhorst, Free University of Berlin, Institute for Social Anthropology in cooperation with MPI for Social Anthropology (Department I)

Papers presented:

Gerhard Roth (University of Bremen, Hanse Wissenschaftskolleg Delmenhorst) The neurobiology of violence and conflict **Ingrid Kummels** (Freie Universität Berlin) Violent temper as an illness and peyote as a medicine among the Rarámuri **Jürg Helbling** (University of Zurich) Feud, war and institutionalisation in anthropological perspective **Thomas Höllmann** (University of Munich) Head hunting in Taiwan **Stephanie Schwandner** (University College London) Albanian feuds and criminal violence **Anke Hoeffler** (University of Oxford) Violence, institutional breakdown and institution building in international politics **Christoph Zürcher** (Freie Universität Berlin) War monging institution and institutions which bridle violence - Chechnya and other Caucasian cases **Andreas Ernst** (NZZ) Making sense of chaos - The Balkan wars of the beginning 21st century **Jörg Rössel** (University of Leipzig) Changing perspectives on conflict and institution **Martin Kohli** (Freie Universität Berlin) The Institutionalisation of conflict: Pacifying intergenerational conflict **Miriam Abu Sharkh** (Stanford University) Efficiency and failure of institutions of social security - An international comparison **Georg Elwert** (HWK/Freie Universität Berlin) Al-Qaeda and its potential successors. On sponsor driven

and its potential successors. On sponsor driven terrorists **Ayse Günes-Ayata** (METU Ankara) Institutional breakdown and institution building at the grass roots **Georg Klute** (Zentrum Moderner Orient Berlin) Reaching peace by building domination after guerrilla warfare in the Sahara **Rasmus Boserup** (EHESS Paris) Escalation of Violence. The Algerian example **Wolfgang Gabbert** (TU Hannover) From Chaos to (limited) Order – The Rise and Fall of Maya Warlords in 19th-Century Yucatan, Mexico **Valery Tishkov** (Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow) Some wars that might come and some institutions which should not fail – Observations from the former Soviet Union **Günther Schlee** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Cohesion and conflict in an anthropological perspective **Marianne Braig** (Freie Universität Berlin) Female and male – different patterns of cohesion and cooperation in Latin America **Jeffrey Peires** (Queenstown) Cattle theft, vigilantes and rural violence in the Eastern Cape, South Africa **Aleksej Gunya** (Russian Academy of Sciences Moscow) Power, land use and business – the institutional background to more or less conflictive histories in Kabardino-Balkaria and Karachayev-Cherkessia **Tommaso Trevisani** (ZEF Bonn) Power-builders, ambivalent institutions and potential conflicts in Uzbek irrigation fields **Jan Koehler** (Freie Universität Berlin) Making and breaking the rules: social control, youth and violence in Georgia **Caroline Tingay** (Alexandria/Freie Universität Berlin) Avoidance and personal power agendas. Conflict dynamics and land reform in Egypt **Juliana Ströbele-Gregor** (Freie Universität Berlin) Breaking the silence. Indigenous women and domestic violence in Latin America **Pénélope Larzillière** (Warwick University) Suicide as a weapon – Field-studies in Palestine

Conference: Mining Frontiers: social conflicts, property relations and cultural change in emerging boom regions, 16-18 June 2003

Convenors: Tilo Grätz, Günther Schlee; Katja Werthmann (Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz)

Papers presented:

Eugenia Herbert (Mount Holyoke College) Elusive frontiers: Pre-Colonial Mining in sub-Saharan Africa **Raymond Dumett** (Purdue University) Parallel mining frontiers in the gold coast and Asante in the late 19th and early 20th centuries **Donald L. Hardesty** (University of Nevada, Reno) Frontier Mining Communities as a cross-cultural type **Richard Knapp** (Research Curator, North Carolina Historic Sites) English America's First Gold-Mining Frontier in North Carolina: Prelude to California **William Douglass** (Center for Basque Studies, University of Nevada) The Mining and Ranching Frontiers of the American West: Interlocking? Interpenetrating? Independent? **Marieke Heemskerck** (University of Wisconsin) Transnational movement of people, gold and social problems: Brazilian gold miners in Suriname – South America

Denis La Point (Appatachian Resources) Effects of Small-Scale Alluvial Gold Mining on the Environment and Society of the Eastern Interior of Suriname **Enrique Rodriguez Larreta** (Institute of Cultural Pluralism, Brazil) Gold is illusion. The Garimpeiros of Tapajos Valley in the Brazilian Amazon **Ben Imbun** (University of Papua New Guinea) "Greenfield" Development of Employment Relations: evidence from mining development in Papua New Guinea **Tilo Grätz** (MPI for Social Anthropology) New gold-mining frontiers in West Africa: conflicting legal fields and modes of social integration in a comparative perspective **Paul Richards** (Wageningen University and Research Centre) Mining and the Messiah: the masterless classes in Sierra Leone **Filip De Boeck** (Africa Research Centre, University of Leuven) Diamonds and Disputes: Conflict and Local Power on the Border between Congo and Angola **Katja Werthmann** (Johannes Gutenberg University, Mainz) "People of the hills": the emergence of a gold-mining community in Burkina Faso **Alex Golub** (Department of Anthropology) Migration, gold-mining and reconfigurations of kinship and ethnic relations highlands Papua New Guinea. Cultural authenticity, novelty and cultural change **Dan Jorgensen** (Department of Anthropology, Social Science Centre, University of Western Ontario) Flows of People and Flows of Cash in Two Papua New Guinea Mining Projects **David Trigger** (Department of Anthropology, University of Western Australia) Mining projects in remote Aboriginal Australia: sites for contesting visions of economic and cultural futures **Glenn Banks** (School of Geography & Oceanography, University of New South Wales, Australia) Faces we do not know": Mining, migration and sociality at the Porgera gold mine, Papua New Guinea

Discussant: **Aletta Biersack** (Department of Anthropology, University of Oregon)

Conferences: Changing Properties of Property, 2-4 July 2003

Convenors: Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann, Chris Hann; Melanie Wiber (Department of Anthropology, University of New Brunswick)

Papers presented:

Toon van Meijl (Centre for Pacific and Asian Studies, University of Nijmegen) Changing views of property and its distribution in postcolonial Maori society **Deborah James** (London School of Economics and Political Science) "The tragedy of the private": Owners, communities and the state in South Africa's land reform programme **Esther Kingston-Mann** (Department of History, University of Massachusetts) The romance of privatization: Historical case studies from England and Russia (with a preliminary note on Kenya) **Tilman Hannemann** (University of Bremen) Disposal rights on property and women's inheritance in greater Kabylia: from local notions and religious politics to colonial emancipationist ideology **Monique Nuijten** (Department of Rural De-

velopment Sociology, Wageningen University) Land regulation in a Mexican community. A practice approach to property rights **Charles Geisler** (Development Sociology, Cornell University) Ownership in stateless places **Günther Schlee** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Restitution and compensation in postwar Somalia **Pauline Peters** (Harvard University) Beyond embeddedness: a challenge raised by a comparison of the struggles over land in African and postsocialist countries **Thomas Sikor** (Institute of Agricultural Economics and Social Science, Humboldt University Berlin) Land as asset, land as liability: property politics in rural Central and Eastern Europe **Chris Hann** (MPI for Social Anthropology) The moral economy of decollectivization: historical justice and contemporary survival in the postsocialist countryside **Grazyna Skapska** (Jagiellonian University, Cracow) Restitution of property in east central Europe. On the importance of symbolic aspect of property rights **Oane Visser** (Department of Anthropology, University of Nijmegen & CESTRAD, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague) Land reform and farm restructuring in post-socialist Russia **John Eidson** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Real existing socialist property. Orthodox theory and heterodox practices among cooperative farmers in the German Democratic Republic **Melanie Wiber** (Department of Anthropology, University of New Brunswick) Relative publics, repatriation and cultural property: Which public? Whose culture? **Gísli Pálsson** (Department of Anthropology, University of Iceland) Appropriating family trees: Genealogies in the age of genetics **Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann** (MPI for Social Anthropology) How communal is communal, and whose communal is it? Struggles over land law and land rights in Indonesia **Edella Schlager** (School of Public Administration and Policy, The University of Arizona) Cooperation and opportunism among property rights holders **Frank Muttenter** (Graduate Institute of Development Studies, Geneva and Ecole Supérieure Agronomiques Antananarivo, Madagascar) The folk conceptualization of property and going concerns in rural Madagascar **Uta-Maria Niederle** (MPI for Research into Economic Systems, Jena) Nature and evolution of property: an economic view on anthropological findings **Robert Hunt** (Brandeis University) Work, property, incentive: The curious case of forager food sharing

Workshop: Siberian Reindeer Herding: an ethnographic comparison Part-I, 23-28 June 2003 and Part-II, 9-16 July 2003

Convenors: Florian Stammler (formerly MPI for Social Anthropology, Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge), John Ziker (formerly MPI for Social Anthropology, Boise State University)

External participants:

Part I: **John Ziker** (Boise State University), **Aimar Ventsel** (Estonian Literature Museum Tartu), **Florian Stammler** (Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge)

Part II: **Patty Gray** (University of Alaska Fairbanks), **Aimar Ventsel** (Estonian Literature Museum Tartu), **John Ziker** (Boise State University), **Alexander King** (Aberdeen of University)

Workshop: Intensive Seminar for all Institute Members, 17-18 July 2003, Großkühnau, Germany

Convenor: MPI for Social Anthropology (Department I)

External participant:

Roman Pöschke (Deutsche Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit)

Conference: Socialist Era Anthropology in Eastern and Central Europe, 28-29 August 2003

Convenors: Chris Hann; Mihály Sárkány (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Hungary), Petr Skalník (University of Pardubice, Czech Republic)

Papers presented:

Dietrich Treide (Emeritiert, Universität Leipzig) Vorwärts, aber wohin? Die Suche nach Inhalten und Methoden der ethnologischen Arbeit an der Leipziger Universität von 1950/51 bis 1964 **Zbigniew Jasiewicz** (Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznan) Adapting of Soviet models by Polish ethnology before 1956 **Olga Skalníková** (Emeritus, Hungarian Academy of Sciences) Foundation of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in 1952 and its importance for the status of the Czech *narodopis* **Aleksander Posern-Zielinski** (Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznan) Polish ethnography during the socialist era: between intellectual tradition, limits of freedom and anthropological modernization **Gabriela Kiliánová** (Slovak Academy of Sciences) Kontinuität und Diskontinuität der intellektuellen Tradition im Sozialismus: die 'folklorische Schule' in Bratislava **Petr Skalník** (University of Pardubice) Socialist Era Anthropology in East-Central Europe **Petr Lozoviuk** (Institut für Sächsische Geschichte und Volkskunde) Kontinuitäten und Diskontinuitäten in der tschechischen Vor- und Nachkriegsethnographie **Mihály Sárkány** (Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften) Theorie und Methodologie in der ungarischen Ethnologie/ Ethnographie im Zeitalter des Sozialismus **Josef Kandert** (Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic) Ethnographic research and praxis during socialist

era – Czech case **Zofia Sokolewicz** (University of Warsaw) Foreign ethnographic expeditions during the PRL era (1945-1989) and their role in shaping cooperation in Polish ethnographic circles **Wolfgang Jacobbeit** (Emeritiert, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) paper read by **Dagmar Neuland-Kitzerow** (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin) Volkskunde in der DDR 1952-1990 **Klára Kuti** (University of Pécs) Geschichtlichkeiten in der ungarischen Volkskunde **Tamás Hofer** (Director emeritus, Museum of Ethnography Budapest) Closing comments
 Discussants: **António Eduardo Mendonça** (Lisbon) **Dagmar Neuland-Kitzerow** (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin) **Thomas Schippers** (Institut d'Ethnologie Méditerranéenne et Comparative) **Barbara Treide** (Emeritiert, Universität Leipzig)

Conference: The Chad Basin: Reconfigurations, 29-30 September 2003

Convenors: Andrea Behrends; Janet Roitman (CNRS, France)

Papers presented:

Claude Arditi (Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Paris, France) Les conflits entre les éleveurs arabes et les agriculteurs sara dans le sud du Tchad comme révélateur des relations nord-sud **Gilbert Taguem Fah** (Université de Ngaoundéré, Cameroun) Dynamique plurielle, regain de spiritualité et recomposition de l'espace Islamique **Hassane Souleymane** (Université Aix-Marseille, France) Les enjeux des conflits identitaires et communautaires dans le bassin nigérien du Lac Tchad **Saibou Issa** (Université de Ngaoundéré, Cameroun) Pipeline, sécurisation et renouveau de la politique tchadienne du Cameroun **Han van Dijk** (African Studies Centre, Leiden, The Netherlands) Decentralisation and the articulation of local and regional politics in Central Chad **Mirjam de Bruijn** (African Studies Centre, Leiden, The Netherlands) Small town dynamics in Chad, Islamisation and political change in Mongo **Stephen P. Reyna** (University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH, USA) Waiting: The Witchcraft of Modernity in Komé (Chad) **Janet Roitman** (CNRS-MALD, Paris, France) The Ethics of Illegality in the Chad Basin **Andrea Behrends** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Power structures and emerging forms of political association after conflict and flight in Dar Masalit (Chad-Sudanese border) **Rüdiger Seesemann** (University of Bayreuth, Germany) "Does God sit on the throne?" The quotidian dimension of Islamic reformism in Wadai (Chad)

Conference: 'Everything is still before you': being young in Siberia today, 15–17 November 2003

Convenors: Joachim Otto Habeck and members of the Siberian Studies Centre

Papers presented:

David Anderson (Department of Anthropology, University of Aberdeen) 'Everything is still before you': the ironies, history and the future of youth politics in Siberia **Tuula Tuisku** (Giellagas Centre for Sami Studies and Thule Institute, University of Oulu) Rural youth in the Nenets Autonomous Okrug **Ol'ga Kolesnikova and Yurii Popkov** (Department of Ethno-Social Sciences, Siberian Division of the Russian Academy of Sciences) **and Anthony Glendinning** (Department of Sociology, University of Aberdeen) Community life and well-being: the situation for youth in eastern Siberia **Tatiana Buianova** (Laboratory for Siberian Languages, Tomsk Pedagogical University) Unemployment and employment of young people among indigenous small-numbered peoples (Tomskaia oblast', Ivankino) **Vladimir Dmitriev** (North-western Institute for Economics and Organisation of Agriculture, Russian Academy of Agricultural Sciences) Small-numbered peoples of the North and small business: steps toward finding common ground **Petra Hulova** (Department of Cultural Studies, Charles University, Prague) Problems of contemporary Buryat youth and the local press **Radzhana Dugarova** (Institute for Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences) Development of Buryat culture from the perspective of youth participating in the Buryat Internet Forum **Elena Liarskaia** (Department of Anthropology, European University, St. Petersburg) The significance of boarding schools for the culture of contemporary Yamal Nenets **Elena Khlinovskaia-Rockhill** (Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge) The state is my family: children in state care institutions **Stefan Krist** (Mongolian Studies, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest) Where going back is a step forward: how retraditionalisation of sport games fits the needs of young people in post-Soviet Buryatia **Anouska Traast** (Department of Cultural Anthropology, Free University Amsterdam) The social meaning of religion in the shaping of collective identities among students at Ulan-Ude University **Marina Hakkarainen** (Department of Anthropology, European University, St. Petersburg) The process of growing up as a basis for traditional values: a case study from Markovo, Chukotka **John Ziker** (Department of Anthropology, Boise State University) Tradition and the conflict between generations in Taimyr: the logic of conformity and dialectic of learning **Jaroslav Derlicki** (Institute for Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences) Ethnopedagogy: the curse or the cure? The role of the school among youth in Nelemnoe (Yakutia) **Svetlana Tiukhteneva** (Surazakov Institute for Altaic Studies, Gorno-Altai) 'Young and still wet behind the ears?!' **Rane Willerslev** (Department of Social Anthropology, University of Manchester) Suicide, personhood

and the recycling of souls: a case study of the Upper Kolyma Yukaghir of north-eastern Siberia **Janno Simm** (Visual Cultural Studies, University of Tromsø) The practice of survival: livelihoods in a post-Soviet Arctic community, with a short documentary film **Tatiana Barchunova** (Novosibirsk State University) and **Natalia Beletskaia** (Resource Centre for Humanitarian Education) Without fear and reproach: roleplaying-games community challenging mainstream culture (Novosibirsk case) **Aimar Ventsel** (Estonian Literature Museum, Tartu) Stars without money: Sakha ethnic music business, upward mobility, and friendship **Svetlana Tiukhteneva** (Surazakov Institute for Altaic Studies, Gorno-Altai) Humanitarian aid in the Altai Republic after the earthquake: how does it work, how does it not work?

Discussants: **Jacob Clemmesen** (Fredriksberg) **Dmitrii Funk** (Institute for Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow) **Alexander King** (Department of Anthropology, University of Aberdeen) **Benedikte Kristensen** (Department of Anthropology, University of Copenhagen) **Florian Stammler** (Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge) **Piers Vitebsky** (Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge)

Conference: Anthropological Perspectives on Central Asia, 19-21 December 2003

Convenors: Peter Finke, Meltem Sancak

Papers presented:

Anatoly M. Khazanov (University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA) Contemporary Central Asia: An Overview **Nazif Shahrani** (Indiana University, USA) Post-Soviet Muslim Central Asia and the Middle East: Coping with the Legacies of Colonialism and Orientalism **Dru Gladney** (Hawai'i University, USA, and MPI Halle/Saale) De-Centering Central Asia **David Sneath** (Cambridge University, UK) Land, Locality and the State: Technologies of Power and Mongolian Pastoral Lifeworlds **Johan Rasanayagam** (MPI for Social Anthropology, Germany) Market, State and Community in Uzbekistan: Reworking the concept of the informal economy **Morgan Liu** (Harvard University, USA) Can Central Asian Anthropology Shed Light on Post-Socialisms and Modernities? Thinking through Fieldwork on Political Imagination in Osh, Kyrgyzstan **Gabriele Rasuly-Paleczek** (University of Vienna, Austria) Rebuilding the Afghan State: Local Politics versus State Policies **Alisher Ilkhamov** (Open Society Institute, Tashkent, Uzbekistan) Rural Economy in Uzbekistan: Lost Chances for Economic Growth and Prosperity **Cynthia Werner** (University of Texas at Austin, USA) Markets, Networks and Gifts: Reflecting on a Decade of Transition in Rural Kazakhstan **Russell Zanca** (Northeastern Illinois University, USA) Making Economy Matter to the Ethnography of Contemporary Uzbekistan **Yang Shengmin** (Central University of Nationalities, Beijing, China) Culture and Ecology

of Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region: Problems and Prospects **Joerg Janzen** (Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, and Free University Berlin) Problems and Perspectives of Pastoral Economy and Land Use in Mongolia **André Bourgeot** (College de France, Paris, France) Transformations in a Kyrgyz Area (Song Köl) since 1992: A Kind of Assessment **Carol Kerven** (Macaulay Institute, Aberdeen, UK) Emerging Differentiation among Pastoral households in Kazakstan **Roy Behnke** (Macaulay Institute, Aberdeen, UK) Property Rights and Use of Rangeland Resources in Kazakstan and Turkmenistan **Boris Petric** (CNRS, France) Neighbor Community (Mahalla): An Institution to Understand the New Social and Political Imaginary in the Post-Soviet Uzbekistan **Saulesh Esenova** (University of British Columbia, Canada) The Politics and Poetics of the Nation: Local Narratives of Kazakh Identity **Abilbek Asankanov** (Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan) Ethnic and Religious Identities in Contemporary Kyrgyzstan **John Schoeberlein** (Harvard University, USA) Transformation of Islamic Legitimacy in Post-Independence Central Asia

Institute's Colloquia

16.09.02 **Maruška Svašek** (University of Belfast) 'Home' and the Sudeten German Heimat as imagined property

23.09.02 **Robert Parkin** (Oxford and MPI for Social Anthropology) Cross-border Cooperation, Administrative Reform and Local Identity in Lubuskie, Western Poland

30.09.02 **Inger-Elin Øye** (University of Tromsø) Party Politics, East-German Identities and Property in Mecklenburg-West Pomerania

07.10.02 **Ingo Nentwig** (Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig) The Reindeer-Evenki of China – Report of Field Studies 1985 and 1993

14.10.02 **Liesl L. Gambold Miller** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Property, Prospects, and Peasants: The Mixed Feudal Economy of a Russian Village

21.10.02 **Birgit Müller** (Laboratoire de l'Anthropologie des Institutions et Organisations Sociales, Paris) The Disenchantment of Market Economy

28.10.02 **Stephane Voell** (Universität Marburg) The Kanun in the City. Albanian customary law as a habitus and its persistence in the suburb of Bathore, Tirana

04.11.02 **Frances Pine** (University of Cambridge) A New Economy of Plenty? Economy outside the state in the Polish highlands

11.11.02 **David Shankland** (University of Wales, Lampeter) An Alevi village in Germany: preliminary thoughts on attempting to replicate in a European setting Stirling's model of the social integration of a rural migrant community

28.04.03 **Katja Werthmann** (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz) "Frivolous squandering". Consumption and solidarity among gold and diamond miners in Africa, Oceania, South America and South-East Asia

05.05.03 **Burckard Schnepel** (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg) 'In sleep a king, but waking no such matter': The politics of dreaming in a cross-cultural perspective

12.05.03 **Tim Allen** (London School of Economics) War and Humanitarianism

19.05.03 **Stefan Troebst** (Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum für Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas) „We are Transnistrians!“ (Post)Soviet Identity Management in the Dniester Valley

26.05.03 **Paul Robert Magosci** (Ukrainian Studies, University of Toronto, currently MPI for Social Anthropology) Central Europe's Diasporas in America and their Impact on the European Homeland

02.06.03 **Christian Lund** (Roskilde University) Negotiating property institutions: On the symbiosis of property and authority in Africa

16.06.03 **Peter Loizos** (London School of Economics) A retrospective explanatory cohort study of the mortality and morbidity of long term refugees with non refugees: the Greek Cypriot case

23.06.03 **Léon Buskens** (Leiden University) Marriage Rules and Rituals in Morocco

30.06.03 **Thomas Bierschenk** (Zentrum für Entwicklungsforschung Bonn/Universität Mainz) Decentralisation. How Great Expectations in Washington, Bonn and Paris are dashed in Parakou/Benin, or why it is amazing that Development Programmes work at all

07.07.03 **Richard Rottenburg** (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg) How to study AIDS in Africa?

Talks 2002 / 2003

21.01.2002 **Yulian Konstantinov** (Institute for Anthropological Field Research, New Bulgarian University) Notes from recent fieldwork in Northwest Russia: Meat Harvest 2001/2

21.02.2002 **Mikhail Okotetto** (President of the “rodovaia obshchina ILEBTS” Se-Yakha, Yamal) Foundation of indigenous clan-communities (*obshchina*) in Yamal. Problems and Perspectives

25.02.2002 **Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov** (Universität Leipzig and Bulgarian Academy of Sciences) Gypsies in Bulgaria in times of transition

26.02.2002 **Ali Balla Bashuna** (Kenya) Short presentation on the WAATA and video show on the WAATA yearly cultural festival

28.02.2002 **John Flower and Pamela Leonard** (Department of History, University of North Carolina at Charlotte) Bifengxia naturepark: the ownership of landscape in post-reform China

01.03.2002 **Petr Skalnik** (Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences) Why chiefdoms and kingdoms in Africa are not states

12.03.2002 **Stanislaw Stepien** (Southeast Europe Institute Przemysl) Jordan Rituals in Przemysl

11.04.2002 **Ivan Szelényi** (Yale University, currently MPI for Human Development) Remembering Socialism

29.04.2002 **Paul Robert Magocsi** (University of Toronto) Maps and Identities

21.05.2002 **Borut Brumen** (University of Ljubljana) Looking for the Imagined Tradition Through the Anthropology of Borders

23.05.2002 **Marc Galanter** (University of Wisconsin) A critique on alternative dispute resolution: the lok adalat of India

30.05.2002 **Steven Lukes** (London School of Economics) Liberalism for the Liberals; Cannibalism for the Cannibals: Some thoughts on cultural relativism

24.06.2002 **Khalil Allio** (University N'Djamena, currently University of Frankfurt/Main) The movements of Population in the Guera region in Chad Republic and their Consequences

25.06.2002 **Maria Teresa Sierra** (University of Mexico) The Challenge of Diversity in Mexico: ethnicity, gender and human rights

09.08.2002 **Sveta Sivtseva** (Yakutian State TV) Yakutian media, pop-culture and politics (in Russian language)

30.07.2002 **Nina Glick Schiller** (University of New Hampshire, currently MPI for Social Anthropology) Beyond Integration and Transnationalism: Migrant Practices in Halle, Germany and Manchester, USA

24.10.2002 **Peter Geschiere** (University of Leiden) Democratisation and xenophobia: new modes in the politics of belonging in Africa

13.11.2002 **Markus Höhne** (München) Report on recent developments in Somaliland

15.11.2002 **Andreas Dalfinger and Michaela Pelican** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Land rights and the politics of integration: Pastoralists

18.11.2002 **Fernanda Pirie** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Investigating disputes in the Himalayas

19.12.2002 **Andrea Behrends** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Present status of research on the Chad/-Sudan border and future plans

08.01.2003 **Rozita Dimova** (Stanford University, Department of Cultural and Social Anthropology) Tainted Losses: ethnic conflict, consumption and gendered spaces in Macedonia

10.02.2003 **Fernanda Pirie** (MPI for Social Anthropology) The fragility of order: disputes and the legal realm in village Ladakh

17.02.2003 **Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Local Islam and civil society in post-socialist Turkmenistan

24.02.2003 **Ina Vogelsang** (University of Manchester) Soviet Ideology and Religious Practices in Simferopol, Crimea

03.03.2003 **Monika Heintz** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Sources of morality in post-socialist Romania – searching for a methodological prop

06.03.2003 **Agnieszka Halemba** (University of Cambridge) Spiritual Knowledge and Nation Building: a case of Altai takyry in the Republic of Altai (Russia)

10.03.2003 **Vlad Naumescu** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Religious revival in postsocialist Ukraine and Romania: the case study of Greek-Catholics

17.03.2003 **László Fosztó** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Charismatic Christianity among Roma (Gypsies) in Romania and Hungary: Inequality and social change in a relational perspective

20.03.2003 **Manuela Boatcă** (Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingoldstadt) ‚Catching up’ with the West: the recurrent challenge of the civilizing mission in the 19th and 21st century Romania

20.03.2003 **Dan Dungaciu** (University of Bucharest) Nationalism and religion in postsocialist Romania

24.03.2003 **Juraj Buzalka** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Religion and Civil Society in Poland and Slovakia. Social transformations, Nationalizations and

31.03.2003 **Ingrid Schindlbeck** (Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin/Dahlem) Some remarks to the analysis of religion on Azerbaijan

07.04.2003 **Anja Peleikis** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Who owns the village? Legal Pluralism, Cultural Property and Social Security in a Baltic Tourist Centre (The example of Nida at the Curonian Spit/Lithuania)

14.04.2003 **Gordon Milligan** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Carrying on the Farm: how local agricultural elites managed periods of transition in socialist and post-socialist north-eastern Germany

30.04.2003 **Daniel Fitzpatrick** (Australian National University) Land Claims in Post-Conflict East Timor – Some Questions of Theory and Practice

07.05.2003 **Tadesse Wolde Gossa** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Shared moments and forged identities: persistence of multiple religious practices in south-west Ethiopia

13.05.2003 **Vesna Vucinic** (University of Belgrade) Serbia and Montenegro between old and new religious traditions

22.05.2003 **Yasin Dutton** (Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Edinburgh) Ijtihad in Contemporary Islam (*jointly with the Orientwissenschaftliche Zentrum, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg*)

28.05.2003 **Youssouf Diallo** (MPI for Social Anthropology) The Militarisation of social and political contradictions in Côte d'Ivoire

02.06.2003 **Katarzyna Marciniak** (University of Poznan) Recent anthropological research at the Marian sanctuary at Lichen, central Poland

11.06.2003 **Markus Höhne** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Identity and conflict in two regions of Eastern Somaliland

12.06.2003 **John Eidson and Günther Schlee** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Fieldwork Diaries - Practical Fieldwork Seminars

12.06.2003 **Günther Schlee** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Micro-Censuses and genealogical interviews, Fieldwork Seminars

25.06.2003 **Tsypylma Darieva** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Inter-ethnic relationships and identity options among Uzbeks in South Kazakhstan

26.06.2003 **Olaf Zenker** (MPI for Social Anthropology) The people themselves – the everyday making of ethnic identity in discourse and practice among Catholics in the context of conflict in Northern Ireland

07.07.2003 **Jaroslav Derlicki** (Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii, Polska Akademia Nauk) I am the son of the Oliero' Yukaghir identity and land issues

07.07.2003 **Rane Willerslev** (Department of Social Anthropology, University of Manchester) Hunting, Mimesis and Personhood among the Yukaghirs

07.07.2003 **Aimar Ventsel** (Estonian Literature Museum Tartu) 'This is my village, what do you want from here?' Economy, violence and multiple identities in a Dolgan village

08.07.2003 **Mahendra Singh** (Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin) Tracing the human right to ancient Indian tradition: its relevance to the understanding and application of the international Bill of Rights

- 09.07.2003 **Sven Nicolas** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Transcendental Worlds and Pilgrimages – The Limits of Politics in the Oogliaa-Cult/Ethiopia
- 09.07.2003 **Jacqueline Knörr** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Creolization in context: historical, social and political dimensions of intercultural and interethnic processes in Jakarta
- 16.07.2003 **Nina Glick Schiller, Evangelos Karagiannis, Ayse Çağlar** (University of New Hampshire, MPI for Social Anthropology) Presentation of their joint project - Simultaneous Incorporation
- 24.09.2003 **John G. Nyuot Yoh** (The Royal Institute for Inter-faith Studies, Amman) Two Sudans’/‘New Sudan’ Paradigms: southern Sudan approaches to resolution of the conflict in Sudan
- 27.10.2003 **Hans Christian Korsholm Nielsen** (University of Aarhus) Reconciliation between State and Customary Law in Egypt
- 28.10.2003 **Howard Davis** (University of Wales, Bangor) Recent Cultural Developments in Tatarstan
- 05.11.2003 **Johannes W. Raam** (Institut für Ethnologie und Afrikanistik, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München) Reflections on Max Weber’s Relevance for Anthropology
- 06.11.2003 **James Kari** (University of Alaska Fairbanks/MPI for Evolutionary Anthropology) Research Themes in Northern Athabascan Ethnogeography
- 10.11.2003 **Tom G. Svensson** (University of Oslo) Why is the conception of ‘indigenous’ so important? Inquiry into the politics of difference
- 18.11.2003 **Patrick McAllister** (University of Canterbury, New Zealand) Convention and Creativity in Public Ritual: Re-inventing Australia Day in the Name of National Reconciliation (*jointly with the Institut für Ethnologie, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg*)
- 01.12.2003 **Veronika Fuest** (Zentrum für Entwicklungsforschung, Bonn) Institutional Analysis in the GLOWA Volta Project: Objectives and Methodology

Lectures

Assefa, Getinet

December 2003, Rural livelihoods and local institutional arrangements: lessons from an Ethiopian experience, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Institut für Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaften des Landbaus, Berlin, Germany

Behrends, Andrea

05. June 2002, Flüchtlinge in Dar Masalit. Neuere Perspektiven in der Flüchtlingsforschung, Universität Bayreuth, Institut für Ethnologie, Bayreuth, Germany

18. June 2002, Flüchtlinge in Dar Masalit. Neuere Perspektiven in der Flüchtlingsforschung, Colloquium, Universität zu Köln, Institut für Völkerkunde, Köln, Germany

14. January 2003, Flüchtlinge in Dar Masalit. Anthropologische Perspektiven in der Flüchtlingsforschung, Colloquium, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Institut für Ethnologie und Afrika-Studien, Mainz, Germany

Benda-Beckmann, Franz von

14. - 15. December 2001, Globalisation, Knowledge and legal pluralism: a legal anthropological perspective on the nomoscape, CERES Seminar "Agency, knowledge and power: new directions in the sociology of development", Wageningen University, Wageningen, The Netherlands

07. February 2002, Dezentralisierung, Globalisierung und Rechtspluralismus, Kulturwissenschaftliches Forschungskolleg, Universität Bayreuth, Bayreuth, Germany

19. February 2002, Decentralisation in Minangkabau, *jointly with Keebet von Benda-Beckmann*, Ford Foundation, Jakarta, Indonesia

12. June 2002, Rechte an natürlichen Ressourcen und wirtschaftliche Entwicklung: problematische Beziehungen, Institutskolloquium, Universität Leipzig, Institut für Ethnologie, Leipzig, Germany

03. October 2002, Legal anthropology and comparative law, University of Rotterdam, Faculty of Law, Rotterdam, The Netherlands

17. December 2002, Eine rechtsethnologische Perspektive auf Bodenrecht, oder was es heißt, die Metapher des Bündels von Rechten ernst zu nehmen, Institutskolloquium, Universität zu Köln, Institut für Völkerkunde, Köln, Germany

24. July 2003, Rechtspluralismus – ethnologische Befunde und heutige Entwicklungsrelevanz, *jointly with Keebet von Benda-Beckmann*, Universität Trier, Institut für Ethnologie, Trier, Germany

28. August 2003, Konsep dan Dinamika Perkembangan Pemikiran Mengenai Pluralisme Hukum, Seminar dan Pelatihan Pluralisme Hukum, Perkumpulan untuk Pembaharuan Hukum Berbasis Masyarakat dan Ekologis (HuMA), Jakarta, Indonesia

13. November 2003, Decentralisation, village governance and national resource rights, Indira Project, Van Vollenhoven Institute, University of Leiden, The Netherlands

Benda-Beckmann, Keebet von

16. January 2002, Dezentralisierung im Kontext von Rechtspluralismus: das Beispiel West Sumatra, Forschungskolloquium, Universität Bielefeld, Zentrum für Entwicklungsforschung, Bielefeld, Germany

19. February 2002, Decentralisation in Minangkabau, *jointly with Franz von Benda-Beckmann*, Ford Foundation, Jakarta, Indonesia

07. April 2002, Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law in Social, Economic and Political Development (Opening Statement), XIIIth International Congress of the Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism, Chiang Mai, Thailand

29. May 2002, Streitschlichtung in Minangkabau, Forschungskolloquium SS 2002, Universität Leipzig, Institut für Ethnologie, Leipzig, Germany

13. June 2002, Verändernde Konstellationen von Rechtspluralismus in Indonesien, Forschungskolloquium SS 2002, Zentrum Moderner Orient, Berlin, Germany

19. June 2002, Globale Zivilisierung durch das Recht, Workshop 5: Recht und Frieden: Zu den Möglichkeiten einer "globalen Zivilisierung", Eschborner Fachtage, Eschborn, Germany

24. July 2003, Rechtspluralismus – ethnologische Befunde und heutige Entwicklungsrelevanz, *jointly with Franz von Benda-Beckmann*, Universität Trier, Institut für Ethnologie, Trier, Germany

28. August 2003, Fenomena International Law dan Global Law dalam Kaca Mata Konsep Pluralisme Hukum, Seminar dan Pelatihan Pluralisme Hukum, Perkumpulan untuk Pembaharuan Hukum Berbasis Masyarakat dan Ekologis (HuMA), Jakarta, Indonesia

30. October 2003, Decentralisation and the Rule of Law in Indonesia, Van Vollenhoven Institute, University of Leiden, The Netherlands

Dafinger, Andreas

June 2002, Wem gehört die Landschaft? Der staatliche Einfluss auf Hirten-Bauern Beziehungen in Burkina Faso, Afrika Kolloquium, Institut für Historische Ethnologie Frankfurt, Frankfurt, Germany

01. August 2002, Ethnographies of Governance, *jointly with Andrea Behrends, Julia Eckert*, Panel at the EASA Conference, Copenhagen, Denmark

Diallo, Youssouf

13. January 2003, Occupation et exploitation des espaces pastoraux dans le Sud-ouest du Bukina Faso, Groupes d'Etudes comparatives des sociétés fulbe, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Centre d'Etudes Africaines, Paris, France

Eckert, Julia

03. July 2002, Staat, Recht und Informalität in Bombay, Ringvorlesung/Seminar Informalität, Freie Universität, Berlin, Germany

05. April 2003, The Charisma of Direct Action, Presentation on occasion of the launch of the book "The Charisma of Direct Action: Power, Politics and the Shivsena", Delhi, Oxford University Press, Mumbai, India

04. July 2003, Rules of Law and Laws of Ruling: disputing and the state in urban India, London School of Economics, Department for Anthropology, London, UK

Feyissa, Dereje

25. June 2002, The case of Anywaa-Nuer relations in the Gambela region, Universität zu Köln, Germany

26. June 2002, Decentralisation or ethnocracy? Some notes on the political economy of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia, Zentrum für Entwicklungsforschung, Bonn, Germany

Finke, Peter

March 2002, Nation-state and local identities in post-Soviet Central Asia, McGill University Montreal, Department of Anthropology, Montreal, Canada

June 2002, Ethnizität und Lokalität in Mittelasien, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Institut für Ethnologie und Afrika-Studien Mainz, Germany

July 2002, Contemporary Nomadism in Central Asia. Traditional Livelihoods or Adaptive Strategies? IFEAC, Tashkent, Uzbekistan

May 2003, Central Asia as a Crisis Spot? Perspectives from the Field, University of Montana, Central Asia and Caspian Sea Programme, Missoula, MT, USA

Glick Schiller, Nina

23. June 2003, Transnational Theory and Beyond, Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin, Germany

24. June 2003, Transnational Theory and Beyond, Colloquium, Institut für Ethnologie, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Halle/Saale, Germany

Gray, Patty

08. February 2002, Indigenous Activism in the North: Looking from Chukotka to Alaska, Fairbanks Department of Anthropology, University of Alaska Fairbanks, Alaska

20. February 2002, Anthropological Research in Chukotka, Fairbanks Rural Development Programme seminar, University of Alaska Fairbanks, Alaska

10. - 11. April 2002, Methodology of Political Anthropology, Seminar on Field Ethnography, European University of St. Petersburg, St. Petersburg, Russia

Habeck, Joachim Otto

12. September 2003, Komi reindeer husbandry and the concept of tradition in indigenous policies, University of Tromsø, Saami Studies Centre, Tromsø, Norway

15. September 2003, Komi reindeer husbandry and the concept of tradition in indigenous policies, University of Lapland, Arctic Studies Programme, Rovaniemi, Finland

17. September 2003, Komi reindeer husbandry and the concept of tradition in indigenous policies, University of Oulu, Giellagas (Saami Studies) in cooperation with Thuel Institute, University of Oulu, Oulu, Finland

19. September 2003, What it means to be a herdsman: the practice and image of reindeer husbandry among the Komi of northern Russia, University of Joensuu, Department of Social Geography, Joensuu, Finland

22. September 2003, Komi reindeer husbandry and the concept of tradition in indigenous policies, University of Helsinki, Department of Biology: Environmental Studies Programme, Helsinki, Finland

24. September 2003, Komi reindeer husbandry: progressive land-use yesterday and traditional land-use nowadays? European University, Department of Anthropology, St. Petersburg, Russia

29. September 2003, Komi reindeer husbandry and the concept of tradition in indigenous policies, Estonian Literature Museum and University of Tartu, Tartu, Estonia

30. September 2003, Komi reindeer husbandry and the concept of tradition in indigenous policies, Stockholm School of Economics in Riga, Department of Economic Anthropology, Riga, Latvia

Haneke, Georg

06. March 2003, Dekonstruktion von Identität / Das Beispiel der Oromo, Wissenschaftlicher Arbeitskreis Horn von Afrika e.V., Humbolt-Universität zu Berlin, Institut für Asien- und Afrikawissenschaften, Berlin, Germany

November 2003, Schnittpunkte der Macht im Süden Äthiopiens, Wissenschaftlicher Arbeitskreis Horn von Afrika e.V., Humbolt-Universität zu Berlin, Institut für Asien- und Afrikawissenschaften, Berlin, Germany

Hann, Chris

08. February 2002, The Idiocies of Decollectivisation, Yale University Programme in Agrarian Studies, Yale University, New Haven, USA

17. January 2003, Anthropology, History and Ethnicity on the East Black Sea Coast, TASG Lecture, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, UK

20. - 23. February 2003, Civil Society and Civil Religion, Becoming Citizens of United Europe: Anthropological and Historical Aspects of the EU Enlargement in Southeast Europe, Opening Plenary Session, Graz, Austria

06. - 10. May 2003, Anthropology as a Cosmopolitan Science and the Programme of the MPI for Social Anthropology, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan, Poland

09. - 12. June 2003, Anthropology as a Cosmopolitan Science and the Unity of Eurasia, 5th Congress of Ethnologists and Anthropologists in Russia, Opening of the Congress, Omsk State University, Omsk, Russia

26. - 29. June 2003, Anthropological Reflections on Citizenship, Conference on Anthropology and Citizenship Studies, Intercultural Relations, Citizenship and Human Rights in the context of Central and Eastern Europe, Opening session – key note speech, University of Fribourg, Institute of Social Anthropology, Geneva, Switzerland

26. September 2003, Social Anthropological Perspectives on Postsocialist Transformations, Bauhaus Dessau, Dessau, Germany

03. - 05. October 2003, Three levels of Cosmopolitanism in Anthropology, First Baltic Anthropology Conference, Vilnius University, Vilnius, Lithuania

06. - 07. November 2003, Utóparasztok a Futóhomokon. [Post-peasants on the Sanddunes] Utóparaszti hagyományok és modernizációs törekvések a magyar vidéken. [Post-peasant traditions and modernisation efforts in the Hungarian countryside] Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Ethnological Research Institute, Budapest, Hungary

25. November 2003, Ethnologie, Zentraleuropa und der Kulturbegriff: vom Habsburger Reich bis zum Postsozialismus, Antrittsvorlesung, Fakultät für Geschichte, Kunst- und Orientalwissenschaften, Universität Leipzig, Leipzig, Germany

09. December 2003, Eurasia Now!, Universität Bielefeld, Institut für Weltgesellschaft, Bielefeld, Germany

Kehl-Bodrogi, Krisztina

13. May 2003, Prozesse ethnischer Differenzierungen unter alevitischen Migranten in Deutschland, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Orientalwissenschaftliches Zentrum, Halle/Saale, Germany

King, Alexander

13. - 15. March 2002, The power of death and the spirits among Koryaks and Chukchi of North-East Siberia, The Prague Lectures, Charles University, Department of Ethnology, Prague, Czech Republic

13. - 15. March 2002, Reindeer Herder's Culturescapes in the Koryak Autonomous Okrug, The Prague Lectures, Charles University, Department of Ethnology, Prague, Czech Republic

13. - 15. March 2002, An Introduction to Koryak Ethnopoetics, The Prague Lectures, Charles University, Department of Ethnology, Prague, Czech Republic

13. - 15. March 2002, The Politics of Native Language Revival in the Koryak Autonomous Okrug, Russia, The Prague Lectures, Charles University, Department of Ethnology, Prague, Czech Republic

14. November 2002, Khololo hunting ritual of Koryaks in Kamchatka, European University of St. Petersburg, St. Petersburg, Russia

Leutloff-Grandits, Carolin

19. November 2002, Lokale Gemeinschaft und Eigentumskonflikte in Kroatien: Die Region Knin nach dem Krieg, Südosteuropa-Kolloquium, Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin, Germany

Nieswand, Boris

05. November 2002, Switching Epistemologies. Praxeologische Reflektionen eines ethnographischen Forschungsprozesses, Gastvortrag im Seminar 'Theoriebildung in der Qualitativen Forschung', Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Fachbereich Erziehungswissenschaften, Halle/Saale, Germany

Pelican, Michaela

19. March 2003, Research in West Africa, fieldwork seminar for research students, University of Kent, Department of Anthropology, Canterbury, UK

21. October 2003, Identity constructs and interethnic relations in the Cameroon Grassfields, UKC staff seminar, University of Kent, Canterbury, UK

24. October 2003, Interethnic relations and identity politics in North West Cameroon, University College London, Department of Anthropology, London, UK

07. November 2003, Cattle as social personae among the Mbororo (agro-pastoral Fulbe) in North West Cameroon, University of Oxford, Institute for Social and Cultural Anthropology, Oxford, UK

Pine, Frances

17. February 2002, Gender Issues in Post Socialist Societies, Post Socialist lecture series, University College London, Department of Social Anthropology, London, UK

05. December 2003, Trans-National Issues, Local Concerns: Insights from CEE, ESRS Seminar Series, University of Glasgow, Glasgow, Scotland

Schlee, Günther

22. May 2003, Zur These: 'Globalisierung von unten', Kolloquium, Universität Bayreuth, Kulturwissenschaftliches Forschungskolleg SFB/FK 560: Lokales Handeln in Afrika im Kontext Globaler Einflüsse, Bayreuth, Germany

02. December 2003, Können soziale Identitäten Latenzphasen haben? Beobachtungen zu Allianzwechseln im Horn von Afrika, Institut für Ethnologie, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Halle/Saale, Germany

09. December 2003, Ethnologie und Politikberatung: Erfahrungen mit dem Somalia-Friedensprozess, Antrittsvorlesung, Universität Leipzig, Fakultät für Geschichte, Kunst- und Orientalwissenschaften, Leipzig, Germany

11. December 2003, Die somalische Diaspora und der Friedensprozess in Nairobi, ZMO-Kolloquium, Zentrum Moderner Orient, Berlin, Germany

16. December 2003, Globalisierung von unten: die Somali Diaspora in Europa und im Horn von Afrika, Berliner Institut für Vergleichende Sozialforschung e.V. / Europäisches Migrationszentrum, Berlin, Germany

Stammler, Florian

November 2002, Der Jäger als Wille und Vorstellung: Ethnologische Ansichten und Wirklichkeiten im nördlichen Eurasien, Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte, Halle/Saale, Germany

04. February 2003, Territorialität und Selbstbestimmung bei Rentiernomaden, Aktuelle Probleme ethnologischer Forschung, WS 2002/2003, Universität zu Köln, Institut für Völkerkunde, Köln, Germany

18. March 2003, Explaining and modelling territorial behaviour among reindeer herders. A case study from Yamal, West Siberia,

University of Cambridge, Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge, UK

Turner, Bertram

09. July 2002, Die transnationale Dimension des Rechts: 'folk legal systems' und die Dynamik rechtspluralistischer Konstellationen im Südwesten Marokkos, Kolloquium, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Institut für Ethnologie und Afrika-Studien, Mainz, Germany

08. - 10. February 2003, Von der Kunst des Vergleichs, Symposium in Honour of László Vajda, Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde München, München, Germany

11. - 12. December 2003, Repräsentation (in) der Feldforschung, Arbeitskreis Feldforschung, Maximilian-Universität-München, Institut für Ethnologie und Afrikanistik, München, Germany

Yalçın-Heckmann, Lale

03. May 2002, Die Bedeutung der Ehre für Menschen aus dem Nahen Osten, Wieviel Ehre braucht der Mensch? Evangelische Akademie Loccum, Rehburg-Loccum, Germany

04. December 2003, Looking for the market: property and rural production in postsocialist Azerbaijan, School of Oriental and African Studies, Centre for Central Asia and Caucasus Studies, London, UK

Ziker, John

01. March 2002, Kinship, Reciprocity, and Public Goods in Native Siberian Food Sharing, Ohio State University, Department of Anthropology, Ohio, USA

27. June 2002, From Non-Human Primates to Non-Human Persons: An Integrated Approach to Hunter-Gatherer Food Sharing, University College London, Department of Anthropology, London, UK

19. November 2002, Hunting and Property in the Taimyr Autonomous Region, Boise State University, Department of Anthropology, Boise, USA

01. January 2003, Raw and Cooked in Arctic Siberia: Seasonality, Gender and Diet among the Dolgan and Nganasan Hunter-Gatherers, University of Durham, Department of Anthropology, Durham, UK

25. April 2003, Naming, personhood, and kinship: Terms of reference and terms of fame in the Taimyr Autonomous Region, University of Aberdeen, Department of Anthropology, Aberdeen, Scotland

14. May 2003, Methods for Social Network Analysis, University of Kent at Canterbury, Department of Anthropology, Canterbury, UK

Presentations at External Conferences and Workshops

Behrends, Andrea

14. - 17. August 2002, Competing for assistance. Humanitarian assistance and development aid in Dar Masalit (Chad), Biannual conference of the European Association of Social Anthropologists (EASA), Humanitarian assistance and development aid, Copenhagen, Denmark

12. - 15. September 2002, Humanitarian intervention, development aid and local response in Dar Masalit (Chad), Multidisciplinary International Conference on 'Forced Migration and Displacement: Causes, Consequences, and Responses', Forced Migration in Africa: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives, University of Bath, Bath, UK

18. - 20. September 2002, Changing political realities for Arab and Masalit refugees on the Chad/Sudanese border, Post-doc seminar 'Terms of Trust. The Dynamics of Old and New Moralities in Africa', Trust and Changing Political Configurations, University of Leiden, Leiden, The Netherlands

06. May 2003, Refugees and changes in local governance on the Chad-Sudanese border (Dar Masalit), Werkstatt Ethnologie, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Halle/Saale, Germany

Benda-Beckmann, Franz von

09. January 2002, Konflikte um Land, Rechtspluralismus und entwicklungspolitische Folgen, Bodenpolitisches Forum über Innovative Bodenpolitik und Landmanagement: Chancen, Herausforderungen und Handlungsmöglichkeiten in der Entwicklungspolitik, Philipps-Universität-Marburg, Marburg, Germany

13. February 2002, Recreating the nagari: Decentralisation in West Sumatra, *jointly with Keebet von Benda-Beckmann*, Workshop of the Dutch-Indonesian Cooperative Project "Coping with Crisis", Universität Leiden, Leiden, The Netherlands

07. - 11. April 2002, Who's afraid of legal pluralism, XIIIth International Congress of the Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism, Chiang Mai, Thailand

29. June 2002, Verfassungsrechtspluralismus in West Sumatra. Veränderungen in staatlicher und dörflicher Verfassung im Zuge der Dezentralisierung in Indonesien, Arbeitskreis für Überseeische Verfassungsvergleichung, Halle/Saale, Germany

16. - 19. July 2002, The multiple dilemmas of decentralisation: Recreating the nagari in West Sumatra, *jointly with Keebet von*

Benda-Beckmann, 3rd International Symposium of the Journal of Anthropology Indonesia: Rebuilding Indonesia, a Nation of 'Unity in Diversity', Undayana University, Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia

14. - 17. August 2002, Changing governance in West Sumatran villages, *jointly with Keebet von Benda-Beckmann*, Engaging the World. The 7th biennial EASA Conference, University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark

14. - 16. November 2002, How bleak is the picture? Towards constitutional liberties in Indonesia, *jointly with Keebet von Benda-Beckmann*, Reorganisation or the end of constitutional liberties. Conference of READ-AGERE, University Rostock, Rostock, Germany

28. - 29. November 2002, Between global forces and local politics: Decentralisation and reorganisation of village government in Indonesia, *jointly with Keebet von Benda-Beckmann*, Workshop MPG 2000+: Politik und Recht unter den Bedingungen der Globalisierung und Dezentralisierung, MPI für Gesellschaftsforschung, Köln, Germany

10. - 11. April 2003, Transnationalism of law, globalisation and legal pluralism: A legal anthropological perspective, *jointly with Keebet von Benda-Beckmann*, Globalisation and law in Asia: from the Asian crisis to September 11, 2001, International Institute for the Sociology of Law, Oñati, Spain

10. - 11. April 2003, Between global forces and local politics: Decentralisation and reorganisation of village government in Indonesia, *jointly with Keebet von Benda-Beckmann*, Globalisation and law in Asia: from the Asian crisis to September 11, 2001, International Institute for the Sociology of Law, Oñati, Spain

24. - 28. August 2003, Between global forces and local politics: Decentralisation and reorganisation of village government in West Sumatra, *jointly with Keebet von Benda-Beckmann*, 3rd International Conference and Workshop "Indonesia in Transition", University of Indonesia, Depok, Indonesia

25.-27. August 2003, Decentralisation in West Sumatra, *jointly with Keebet von Benda-Beckmann*, Workshop of the Dutch-Indonesian cooperative project „Coping with crisis in Indonesia“, Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia

26. - 28. September 2003, Adat, Islam und Staat – Rechtspluralismus in Indonesien, *jointly with Keebet von Benda-Beckmann*, Gewohnheitsrecht (Adat-Recht) zwischen Staat und Gesellschaft, Universität Bamberg, Bamberg, Germany

Benda-Beckmann, Keebet von

13. February 2002, Recreating the nagari: Decentralisation in West Sumatra, *jointly with Franz von Benda-Beckmann*, Workshop of the Dutch-Indonesian Cooperative Project "Coping with Crisis", University of Leiden, Leiden, The Netherlands

07. - 11. April 2002, The contexts of law, XIIIth International Congress of the Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism, Methodological and Theoretical Issues in Legal Pluralism, Chiang Mai University, Department of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai, Thailand

19. - 23. June 2002, The environments of disputes, Conference on Law and their Environments: Legal Plurality and Local Dispute Resolution in the Middle East, University of Aarhus, Department of Ethnography and Social Anthropology, Aarhus, Denmark

16. - 19. July 2002, The multiple dilemmas of decentralisation: Recreating the nagari in West Sumatra, *jointly with Franz von Benda-Beckmann*, 3rd International Symposium of the Journal of Anthropology Indonesia: Rebuilding Indonesia, a Nation of 'Unity in Diversity', Udayana University, Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia

14. - 17. August 2002, Changing governance in West Sumatran villages, *jointly with Franz von Benda-Beckmann*, Engaging the World. The 7th biennial EASA Conference, University of Copenhagen, Institute of Anthropology, Copenhagen, Denmark

17. - 18. September 2002, Law and Empowerment: the case of Indonesia, Intercultural Policy Dialogue. The Law, Legal Certainty and Empowerment. The Concept of Law within a Cultural Context, Legislation to create empowerment, Development Policy Forum Berlin, Berlin, Germany

14. - 16. November 2002, How bleak is the picture? Towards constitutional liberties in Indonesia, *jointly with Franz von Benda-Beckmann*, Reorganisation or the end of constitutional liberties. Conference of READ-AGERE, Universität Rostock, Rostock, Germany

28. - 29. November 2002, Between global forces and local politics: Decentralisation and reorganisation of village government in Indonesia, *jointly with Franz von Benda-Beckmann*, Workshop MPG 2000+: Politik und Recht unter den Bedingungen der Globalisierung und Dezentralisierung, MPI für Gesellschaftsforschung, Köln, Germany

10. - 11. April 2003, Transnationalism of law, globalisation and legal pluralism: A legal anthropological perspective, *jointly with Franz von Benda-Beckmann*, Globalisation and law in Asia: from

the Asian crisis to September 11, 2001, International Institute for the Sociology of Law, Oñati, Spain

10. - 11. April 2003, Between global forces and local politics: Decentralisation and reorganisation of village government in West Sumatra, *jointly with Franz von Benda-Beckmann*, Globalisation and law in Asia: from the Asian crisis to September 11, 2001, International Institute for the Sociology of Law, Oñati, Spain

24. - 28. August 2003, Decentralisation and reorganisation of village government in West Sumatra, *jointly with Franz von Benda-Beckmann*, 3rd International Conference and Workshop "Indonesia in Transition", University of Indonesia, Depok, Indonesia

25. - 27. August 2003, Decentralisation in West Sumatra, *jointly with Franz von Benda-Beckmann*, Workshop of the Dutch-Indonesian cooperative project „Coping with crisis in Indonesia“, Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia

26. - 28. September 2003, Adat, Islam und Staat – Rechtspluralismus in Indonesien, *jointly with Franz von Benda-Beckmann*, Wohnheitsrecht (Adat-Recht) zwischen Staat und Gesellschaft, Universität Bamberg, Bamberg, Germany

15. - 16. December 2003, An inclusive approach to social security Congrès "Débats Sud-Nord sur les relations de protection sociale et le genre", Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso

Cellarius, Barbara A.

09. March 2002, Property Relations and Natural Resource Use in Postsocialist Bulgaria, Annual meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology, Atlanta, USA

24. November 2002, The "Unfairness" of Reform: Property and Inequality in Postsocialist Bulgaria and Ukraine, *jointly with Deema Kaneff*, Annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, USA

Dafinger, Andreas

July 2002, Keeping A Low Profile: Fulani strategies of non-power, Hierarchy and Power in the History of Civilisations, Russian Academy of Sciences, Centre for Civilisational and Regional Studies, St. Petersburg, Russia

October 2002, Land Rights and Changing Identities. A Comparative Paper on the Policies of Formal Land Allotment to Pastoral Groups in North West Cameroon and Burkina Faso, *jointly with Michaela Pelican*, Land Rights and the Politics of Belonging, Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, Frankfurt, Germany

December 2002, Land Rights and politics of integration. Farmer-Herder Conflicts in a comparative Perspective, *jointly*

with *Michaela Pelican*, ASA Annual Meeting, Washington DC., USA

30. Oktober 2003, The Spatio-Temporal Integration of Market Places in Boulgou Province, Burkina Faso, ASA Annual Meeting, Boston, MA, USA

16. Dezember 2003, Staatliche und nicht-staatliche Wahrnehmung lokaler Landschaft im Süden Burkina Fasos, Ethnologisches Kolloquium, Universität Bayreuth, Bayreuth, Germany

Darieva, Tsypylma

09. - 12. June 2003, "1/6" in Berlin. Post-Soviet Diaspora and Mass Media, 5th Congress of Russian anthropologists and ethnographers, Diasporas in post-Soviet space, Omsk, Russia

Dea, Data

21. - 25. July 2003, Managing Diversity? A note of the 'Wogagoda' Experiment in the Omotic Speaking Southwest, Ethiopia, 15th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Law and Politics, Universität Hamburg, Hamburg, Germany

11. November 2003, Transnational Ideologies and Local Practices: The limits of elite power in Dawro, Southern Ethiopia, Werkstatt Ethnologie, Institut für Ethnologie, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Halle/Saale, Germany

Diallo, Youssouf

03. - 05. October 2002, The land use of the Fulbe and the politics of belonging among the Senufo, Land rights and the politics of belonging in West Africa, Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, Frankfurt, Germany

05. - 08. December 2002, Pastoralists, farmers and the state: A West African example (Ivory Coast), Africa in the Information and Technology Age, Changing contexts of herder-farmer conflict: fulbe pastoralists across West Africa, African Studies Association, Washington DC., USA

Eckert, Julia

15. - 17. March 2002, Religion und Gewalt im Hindu-Nationalismus, Tagung Religion und Gewalt, DGS, Sektion Religionssoziologie, Loccum, Germany

28. - 30. June 2002, If only we knew the Law: Making Tools out of Rules in Urban India, Tagung "The Reach of Law in India", Law and Society Association, Vancouver, Canada

19. July 2002, Vom Warlord zum Gouverneur in Herat: Kategorisierungen von Macht, Workshop Gewaltakteure, DVPW, ad-hoc Gruppe Ordnungen der Gewalt, Berlin, Germany

30. September 2002, "Was ist islamisch?": Diskussionen zu Recht und Verfassung unter afghanischen Juristen, Tagung "Menschenrechte und Islam", Auswärtiges Amt der BRD, Fachgruppe: Dialog mit dem Islam, Berlin, Germany

13. December 2002, Feld-Zugang in Konfliktgebieten, Workshop "Feldforschung in Konfliktgebieten", DVPW, ad hoc Gruppe Ordnungen der Gewalt, Berlin, Germany
13. - 15. December 2002, Riots and Rule in Bombay, Tagung "Space Trouble Stadt. Ökonomie. Krieg", Kulturstiftung des Bundes, Ersatzstadtprojekt, Berlin, Germany
26. April - 01. May 2003, Rechtspluralismus und Rechtsstaat in Indien, Tagung "Probleme des Rechtsstaats: Entstehungsbedingungen, Durchsetzungsschwierigkeiten und neue Herausforderungen", Eidgenössische Technische Universität Zürich, Institut für Geschichte, Monte Verita, Ascona, Switzerland
30. May - 01. June 2003, Perspectives on re-establishing the Legal System in Afghanistan, Conference "State Reconstruction and International Engagement in Afghanistan", London School of Economics, Centre for Development Research and Universität Bonn, London, UK
07. July 2003, Rechtspluralismus und Staatlichkeit: Zur Kontrolle von Recht und Ordnung im urbanen Indien, Tagung, Universität Trier, Institut für Arbeitsrecht und Arbeitsbeziehungen in der Europäischen Gemeinschaft, Trier, Germany
30. August 2003, Who's afraid of Globalisation? Conference "Gangs, Crowds, City Enclaves: Political violence in a globalising world", University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, The Netherlands
26. September 2003, Die Sangh Parivar und ihr Verhältnis zur säkularen Demokratie, Tagung "Ist der Hindunationalismus eine Gefahr für die Demokratie?" Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Berlin, Germany

Eidson, John

04. - 07. July 2002, Explaining Power and Compliance: Examples from East Germany, Second International Conference on Hierarchy and Power in the History of Civilizations, Theories of Power, Power of Theories: Anthropological Approaches, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, Russia
20. - 24. November 2002, Kolkhoz, Inc.: Lessons from the "Post-socialist Transition" in Rural East Germany, *jointly with Gordon Milligan*, Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Property Relations in an Era of Global Change, American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, USA
09. - 10. September 2003, Die Bauern und die sozialistische Landwirtschaft im Südraum von Leipzig, Gesellschaftsgeschichte der 'Volksdemokratien' in Ostmitteleuropa als Forschungsproblem, Herder-Institut e.V., Marburg, Germany

Falge, Christiane

21. - 25. August 2002, We are no longer the Nuer of before: Vernacular Modernism among Nuer in Africa and the USA, International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Anthropology 1, Universität Hamburg, Institut für Äthiopistik, Hamburg, Germany

29. March 2003, Segmentäres Christentum bei Nuer in Gambella, Äthiopien, Religion in Ethiopia, German Ethiopian Association, Kassel, Germany

03. June 2003, War and Modernity: Nuer Vernacular Modernism in Africa and the USA, Werkstatt Ethnologie, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie, Halle/Saale, Germany

21. July 2003, Ethiopian Studies in German Speaking Countries, *jointly with Wolbert Schmidt, Michael Kleiner, Anke Dohrmann*, German Evening at the 15th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Institut für Äthiopistik, Hamburg, Germany

26. - 27. August 2003, Religious Conversion and Segmentary Christianity among Nuer in Africa and the USA, *jointly with Steven Kaplan, Alexander Naty, Susanne Eppe, Mersha Alehegne, Sven Rubenson*, Historic and Anthropological Insights onto the Missionary Activities in Ethiopia: Conversions, Resistances and Compromises, Universität Hamburg, Institut für Äthiopistik, Hamburg, Germany

19. - 23. November 2003, Attempts of Subjection. Interface between US Power and Sudanese Migrants, 102nd Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Transnational Processes: African Identities on the Move, American Anthropological Association, Chicago, USA

Feyissa, Dereje

26. May 2002, Identity discourse and identification: comparing the Anywaa and the Nuer, Research networking in the Horn of Africa, Universität zu Köln, Germany

03. December 2002, The 'Evil' God, Neighbours and the State: the ethnic process in the Gambela region, Institut für Ethnologie, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Halle/Saale, Germany

Finke, Peter

May 2003, Economic Change and Inter-Ethnic Relations in Post-Soviet Uzbekistan, *jointly with Meltem Sancak*, 15th Annual Nicholas Poppe Symposium on Inner/Central Asian Studies, University of Washington, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization, Seattle, USA

22. - 24. November 2002, Central Asian attitudes towards Afghanistan. Perceptions of the Afghan war in Uzbekistan, An-

nual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, New Games in Central Asia, Great and Small, American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, USA

19.-23. November 2003, Population movements in post-Soviet Kazakhstan. Motives, political constraints, and economic implications, Annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Migration and Economy, American Anthropological Association, Chicago, USA

Fosztó, László

16. - 17. October 2003, Religious Conversion and Identity among the Transylvanian Roma, The dilemmas of the complex research of the cultures II, University of Miskolc, Department of Cultural and Visual Anthropology, Miskolc, Hungary

Glick Schiller, Nina

December 2002, Discussion of Methodological Nationalism, Structures of Global Governance, The Hauser Centre for Non-profit Organizations, Harvard University, Cambridge, USA

22. April 2003, Seeing the Wetlands instead of the Swamp: The Centrality of Ethnography in Studying Transnational Migration, Annual meeting of the American Ethnological Society, Providence, Rhode Island, USA

25. April 2003, Local City: Global People: New perspectives on migrant simultaneity, New Immigrants in New England, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, USA

24. May 2003, Transnational Perspectives on Migration: Conceptualizing Simultaneity, Summation Conference on Comparative Views on Migration, Social Science Research Council, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, USA

Gray, Patty

07. September 2002, The Obshchina Movement in Chukotka: Dreams and realities, Siberia, land and peoples: Destruction or survival? Peoples and the Environment in Siberia and the Russian Far East, University of Leeds, Leeds, England

09. - 13. September 2002, Reindeer Herding in Chukotka and Yamal, *jointly with Florian Stammler*, 9th International Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies, Edinburgh, Scotland

24. November 2002, Soviet Nostalgia and Post-Soviet Enterprise in the Russian North, *jointly with John Ziker*, 101st Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Property Relations in an Era of Global Change, American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, USA

Grätz, Tilo

09. April 2002, Colonial gold mining in Northern Benin: Forced labour, traumata and the politics of remembering the past, Con-

- ference of the Association for Social Anthropologists of the UK and Commonwealth, Arusha, Tanzania
26. May 2002, Freundschaft und soziale Integration in Goldgräbergemeinschaften Westafrikas, VAD Tagung, Freundschaft in Afrika, Hamburg, Germany
05. June 2002, Zur Ethnosoziologie des ökonomischen und sozialen Wandels im heutigen Westafrika am Beispiel von handwerklichen Goldgräbersiedlungen, Kulturwissenschaftliche Fakultät der Universität Bayreuth, Bayreuth, Germany
05. July 2002, Political Power in Africa: dialogues of malcontent between political sciences and political anthropology, Conference Power in the History of Civilisations, St. Petersburg, Russia
15. August 2002, Small-scale gold mining in Africa between moral economy and market economy. A case study from Benin, EASA - Conference, Copenhagen, Denmark
19. September 2002, Gold-trade in Benin: trust and networks beyond the state, Terms of Trust: The Dynamics of Old and New Moralities in Africa, Africa Studies Centre, University of Leiden, Leiden, The Netherlands
10. October 2002, Freundschaft und informelle Solidarität: Überlegungen zu einer vernachlässigten Kategorie der Sozialanthropologie, Sektion Entwicklungssoziologie und Sozialanthropologie der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie, Leipzig, Germany
07. December 2002, Gold mining and the construction of migrant identities in West Africa, ASA Meeting, Washington DC., USA
16. April 2003, La notion du risque dans l'anthropologie sociale, Centre Point Sud, Bamako, Mali
01. July 2003, Gold Mining Frontiers in West Africa, Werkstatt Ethnologie, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie, Halle/Saale, Germany
05. - 12. July 2003, Youth in Africa: coping with deprivation and precariousness. Economic strategies, new forms of sociability and cultural creativity among young gold miners in West Africa, ICEAS, Social policies and politics of children and youth: anthropological perspectives, ICEAS, Florence, Italy
04. October 2003, Introduction: Migration in Africa, *jointly with Katja Werthmann*, Tagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde, Migration in Africa, Universität Hamburg, Hamburg, Germany

Guichard, Martine

09. February 2002, Missing friendships: What is invisible, does not really exist. What has no name, does not really exist, Workshop Freundschaft und Verwandtschaft. Zur Unterscheidung und Relevanz zweier Beziehungssysteme, Bielefeld, Germany
26. May 2002, Überlegungen zu interethnischen Freundschaften bei den Fulbe Nord-Benins und Nord-Kameruns, VAD-Tagung Freundschaft und soziale Integration in Afrika, Hamburg, Germany

Halemba, Agnieszka

30. June - 03. July 2003, The place of Buddhism in the contemporary Republic of Altai, Ethno-Social Processes in Siberia, Religion and worldview, Gorno Altai State University, Gorno Altai, Russian Federation

Haneke, Georg

16. - 18. July 2003, Deconstructing Identity/The Oromo in South Ethiopia, 5th International Symposium on Ethnic Identities and Political International Democritus Foundation, Xanthi, Greece

Hann, Chris

23. - 26. January 2002, The Gift and Reciprocity: Perspectives from economic anthropology, Conference on The Economics of Giving, Reciprocity and Altruism, Institut d'Economie Publique, Marseille, France
15. - 19. May 2002, Who are the Greek Catholics? Anthropological Approaches, Conference on Konfessionelle Identität und nationales Engagement. Die griechisch-katholischen Kirchen in Ostmitteleuropa im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas, Leipzig; Institut für Kirchengeschichte der L'viver Theologischen Akademie, L'viv, Ukraine
04. - 07. July 2002, Ernest Gellner on Civil Society: the sickness, not the cure?, Hierarchy and Power in the History of Civilisations, The Intellectual Legacy of Ernest Gellner, St. Petersburg, Russia
11. September 2002, Zivilgesellschaft oder Gemeinschaft?, 44. Deutscher Historikertag, Verband der Historiker und Historikerinnen Deutschlands, Verband der Geschichtslehrer Deutschlands, Institut für Geschichte, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Halle/Saale, Germany
20. - 24. November 2002, Introduction to the Panel: Property Relations in an Era of Global Change, American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, USA
17. September 2003, MESS and Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology: how they complement each other, Roundtable

presentation at 10th Mediterranean Ethnological Summer Symposium, Piran, Slovenia

20. - 22. November 2003, Sozialanthropologie der Dekollektivierung: Ergebnisse aus dem ersten Projektzyklus im Max-Planck-Institut für ethnologische Forschung, ESSA-Konferenz, ESSA, Magdeburg, Germany

Heady, Patrick

14. - 17. August 2002, Commerce as a (non) vocation in contemporary Russia, EASA workshop Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark

Höhne, Markus

14. June 2003, Der Armutskontinent – Aktuelle Politik und Krisen in Afrika. Fallbeispiel: Konfliktherd Somalia, Konferenz Afrika - der vergessene Kontinent, Eisenach, Germany

Hilgers, Irene

02. - 03. July 2003, Economic Reforms in Agriculture in independent Kyrgyzstan, International Scientific Conference “Central Asia: the Ways of Civilization Development”, History of Economy, Politics, Law and International Relations, State Museum of Timurid’s History, Tashkent, Uzbekistan

Kaneff, Deema

20. - 24. November 2002, The ‘unfairness’ of reform: property and inequality in postsocialist Bulgaria and Ukraine, *jointly with Barbara Cellarius*, Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Property Relations in an Era of Global Change, New Orleans, USA

14. - 18. July 2003, The science of governance and local Bulgarian responses, Anthropology and Science, Manchester University, Association of Social Anthropologists Decennial Conference, Manchester, UK

Karagiannis, Evangelos

11. - 15. September 2003, “... The land which the LORD your God giveth you”: Two African Churches in Oststadt, *jointly with Nina Glick Schiller*, 3rd International Interdisciplinary Conference of African Christian Diaspora in Europe, Hirschluch Conference Centre, Berlin/Hirschluch, Germany

King, Alexander

09. - 13. September 2002, Postindustrial foragers in the post-socialist Russian Far East, 9th International Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies, Edinburgh, Scotland

09. - 13. September 2002, Cultural Property in Kamchatka, *jointly with Erich Kasten*, 9th International Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies, Edinburgh, Scotland

Knörr, Jacqueline

04. October 2003, Wenn deutsche Kinder "heim"kehren: Erfahrungen der Remigration nach Deutschland, Kindheit und Migration, Tagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde, AG Migration, Multikulturalität und Identität, Hamburg, Germany

Leutloff-Grandits, Carolin

14. - 17. August 2002, Who decides property conflicts in post-war Croatia? EASA Conference, Ethnographies of Governance, Copenhagen, Denmark

08. November 2002, Ethnic property conflicts in post-war Croatia: The example of Knin, Werkstatt Ethnologie, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie, Halle/Saale, Germany

November 2002, Property as Homeland or Economic Resource: Postsocialist examples from war-torn Croatia and Azerbaijan, *jointly with Lale Yağın-Heckmann*, American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, USA

20. - 23. February 2003, Property conflicts between national policies and international engagement in post-war Croatia: the case of Knin, Conference of the International Association for Southeast European Anthropology, Becoming citizens of United Europe: anthropological and historical aspects of EU enlargement in southeast Europe, Graz, Switzerland

Mann, Bettina

26. - 28. June 2003, Lang' gekocht und schnell gegessen: Zum Verhältnis von alimentären Verbrauchsgütern und Geschlecht, Konferenz 'Geschlecht der Dinge', Interdisziplinäre und epochenübergreifende Perspektive auf Geschlecht, Lebensstil und den Symbolcharakter der Dinge, SFB 496: Symbolische Kommunikation und gesellschaftliche Wertesysteme vom Mittelalter bis zur französischen Revolution/Arbeitskreis für Frauen- und Geschlechtergeschichte, Münster, Germany

03. - 05. December 2003, Food, Consumption and Lifestyle: Culinary cultures in the urban middle class (Cairo), Food, Society and Islam in Asia, National University of Singapore, Singapore

Milligan, Gordon

20. - 24. November 2002, Kolkhoz, Inc.: Lessons from the "Post-socialist Transition" in Rural East Germany, *jointly with John Eidson*, Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, USA

09. -10. September 2003, Re-constructing the Early Forms of Collectivisation in a Group of Vorpommern Villages, Gesellschaftsgeschichte der 'Volksdemokratien' in Ostmitteleuropa als Forschungsproblem, Herder-Institut e.V., Marburg, Germany

Nicolas, Andrea

08. - 12. April 2002, Founded in memory of the good old times: the Clan assembly of Hiddii (Eastern Shewa, Ethiopia), Conference of the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and the Commonwealth: Perspectives on Time and Society: Experience, Memory, History, Arusha, Tanzania

Nieswand, Boris

15. February 2003, Constructing Modernity. Identity Discourses among Ghanaian charismatic Christians in Berlin, Interdisciplinary Workshop on Religion in the Context of African Migration Studies, Universität Bayreuth, Bayreuth, Germany

22. April 2003, Charismatic Christianity and the Paradox of Migration. Social Status and the Construction of Selves among Ghanaian migrants in Berlin, Werkstatt Ethnologie, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie, Halle/Saale, Germany

Pelican, Michaela

23. - 26. May 2002, Interethnische Freundschaften in Nordwest Kamerun unter einer gender-Perspektive, VAD Tagung, Freundschaft in Afrika, Vereinigung der Afrikanisten Deutschlands, Universität Hamburg, Hamburg, Germany

14. - 17. August 2002, Integration and conflict: The Mbororo and neighbouring communities in Northwest Cameroon, methodological approaches, EASA biannual meeting, Innovations in visual anthropology, University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark

14. - 17. August 2002, Getting along in the Grassfields: aspects of village life in Misaje (Northwest Cameroon), EASA bi-annual meeting, ethnographic film, European Association for Social Anthropologists, University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark

03. - 05. October 2002, Land rights and changing identities: a comparative paper on the policies of formal land allotment to pastoral groups in North West Cameroon and Burkina Faso, *jointly with Andreas Dafinger*, Landrights and the politics of belonging in West Africa, Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, Frankfurt am Main, Germany

05. November 2002, Integration through difference? Socio-cultural and religious differences as a basis of integration and conflict in North West Cameroon, Werkstatt Ethnologie, Institut für Ethnologie, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Halle/Saale, Germany

20. - 24. November 2002, From cultural property to market goods: changes in economic strategies and herd management rationales of Fulbe in North West Cameroon, American Anthro-

political Association annual meeting, African Pastoralism: culture, economy, and the individual in rapidly changing societies, New Orleans, USA

05. - 08. December 2002, Sharing or dividing the land? Land rights and farmer-herder relations in a comparative view, *jointly with Andreas Dafinger*, ASA Annual Meeting, Changing Contexts of Herder-farmer Conflicts: Fulbe pastoralists across West Africa, African Studies Association, Washington DC., USA

Pine, Frances

20. - 22. April 2002, Landscape and Memory in the Polish Highlands, 4th Nordic Conference of Anthropology of Post Communism, Copenhagen, Denmark

November 2002, Dealing with an Economy of Plenty? Changing food and consumption in Poland, Rural and Urban Communities in the Process of Transformation, Institute of Ethnology at the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Poland

05. - 06. April 2003, Women's survival strategies in rural Poland after socialism, BP/New Hall Women in Leadership conference, Cambridge University, UK

19. June 2003, Markets, Money and Transition: Domestic economies in rural Poland, 5th ESRC Seminar on Gender Globalisation and Governance, The Monetisation of Household Production, Universities of Leeds and Warwick, UK

July 2003, Conflicting modernities: trains, combines and the end of peasant farming, ASA conference Manchester, Scientific Socialism', rational policy and local knowledge, Manchester, UK

Pirie, Fernanda

14. - 18. July 2003, Himalayan justice: confronting legal truths and individual rights, Association of Social Anthropologists, Politics and Truth, Manchester, UK

21. - 26. July 2003, Dancing in the face of death: Losar celebrations in Photoksar, International Association for Ladakh Studies, 11th Colloquium, Ladakh, India

06. - 12. September 2003, Insisting on agreement: Tibetan law and its development in Ladakh, 10th seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Oxford, UK

Reyna, Stephen P.

28. May 2002, Empire: Views of a Simpleton, Centre d'Anthropologies des mondes contemporains. Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, France

06. June 2002, Chadian Civil Wars, Centre for Modern Oriental Studies and Department of African Studies, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Berlin, Germany

03. - 07. July 2002, Theories of Power, the Power of Theories, 2nd International Conference 'Hierarchy and Power in the His-

tory of Civilisation', Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, Russia

18. April 2003, What is Interpretation? Current Directions in Cognitive Science Series, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois, USA

19. - 23. November 2003, Breaking the Habits: Rethinking Bourdieu, American Anthropological Association Meetings, Chicago/Illinois, USA

Sancak, Meltem

May 2003, Economic and Social Change in Post-Soviet Uzbekistan, 15th Annual Nicholas Poppe Symposium on Inner/Central Asian Studies, University of Washington, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization, Seattle, USA

September 2003, Competition for Kazakness and the Role of the Diasporas in the Nation-Building Process in Kazakhstan, Cultures of Turkey/Cultures of Turks, Multiculturalism in Turkish and Turcophone States and Societies: Comparisons of national democratic and socialist experiences, University of Van, Van, Turkey

Schlee, Günther

08. - 12. April 2002, Brothers of the Boran once again: on the fading popularity of attractiveness of certain Somali identities in northern Kenya, ASA 2002 conference: Perspectives on Time and Society: Experience, Memory, History, Contesting national space: narratives of identity in process, The Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and the Commonwealth, Arusha, Tanzania

05. July 2002, Purity and Power: African examples of competition and exclusion in the spheres of religion and politics, 2nd International Conference on Hierarchy and Power in the History of Civilizations, Theories of Power, Power of Theories: Anthropological approaches, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, Russia

21. - 22. November 2002, Pastoral Conflicts along Borders: An Introduction and Background Paper I: Causes of Pastoral Conflict in the Ethiopia-Kenya-Somalia Border Area, CERWAN-IGAD Workshop to develop context sensitive indicators for pastoralist conflicts in the IGAD region, IGAD (Intergovernmental Authority on Development), Addis Abeba, Ethiopia

24. July 2003, The Somali in the Horn of Africa and in the diaspora before and after "9/11", The 15th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Anthropology 1, Ethiopian Studies: ICES office, Universität Hamburg, Asia-Afrika Institut, Hamburg, Germany

27. November 2003, Forms of Nomadism, Nomadic and Sedentary Peoples in Past and Present in Wittenberg, Collaborative Research Centre Difference and Integration (SFB 586) by the Universities of Halle-Wittenberg and Leipzig, Germany

06. December 2003, The Somali Peace Process in Eldoret/Mbagati (Kenya), Formal and Informal Conflict Resolution in the Middle East organised by MPI für ausländisches und internationales Strafrecht and DAAD, Istanbul, Turkey

Stammler, Florian

09. - 13. September 2002, Reindeer Herding in Chukotka and Yamal, *jointly with Patty Gray*, 9th International Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies, Edinburgh, Scotland

November 2002, Ideal reindeer herding and fuzzy property relations in two regions of the Russian far North, *jointly with Aimar Ventsel*, 101st Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Property Relations in an Era of Global Change, New Orleans, USA

07. January 2003, Nomaden und der Staat im hohen Norden. Zwischen Spannung, Kooperation und Abhängigkeit, Werkstatt Ethnologie, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie, Halle/Saale, Germany

25. April 2003, Nomaden und Sesshafte in Nordwestsibirien: Identitätskonstruktion und Marktwirtschaft am Rande der Arktis, Plenum of the SFB 586 'Differenz und Integration', Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg und Universität Leipzig, Leipzig, Germany

27. June 2003, The Commoditisation of reindeer herding in post Soviet Russia: Herders, antlers and traders in Yamal, Kolloquium Tausch und Arbeitsteilung, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Universität Leipzig, Leipzig, Germany

Tadesse, Wolde Gossa

21. - 22. February 2002, Ethnic Violence in Southwest Ethiopia, International Conference on Wars and Violent Conflicts in Africa, East African and the Horn of Africa, Instituto Superior De Ciencias Do Trabalho E Da Empresa, Centro De Estudos Africanos (ISCTE), Lisbon, Portugal

08. - 12. April 2002, They hang on to their Gods: Resistance and the persistence of multiple-religious practices in Southwest Ethiopia, The Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and the Commonwealth (ASA) Conference, Arusha, Tanzania

20. - 22. December 2002, Noting the Imagistic in Gamo pasture maintenance and Hor initiation Southern Ethiopia, British Academy Networks Project on 'Modes of Religiosity', University of Cambridge, UK

Thelen, Tatjana

11. - 15. November 2002, What difference made Kádár? Experiences and memories in different 'socialisms' and their influence on Post-Socialism, (For) Central Europe – Hungary and its Neighbours, International meeting for Central European history, politics and culture, Prague, Czech Republic
17. January 2003, Rechtspraxis und soziale Reproduktion: ein Vergleich, Anthropology of Law. Perspectives from above and below, Wittgenstein Research Centre, Vienna, Austria
07. - 08. February 2003, The new power of the old men. Private property, inheritance and family organisation in Mesterszállás (Hungary), Ethnographies of Postsocialism, Soyuz, Umass Amherst, Amherst, USA
24. - 26. April 2003, Violence matters – Practice and memories of collectivisation in Mesterszállás (Hungary) and Kisiratos (Romania), Everyday Socialism: States and social transformation in Eastern Europe, 1945 - 1965, The Open University and the University of Liverpool, London, UK
23. September - 01. October 2003, Market experiences as a threat to the new democracies in eastern Europe? The Future of Democracy, "Konstanzer Meisterklasse", Fachbereich Geschichte und Soziologie, Universität Konstanz, Konstanz, Germany

Torsello, Davide

14. - 17. August 2002, The land that nobody wants? Limits and benefits of the land restitution process in a southern Slovak village, Conference of the European Association of Social Anthropologists, Copenhagen, Denmark
- September 2002, Family strategies and management of power in a Slovakian village in transition from feudalism to socialism (1769-1959), Conference Kinship in Europe: The Long Run (1300-1900), Monte Verità, Ascona, Italy
- November 2002, When Informality becomes formalised. Trust, mistrust and the individual-institutions relations in a southern Slovakian village, Formal and Informal Cooperation, Honesty and Trust Project, Collegium Budapest, Hungary
17. December 2002, The effectiveness of inconsistency. Values, trust and decision making in a southern Slovakian village, Werkstatt Ethnologie, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie, Halle/Saale, Germany

Turner, Bertram

02. - 03. February 2002, Rechtspluralismus in Deutschland - Das Dilemma von öffentlicher Wahrnehmung und rechtspluralistischer Analyse alltäglicher Rechtspraxis, Aus der Ferne

in die Nähe – Neue Wege der Ethnologie in die Öffentlichkeit, ESE, Münster, Germany

18. - 22. March 2002, Chr'ka in Southwest Morocco: Forms of Agrarian Cooperation between Khammessat System and Legal Pluralism, 13th International Congress of the Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism, Crossing the border: Legal pluralism in a transnational setting, Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism, Chiang Mai, Thailand

20. - 22. June 2002, Local Dispute and its Transnational Legal Environment: Conflict Management and the Regulation of Access to Natural Resources in a Biosphere Reserve in SW Morocco, Conference on Legal Plurality and Local Dispute Resolution in the Middle East: Laws and their Environments, Department of Ethnography and Social Anthropology, University of Aarhus, Moesgaard, Denmark

14. - 18. August 2002, Local Islam as a legal frame of a 'moral folk economy': Institutionalized agrarian cooperation in Southwest Morocco, 7th biennial EASA Conference, Social Change and Moral Economy, Copenhagen, Denmark

17. January 2003, Lokaler Disput und transnationales Umfeld: Konfliktregulierung und Ressourcenmanagement in einem Biosphärenreservat im SW Marokkos, Anthropology of Law. Perspectives from above and below, The Wittgenstein Research Centre 'Local Identities and Supra-Local Influences' at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, Austria

27. - 29. March 2003, Überlappende Gewaltträume. Aspekte islamischer Gewaltperzeption und die Thematisierung von Differenz und Kongruenz im christlich-islamischen Gewaltdiskurs des Mittelalters, Gewalt im Mittelalter, Universität Zürich, Zürich, Switzerland

01. - 02. November 2003, Hexerei und Ordale, Tagung der Vereinigung der Freunde afrikanischer Kultur, Ladenburg, Germany

Ventsel, Aimar

14. - 17. August 2002, Reindeer herding and hunting among the Dolgan: a comparative study of property relations in Russian Far North, *jointly with John Ziker*, 7th Biennial Conference of the European Association for Social Anthropology, Copenhagen, Denmark

09. - 13. September 2002, Hunting Grounds of the Dolgan: A comparative analysis of property relations in North Central Siberia, *jointly with John Ziker*, 9th International Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies, Edinburgh, Scotland

22. October 2002, Reindeer: Property you can own and use, but not eat, Werkstatt Ethnologie, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie, Halle/Saale, Germany

24. October 2002, New forms of Property: Survival strategies of Dolgan in Anabarski district, Stable development of the Northern and Far East indigenous people, Yakutsk, Republic of Sakha
 14. - 16. March 2003, Reindeer: something you can own and borrow, but not eat, Microperspectives on Post-Soviet Transformations, University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland

Widlok, Thomas

14. - 17. August 2002, The good society in the postsocialist period, 7th Biennial Conference of the European Association for Social Anthropology, Copenhagen, Denmark

09. - 13. September 2002, Beyond the immediate vs delayed return distinction, 9th International Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies, Edinburgh, Scotland

09. - 13. September 2002, A recent history of attempts to redefine hunter - gatherer studies as contemporary history, 9th International Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies, Edinburgh, Scotland

Yalçın-Heckmann, Lale

05. July 2002, Political Power at the centre and periphery of post-socialist Azerbaijan: Perspectives on longing for a state, 2nd International Conference on 'The Hierarchy and Power in the History of Civilizations', Theories of Power, Power of Theories, St. Petersburg, Russia

15. August 2002, Radical reforms for conservative farmers? On the logic and consequences of land reform in post-socialist Azerbaijan, 7th biennial EASA Conference 'Engaging the World'; workshop on Engaging with/in the Post-Socialist World: Property and Anthropology, Copenhagen, Denmark

24. November 2002, Property as homeland or economic resource: post-socialist examples from war-torn Croatia and Azerbaijan, *jointly with Carolin Leutloff-Grandits*, American Anthropological Association conference: (Un)imaginable futures: anthropology faces the next 100 years, panel on 'Property Relations in an Era of Global Change', New Orleans, USA

Ziker, John

10. February 2002, Kinship, Friendship, and Public Goods in Native Siberian Food Sharing, *Verwandtschaft und Freundschaft. Zur Unterscheidung und Relevanz zweier Beziehungssysteme*, Bielefeld, Germany

14. - 17. August 2002, Reindeer Herding and Hunting among the Dolgan: A Comparative Study of Property Relations in the Russian Far North, *jointly with Aimar Ventsel*, 7th biennial EASA Conference, Copenhagen, Denmark

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09. - 13. September 2002, The Food Sharing Debate: A case study from Siberia, 9th International Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies, Edinburgh, Scotland
09. - 13. September 2002, Hunting grounds of the Dolgan: A comparative analysis of property relations in North Central Siberia, *jointly with Aimar Ventsel*, 9th International Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies, Edinburgh, Scotland
24. November 2002, Soviet Nostalgia and Post-Soviet Enterprise in the Russian North, *jointly with Patty Gray*, 101st Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Property Relations in an Era of Global Change, New Orleans, USA
08. - 11. May 2003, Sharing in Siberia: Social networks and explanatory hypothesis, The Human Behavioural Ecology Workshop: Future Questions, Approaches, and Applications for a Second Generation, Cooperation and Competition, University of Maine, Department Anthropology and Climate Change Institute, Orono, USA

Public Talks / Outreach**Diallo, Youssef**

27. January 2003, The research programmes of the MPI for Social Anthropology with particular reference to the theme "Conflict and Integration", Friedenskreis Halle e.V., Halle/Saale, Germany

Eckert, Julia

30. October 2003, Kunst und Widerstand, Führung zur Ausstellung 'Sub-Terrain', Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin, Germany

Eidson, John

04. July 2003, Was ist auf dem Lande los? Zwei Projekte in der ehemaligen DDR, *jointly with Gordon Milligan*, Lange Nacht der Wissenschaften, Halle/Saale, Germany

17. November 2003, Eigentumsverhältnisse und landwirtschaftliche Produktion in Ostdeutschland - zwei Fallstudien, *jointly with Gordon Milligan*, Vortrag für den Agrarhistorischen Arbeitskreis der Evangelischen Heimvolkshochschule Ländlicher Raum e.V., Kohren-Sahlis, Germany

Falge, Christiane

04. July 2003, Wo die wilden Kerle wohnen. Tradition und Moderne bei Afrikanischen Migranten in Deutschland und den USA, *jointly with Boris Nieswand*, Lange Nacht der Wissenschaften, MPI for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale, Germany

Grätz, Tilo

04. July 2003, Goldgräbergemeinschaften in Westafrika, Lange Nacht der Wissenschaften, Orientalwissenschaftliches Zentrum Halle, Halle/Saale, Germany

Habeck, Joachim Otto

30. June 2003, Minderheiten und Mehrheiten in Sibirien: zu Fragen des Landrechts und der Landnutzung, Friedenskreis Halle, Germany

King, Alexander

20. September 2002, Chololo Ritual der Nymylan in Kamchatka, Russland, Lange Nacht der Wissenschaften, MPI for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale, Germany

Milligan, Gordon

04. July 2003, Was ist auf dem Lande los? Zwei Projekte in der ehemaligen DDR, *jointly with John Eidson*, Lange Nacht der Wissenschaften, Halle/Saale, Germany

17. November 2003, Eigentumsverhältnisse und landwirtschaftliche Produktion in Ostdeutschland - zwei Fallstudien, *jointly with John Eidson*, Vortrag für den Agrarhis-

torischen Arbeitskreis der Evangelischen Heimvolkshochschule Ländlicher Raum e.V., Kohren-Sahlis, Germany

Nieswand, Boris

16. October 2002, Charismatic Christians and Identity. A field report, Deutschlandforschungsgruppe, MPI for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale, Germany

30. October 2002, Vorstellung des MPI. Präsentation meines Forschungsprojektes, Vernetzungstreffen von NRO's in Halle zum Thema Globalisierung, Eine Welt Haus, Halle, Halle/Saale, Germany

04. July 2003, Wo die wilden Kerle wohnen. Tradition und Moderne bei afrikanischen Migranten in Deutschland und den USA, *jointly with Christiane Falge*, Lange Nacht der Wissenschaften, MPI for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale, Germany

Pelican, Michaela

17. June 2002, Aus dem kulturellen Alltag in Nordwest-Kamerun, Afrika-Woche in Halle 2002, Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung Sachsen-Anhalt e.V. in Kooperation mit: afrikanische Vereine in Halle, Ausländerbeirat der Stadt Halle, Begegnungszentrum für Deutsche und Ausländer, Projekt "IkaP" bei der DAA, Halle/Saale, Germany

20. September 2002, Misaje, ein kleines Dorf in Nordwest-Kamerun, Lange Nacht der Wissenschaften, MPI for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale, Germany

Schlee, Günther

11. June 2003, Komplementarität oder Feindschaft: Das Doppelgesicht der Ethnizität, Forum, Kulturforum der Sozialdemokratie Sachsen-Anhalt e.V. and SPD-Landesverband Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle/Saale, Germany

Ventsel, Aimar

20. September 2002, Popular Culture in Sakha – Video presentation, Lange Nacht der Wissenschaften, MPI for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale, Germany

Ziker, John

04. July 2003, Vom Leben und Sterben in Taimyr, Sibirien, *jointly with Oliver Weihmann, Joachim Otto Habeck*, Lange Nacht der Wissenschaften, MPI for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale, Germany

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ISSN: 1618-8683