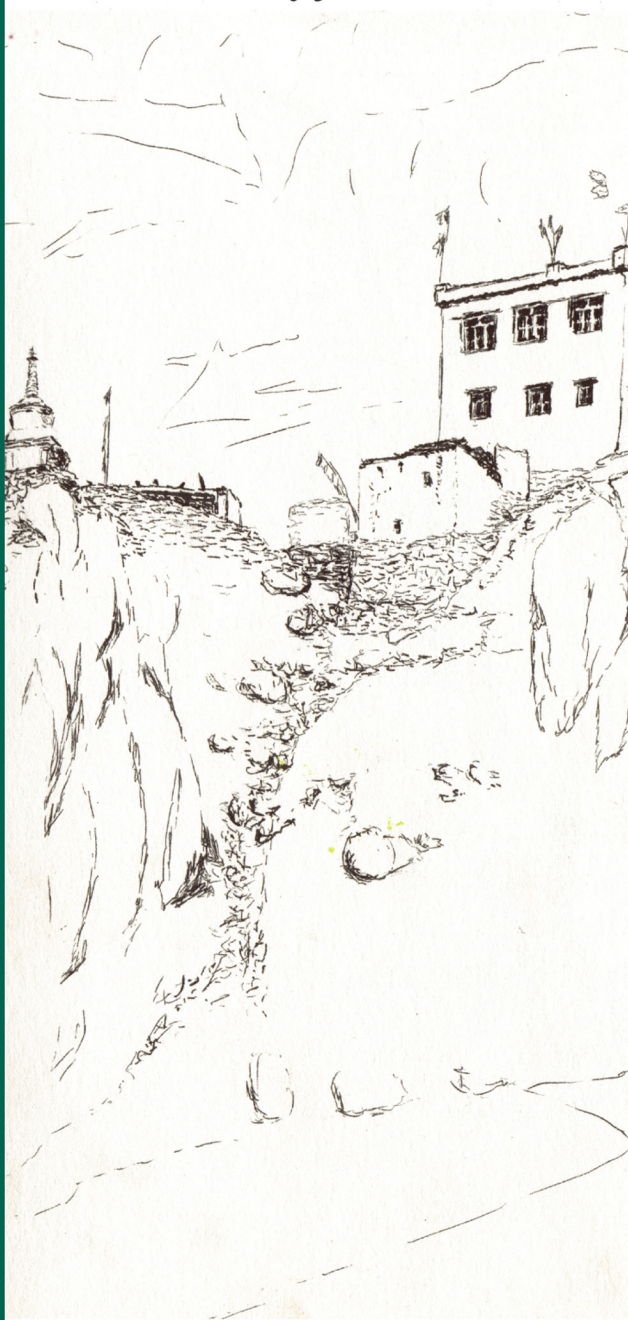


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 ལྷོ་བྱེད་ - shunzags - 'charm
 Gyape lut-la', 'shu-lut', 'gyape
 looking for trans. in the dictionary
 ལྷོ་བྱེད་ལྷོ་བྱེད་ - gags - evil demon



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for Social Anthropology**

**Report 2004 - 2005
Halle/S.**

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Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology

Report 2004 – 2005

Halle/Saale

Table of Contents

Structure and Organisation of the Institute	1
Introduction	5
Comparative Essays	9
Pilgrimage as a celebration of <i>communitas</i> and an arena <i>Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi and Günther Schlee</i>	9
Christian conversion in a changing world: confronting issues of inequality, modernity, and morality <i>Mathijs Pelkmans, Virginie Vaté, and Christiane Falge</i>	23
What it takes to be a man: constructions of masculinity <i>Joachim Otto Habeck, Fernanda Pirie, Julia Eckert, and Aimar Ventsel</i>	35
An anthropology of morality <i>Johan Rasanayagam and Monica Heintz</i>	51
Rituals, forms of behaviour, and solidarity among hunters' groups in West Africa and South Siberia <i>Youssouf Diallo and István Sántha</i>	61
Department I: Integration and Conflict	77
Integration and conflict: introduction <i>Günther Schlee</i>	77
Brief biographical data: current researchers	88
Brief biographical data: former staff	90
North and East Africa	91
Religion and integration in southwest Ethiopia <i>Data Dea</i>	91
The global Nuer <i>Christiane Falge</i>	94
Shared values, institutions, and development: the case of the Gurage and the Oromo of southwestern Ethiopia <i>Getinet Assefa</i>	96
Conflicting political identities in northern Somalia <i>Markus V. Höhne</i>	98

West and Central Africa	101
Conflict, violence, and integration: transnational and local fields of governance on the Chad/Sudan border <i>Andrea Behrends</i>	101
Pastoralism, migration, and identity: the Fulbe in Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire <i>Youssouf Diallo</i>	103
The social and cultural context of small-scale gold-mining in West Africa today <i>Tilo Grätz</i>	104
Friendship and kinship: on the differences and the relevance of two systems of social relationships. The case of the Fulbe societies of northern Cameroon and northern Benin <i>Martine Guichard</i>	105
Getting along in the Grassfields: interethnic relations and identity politics in North West Cameroon <i>Michaela Pelican</i>	107
Oil and strings <i>Stephen P. Reyna</i>	109
Research Group: "Integration and Conflict in the Upper Guinea Coast (West Africa)" <i>Jacqueline Knörr</i>	111
Central Asia	116
Central Asia activities within Department I <i>Peter Finke</i>	116
Language and social identity: Khorezm identity in a multi-ethnic society <i>Rano Turaeva</i>	123
Europe	125
Disconcerting encounters: consuming nationalism in Macedonia and Duldung trauma among the Bosnian diaspora in Berlin <i>Rozita Dimova</i>	125

Global religion as a form of non-ethnic migrant incorporation in two small-scale cities: Halle/Saale, Germany and Manchester NH, USA <i>Nina Glick Schiller</i>	128
Ghanaian migrants in Germany and the stabilisation of trans-national fields <i>Boris Nieswand</i>	130
Irish identity and the Irish language in discourse and practice in Catholic West Belfast <i>Olaf Zenker</i>	132
Applied research	134
Applied research in conflict resolution <i>Christiane Falge and Günther Schlee</i>	134
Applied research: a study in racialisation <i>Nina Glick Schiller, Data Dea, and Markus V. Höhne</i>	137
Department II: Postsocialist Eurasia <i>Chris Hann</i>	139
Highlights	140
A. Collective report	141
1. Focus group: religion and civil society	142
2. Other activities	153
3. Externally funded project: Political, economic, and social inclusion and exclusion in Poland and Bulgaria: an anthropological study (funded by the Volkswagen Foundation) <i>Deema Kaneff and Frances Pine</i>	155
4. Research Group: Caucasian boundaries and citizenship from below <i>Lale Yalçın-Heckmann</i>	162

B. Individual reports	164
Nation and religion: the politics of commemoration in south-east Poland <i>Juraj Buzalka</i>	164
Charismatic Christianity among the Roma in Romania <i>László Fosztó</i>	166
Moral education in Romania and the Republic of Moldova <i>Monica Heintz</i>	168
Religious identities in the Ferghana Valley – continuities and changes <i>Irene Hilgers</i>	170
The cult of saints in Uzbekistan and south Kazakhstan <i>Paweł Jessa</i>	172
Saints, shrines, and spirits in Khorezm – A study of local Islam in post-Soviet Uzbekistan <i>Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi</i>	174
Chechen and Ingush Muslim identity from a comparative perspective <i>Galina Khizrieva</i>	176
Re-orientalising the Church: charity and morality among the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church <i>Stéphanie Mahieu</i>	178
Muslim life in a Kyrgyz-Uzbek town <i>Julie McBrien</i>	180
Modes of religiosity in Eastern Christianity: Greek Catholics in Western Ukraine <i>Vlad Naumescu</i>	182
Religious frontiers after socialism: missionary encounters and the dynamics of conversion in Kyrgyzstan <i>Mathijs Pelkmans</i>	184
Modes of authority: Islam, state, and community in Uzbekistan <i>Johan Rasanayagam</i>	186

Living cosmopolitanism? Religious revival and local identity in Odessa <i>Tanya Richardson</i>	188
The moral education of children in contemporary Tajikistan: secular concepts and Muslim realities <i>Manja Stephan</i>	190
Individualists by force? Property reforms and rural economy in postsocialist Azerbaijan <i>Lale Yalçın-Heckmann</i>	192
C. Prospect <i>Chris Hann</i>	194
Project Group Legal Pluralism <i>Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann</i>	207
A. Highlights	208
B. Introduction	209
C. Working Themes	212
1. Law and development <i>Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann</i>	212
2. New security discourses and security measures as a topic for research in legal anthropology <i>Julia Eckert</i>	215
3. Order and disorder <i>Fernanda Pirie</i>	219
4. Social security and religious networks <i>Tatjana Thelen</i>	222
5. Legal responsibility in Islamic societies: collectivities, individuals, and conflicts of responsibility in legal practice <i>Bertram Turner</i>	225
6. Law and religion in a complex world <i>Bertram Turner and Fernanda Pirie</i>	227

D. Individual projects	231
1. Decentralisation and village reorganisation: changing constellations of legal pluralism in West Sumatra, Indonesia <i>Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann</i>	231
2. The use of civil, administrative, and religious state courts in West Sumatra <i>Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann</i>	234
3. The politics of customary law: courts of elders (<i>aqsaqals</i>) in Kyrgyzstan <i>Judith Beyer</i>	235
4. Security, citizenship, and democracy in an Indian metropolis <i>Julia Eckert</i>	237
5. Who owns the village? Legal pluralism, cultural property, and social security in a Baltic tourist centre: the case of the Curonian Spit/Lithuania <i>Anja Peleikis</i>	238
6. Judicial order and conflict resolution in ethnographic Tibet <i>Fernanda Pirie</i>	241
7. Changes in social security in East Germany: functional transformation of social networks <i>Tatjana Thelen</i>	242
8. Local legal repertoires, access to natural resources, and the impact of transnational legal actors <i>Bertram Turner</i>	244
E. Developing the anthropology of law: conferences and workshops <i>Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann</i>	247
	248
F. Networking and cooperation	251
G. Teaching	251
H. Future prospects	

Siberian Studies Centre	253
Joint research themes	254
<i>Joachim Otto Habeck</i>	
Individual projects	260
Mobility, 'tenuriality', and the politics of indigeneity in the Sayan Cross	260
<i>Brian Donahoe</i>	
Identity and self-determination of young indigenous women in Central Kamchatka, Russian Far East	262
<i>Katharina Gernet</i>	
Cultured places in an uncultured landscape: notions of culture in Novosibirsk	263
<i>Joachim Otto Habeck</i>	
Negotiations about the land (Republic of Altai)	265
<i>Agnieszka Halemba</i>	
Orientation in, perception, and utilisation of space on the edge of the Arctic: nomads and sedentary people in northwestern Siberia	267
<i>Kirill Istomin</i>	
Maintaining or reinventing a relation to 'nature': religious practices and systems of representation in the Russian North	269
<i>Virginie Vaté</i>	
Individual projects of associated members	272
Towards a model of comparing transitional forms in Russian reindeer husbandry	272
<i>Yulian Konstantinov</i>	
Intergenerational relations in an Evenki community	273
<i>István Sántha</i>	
Ethnic economy and 'sovkhoism': post-Soviet living strategies in a sub-Arctic environment	275
<i>Vladislava Vladimirova</i>	

Researching the role of relatives in Europe (EU funded project)	279
<i>Patrick Heady</i>	
Coordination and services	285
<i>Bettina Mann and Kathrin Föllner</i>	
Library Report	286
<i>Anja Neumann</i>	
IT Group Report	289
<i>Armin Pippel</i>	
Publications	291
Appendix	317
Professional memberships	317
Professorships	322
Editorships	323
Teaching	324
PhD-examinations	328
Visiting scholars	330
Conferences and workshops	337
Joint Institutes' colloquia	354
Talks 2004/2005	357
Lectures	360
Presentations at external conferences and workshops	365
Public talks/outreach	382
Index	385
Institutes' location	

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Introduction

Conflict, identity, economic transformation, and legal change are topics of continuing public concern in the modern world. Developments within political regimes following wars and internal turmoil, fundamental shifts in ideologies, and the expansion of legal regimes have far-reaching implications for local communities. Anthropology explores the whole variation of social formations, from small-scale communities to complex societies. Increasingly, it is not the internal workings of these different forms which are at the centre of interest but the ways they are interconnected. Our research builds on the classic anthropological themes of political, economic, legal, religious and social organisation, but contributes to contemporary debates by connecting the local with the global in order to analyse political and social transformations. Our Institute is characterised by its high concentration of topics of related research, often conducted within the context of regional clusters, which allows for systematic comparison and anthropological theory-building.

The issues of integration and conflict within and between social groups, often defined in religious and ethnic terms, recur throughout the world and are being systematically investigated in Department I under the direction of Günther Schlee, where researchers are pursuing related projects in Africa, Central Asia, Indonesia and Europe. The experience of transformation in postsocialist Eurasia is being researched in Department II under the directorship of Chris Hann, where an initial focus on property relations (2000-2005) has been followed by comparative research into religious practices and their effects on civil society. The research in these two departments is complemented by the Project Group Legal Pluralism, headed by Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann, which focuses on the complexity, operation, and significance of law, with projects in South- and Southeast Asia, Africa, and Europe. Members of the Siberian Studies Centre, which is coordinated by Joachim Otto Habeck, explore similar themes in Northern Eurasia.

Just six years old, the Institute has developed into an internationally recognised centre for social anthropological research and it continues to expand thematically, with new projects and working groups to complement the work of the main departments. Four new Max Planck Research Groups have been established: Lale Yalçın-Heckmann (Department II) works on the topic of "Caucasian Boundaries and Citizenship from Below" (from 2003); Jacqueline Knörr (Department I) on the topic of "Integration and Conflict as Dimensions of Cultural Tradition, Social Dynamics and Historical Experience in the Upper Guinea Coast (West Africa)" (from 2004); Julia Eckert (Project Group Legal Pluralism) on "Law against the State" (from 2005); and Peter Finke (Department I) on "Integration and Conflict in Central Asia" (from 2005). Furthermore Richard Rottenburg, Professor of Social Anthropology at the Martin

Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, has been appointed as a Max Planck Fellow and will be launching his research group in 2006. Funding from the European Union's Sixth Framework was approved in 2004 for a major project on "Kinship and Social Security", which is directed by Patrick Heady and involves researchers from 16 European institutions. Deema Kaneff's and Frances Pine's (Department II) project on "Political, Economic and Social Inclusion and Exclusion in Bulgaria and Poland: An Anthropological Study" funded by the Volkswagen Foundation (from 2003) has incorporated two new PhD students.

Together with the Institute for Social Anthropology at the Martin Luther University, Halle-Wittenberg, the Institute forms one of the largest centres of anthropological research in Europe. Close cooperation is also maintained with the Centre for Oriental Studies of the Martin Luther University and the Institutes of Ethnology and African Studies at the University of Leipzig.

During the two years since the publication of the last report,

- Department I has advanced in deriving and testing elements of a new theory of identity and difference in relation to conflict and integration, giving this theory an increasingly systematic character.
- Department II has completed the cycle of projects devoted to "property relations" and made progress in the investigation of "civil religion" in two postsocialist regions.
- The researchers in the Project Group Legal Pluralism have continued their research on the social, economic, and political significance of legal pluralism and have intensified their comparative work on law and religion.
- The researchers of the Siberian Studies Centre have extended international cooperation and developed collaborative research initiatives on religious conversion, environmental protection and land use, ethnicity, and identity, and on gendered and generational dimensions of social networks.

Researchers have organised conferences, workshops, and seminar series, both within the Institute and in collaboration with other institutions. During 2004 and 2005 more than 20 conferences and workshops involving external participants were organised at the Institute while approximately 150 external researchers gave seminar presentations or spent periods of time as guests at the Institute. There is also a continuing exchange of ideas between departments, which is illustrated in the opening section of this report. The comparative essays represent just some of the themes which have arisen out of such cooperation.

For the first time this report has been prepared under the editorial supervision of a committee of researchers. Our thanks are due to the department's secretaries Anke Brüning, Gesine Koch and Viktoria Zeng, and to Kristin Magnucki, Judith Orland, Ralph Orlowski, and Oliver Weihmann for their assistance in its preparation.

This report presents an overview of our projects as well as insight into the organisation and facilities of our Institute in Halle. We encourage members of the wider academic community to engage with, challenge, and contribute to our ideas and we look forward to welcoming many as guests at our Institute.

The Editorial Board

Comparative Essays

Pilgrimage as a celebration of *communitas* and an arena

Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi and Günther Schlee

On the uniformity of cults

In the course of his field research at the pilgrim centre of Faraqasa, a small town located far from the road network in the Arsi region of Oromia in Ethiopia, Sven Nicolas¹ observed that the place was sacred for Christians and Muslims alike. Both the traditional Christian and the corresponding Muslim practices may well be based on older rites and religious beliefs, with mutual observation and imitation as probable contributing factors. Hence, those who conjure up the popular image of Ethiopia as a stronghold of Christianity in the face of Islam and as the site of religious rivalries will be amazed at the similarity in the pilgrimage practices of the different denominations.

Apart from the interdenominational uniformity of the cults, Nicolas was struck by their nationwide network and coordination. The concept of *ritual* or *institutional feeling* runs through his analysis – similar to its use in architectural discourse or by Perniola (2003) for Catholicism. Those who share this feeling most probably are speaking of an aura or a *genius loci*, and all this may not be far from Turner's concept of *communitas*.

By using the term *ritual feeling* and without automatically suggesting a syncretic melting of dogmas, Nicolas hopes to be able to interpret as an affinity the relationship of different religions in the context of their parallel practices at a site jointly considered sacred. In fact, religious forms that transcend denominational differences exist practically independently of their content. Harmony in practice and a shared *ritual feeling* suffice. No further consensus is required. Different ascriptions of meaning at sacred places are not an obstacle to their peaceful common use:

The essential aspect of ritual feeling is not 'feeling together', nor the dialectic between the you and the us, but the relation with an 'it', with a third term that is reducible neither to the subjectivity of a single nor to that of a community. (Perniola 2003: 324)

¹ Sven Nicolas is a post-graduate student at the *Graduiertenkolleg* 'Representation–Rhetoric–Knowledge' in Frankfurt (Oder). His supervisors are Werner Schiffauer from the European University Viadrina and Günther Schlee from the MPI for Social Anthropology.

In Nicolas' reading of Perniola's text the following elements form the basis of the ritual feeling inherent in the Faraqasa pilgrimage phenomenon:

- Cultural concepts and ritual practices that indicate similar attitudes on the part of Muslims and Christians to fundamental religious questions irrespective of denomination: these include shared or even universal notions in relation to prophecy, ecstasy, revelation, charisma, and blessing, as well as the expression of common social values such as seniority and the family.
- Substitutive attitudes and ideas: these apply first and foremost to alternative interpretations of cult history, religious cult identity, and the ritual topography of pilgrimage sites, of which there are frequently Christian and Muslim varieties. The emerging spectrum of interpretations is rarely marked by competitiveness but instead coincides with a disinterested ignorance about the respective divergent interpretations.
- Overlapping concepts which combine the first two points: ritual practices and Faraqasa-related narratives are often identical up to a point, from which they branch out into differing variations. An example of this is the universal honouring of local springs as holy waters. Their ritual use as healing water and in sacred ablutions is also identical. However, while Muslims consider all holy water reservoirs which are to be found here to be *zemzem*, akin to the desert source of Prophet Mohammed, Christians associate at least 14 different types of *tsabal* water with angels and saints, which are honoured accordingly.

At the same time numerous attempts have been made by religious competitors to introduce alternative structures in opposition to the existing pilgrimage networks, in other words to recruit followers from Faraqasa. But in the end these movements were also obliged to resort to the established stock of *ritual feeling* in their efforts at legitimation and at discrediting the Other. Attempts at alternative interpretations ultimately came to fit into the pattern of the three points mentioned above, and furthermore to confirm Perniola's opinion of the randomness of content once certain religious forms are adhered to.²

With his findings on the far-reaching parallels between Christian and Muslim practices and their nationwide uniformity, Sven Nicolas contributes to an overall picture marked by works such as *Wombs and Alien Spirits* by Janice Boddy, about Sudan north of the Nile, and that of Harald Aspen on spirit mediums and their clients in Christian Amhara, as

² The previous six paragraphs were abridged and edited from an unpublished report by Nicolas to his thesis adviser.

well as studies on spirit cults in the Kenyan region of Oromo (Dahl 1989, Aguilar 1994). Here among the *zar* and *ayaana* cults³ in a vast territory stretching beyond the confines of nation-states and religious communities we find not only similar figures in the 'spirit pantheon' (or rather pandemonium, since it concerns the spirits in their entirety and not the gods) but also standardised healing careers, involving the elements of crisis, sickness, visiting the spirit healer, contact with the spirit, its appeasement and possible exploitation, and the advance of the sick person to a ruler of spirits and a healer.

The quest for healing by those possessed, which is frequently manifested in the development of a *modus vivendi* with the possessing spirit or spirits, is difficult to separate from the complex of pilgrimage and holy places that makes up the ritual topography of northeastern Africa. People travel from great distances to visit a charismatic healer in a quest for healing: they make a pilgrimage to him or her. Pilgrimage to a holy place is undertaken for the same reason.

For the Christians, traditionalists, and Muslims among the Oromo, pilgrimage and healing are linked to the same degree but in different ways to the generational class system (*gada*) that tends to set the tempo for unrolling cycles of rituals (Schlee 1992, 1998), and even more closely to the *qallu* institution, which was originally a hereditary priesthood and is expressed in a variety of guises and reflexes⁴ among the sub-groups of the Oromo dispersed throughout Ethiopia.

The *qallu* and their clientele from afar are the topic of Thomas Osmond's doctoral thesis "Possession, identités et nationalisme oromo: le cas des dignitaires religieux Qaalluu en Éthiopie".⁵ Osmond demonstrates that the *qallu* institution was originally a key institution in Oromo societies and in a certain sense almost superior to the *gada* system, since *gada* officials depend on the *qallu*'s blessing, while no dependencies exist the other way around. As a result of the mostly violent incorporation into the Ethiopian empire, the Christianisation of a few Oromo groups, and the Islamisation of others parallel to the continued existence of pre-Christian and pre-Islamic belief systems and social orders in other places, the *qallu* institution was to develop in very different ways in different places. With an in-depth study of the eastern part of Shoa, Osmond explored these processes from Wollega in the North-

³ *Zar* and *ayaana* are different emic concepts for spirits. The former is used by speakers of many different languages, the latter by the Oromo. These cults focus on possession and the control of spirits which have come to possess someone.

⁴ By 'guises' Schlee means cultural forms which go back to the same models but may not be recognizable at first glance. 'Reflexes' are similarities due to reactions to a model which may be found in combination with important differences. The metaphor is derived from a reflected image, which is the other way round.

⁵ The thesis was accepted by the University of Marseille/Aix en Provence with distinction in December 2004. Bruno Marinelli was *directeur de thèse* and Günther Schlee *président du jury* and editor of the combined report of the examination committee.

west of Ethiopia as far as Arsi and Guji⁶ in southern Ethiopia to the Boran on both sides of the Kenyan border. He succeeds in relating the common substratum of the *qallu* institution to such disparate phenomena as a charismatic healer – a transvestite who appears to draw some of his fascination from his marginalisation – Muslim leaders, and the bearers of hereditary titles in the machinery of imperial power. Modern possession cults occupy a prominent position in these *qallu* derivatives. Certain elements of their uniformity can be explained by their common origin in the *qallu* institution.

***Communitas* versus arena**

The fairly harmonious picture drawn by Nicolas of the peaceful co-existence between Christians and Muslims at the same pilgrimage site, inspired by the same numinosum (Otto 1923), is reflected in various theories. The history of sociology and social anthropology has been characterised from the beginning by attempts to employ a functionalist approach to the study of religion and religious phenomena. With the same casualness with which religion is considered ‘good’⁷ for everyday purposes, for sociologists it serves social cohesion, which is simply an academic disguise for the ‘good’. For Durkheim, the progenitor of both disciplines, the object of religious devotion was simply an idealised self-representation of society translated into the transcendental realm.

‘Religion’ can be divided into belief and ritual practice.⁸ ‘Belief’ refers to what can be verbalised, i.e., the sum of a religious community’s mystical and historical traditions, including their systematising and rational elaborations in dogma and law. Ritual, on the other hand, is the area that cannot be reduced to words, although they are a contributing factor. It is here that non-verbal actions play a variable but indispensable role. Pilgrimages are an element of ritual practice, which does not exclude the fact that they imply, evoke, and reinforce religious ideas, and interact with them in various ways, but on the contrary includes it.

What has been said about religion in general applies also to its sub-domains of ritual practice and here, in turn, to pilgrimages. The latter are explained from a functionalist perspective as production sites of human cohesion. It was in the works of Victor Turner that the emergence of *communitas* during the pilgrimage and at sacred sites found its classical expression. In her doctoral thesis “Ritual Construction of the

⁶ Shoa, Wollega, and Arsi are former provinces which are now parts of the Oromia region of Ethiopia. Arsi (in its other sense), Guji, and Boran are names of Oromo subgroups.

⁷ Only ‘religions’ in the plural is considered occasionally a disintegrative factor, especially in the context of more recent predictions of cultural conflict (‘clash of civilisations’) and previous ‘fundamentalist’ debates.

⁸ As a universal category, the term ‘religion’ is controversial. Undisputed, however, is the fact that *belief* and *ritual practice* are found in all human groups in one form or another.

'Community' and the Arena. Multiple Identities of a Mazu Pilgrimage in Taiwan" (Lu 2005), Mei-huan Lu⁹ dismantles this perception and asks what other social processes take place in the course of pilgrimage and whether they can be regarded as arenas for controversial debate. Although she may not be the first to do so, she adopts a critical attitude towards a firmly established academic tradition, drawing from several recent works by other authors.

Lu looks into a variety of aspects concerning pilgrimage 'identities'. Territorially bound cults where outsiders were not permitted to hold office have progressed to become a cult sphere unbounded by administrative units, such as particular towns and villages, or marketplaces and their surrounding areas, or even by borders of established temple communities. Those who moved to Taipeh, and many whose origins are no longer of interest, all take part in the pilgrimage. Hence pilgrimage identity varies simultaneously in the minds of the old and the young or at different times along a scale ranging from territorial to open. In other words, its recruiting mode varies from group to group and from network to network. Various pilgrims perceive details of the pilgrimage differently: What exactly steers the palanquin, what takes place in the pilgrimage, at what point does the goddess determine the direction taken by the palanquin containing her image, and where do the carriers give the impression of following divine forces invisibly pulling or pushing the palanquin but in reality pursue their own ideas? The organising committee or village interests in alternative routes are suspected by certain observers to influence the course taken. In a sense each one of them forms their own image of the pilgrimage in their head.

The palanquin chooses the way through the river instead over the bridge. Here, one can see the domain of 'communitas' in the sense of collective experience, but also of individual salvation.
(Photo: M. Lu)



⁹ Doctorate at the Faculty of Sociology at Bielefeld University, 2005. The supervisors were Günther Schlee and Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka.

Another aspect of pilgrimage 'identity' is how participants are assembled. Their composition can be seen as an attribute of the pilgrimage, making it a pilgrimage of this or that group. 'Identity' can of course be applied to the individual pilgrim as well. What are the criteria for recruitment, how do pilgrims perceive their cohesion or internal distinctions? The question here is one of identity and could just as easily be defined as one of *property*. (Who belongs to the pilgrimage? To whom does the pilgrimage belong?) The possession of cultural property is the most controversial issue and contributes the most to the character of the pilgrimage as an arena. Who has the right to speak on behalf of the pilgrims? Who has the power to influence the image of the pilgrimage in the media? What has already been said in relation to the shifting of the pilgrimage on a scale from territorial to open or unbounded is also relevant to the question of ownership and degrees of legitimacy. Many who take part today in the former territorial cult (pilgrimage as interaction between territorially bounded temple communities) are neither linked by local origins nor family relatives to those who perceive themselves as the genuine cult community and consequently claim certain privileges.

In her treatment of identity, Lu progresses systematically. She not only deals with identities that are conspicuous but also those that lead her to the conclusion that they are irrelevant or have at least become so. Various ethnicities exist in the coastal area of Taiwan she describes. The native inhabitants were pushed out of this strip of land, which was taken over by the Han. The Han are divided into the subethnicities the Hakka and the Minnanese, who are in turn subdivided into dialect groups. Clans are another major factor. Indeed, interest in patrilineal genealogies and clan origin is now in the throes of a revival. In the context of pilgrimage, however, ethnicity and clan membership seem to play only a minor role. The characteristic dimensions of pilgrim identity lie elsewhere.

Although the pilgrimage is primarily a Minnanese affair, Hakka participants with a good command of Minnanese are rarely conspicuous. Exclusiveness is uncalled-for, at least as far as the majority of ordinary pilgrims is concerned, since a divinity lives from her followers. The proverbial recipe for the success of a temple could be applied to pilgrimage: "Need a god and need people" (Lu 2005: 63). There is a dialectical relation between the power of devotion to a god and the number of his devotees. In the final analysis a god's share of power depends on the devotion he is shown. Those who feel outraged by this may cry out like Goethe's Prometheus:

Ich kenne nichts Erbärmlicheres unter der Sonne als euch Götter
Mühsam nährt ihr von Opfertagen und Gebetshauch eure Majestät¹⁰

Unlike Prometheus, Lu does not insult the gods. However, her description of this reciprocity also attributes the majesty of the gods to human devotion. Particularly impressive in this context is the story of how Mazu, originally a human of mediocre status (a childless woman who died in 987 A.D.), was promoted to increasingly high realms of divinity with the award of new titles by earthly authorities (all the way up to 'Empress of Heaven') in recognition of her divine intervention in human fate. The spiritual experience of the power of devotion to Mazu is thus expressed in her progressive apotheosis and, it may be assumed, the resultant expansion of her cult community. Furthermore, intensifying the practice of belief leads more people to personally experience the power of the Mazu cult, thus completing the circle of positive feedback. The production of feelings and the construction of knowledge are key aspects of the pilgrimage. By participating in pilgrimages and conducting intensive interviews with other participants Lu gets very close to the feelings produced by marching on foot to a state of collapse and then finally overcoming this or by crossing a river when the palanquin takes a surprise change of direction.

The portrayal of how the palanquin containing the image of the goddess chooses its route belongs to the sphere of knowledge construction. The barely visible movements of the carriers, determined by requested favours or knowledge of such requests, are of prime importance here. Without obvious coordination¹¹ decisions are taken and facts accomplished, both of which are in turn subject to a variety of competing interpretations. At this point a social phenomenon, i.e., a phenomenon beyond the individual, is produced, about which knowledge is then socially constructed. This knowledge, however, is inconsistent. Different constructs compete with one another in the arena or simply co-exist in mutual disregard.

Similar to other knowledge constructs, attitudes to and positions on Mazu and Baishatun are subject to social incentives and constraints as well as the constraints of logic and plausibility. The limitations on raising the status of Baishatun as a sacred place are theological in nature. The goal of the pilgrimage beginning in Baishatun is a temple in Beigang, which is a step closer in the line of temple foundations and divi-

¹⁰ "I know nothing more wretched under the sun than you gods / Arduously you feed on offerings and prayer whispers Your Majesty" (G. Schlee's translation).

¹¹ Referring to the splits in the palanquin carrier group, Lu describes how one carrier accuses the other of telling him to take a specific direction instead of leaving it to the oracle (*palanquin performance*: the repeated running back and forth with the palanquin, from which the direction to be taken is supposed to emerge without the intervention of human volition).

sions to the (ultimately mainland) origin of the Mazu cult. This gives the destined temple a higher status than the temple from which the pilgrimage sets out. If status promotion of Baishatun through religious public relations – desirable as that might be for regional development – was too successful, this hierarchy of holy sites might be levelled and the pilgrimage would be deprived of its destination: a paradox of success. A pilgrimage only makes sense if it is from a lower- to a higher-ranking place in terms of degrees of holiness.

Incentives, i.e., rewards for the victorious, are a precondition for power games in the pilgrimage arena. Some of these lie outside the arena. It is quite obvious that the organising committee cultivates relations with the administrative communities surrounding the pilgrimage and that business and regional development interests influence their decisions. For other actors, however, rewards and incentives are found exclusively within the sphere of the Mazu cult. A short digression to Africa will clarify the difference between inside and outside.

In northern Kenya, Schlee witnessed numerous controversies about the precise timing and performance of ritual practices on a pilgrimage of the Gabra to their sacred places in southern Ethiopia, where they hold their age group promotions at intervals of mostly two or three times 7 years. In one particular case a bitter argument broke out as to which lineage was to bring a milk vessel for the sacrificial offering. The core issue was one of hierarchy (seniority) between two rival lineages. Seniority is furthermore of major importance outside the ritual context of pilgrimage. On the whole this pilgrimage seems a suitable peg for a broader ethnography of the Gabra, since much of what is heightened in these two weeks is relevant to their ordinary lives.

The relationship between the loss and gain of status in the course of the pilgrimage and everyday life is fuzzier in the case of the Mazu pilgrim in Taiwan. In order to participate in the pilgrimage many pilgrims take holidays. If this is not feasible they have to give up their jobs in Taipei and look for a new one when they return. Apart from the temporal rivalry that exists between the two spheres, working or normal productive and recreational life seems to have little in common with life on the pilgrimage. Admittedly, those who are ill hope to be cured. What expectations, however, do healthy pilgrims have in relation to their ordinary lives? In most cases, the desired blessing is probably more diffuse – ‘success’, perhaps, or general well-being.

The annual pilgrimage clearly represents a pinnacle in the lives of many who make the journey from the city, similar to an adventure holiday for other people. A sense of achievement and feelings of sheer happiness remain in this sphere. Just as a surfer in the surf community or a glider in a group of gliders can gain recognition and experience a feeling of togetherness without it having an impact on the rest of their lives, the Mazu pilgrims have a social frame of reference within the

pilgrimage community independent of their achievements in life. Athletic aspects of the pilgrimage such as pride in the foot march are reminiscent of leisure sport. With the aid of films and Internet chat sites, everyone can repeat the experience of the pilgrimage community and the physical exercise in the privacy of their home for the rest of the year.

Can we speak here, in analogy to *recreational sex* (sex for the feeling of it that is of no consequence in relation to maintenance or inheritance claims and has little bearing on the rest of life), perhaps of *recreational religion*? Is it religion as a leisure-time activity? In the modern context this seems to be the case, at least where some of the more urbanised participant groups are concerned. The Mazu pilgrimage is a temporary exit from office life in Taipei. From this perspective 'modern' pilgrims distinguish themselves radically from those whose work and leisure cannot be separated in this manner.

Who owns the shrine? Rival meanings and authorities at a pilgrimage site in Khorezm (Uzbekistan)

In the official Soviet reading of Islam, devotion to saints and pilgrimage to shrines was seen as a superstitious, un-Islamic 'survival' and became a specific target of anti-religious polemics. While the state provided the institutions of legalist Islam with an – albeit minor – official framework, the Islam of shrines was banned. The general revival of Islam that accompanied the collapse of the Soviet Union in Uzbekistan gave new impetus to local pilgrimages. Not only was there a huge increase in the crowds of visitors to the shrines that re-opened, but in today's nation-building process, pilgrimage and the veneration of saints are officially honoured as the cultural heritage of the Uzbek people. Famous Islamic saints, whose domain was once the territory of today's Uzbekistan, are celebrated as national heroes, and their shrines as symbols of national consolidation and identity. This change is visible at the institutional level with the inclusion of at least the larger shrines in the structures of official (i.e., state-regulated) Islam. At the same time, the local Islam of shrines is criticised by Islamic activists of Middle Eastern provenance as an attack on the 'pure teachings' of Islam. The positive attitude of political elites towards local religious traditions is most probably based on the position that contrary to Islamic 'fundamentalism' or Islamism (usually referred to in Uzbekistan as 'Wahhabism'), which are ranked as a danger to the state, local traditions are free of political dynamite. How these diverging secular and religious meanings are reflected at the micro level of a holy shrine will be illustrated in the following with a practical example.

The most important shrine today in the Province of Khorezm in west Uzbekistan houses the symbolic graves of two famous Islamic scholars, Abdulkadir Gilani and Yusuf Hamadani. Hence these shrines are vital

for Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi's¹² research. Gilani¹³, known by his honorary name of Ulli Pir ('Sublime Pir') is the focus of religious devotion among the local population. In a local governmental initiative, the completely dilapidated grave from Soviet times was restored from 1993 to 1994 and extended considerably. During Kehl-Bodrogi's field research in 2004, apart from the magnificent mausoleum constructed over the tombs the premises also included a new mosque, a kitchen area for the preparation of food offerings, recreation rooms for pilgrims, and the office of the chief imam. Furthermore, the complex contained a hotel, a war monument, a location for the local branch of the state 'Centre for Morality and Enlightenment', and a museum. The latter two institutions are richly endowed with state insignia. Apart from images of Islamic saints and teachers from earlier eras, photographs of the president and pictures of the national flag, state emblems, and the constitution complete with explanations abound. Decorating a pilgrimage shrine with national symbols bears witness to the state's intention of having a say in the significance of the site. The fact that the initiative to erect a new shrine complex came from the local government makes it clear that – similar to large shrines in other provinces – Khorezm was to have a place where religious, national, *and* regional identity could be manifested in equal measure.

Pilgrim motives are quite a different matter. The pilgrims come in particular to ask the saints for fulfilment of personal favours, to make or fulfil a vow, and in the hope of pleasing God by visiting the graves. The largest turn-out of visitors to the pilgrimage shrine is on Wednesdays, where according to belief Ulli Pir makes an appearance at the shrine. He listens to the wishes of all who come to him with pure intentions and later pleads with God for their fulfilment. Ulli Pir is attributed in particular with powers of healing the mentally ill (*ruhiy kasal*). He has a reputation as a 'spirit butcher' and it is said that healers leave it to him to slaughter the evil spirits (*jin*) they exorcise from the sick.

A pilgrimage to shrines in Khorezm is undertaken alone or in the company of neighbours, relatives or colleagues. Pilgrims usually visit the grave upon arrival, which they kiss along with the doors and walls of the shrine in the hope of sharing in the sacred power of the place. After a short conversation with Ulli Pir, they receive a prayer blessing

¹² Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi is a member of Department II (headed by Chris Hann) and responsible for the project "Saints, Shrines and Pilgrimages. Continuity and Change in Local Religious Traditions in Uzbekistan".

¹³ Abdulkadir Gilani (Abdulqadir al Djalani, Jilani) was a theologian of the Hanbali school of law, and died in Baghdad in 1166. The Sufi order Qadiriyya bears his name (The Encyclopaedia of Islam I: 69). He is widely represented in legends and is said to be a frequent spiritual visitor to ecstatic Muslims in a state of trance as well as a medium to God in popular Islam. Anthropologists working on Africa, such as Thomas Osmond or Günther Schlee, come across this figure just as often as researchers on Central Asia.

(*potya*) from one of the numerous sheikhs present at the shrine in exchange for a voluntary donation. Those who bring a sacrificial animal in fulfilment of a vow have it prepared in the kitchen and subsequently eat it with their own group. Tradition has it that a full bowl of food is passed on to the neighbouring group. The extent of the relationship between the individual pilgrim groups, however, exhausts itself with this gesture. Similar to Sallnow's observations at a (Christian) pilgrimage site, there is no evidence here to show that the pilgrims themselves "aspired to a greater degree of interpersonal inclusiveness" (Sallnow 1981: 177). By practicing rituals in and with their group, which is constituted on the basis of existing social relationships, pilgrims remain rooted in the structures of everyday life. A "normative *communitas*" that might counteract this structure, as envisaged by Turner (1974) for the institution of pilgrimage, does not emerge here.

Built after the re-opening of the complex, the mosque located a mere 50 metres from the shrine is rarely visited by pilgrims. The official decision to build a mosque in the immediate vicinity of the shrine can be seen as a symbolic act, whereby the new state distances itself publicly from the Soviet reading of Islam that barred religiousness focused on shrines from 'official' Islam. Handing over responsibility for the state-controlled Muslim Board of Uzbekistan (*Uzbekistan Musulmanlar Idaresi*) indicates that the 'official' interpretation of Islam now includes its 'popular' dimensions. Its theologically well-versed representatives at the shrine (a chief imam, his deputy and several mullahs) ascribe a fundamentally different meaning to the place than pilgrims or local authorities. Their attempts to push their interpretation through leads to tension between the imams on the one hand and the pilgrims, sheikhs, and (secular and religious) authorities on the other.

The meaning of the place for the imams is first and foremost – similar to all sacred graves – that the existence of God can be experienced there with particular intensity: "one is close to God at the shrine". They are also of the opinion that addressing wishes to the saints is an offence against Islam, not unlike their attitude towards most beliefs and practices that determine the behaviour of the pilgrims at the shrine. The imams hold the sheikhs – and Soviet upbringing – responsible for the 'ignorance' of the pilgrims, accusing them of aiding and abetting 'superstitious' practices.

The sheikhs, whose office is hereditary, are the traditional custodians of the shrine and returned there after independence. Today their sole function consists in providing pilgrims with prayer blessings on request outside the shrine. They have no influence on its organisation, since they were obliged to hand over key positions (including administration and regulation of finances, sitting close to the tombs, control of the kitchen, and the slaughter of sacrificial animals) to the representatives of official Islam. If the latter had their say sheikhs would be barred from

even entering the shrine. However, their applications to the authorities to deny sheikhs access to the pilgrimage shrine for making a fool of the people, allegedly holding back donations, and other criminal behaviour, have remained without consequence. The secular authorities were not prepared to intervene at the shrine in favour of a legalist Islamic interpretation, an attitude the local representatives of the religious authorities seem to (or have been forced to) copy. The sheikhs on the other hand show their resistance by reporting imams to the authorities for corruption and an alleged immoral way of life and demanding their transfer.

The struggle for economic and especially symbolic resources is inherent in this controversy, which keeps traditional rivalries between two forms of religious authority alive, the one legitimised by descent, the other by acquired knowledge. It is at the same time a conflict of sovereignty over the interpretation of Islam itself. The imams cannot imagine a true Islamic way of life without observance of religious canonical law. For pilgrims and sheikhs, on the other hand, visits to the holy graves are a more integral part of their being Muslim than prescribed daily prayers or fasting in Ramadan. While the shrines are particularly overrun during the period of Ramadan, most pilgrims see no problem in celebrating food offerings during the day.

Some comparisons

The shrine complex depicted above proves to be a place of intricate relationships between state nationalism and ‘popular’ and ‘official’ religion, and at the same time a space where the interpretation of Islam can be negotiated. The observations made about Ulli Pir, similar to many of those made by Lu (above) on the Mazu pilgrimage in Taiwan, thus support theoretical considerations in anthropology that see the institution of pilgrimage as “an arena for competing religious and secular discourses, for both the official co-optation and the non-official recovery of religious meanings [...]” (Eade and Sallnow 2000: xii).

Contested meanings comprise the domain of life that the pilgrimage primarily concerns. Is it really a matter of religion, is it a form of medicine (for those who primarily seek healing), is it a form of sport (as for those who overcome their physical limitations in walking)? None of these categories (religion, medicine, sport, etc.) being universal, we might encounter, in their stead, emic categories with different ranges of meaning in different cultural settings. And to the extent that is a religious matter, the material discussed here shows that theological differences may go along with shared ritual practices, shared holy sites, and shared ritual feeling.

Variation, however, is also found in ritual practice. The Mazu pilgrimage even has a way to produce ‘events’. No one knows in advance

whether the palanquin with the goddess will take the same route as last year or a different one.¹⁴ Every turn the pilgrimage takes may thus become a topic for public debate. Other pilgrimages have a fixed route: is it important to pass certain stations in a fixed order, by a fixed route, possibly even at fixed times? Competition is only about perfection in the reproduction of what has been done before. "Take the same route as your ancestors, otherwise the path will remain waiting for you!", the Gabra were reminded on their march through the arid lowlands along the Kenyan/Ethiopian border on the way to their age-set promotion sites in 1986. Why do some rituals produce contingencies while others just unroll in a way that (successfully or not) aims at the perfect reproduction of the time before and the one before that one? Is inter-religious competition a factor which favours the production of events?

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Christian conversion in a changing world: confronting issues of inequality, modernity, and morality

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Introduction

In this essay we discuss religious conversion in the contemporary world, arguing that the study of conversion not only provides insight into the complex changes of the religious landscape, but also challenges some anthropological ideas concerning the relation between religion, society, and the self. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Eastern Africa, Central Asia, and Siberia, this essay presents three (partly overlapping) aspects of conversion processes: 1) conversion as a strategy for dealing with social inequality; 2) conversion as a search for ‘the modern’; and 3) conversion as a response to ‘immorality’. In comparing the ethnographic cases, we also examine how conversion is tied to global asymmetries and the profound socio-political changes that impacted our field sites in the 1990s and early 2000s.

1. Missionaries, capitalists, and colonisers?

The organisation of a conference on *Religious Conversion after Socialism* at the Max Planck Institute in April 2005 marked a growing interest among anthropologists in the Institute in themes relating to conversion. At present, at least seven researchers in both departments and in the Siberian Studies Centre devote their research (or a significant part of it) to aspects of religious conversion.¹ This interest does not reflect explicit recruitment policies, but rather seems to mirror important changes in the world order. In particular, the growing salience of religion in the contemporary world, in combination with a surge of missionary activity, has challenged the ‘old’ religious status quo (Casanova 1994). It has also defied grand theories concerning the secularisation and disenchantment of the contemporary world. But rather than a return to ‘religious traditions’, the observed changes seem to indicate that only particular (often novel) forms of religion are gaining ground (cf. van der Veer 1996). These novel forms, according to Berger, tend to be “passionate religious movements” (Berger 1999: 2). They are concerned less with tradition and ritual, and more with truth, charisma, and visions of the future. This is particularly true for the religions that are the focus of this essay – Evangelical and Pentecostal forms of Christianity.

The study of conversion is a strategic theme for understanding wider transformations of social and religious life and gaining insight into the

¹ These researchers include, apart from the authors, Data Dea, Irene Hilgers, Lázló Fosztó, and Boris Nieswand. Information on their projects can be found elsewhere in this report.

ways individuals meaningfully cope with them. It is, of course, no coincidence that societies with high rates of conversion tend to be those in which grand projects of modernisation have run into disarray or have been overtaken by the destabilising effects of global capitalism. In this essay we compare studies of conversion in contexts that experienced significant and disruptive changes over the last decade. The Nuer in Ethiopia, the Kyrgyz, and the Chukchi in Siberia all experienced strong secularising pressures of socialism, which partly destabilised local religious traditions. Moreover, in the postsocialist era each of these regions has faced institutional crises which undermined the socio-economic underpinnings of life. In this context, it is pertinent to briefly sketch how the end of the Cold War and the emergence of a new world (dis)order relate to new missionary waves and people's religious quests.

It appears that the conditions of late-modernity undermine the taken-for-granted certainties by which people lived through most of history and that a purely secular view falls short of providing convincing answers to people's continuing existential problems (cf. Berger 1999: 11-12). The implosion of communism and the victory of neoliberal capitalism as a powerful but surprisingly empty ideology have increased the attractiveness of religious answers to complex problems (Comaroff and Comaroff 2000). Moreover, the disparities produced by capitalist expansion and the uncertainties produced by the disarticulation of labour, capital, and markets have created both the physical and the ideological environment in which Evangelical and Pentecostal Christianity thrive. Growing Evangelical missionary activity is in an ambivalent relationship to the dynamics of global capitalism. While following the currents of capitalist expansion and Western influence (in Central Asia, the Middle East) and thriving on the ideology and mechanisms of the 'free market' on the one hand, they are often motivated as well by a critique of the 'corruptions' produced by this capitalist dynamic. In short, the churches that we study balance on (and prosper from) the junction of forces of globalisation and localisation – embedded in wider transnational networks yet vigorously adjusting religious messages to local concerns and translating them into locally contextualised vocabulary.

Whereas the nature of the new missionary waves and the attractions of Evangelical Christianity underscore the complex dialectics of the current global world order, conversion itself challenges anthropological ideas of religion. Anthropologists have come to see religion as tightly embedded in social contexts, as constitutive of social networks and of cultural practices. But if specific religions do enmesh individuals in larger networks, then how is it possible that people shift their religious affiliations? Part of the answer is that precisely because of the social qualities of religion, conversion occurs most frequently in societies that are experiencing rapid change, among people who are poorly embedded in social networks. However, it is also apparent that the most rapidly

growing religious groups are those that challenge the cultural and social embeddedness of religion.

Because of the complicated relations between religion, society, and self, the concept of conversion is itself rather slippery. On the one hand classical definitions of conversion as a “definite crossing of religious frontiers in which an old spiritual home was left for a new one once and for all” (Nock 1933: 7) are too narrowly focused on a (partly mythical) ‘Pauline model’, which sees conversion as an all-embracing personal transformation.² Moreover, such definitions imputed stable and absolutist qualities to ‘pre-’ and ‘post-’ religious adherences, which runs contrary to many conversion accounts. As Hefner argues, conversion assumes a variety of forms because it is influenced by a larger interplay of identity politics and morality (Hefner 1993: 4). Inspired by such views, there is a tendency to soften understandings of conversion and to present it as a ‘passage’ rather than a breach (Austin-Broos 2003: 1). However, the idea of conversion as passage seems to re-infuse notions of conversion with an individualist bias that assumes that converts are autonomous actors in an anonymous and pluralistic religious market. Indeed, it foregoes the social implications of the act of conversion. Even if conversion shares heuristic qualities with religious ‘intensification’ and ‘alteration’ (Wohlrab-Sahr 1999: 353), it seems warranted to reserve the term ‘conversion’ for a process by which the primary religious identification of people shifts (cf. Peel 1977: 108). Indeed, we advocate reinstituting a part of the classic definition of conversion and seeing conversion as acts involving the crossing of conceptual and/or social religious boundaries or frontiers. The rigidity and porosity of these boundaries depend on many factors. Therefore, the cultural, social, and symbolic content of conversion and its implications will vary between different contexts.

2. The Chukchi of northeastern Russia: coping with inequality

One recurring theme concerns how patterns of inclusion and exclusion underlie conversion, and, moreover, how new patterns are shaped by processes of conversion. Virginie Vaté’s study of processes of conversion among the Chukchi highlights these themes. Chukotka, the northeasternmost part of Siberia, is a territory one and a half times as large as France (737 700 sq. km.), with 53 600 inhabitants. This population includes 15 320 members of indigenous peoples, of whom 12 620 are Chukchi, a people ‘traditionally’ divided into reindeer herders and sea-mammal hunters. In the beginning of the 1990s, several missionary

² The ‘Pauline model’ of conversion refers to the biblical story of Saul, persecutor of Christians, who on his way to Damascus had a spiritual encounter with Jesus. After this encounter he took on the name Paul and started his missionary work (See Acts 9: 1-19).

congregations came to Chukotka, mostly linked to Protestant denominations: Baptists, Seventh Day Adventists, etc. Among them, Pentecostals have visibly been the most successful. Surprisingly, this success occurs despite the fact that, in the 19th century, Chukchi effectively resisted Russian Orthodox missionaries' efforts to convert them to Christianity, and also despite the fact that, in some places, Chukchi still practise some of their shamanic or animist rituals after decades of atheist policy under Soviet rule.

However, Chukchi have had to face the increasing pressure of Russian colonialism. Represented in the ethnographic literature as a warlike people, Chukchi actively resisted Russian expansion during the 17th and 18th centuries. In the 19th century Chukchis only had "a vague sense of belonging to the Russian Empire" (Znamenski 1999). But in the 1930s they became a minority in their own territory. For the Chukchis as well as for other indigenous peoples of Siberia, the advent of Soviet power has meant disempowerment: they have seen their economic activities collectivised and organised through a centralised state structure controlled by newcomers; their ritual practices were forbidden; they have been partly sedentarised; and children raised in residential schools faced isolation from their parents and were prevented from learning their native language and acquiring the technical skills related to the hunting or herding life. Even if Siberian indigenous peoples sometimes succeeded in coping with Sovietisation in a manner that could integrate their way of life, on the whole they were dismissed from the power of making decisions in many areas, including the education of their children. The end of the Soviet regime has not meant a radical change in that situation: the development of capitalism and local political power in the 1990s again excluded the indigenous peoples of Chukotka (Csonka 1998, Gray 2005). As a response to that situation, conversion to Pentecostalism among the Chukchis can be seen as an emancipatory strategy and a tool of empowerment. Indeed, by converting, people make an active choice and by the act of praying, converts feel able to have some influence over their life as indirect agents: God will listen to their prayers and change their life.

Linked to the wish to rebuild self-esteem, the choice of a new religion also aims at improving a collective or individual status. As a reply to exclusion, conversion is based on the religion integrating the values people look for and on offering a more prestigious position. In a context where Chukchis have always been viewed by the dominant ideology as 'primitive' (*pervobytnyi*) in contrast to civilisation (*tsivilizatsiia*) and culture (*kul'tura*), conversion to Pentecostalism means abandoning the devaluated status of pagan (*iazychnik*) without adhering to Russian-imposed values. Indeed, some of the reasons for the rise of Pentecostalism in Chukotka are a) the fact that Pentecostalism is not the state religion and the religion of the Russians; b) the fact that it is inscribed in

the globalised world and gives access to networks outside Russia (the missionaries come from Ukraine or are Americans with Ukrainian origins, belonging to the Slavic International Association of the 'Good Samaritan' Ministries). In that respect, conversion offers an anti-establishment position possibly strengthened by international support. It therefore allows Pentecostalism to fulfil the role of a new indigenous religion, potentially able to deal with indigenous claims.

Whereas conversion may be seen as a strategy of inclusion, it sometimes implies exclusion from the group the converts come from: the community often sees it as a betrayal and the convert's family often reacts in a negative way, rejecting that person, sometimes punishing him or her physically. However, even if the converts are sometimes excluded from their family or placed in a strained situation, they develop a new solidarity network through religion. This type of relation is expressed by a kin terminology: they are 'brothers and sisters in Christ'. Therefore, converts are integrated into a new 'faith-based' community. Concerning the problems faced in the family, the church develops a discourse of encompassment and salvation, expressive of the idea that this exclusion is only temporary and that they must rejoice since they are the ones who have been chosen by God and who will be saved. Furthermore, converts are encouraged to preach within their family and pray for the salvation (that is to say, the conversion) of close friends and family members. This is how Pentecostalism is being spread inside kin networks, from the young to the elders. Initially marginalised, Pentecostalism is now progressively being integrated as a part of the religious environment.

3. The Nuer of Ethiopia: becoming modern

As mentioned in part one, the new world order is characterised by the more visible role of religion as well as by intensified Evangelical missionary activity in which the US plays a pioneering role. Postsocialist regions or countries such as Ethiopia, Kyrgyzstan, and Siberia are targets of missionaries; the legacy of state-imposed secularism makes them particularly 'needy' in the eyes of missionaries. Despite the local specificities of our ethnographic material, it appears that conversion is often tied to local ideas of 'backwardness' and geared towards a conceptualised 'modern' future. It is important to stress that in this text the term 'modern' does not refer to an objective set of characteristics, but to local people's *imaginations* of what this modern future looks like. These local constructions can be partly understood as efforts to imitate what appeared to have worked in the West or, as Donham has argued, as attempts "to reorder society by applying strategies that have produced wealth, power, or knowledge elsewhere in the world" (1999: xviii). Such tendencies were particularly clear in Christiane Falge's study of

conversion among the Nuer in Ethiopia. Here, one of the ways to reach these goals was to 'break with the past' through Pentecostal conversion. It is important to note that this 'reordering through conversion' was not about a missionary-induced 'mind change' that led to modern transformation, but was instead based on an active decision of converts, who viewed Christianity as a way to catch up with 'modernity'.

To understand these tendencies it is crucial to shed some light on the background of the people and the region. In encounters with missionaries from the 1950s until the 1970s the Nuer started to associate Christianity with modern technology by imagining a mystical bond that connected God (as the owner of technological knowledge) to a praying human. This divine flow of knowledge was supposed to enable Christian converts to build machines similar to those of the white missionaries. However, until the 1980s neither the missionary encounters nor ideas about the divine nature of modern knowledge sparked a significant number of conversions.

This situation changed in the 1980s, when the re-emergence of civil war and the establishment of refugee camps in Ethiopia profoundly destabilised social life. Apart from the negative impact of war, changing political, economic, and ecological conditions led to a deterioration of the cattle economy, monetisation, and the demand for modern commodities in the villages. Long-lasting stays in Ethiopian refugee camps not only awaked a longing for order and stability, but also brought Nuer in closer contact with missionaries. The efficiency of Western medicine and technology as experienced in the camps stimulated that 'being modern' was increasingly imagined along lines of conversion to Christianity and its association with literacy and state integration. The Nuer encounters in urban-like refugee camps and the stereotyping by their new Ethiopian neighbours made them feel 'backward'. For the Nuer, who were largely illiterate in the 1980s and were stigmatised as primitives, conversion to Christianity offered educational facilities as well as the possibility to enter the state via the institutionalisation of an Ethiopian Nuer church.

Nuer perceive Christianity as a 'modern' religion and a means to differentiate themselves from local beliefs by portraying them as a backward religion, associated with a type of ruralism epitomised by cattle, rural food, and nakedness. Christianity played a 'civilising' role for Nuer converts as it connected the latter with the state from which they had been excluded by being associated with 'primitive' religion. Therefore, what the new Christians aimed at was to become part of 'civilised' Ethiopian society as well as to adopt 'Western' lifestyles.

While in the 1980s there were only a few churches in the refugee camps and urban areas, today their number has risen to more than a hundred. The make-up of these church communities is ninety percent Nuer. In the villages conversion rates vary between (a still impressive)

twenty to forty percent of the population. Conversion did not, however, imply a complete break with the past. While only few ritual practices ceased, many others were modified as a means for distinction. In cattle sacrifices, loud invocations were replaced with calm prayers and ritual sacrifice with Christian slaughter, and mortuary practices were modified by facing the corpse toward the West instead of the East. Conversion did not sever kinship ties as Christians continued to participate in kinship-maintaining rituals.

In the post-1991 period, the intense proselytising efforts of US churches undermined patterns of mutual tolerance that had characterised relationships between Christians and non-Christians. This time, the missionaries were Nuer who had migrated to Western countries in the 1980s and 1990s. They returned, sponsored by US churches, with the aim of connecting 'their people' to the world. Conversion offered entrance into a transnational network in which US churches promised modern resources in the form of scholarships, offices in town, and money. The transnational ties of kinship and faith contributed to the popularity of utopian visions in which there is no war or destruction and no shortage of 'modern' facilities, visions which are powerfully condensed in the claim *bako ro mat rey naath* ("we want to become part of the world!") – a claim that is presently being expressed all over the Nuer regions among Nuer converts.

The tolerance of non-Christians is slowly diminishing and more pronounced distinctions between Christians and non-Christians are emerging in various spheres of society. Despite existing religious syncretism and fusion, Nuer society seems to be slowly breaking up into non-Christian and Christian spheres, which are further sub-divided into different Christian groups. Hence, the case of the Nuer in Southwestern Ethiopia shows the same tendency as observed by Dea (2005) in Southern Ethiopia, namely that the current religious movements are characterised by their divisive tendencies between converts and non-converts.

4. Kyrgyz converts to Christianity: confronting immorality

Whereas conversion may in part be understood as a 'strategy' for coping with inequality and as motivated by a search for the modern, it may also be, in many ways, a critique of society. What Pentecostals and Evangelicals more broadly have in common is that they challenge the 'corrupt' world in which they operate. Thus, in Kyrgyzstan, part of the attraction of Pentecostalist churches was their ban on alcohol and drug consumption and their aim of restoring patriarchal family structures. Moreover, by explaining poverty and illness in terms of a corrupt world under the spell of Satan, they provided very concrete answers to problems related to the social and economic dislocations of Soviet and Muslim space.

In the 1990s Kyrgyzstan had become a centre of missionary activity, perceived by Evangelical missionaries as a stepping-stone to the rest of the Muslim world. As the most 'open' country in the region it attracted numerous missionaries from the US, Europe, and South Korea. Christianity could thrive on its associations with 'the West' and its positive comparison to post-Soviet 'chaos' and economic decline. But although foreign missionary organisations spent a lot of labour and capital, the most successful churches appeared to be those that partly dissociated themselves from Western missionaries and emphasised local organisation, financing, and recruitment, even when in fact they were highly dependent on transnational religious networks. This tendency is clearly reflected in the Pentecostal 'Church of Jesus Christ' (CJC). In addition to its forty-five daughter congregations within Kyrgyzstan, the church has congregations in Germany, the US, and Russia. Moreover, it has elaborate links with international Christian networks such as 'Calvary International'. But at the same time, the church was different from many others in that it was not a 'missionary church' but was instead led by Kyrgyz citizens. This combination of transnational involvement and local organisation allowed the church to adjust flexibly to problems that were important on the local level, while also being able to muster international support when necessary. Moreover, by catering to dominant ideas about Kyrgyz culture and stressing ostensible similarities with 'biblical culture', it was able to foster convincing answers to the social and economic disruption experienced by Kyrgyz citizens.

One clear sign of success is the numbers of converts. The largest Pentecostal church in the country, the 'Church of Jesus Christ' reached the mark of ten thousand members in 2004, of which approximately four thousand were ethnic Kyrgyz. Part of the attraction of the CJC was its advancement of a kind of 'spiritual modernity' that not only offers salvation, but also stresses that prosperity, health, and success can be attained by faithful prayer. The importance of these themes was immediately visible to anyone who passed by the main church building in Bishkek. Five-meter-high pink billboards listed four main themes: service, family, finances, and healing. Each of these captions was then supplemented with Bible texts that showed the importance of these categories and how true faith would help believers to deal with overcoming poverty, sickness, and other problems in worldly life. Overcoming the corruptions of the world was a central element in the services of the Church of Jesus Christ and was a recurring theme in the book series published by the church, as can be seen in titles such as *Shadows of the Past* and *Breaking the Chains of Slavery*. It also filled the church's newspaper *Tvoi Put'* ('Your Way'), in which church members testified about how their faith and the support of other 'believers' had helped them in overcoming addictions, diseases, poverty, and other personal problems.

Equally important to understanding the attractions of the church is the fact that it offers entrance into a tightly organised community life. In Bishkek, the CJC developed into a fully-fledged institution which occupies a huge building (a former theatre) in the centre of Bishkek. It has its own television-studio and a press which publishes a continuing stream of books and brochures written by pastor Kuzin. The church has a cafeteria and provides English, computer, drama, and dance classes to church members. Many members take part in such groups, while all are expected to participate in 'home-church' meetings which gather at least once a week. In these meetings participants discuss their successes in combating addictions and poverty, and testify to how God changes their lives, thus reinforcing the church's ideology in a very intimate setting.

Church brochures proudly claim that their members are of all ages and all national and social backgrounds, but a survey held among 130 members of the Church of Jesus Christ in the provincial capital of Jalal-Abad reveals interesting patterns. Over seventy percent were (recent) migrants to the city. Another striking pattern concerned the civil status of church members. While women in general were over-represented, this was particularly so for divorced, widowed, and remarried women. These patterns may be explained by noting that migrants and divorced women tended to be poorly integrated into the social fabric of the city, and thus more inclined to join a movement that provides close-knit social ties. Moreover, the promises of health and prosperity were especially attractive to those who had to establish their own niche in a post-Soviet urban setting. Seen from the reverse perspective, divorcees and migrants were removed from their original social surroundings and thus less pressured to conform to social (and religious) expectations.

To displaced people, Pentecostal churches with their high-intensity community life and emphasis on morality provide social security as well as a sense of purpose in an insecure world. This was partly confirmed in the stories of converts. They stressed the friendliness and mutual support among believers. Moreover, the church gave them a sense of moral superiority over non-believers. One woman mentioned that "[t]here is a big difference in friendship with believers and with non-believers. Non-believing men just want to get you in bed, and women immediately want to drink alcohol. And with believers, they only encourage you to do the right thing". It is important to note that the advanced codes of moral behaviour were not simply valued for the sake of doing the 'right' thing. Rather, the messages of 'morality' were valued because they were seen as providing solutions to everyday problems. One woman, for example, explained how she had used the church's ideas about patriarchy to flatter her husband's ego and to encourage him to be a more effective bread-winner. Another conveyed an instrumental view of the church's ban on the use of drugs by saying that he started to believe once his prayers were answered and he was relieved of his drug-addiction.

Interestingly, though the insistence on abstinence from alcohol and drugs and the valorisation of patriarchal family relations was the same in churches throughout the country, there were important variations in the perceived causes of immorality as well as in the methods promoted to overcome them. Whereas the senior pastor in Kyrgyzstan's capital Bishkek would regularly invoke the dangers of immorality in the city and talk about the seductions of 'modern' life, the pastor in the much smaller provincial town Jalal-Abad ascribed everyday problems to the 'occult practices' of many Muslims. Moreover, whereas in Bishkek the path to overcoming these problems was conceived through involvement in strict church life, the emphasis in Jalal-Abad was on defeating demonic forces by prayer. In short, although the ideals of a 'moral life' were very similar in both churches and were defended as biblical, the causes of immorality in each setting were seen as different and thus in need of different methods to overcome them. This flexibility of Pentecostalism is perhaps the most important reason why the messages of morality could be seen as effective answers to highly complex problems.

The patterns and paradoxes of conversion

The three ethnographic sketches above loosely followed the subtitle of this essay – confronting inequality, becoming modern, and dealing with immorality. We chose these headings not to draw a contrast between different 'modes of conversion' but rather to illustrate that these aspects are different sides of the same coin. Conversion in the contexts we described was closely connected to socio-economic change and geared towards alleviating or improving one's position. In other words, conversion was decidedly more than a conceptual shift resulting from a personal quest for meaning. It was also grounded in, and directed at, the dislocations and disorientations produced by global capitalism.

The example of the Chukchis was perhaps the clearest example of a group caught in webs of power and meaning that had marginalised them both economically and culturally. Seventy years of Sovietisation resulted in local discourses of 'backwardness' which disempowered local religious traditions. At the same time, distinctions between themselves and Russians continued to be important, and Chukchis had resisted the proselytising activities of the Russian Orthodox Church. It was within this context that Evangelical Christian messages proved attractive to many Chukchis. Evangelical Christianity offered solutions to everyday problems and promised connection to 'the world' without becoming Russian. Connections to 'the world' were perhaps even more important in the case of the Nuer. Here, attempts to improve one's position relative to the majority population of Ethiopia were paralleled by the wish to become 'modern'. Christianity offered educational facilities as well as the possibility to enter the state via the institutionalisation of an Ethio-

pian Nuer church. Moreover, church congregations linked refugees to Nuer in the US, thus creating a transnational field connected by flows of people, images, and money. This, in turn, reinforced the images of 'modernity' as catalysts in the process of conversion as it catered to the dream of progress, abundance, and individual success. Such visions of 'modernity' were also present in Kyrgyzstan, although they played a somewhat different role. Here the promises of success and health, which are typical for new Pentecostal movements, proved attractive to marginalised people such as divorced women and rural-urban migrants. But it was in particular the way the messages were adjusted to local concerns that gave the Pentecostal churches their credibility. These adjustments, moreover, often implied a critique of the corruptions associated with the 'modern' capitalist and democratic reforms in the country.

Although on one level conversion could be seen as an emancipatory strategy for those involved, the act of conversion did not necessarily ease relations with the broader society. Indeed, one of the paradoxes of the growing activity of new religious movements is that while they "preach to connect believers across ethnic and national boundaries, they paradoxically divide neighbours and relatives", as Data Dea (2005) argues. In each of the cases new boundaries emerged between converts and non-converts. In the case of the Chukchis, although the act of conversion was fostered by a wish to improve the group's self esteem, it simultaneously turned them into a double (ethnic and religious) 'other'. In Kyrgyzstan the success of Pentecostal churches complicated family relations and resulted in the emergence of a new and complicated religious frontier between Christianity and Islam, the character of which is only now beginning to take shape. Likewise, conversion among the Nuer resulted in a fragmentation of group identity and relations. By analysing dynamics of conversion we provide insight into how new frontiers and boundaries take shape, thus illuminating new configurations of religion, self, and society in contexts that themselves are rapidly changing.

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What it takes to be a man: constructions of masculinity

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Introduction

Masculinity has unexpectedly emerged as a theme of common interest to four researchers at the Institute. Our projects concern such seemingly disparate topics as post-Soviet property relations and livelihoods, Tibetan conflict resolution, and Hindu nationalist politics, in regions not normally associated with the study of masculinity, manhood, or machismo.¹ The structural elements of the communities we have studied and their political contexts are thus very different. However, in each case a certain type of male identity is constructed which distinguishes its subjects from both women and also other types of men. In the tundras and forests of northern Russia, where the men described by Habeck live, life is physically challenging. 'Real men' have the strength to survive under harsh natural conditions. In a different part of northern Russia, Ventsel describes how young men aspire to being 'tough'. Feuding relations characterise the tribes of nomads on the Tibetan Plateau studied by Pirie. Here men 'have to' get angry in the event of an attack. The political landscape of India is the backdrop to Eckert's study, where an image of virility is adopted as a political strategy by certain Hindu nationalists who despise the 'effeminate' and 'eunuchs' in other political groups. Within these disparate settings each of us has found a certain image of masculinity which is constructed in opposition to the identities of others in society.

The purpose of this essay is to compare and contrast these discursive practices, but also to analyse the behaviour that accompanies them. We generally find that masculine behaviour is the subject of self-conscious display and performance, usually in an attempt to acquire a certain type of social or political capital. Such performance often involves the idea of strength and self-reliance, in particular the use of physical violence as a response to conflict, but this is not always the dominant factor. In fact, very different types of behaviour are described in our four case studies: from physical strength to indolence, competitive displays of skill to the use of sexual imagery, mastery over nature to violence against political competitors. What unites them are a tendency towards social disruption and confrontation, disrespect for the authority and ideologies of the elite, and a simultaneous respect for strong leadership.

¹ The anthropological literature on these topics has tended to come from Central and South America, the Mediterranean, and Melanesia, although there are also studies from Africa, North America, and Europe (Gutmann 1997, Kimmel et. al. 2005).

In all these cases the disruptive and confrontational nature of such behaviour has to be justified. This is implicitly done by evoking norms of individuality, strength, and pride, but there is also often an express appeal to nature and its mastery, or to the naturalness of emotion. This paper focuses, in particular, on these justifications and ideologies and their links to the elements of performance, defiance, and subversion. Unfortunately, space does not allow us to discuss the many debates that have emerged in the literature on masculinity, gender, and related themes.

In the following sections we offer a brief outline of the phenomena found in each area and the themes that emerge when these are viewed in a comparative perspective.

Case studies

Two examples from northern Russia

Habeck has carried out research among Komi reindeer herders in the northern part of European Russia, while Ventsel draws on material from a Dolgan community in the Republic of Sakha in northeastern Siberia, where the population engages in both reindeer herding and hunting.

Both groups were subject to Soviet policies of collectivisation from the late 1920s onwards. These policies have led to a gender split with the construction of stationary homes for reindeer-herding families. The majority of women and children were to live, work, and attend school in the settlement for most of the year, while the men – those who were mainly involved in herding and hunting – were supposed to ‘work the land’ in shifts. Only a comparatively small number of women were to work in the tundra or forest in order to manage the mobile households. This division of labour is widely practised today.

Through this process the forest and tundra have gradually turned from a place to be inhabited into a workspace. The herders’ and hunters’ tents, which previously hosted the entire family, have become temporary abodes for employees of the ‘agro-industrial sector’ and the majority of indigenous women no longer want to live in the tundra or forest. There is a much larger percentage of men in the tents, many of whom are unmarried.

Endurance, skill, and competitiveness among young Komi reindeer herders

Reindeer herding among the Komi is ideally done in teams of six men and two women and there is a clear division of labour: the men are engaged in the actual herding, firewood collection, and sledge construction while the women manage the work in and around the tent. In order to carry out their duties, men travel by reindeer sledge almost every day, whereas women stay close to the tent and do not use sledges except when the whole camp moves to a new site. However, there are

situations in which an older woman requires a young herder to process reindeer skins, help with the cooking, or do other jobs which are considered to be women's work. Older people also think it is appropriate that an apprentice herdsman should obtain some practice in such activities. The young herdsman sees himself in an awkward position, however, because the others mock him for what they perceive as unworthy tasks for a 'real' herdsman. A 'real' herdsman should not stay in the tent during the day but should be out there in the landscape, working with his axe or tending the animals.

While locals previously spoke about reindeer herders being 'unable to find a wife', there is now increasing talk about them being 'unwilling to find a wife'. Habeck interprets this as an indication of the tundra and forest becoming spaces of withdrawal from the mainstream social order. In the absence of policemen, managers, and wives the herders feel less subject to control and more able to make their own decisions. They experience the tundra or forest as spaces of relative freedom. Being out in the tundra and forest permits them to employ their manual skills and to display their mastery of a natural environment in which others would perish.

Young herdsmen assert their capacity for endurance through physical strength, while the older men rely more on their knowledge. What unites both is the importance of skills. It is primarily the teenagers whose patterns of behaviour display a particular type of competitive masculinity. Physical strength is manifest in a nimble attitude to work and in aggressive behaviour, both of which demonstrate that one is capable of living in the tundra and able to rely on one's own strength. Individual herders' actions are evaluated by others in terms of the success with which they handle difficult situations. Inventiveness, flexibility, and quick reactions are important. Certain objects symbolise the young reindeer herders' work ethos and manhood: the sledge (with reindeer in front), the lasso, and the axe. All three point to the relevance of bodily skills and they are always called for when the young men pose for the ethnographer's photographs. Young herdsmen lay their arms around the shoulders of their fellow herdsmen but they also pose by fighting with one another.

The staged performance of manhood thus combines elements of both solidarity and competition. Wrestling and fighting could be seen as ritualised ways of expressing aggression against other members of the team, but they are also ways of establishing a hierarchy amongst them, as they also do in reindeer sledge races. Individuality is dependent on know-how but needs to be asserted in direct competition with others. There are quite clear requirements for *what* a reindeer herder has to do in his daily tasks, but his display of superiority comes to the fore in *how* he handles them. The claim of physical superiority often goes hand in hand with ridiculing the defeated person: towards the end of a wres-

ting fight the winner rubs the opponent's face with snow; the herder who is better in wood-chopping mocks the herder who is less skilled and calls him a 'weakling'. Although the men (and women) living together under one canvas are dependent on cooperation and solidarity in order to survive in the tundra, mastery over the place and animals and authority over other people are thus competitively acquired by individual actors. It is those who succeed who become the respected leaders.

Both men and women use swear words with sexual connotations, but it is the young men who use them most frequently and elaborately. Young herders insult and ridicule each other by referring to taboo sexual practices, notably incest and homosexuality, and by casting doubt on the other's sexual potency.

Certain transitions related to age and generation have a significant impact on male behaviour. Young men are usually conscripted into the army at the age of 17 for up to two years,² where the requirements of physical endurance and direct competition are even harder than in the reindeer herders' camp. Many men behave in a particularly disruptive and self-destructive manner in the period after their army service and this is probably the stage at which disruptive behaviour is most tolerated by other members of the community. This changes, however, with the founding of a family. Marriage and fatherhood seem to instil a feeling of accountability; the display of self-centredness gives way to the assumption of responsibility for others. If men continue to engage in disruptive behaviour, heavy drinking, or physical violence, then other members of their families and community will regard them as problematic and try to avoid them.

The qualities of endurance, mastery of the natural environment, physical strength, and competition are, therefore, dominant among the young herders in the reindeer camps. For those who are weaker or less experienced, shyer or less self-assertive, there are two options. The first is to do the work of a (normally female) tent-keeper, but there are very few such cases and these men cannot count on a respectful attitude from the others in the tent. The second option is to leave the reindeer-herding business altogether and stay in the village or go to town. It is the 'cultured' sphere of the village that is regarded as providing an amenable environment in which the 'weaker sex' can survive and which constitutes the counter-space to the forest and tundra, the workplace of herders and hunters.

The idea of living a 'cultured' life in the town has long been present in Russian society, associated with Western concepts of enlightenment and civilisation. In Soviet times the idea of 'culturedness' (*kul'turnost'*)

² Since the late 1990s, men from among certain indigenous peoples in the Russian Federation have been permitted to circumvent army service by working as reindeer herders. However, the fact that one has served in the army is an important attribute of masculinity, so not many opt out.

was introduced to stabilise society after a period of change, and this concept obtained normative power as part of the civilising mission of the Communist Party. Urban centres became 'cultured' spaces, associated with literacy and bodily hygiene (Habeck, forthcoming). Those who cannot persist in the tundra and need to withdraw to the 'cultured' sphere could be conceived of as tundra drop-outs.

To look at it another way, however, the choice to live in the tundra or forest could be described as a withdrawal from the mainstream, which allows men the possibility of living in relative freedom and exercising their autonomy. For some men, the tundra provides an existential niche because they have no other place to go (cf. Vitebsky and Wolfe 2001). However, there are individuals who are doubly skilled, able to succeed in both environments, displaying competitively masculine behaviour out in the tundra and being more restrained when back in the village. The 'cultured' space of the village thus represents a discursive opposite to the tundra and forest, whereby these opposites do not exclude but complement and constitute each other. People in the village who are not involved in reindeer herding talk about 'real' herdsman with a mixture of disgust and admiration. The toughness and ability to master the harsh natural environment are often described as innate qualities of those who live there – it is 'in their genes', as many observers say.

'Tough kids' in a Dolgan village

During his field research in a Dolgan village, much remoter from centres of power than the Komi villages, Ventsel found that physical violence plays an important role in the structures and maintenance of social order. Again, it is mainly young men, referred to as the 'kids' (*patsany*), who most frequently engage in physical violence.

Children are confronted with physical violence at an early age and come to accept it as an essential part of the male role. Initially, they come to understand how violence is negotiated and morally evaluated from the discussions of their parents. Later, they attend the disco, where men frequently get involved in fights, usually in connection with alcohol consumption. It is evident for young boys that the use of physical strength in situations of conflict is an important aspect of manhood. Soon they start consuming cigarettes and alcohol and themselves displaying a readiness to fight. The display of an athletic body and a mixture of disrespect towards and objectification of women are also traits of manhood. Having many sexual partners is a matter of prestige among young men, while a young woman who has many sexual partners is criticised by the whole community. Young men are condescending towards girls: they invite them to parties and buy them alcohol, but throw them out when they wish. Swear words with sexual meanings are used as insults, yet the suggestion of homosexuality is extreme and usually leads to a fight.

The idea behind much of this behaviour is that a man needs to be 'tough' and able to defend his reputation within the community. This is demonstrated in physical endurance and bodily strength, but also in the ideas of reliability, honesty, solidarity, and skill. As in the Komi case there is considerable competition in the establishment of reputation and respect in the community. Weak men and those who are seen as unable to cater to their own needs and those of others in the community earn no respect. They are likely to be shunned by other men and also by women.

Moreover, as in the Komi case, this attitude is typical for a certain stage in life. Once these young men have sufficiently shown their masculinity and secured their position in the local hierarchy by means of aggressive behaviour, they no longer need to assert it and with marriage and fatherhood they take on responsibilities, become 'solid' and reliable (cf. Anderson 2004). They also take on the role of controlling the excesses of the young and maintaining order in the community in the absence of an effective state.

With the retreat of the state from peripheral regions in the 1990s, informal modes of governance have become increasingly important in many remote communities. The police are no longer taken seriously in the settlement. People prefer to settle their conflicts directly. Physical violence is regarded as a legitimate and necessary response to insults. Revenge may result in counter-revenge and violence may gradually escalate. While certain levels and reasons for such violence are accepted in the community, there are limits. In such situations, the adults (usually married men) take action to restrain and discipline the young men who have transgressed the acceptable limits of violence. "We people over the age of thirty keep the order here in the village. We make sure that the kids don't do anything evil." As in the case of young Komi reindeer herders, the behaviour of these 'kids' is seen as unavoidable, because innate, yet also as a potential danger which calls for containment strategies. A coordinated effort by the older men constitutes such a means of containment, but former prisoners are also prominent in this. They enjoy a certain respect as 'outlaws' who have defied the government and its officials.

In a way similar to that of the Komi Republic, there is a decrease in the perception of 'culturedness' as one moves from the central parts of the Republic of Sakha to the remote Dolgan village. People in the centre consider the remote village and its inhabitants as particularly 'wild' and 'dangerous', and these qualities are often said to be naturally inherent in this ethnic group. Some villagers actually adopt this imagery and speak about themselves as being 'wild'. They thus suggest that it is their natural emotions that make them somehow superior and entitled to show a lack of respect to others.

Those who have to get angry: the nomads of Amdo

The performance of masculinity in Amdo takes place in the context of the segmentary tribal structures of the nomads' groups and their practices of feuding. These ethnically Tibetan pastoralists herd yaks, sheep, and horses on the grasslands of the northeastern Tibetan plateau. Their tribes, consisting of up to several thousand people, are themselves divided into villages or encampments of around 40 tents, and relations between them are characterised by patterns of violence and feuding, mediated by high-status individuals.

The nomads talk frequently and readily about both actual and potential violence. When they suffer an attack the norms of revenge demand immediate and violent retribution. Men say that they 'have to' get angry if a member of their family has been killed, and when there is conflict between two villages or tribes all the men must combine to take revenge on the other.³ The wealth of nomadic pastoralists is highly mobile and difficult to guard and the display of the potential and readiness to take violent revenge is, in such circumstances, a logical form of defence. The threat of revenge is always expressed as an individual obligation, however: 'I am going to go and fight him', 'I want to fight the police because they injured my cousin'.⁴

This emphasis on the personal nature of retaliation is matched by displays of individuality and insouciance in the domestic sphere. The young men spend much time on their appearance and cleanliness, unlike the women, who are expected to wash discreetly and minimally. They seek out the newest fabrics for their traditional coats and eye-catching ready-made clothes to wear underneath. They pull their red sashes low round their hips and sweep back their lengthening hair. They outdo the women with their heavy coral jewellery and the furs used by both to trim their winter garments. Out on the grasslands they display prowess in horsemanship and speed ostentatiously on their motor-bikes. Outside the tent there is considerable sexual banter. There is an element of competition here, but the men are also constantly testing the limits of social propriety and there is a subtle defiance of sartorial standards, which the headmen try to maintain. Within the tent there is also a strong emphasis on individual inclinations. Amongst family and friends a male visitor will ostentatiously appropriate the best place by the fire without regard for others. The male side of the stove is characterised by ease and relaxation as men lie around on carpets, play-

³ The social structures and practices of feuding and mediation among the Amdo nomads are described at greater length in Pirie (2005). The Chinese occupation of 1958 was followed by a period of collectivisation, but reforms in the early 1980s allowed the nomads substantially to regroup into their previous tribes.

⁴ Both Ekvall (1964: 1124-25, 1968: 76-77) and Hermanns (1949: 231-32; 1959: 302), drawing on their experiences from before the Chinese occupation, also emphasised the autonomy and individuality of the Amdo nomads and the individual and immediate nature of the response to violence.

ing cards while the women cater to their needs. The appearance of responsibility and industry is minimised: the public face of the male nomad is self-centred, careless, and indolent.

There is, thus, an ostensible disrespect for the economic needs of the tent which, for the most part, fall on the women's shoulders. There are clear divisions between men's and women's work. Men say that they 'can do anything' but, in practice, they disdain most tasks other than the herding. It is beneath their dignity to do 'women's work'. Fighting and anger are also male prerogatives. Women who fight are even said to cause spiritual pollution and similar ideas disbar them from most religious activities.⁵ The men walk a fine line between acceptable and unacceptable disregard for the norms, however. Laziness and vanity in the tent are normally tolerated but an exasperated father, brother, or even mother will chide the man who has let the yaks stray too far.

Outright violence is only justified as revenge. In the event of an attack a man 'has to' get angry. Violence is simultaneously an obligation and the result of individual emotion. It is also a matter of performance. When one man, normally critical of hot-tempered individuals, saw his cousin being beaten by the police he declared that he would immediately go and fight "those fucking Chinese police". Of course he did not actually do so. The police are simply too powerful to engage with. However, it is normal for a man to threaten revenge and have to be restrained in such cases. Violence is, thus, normatively controlled, but there remain grey areas, notably pasture encroachments, where a violent response is not obligatory, but hot-headed individuals can quickly escalate a feud. Certain men are known to have fiery tempers and to be liable to lash out at the slightest provocation. Men are expected to test and threaten to breach the boundaries of acceptable violence in such situations.

When violence does break out headmen and mediators normally intervene to impose restraint and persuade angry nomads to accept compensation. It is they, and not the police, who have the authority to settle feuds in the nomads' eyes. This is always difficult, however, and good mediators have to be skilled orators. One pasture dispute, which has intermittently continued since the 1950s, erupted again recently in battles, during which 18 men were killed. This prompted the intervention of the most senior Buddhist lamas in Amdo, but even they failed to bring the parties together for mediation. One angry leader, it is said, actually threatened to shoot them. A similar attitude is graphically described by Robert Ekvall (1964: 1147) from before the Chinese occupation. At a settlement meeting one man disdainfully poured out the re-

⁵ In a telling comment on the 'war-weariness' that overcomes nomads after a protracted period of conflict, Ekvall (1964: 1135) refers to their longing for time to pursue pleasure, trading, and religious activities. Basic economic subsistence was, clearly, being taken care of by the women in the meantime.

mainder of his tea on the ground, got up “with contemptuous slowness and, without deigning a single backward glance”, walked away. Ekvall’s Tibetan companion commented, “with a snort of mingled admiration and disgust”, that he was “like an old yak, stubborn and unwilling”. There is, thus, an expectation that individual men will display reluctance, or even refusal, to bow to the authority of their leaders, including the most respected lamas.

The nomads of Amdo are, for the most part, devout Buddhists and spend considerable resources supporting their local monasteries. Yet when discussing practices of violence and feuding, none express any contradiction between the norms of revenge and the Buddhist condemnation of anger and violence. Indeed, the lamas promote settlements according to their principles of compensation, rather than by appealing to religious principles. The contradiction between these ideologies has, to some extent, been resolved by developments within the religion itself. As Buddhism evolved on the Tibetan plateau it incorporated elements from the ‘folk’ or ‘local’ religions, whose practices are focused on the local deities. In Amdo each tribe venerates a fearsome local deity, who can grant protection and bestow strength and good fortune on the living. It is the lamas, reincarnations of eminent Buddhist figures, who are the most effective intermediaries between people and these spirits. Their status gives them a power to subjugate such dangerous spirits and turn them into protectors of Buddhism, just as they can tame the undisciplined thoughts and emotions of their students. It is as the embodiment of this power to subjugate, rather than as promoters of peace and compassion, that the lamas are able to overcome the nomads’ norms of violent retribution.⁶

Maratha warriors: the Shivsena

In the urban setting of Mumbai the call to be a ‘real man’ is part of representative strategies of the members of the Shivsena, a Hindu-nationalist regional party. The Shivsena initially engaged in social work and cultural programmes and carried out violent agitations against migrants to the city, communist and socialist unions, and religious minorities. The party rose to power in the 1980s when it jumped on the accelerating bandwagon of Hindu-nationalism. It was able to attract followers from the working class as well as from lower castes that had hitherto been alienated by the Brahminism of the Sangh Parivar⁷ organisa-

⁶ The story of the mythical king Gesar, a war-like figure who rose to power through trials of strength and whose armies engaged in fierce battles with the enemies of the religion, is also prominent in the region.

⁷ The Sangh Parivar is the ‘family’ of Hindu-nationalist organisations consisting of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS – national volunteers corps) and its affiliated organisations such as the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP – National Peoples Party), the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP – World Hindu Council) and many others.

tions. These had long been the reserve of urban middle class upper castes. The Shivsena's anti-elitist posture and the accessibility of its local branches played a vital role when electoral compulsion made it necessary to expand the constituency.

Its founder and uncontested leader, Bal Thackeray, espouses an ideology of friend and foe and calls his *sainik* (lit.: soldiers) to the defence of the nation. A specific idea of 'virility' is central to this ideology: the *maratha mard*, the virile Maharashtrian, is projected as the authentic Indian. The concept refers to the Maratha warrior tradition, the legacy of Shivaji, the 17th century warrior king who successfully fought the Moghul armies. It plays on the persisting Victorian image of the roughness of the urban poor and it cultivates an air of youthfulness and of the 'angry young man' of Bollywood.⁸ This *maratha mard* is defined by physical strength, by courage against the enemies of the nation and the readiness to fight. The discourse of nationalism here is thoroughly sexualised. Thackeray calls his men to fight, "lest they be eunuchs. I am not a eunuch [*hijra*]. I am proud to be an Indian. I am proud to be a Hindu."⁹ Swear words and sexual innuendo abound in the public speeches of the movement's leaders. There have been agitations in the nude and the display of physical prowess is also cultivated in martial arts activities.

The theme of the true man being defined by physical strength is paramount within the Hindu-nationalist discourse. The 'metaphorical femininity' (Inden 1990: 96), which is part of the orientalist construction of spiritual India as the 'other' of the 'rational' West, turns into the incapacity of the tolerant Hindu to defend himself and his nation, women, and country against those who are portrayed as being utterly different. The Muslims, whose religion is allegedly aggressive, hegemonic, and intolerant, are seen as supremely virile: aggressive, sexually potent,¹⁰ and violent. The call to become like Muslims aims to throw off the 'congenital defect' of all Hindus by proving one's courage and virility. This 'recuperation of masculinity' (Hansen 1996) propagates violence in opposition to orientalist constructions of the passive East, but at the same time reproduces them in order to justify violence as defence.

For the Shivsena, virility is achieved through spontaneous violent action. Agitations range from the destruction of cricket fields where the Pakistani team is to play and of cinemas showing films disliked by the Shivsena, to attacks on artists, journalists, or politicians who oppose the party, to the orchestration of riots and pogroms against minorities. Although in its worst attacks the Shivsena has used lethal weapons, it

⁸ Bollywood – the name for Mumbai as the centre of Hindi film production.

⁹ Bal Thackeray at a rally, 16.4.1999.

¹⁰ The Hindu-nationalist stereotype of the Muslim points at the Muslim 'custom' of polygamy and the resulting innumerable children that will one day make Hindus into 'a minority in their own country'.

mostly relies on the strength of its fists: there is a very physical aspect to this violence.¹¹ Its means are fists, crowbars, or cricket bats. It is direct confrontation that is cultivated: "Hey, if you have courage then come out. Why do you shoot your arrows from behind your women's skirts? Here are Shivsena mards who believe in a confrontation face to face."¹² *Sainiks* usually confront opponents who are weaker (in numbers) but are made out to be symbols of an existential threat. Thus, they can be sure of victory and still claim to fight the paramount enemy of the people.

The party has frequently justified its violent agitations as 'natural emotional reaction'.¹³ "I can't control my men if injustice is done to them", said one Shivsena leader when riots broke out in Aurangabad.¹⁴ This portrayal of violence as the impetuous outbreak of emotion characterises the *sainik* as direct people without intellectual sublimation of feeling. Emotions cannot lie. Since hatred is an emotion and violence is the expression of this emotion, violence is honest. At the same time, this is also a strategy for avoiding responsibility; the act committed in the heat of passion is not culpable. The evasion of consequences is then frequently stylised as clever or cunning. The contradictory ideas of strategic cunning and honest emotionality are thus made out to be simultaneous characteristics of the common people.

In accordance with the valorisation of violence and virility, Gandhians, pacifists, and those inspired by any ethos of non-violence are denigrated as 'effeminate', meek, and weak. Theirs is a 'nationalism of eunuchs',¹⁵ if they are not altogether anti-national. Their government is impotent.¹⁶ While non-violence is thus often presented as an idea of the decadent and alienated elite, 'the people' for the Shivsena are inherently violent because they have not been "emasculated by western ideas of secularism and other utopias".¹⁷ They are, through their violence, more authentically Indian. The Shivsena thus draws on the popular idea of the simple people being the true inheritors of Indian culture and merges this idea of authenticity with urban legends of the unruly poor. Lingering Victorian ideas associate violence with backwardness, the lack of education, the crowds. Members of the middle classes frequently observe that "that sort of thing [riots] happens in the slums".¹⁸ There is also an idea that the poor lack self-control and the capacity collectively

¹¹ The organisation's purely economic activities rely on technologically more advanced weapons.

¹² From a speech of Bal Thackeray, 19.8.1989, cited in Hansen (1996: 165).

¹³ Saamna, daily newspaper, 20.1.1998.

¹⁴ Cited in Purandare (1999, 320).

¹⁵ Saamna, daily newspaper, 29.4.1998.

¹⁶ Saamna, daily newspaper, 2.12.1992.

¹⁷ Saamna, daily newspaper, 7.12.1997.

¹⁸ Interviews in Delhi and Mumbai in 1997. Since the middle classes are often involved in communal rioting this is a distorted (self-) perception.

to contain themselves. Self-control is part of the founding myth of independent India: Gandhi's self-control, his non-violence, his asceticism, his self-reliance were the weapons in the struggle for independence. The Shivsena turns this discourse around: it is lack of self-control, uninhibited emotion, and violence that are the expression of authenticity and patriotism. The message is that the Shivsena elevates the culture of the 'masses' to the legitimate insignia of political power, and in the course of this it de-legitimises the conventional insignia of the elite.

Display and performance

All our case studies involve the self-conscious display of characteristics associated with a certain form of masculinity. These usually involve an assertion of youth and sexuality, but they also often have a combative element. In the Russian North the demonstration of strength through fighting, drinking, and swearing are all aimed at establishing the superiority of the individual over his peers. The individual also pits himself against nature, deploying the skill and strength to survive in a harsh natural environment. In Amdo the expression of anger and the willingness to fight are aimed at other groups as a deterrent to attacks. The image of youth and irresponsibility add a further element, suggesting that such violence might be uncontrolled. Similarly, the Shivsena deliberately cultivates an image of roughness and youthful anger among its members as part of its political campaigns against minorities.

In some of the case studies we find the individual at the centre of the picture, his status, pride, inclinations, and interests valorised above those of the wider group. However, there is often a tension between such individualism and the norms of solidarity, loyalty, and group action. The Komi herders compete for individual status but pose for photographs, arms across each other's shoulders. The Amdo nomads express anger and the norms of revenge in individual terms, but combine to avenge the wrongs done to their cousins, encampment, or tribe. Within the Shivsena group solidarity and absolute obedience to the leader are the highest ideals, while individual career and economic competition is covertly pursued. It is the 'family' of the movement and its father, Bal Thackeray, that are publicly exalted.

Disrespect, authority, and leadership

In all these cases the display of masculinity sets a certain group of men against others in society, either women, other (weaker or more restrained) men, or those in authority. This can amount to the positive denigration of women or their work and all those who do not comply with the norms of masculinity established within these groups. In Amdo and the Russian North, for example, it is the women who pick up

the pieces when the men have been drinking and who shoulder responsibility for a large proportion of the productive work. Women's work is characterised as unworthy of the men. Among the Komi herders there is also an associated disparagement of 'softies', those who usually find their niches in the contained and cultivated space of the village, and in the Dolgan village the derision of the 'weak' is explicit. Similarly in India, as Eckert describes, the language of the Shivsena deliberately sets up an image of the 'effeminate', tolerant Hindu. Theirs is a "nationalism of eunuchs". Here, by contrast, women who are part of the Shivsena share these ideas. There is a patriarchal division of labour and roles but women's work is not denigrated. Rather, it is idealised as the carrier of national tradition.

To an extent, such disrespectful behaviour is anticipated and expected. In the Russian North it is the young who are expected to be violent and drunken, while those who have become responsible elders contain and limit the effects of their wildness. In Amdo leaders and mediators undertake the onerous task of persuading those bent on revenge to accept compromise. On the other hand, much of this behaviour also tests the social norms, pushing against the boundaries of what is acceptable and defying those in authority. In the Russian North, young Dolgans engage in the fights which they know the elders will have to restrain. In Amdo hot-tempered nomads can escalate a feud and angry individuals are expected to resist the pressure imposed by others to compromise a feud. The rule-breaking of the Shivsena is a deliberate attempt to change political norms and shift the boundaries of the legitimate. Indeed, such tactics have had a certain success as these activities have come to be tacitly accepted by the police, the political establishment, and even the courts.

Disrespect is, therefore, displayed towards the 'feminine' sections of society, while a challenge is posed towards those in positions of authority. Such activities also test the quality of leadership, however. In the Dolgan village, those who have defied the state and spent time in prison have a special position: they are regarded as strong men who can control the excesses of the youth. The Komi fight to demonstrate superior strength amongst their peers, which earns them not just respect but also a position of leadership. The oratorical skills of the most prominent mediators in Amdo are referred to with awe, while the most senior lamas have cosmological powers which earn them the respect of the proudest fighter. The Shivsena warriors display contempt for the law and social norms of Indian democracy. What they call for is a strong leader who would remedy the weaknesses of democratic procedures.

Justifications and ideologies

In all three cases violent and disruptive masculine behaviour is valorised through references to 'nature' and the 'natural' character of the emotions. Among the Komi, the young reindeer herders describe themselves as 'real men' because they can survive in and master a harsh natural environment. This is what requires their strength and skill. This ideology is even shared by those in the towns, who claim that the talent of being a herdsman is "in the genes". The Dolgan kids need to be kept at bay, otherwise their 'naturally' boisterous character would cause havoc. Among the Amdo nomads it is the emotion of anger that underlies the justified use of violence. "If we meet a member of the thief's family we will have to get angry and fight him." Violence is obligatory, but also inevitable. Similarly, the Shivsena *sainiks* valorise their violence by reference to emotion. Their virility is natural, authentic, and honest, the uninhibited expression of emotion, in contrast to the emasculated weakness of the decadent elite.¹⁹

Disruptive and disrespectful behaviour is also justified, in all three cases, by reference to certain elite ideologies, which are turned on their heads. Habeck, for example, describes the ideology of 'culturedness' promoted by the Soviet regime. The Komi herders turn this around by setting up the opposite values of mastery over a realm that the state, with its civilising agenda, has not managed to conquer. It is their ability to exist outside the realm of the state's 'culturedness' that makes them proud to call themselves 'real men'. Similarly, Ventsel illustrates how young Dolgans reverse the negative connotation of 'wildness' to oppose the state's ideology of 'culturedness'. Pirie finds a structural contradiction between the norms of nomad violence and the religious ideal of peace and compassion. However, the Buddhist moral condemnation of anger is countered by the idea of subjugation, a power attributed to the highest religious practitioners. The anger and violence of the nomads is thus tamed, but not ideologically undermined, by the superior powers of their senior lamas.

It is in the Indian political sphere that the rejection of the elite ideologies of pacifism and democracy is at its clearest. Here, as Eckert has described, Gandhian ideals of non-violence are portrayed as weakness and democratic debate and compromise as a 'sell-out' of Hindu interests. The Orientalist image of the effeminate Hindu is transformed into an image of a decadent and alienated elite and the violence of 'the mob' is elevated to the level of an authentic expression of patriotism.

¹⁹ In all these examples it is men who are equated, positively, with nature. This contrasts sharply with the degrading association of women, nature, and emotion found widely in other societies (cf. Ortner 1974; Strathern 1980).

The strongest discursive element underlying all four cases is, however, the idea, both implicit and explicit, that life is about confrontation and those who cannot fight and compete are inferior.

The constructions of masculinity that we have described in this essay all involve an element of opposition – to women, to authority, and to other groups in society. The violent, competitive, disrespectful behaviour and attitudes of the (predominantly young) men are often a matter of performance and display. They might be expected and even valorised by others; they might be answering the needs of survival in a harsh environment or of the defence of mobile property; and the wider society may have established methods of containing and limiting, or utilising them. Nevertheless, those who engage in such behaviour denigrate, despise, and defy others, even if they rely on their work or mediation skills to support the social whole.²⁰ Ideals which support harmony, cohesion, and equality in society are disregarded and turned around. A real man must be tough, strong, and combative.

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An anthropology of morality

Johan Rasanayagam and Monica Heintz

Anthropologists frequently make reference to the moral aspects of the institutions, groups, or societies they study. However, while the economy, religion, politics, etc. have been constituted as subfields within anthropology (even if it is understood that these are not in the end clearly delimited domains), it is much less common to talk about the anthropology of morality. This essay is an attempt to contribute to the relatively small body of literature which aims to establish such a field through a comparative examination of two ethnographic sketches, one taken from Uzbekistan and the other from Romania. It does not set out to give a definitive answer to the question of what morality is, nor to draw exclusive boundaries around a field of morality. Such an exercise would be as futile in the case of morality as it has proved to be for the fields of politics, kinship, religion, and the economy. At the same time, however, if we want to develop analytical tools for the study of morality, we need to explore what is distinctive about it when approached from an anthropological standpoint. We will set out the framework within which we mean to deal with this through a brief discussion of the ideas of some of the authors who have recently taken up the issue of morality as a field of study within anthropology.

Framing the study of morality

More than forty years ago Abraham Edel, a philosopher working together with his wife, an anthropologist, proposed a concept of morality which he suggested could be studied cross-culturally. This would involve:

...selected rules enjoining or forbidding (e.g. a set of commandments), character-traits cultivated or avoided (virtues and vices), patterns of goals and means (ideals and instrumental values); a bounding concept of the moral community and a set of qualifications for a responsible person; a more or less distinctive selection of linguistic terms and rules for moral discourse; some patterns of systematisation; some selected modes of justification; some selection from the range of human feelings which in complex ways is tied into the regulative procedures; and, involved in all of these, some specific existential perspective or view of man, his equipment, his place in nature, the human condition and predicament. (Edel 1962: 69)

This definition assumes that a coherent and comprehensive moral system exists in every society, and focuses on how it is institutionalised, encoded, and enforced. What must be added to this definition is a rec-

ognition that multiple moralities exist within any given society, as well as an emphasis on the dynamic relation between larger systems and actual practice. The effects of power relations in constituting and regulating moral ideals and practices must also be acknowledged. Actual behaviour and practice is influenced by larger values but these values are in turn influenced by practice. An anthropology of morality must ask who defines and enforces what is right and wrong and explore how different moral rules are applied to different categories of people (Howell 1997).

Rather than locating an anthropology of morality in the comparative study of moral systems, James Laidlaw places the anthropology of ethics, as he terms it, in the sphere of reflection by individuals as they strive to make of themselves a certain kind of person (Laidlaw 2002). He draws upon Kant's concept of moral reasoning as the free act of a rational agent, and Foucault's 'technologies of the self'. Human nature is not fixed, but rather individuals continually modify themselves through choice and action. However, this freedom is historically produced as practices of self-formation are derived from models which are "proposed, suggested, imposed upon [the individual] by his culture, his society, and his social group" (Foucault 1994: 34). Here the link between larger systems of values and practice is located in the creation of subjectivities. Relations of power are present in the determination of the choices available, the models within which people develop their sense of moral selfhood, and in shaping the freedom which people are able to exercise.

Central to this is the issue of agency. Following Foucault, Laidlaw rejects a concept of agency located in the free desires of the individual that are ultimately outside or independent of relations of power. Instead the ability to exercise 'free' choice is produced within regimes of social and epistemic power.¹ Howell goes further in problematising free choice in connection with the moral. She questions the idea that moral codes or values must always involve reflexive choices and individual self-awareness. Rather, she supports a shift from the content of morality to a comparative study of forms of moral reasoning. Degrees of reflexivity and the availability of alternative evaluations vary across and within societies and we must ask what kind of reasoning a person or group engages in when justifying or condemning acts and decisions (Howell 1997: 14-15).

¹ Saba Mahmood has developed this idea through an ethnography of women's piety movements in Cairo; Mahmood describes how through bodily practices, spiritual exercises, and the cultivation of modes of conduct women create 'pious selves'. She offers an alternative view of agency which does not originate in the 'authentic' and 'free' internal dispositions of the subject, but argues that desires and aptitudes are themselves produced through disciplined practices (Mahmood 2005).

A concept which sidesteps the issue of agency and freedom is that of ethical sensibilities. For Talal Asad, this arises from the *habitus* (as developed by Mauss (1979 [1935])). The *habitus* is “an embodied capacity that is more than physical ability in that it also includes cultivated sensibilities and passions, an orchestration of the senses” (Asad 2003: 95). Thus, moral acts are not always the responsible acts of free agents answerable to God, society, or conscience. They can also be produced within, or may be felt to be in contravention of, ethical sensibilities which are particular to a society or group. These sensibilities are not something ‘timeless’ or ‘natural’, but must be actively reproduced through disciplined practice and are continually revised as they adjust to changing material conditions (Hirschkind 2001).

To recognise that multiple moralities exist in any society and that these are locally produced is not to surrender to a moral relativism which precludes cross-cultural comparison. What can be compared, and what we attempt to describe in this essay, are the ways models for moral action are produced, the processes of moral reasoning by which actions are justified or condemned with reference to these models, and the degree to which people are able to interact creatively with them. What makes this activity ‘moral’ is that it refers to ideas of right and wrong and ideals of what constitutes a virtuous life which appeal to ‘truths’ beyond the immediate interests of the individual. These might be founded on religious truths, political ideologies, ideas reified as the timeless and essential ‘culture’ particular to the group, and so on. Comparison of this sort can only be carried out on the basis of fine-grained ethnographic study.² Both of the contexts we explore in this essay have experienced recent and dramatic transformations after the collapse of socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. These two cases suggest that the field of morality is always in a dynamic state of negotiation and flux as people relate to wider societal norms in the context of everyday practical action.

Moral models in Uzbekistan

The case study from Uzbekistan takes up the link between societal models and practical action. Ideas about what constitutes correct or desirable behaviour and norms of what ‘ought to be done’ are to a large extent adopted from models found in society. However, these models

² Recent monographs such as Joel Robbins’s study of Urapmin ‘sinners’ in Papua New Guinea (2004) or Helle Rydstrom’s study of the moral education of girls in Northern Vietnam (2003) show the insights that empirically based research could bring to the conceptualisation of field research on morality. See also Michael Lambek’s work on morality (1996; 2000; 2002).

are not merely imposed on passive subjects, but can be actively adopted and reworked as sincerely held value commitments.

Abdumajid-aka is in his late 50s. He is a lecturer in mathematics at the University of Samarkand and director of a secondary school. In 2003 he was elected as the chairman, or *oqsoqol* (literally meaning 'white beard'), of his *mahalla* committee (a *mahalla* is an residential unit in a city or village). Abdumajid-aka is what you might call a social activist. He is widely travelled, having visited Iceland and Israel for academic conferences and courses, and a few years ago he visited the United States on a project promoting the creation of civil society sponsored by the US government. On his return, he founded an association of heads of *mahalla* committees with the aim of protecting their members and increasing awareness of their legal rights and status. This is something unprecedented in Uzbekistan, and not a little dangerous given the authoritarian nature of the regime. In the course of this work he has more than once come into direct conflict with local government officials, including the vice mayor and the city public prosecutor, in protecting members of his organisation from their extra-legal interventions.

Abdumajid-aka has developed his own highly individual conception of God, religion, and the ideal form of society through his particular life experiences. These include his upbringing within a Muslim home, his Soviet socialist education, work experience, foreign travel, and so on. A cultural model which is particularly relevant to him is the communitarian ideal of the *mahalla*. The *mahalla* is perceived and operationalised by different actors in society in diverse ways. The regime uses the ideal of the *mahalla* as a way to legitimise authoritarian rule under the guise of communitarian values. Local government officials use the administrative structures of the *mahalla* as an extension of their own personal authority, forcing *mahalla* leaders to collect payments for utilities such as gas and electricity, to collect taxes, and even to aid in the fulfilment of production targets set by central government ministries. For some residents, the *mahalla* is an oppressive institution of social control where people's actions are constantly the subject of gossip, judgement, and even intervention by the *mahalla* leadership and neighbours.

Abdumajid-aka translates the ideals and practice of social solidarity and equality within the *mahalla* into the context of the modern nation-state as a genuine basis for democracy. In doing so he plays upon the regime's legitimating discourse. He reverses the president's slogan "from a strong state to a strong society" which is used to justify the need for firm executive control. Instead, Abdumajid-aka takes seriously the regime's own propaganda to argue that a strong state depends on a truly democratic *mahalla*. In day-to-day interaction he encounters local government officials who have very different ideas of this institution and in these struggles and negotiations with these officials Abdumajid-aka is attempting to realise his own vision of the ideal society.

Islam is another model which Abdumajid-aka draws upon. He professes himself to be a believing Muslim. He performs the daily prayers as much as his work commitments allow and he is well respected by the local Islamic leadership, the imam of the local mosque and leader of the city Islamic administration, who is also a member of his *mahalla* committee. However, he has developed a personal interpretation of God and religion derived from his experience of illness and healing, dream encounters with what he interprets as divine agency, books he has studied, and perhaps also his intellectualist approach. He sees God as a kind of universal consciousness, of which each individual's consciousness is a small part. He understands levels of consciousness as constituting a scale, with humans attaining a certain level of development. Animals occupy a lower position on this scale than humans, and between humans and God there are angels and other beings. These beliefs combine with his Marxist education in forming Abdumajid-aka's view of an ideal society. He claims to still believe that one day people will attain what he calls a communist society, where people receive according to their needs and give according to their ability, but does not think it could have been achieved within the former Soviet socialist system. He also dismisses the current regime's ideology as unconvincing and not reflective of people's lived experience. The ideal society might be arrived at through religious education and upbringing.

Abdumajid-aka is able to use the *mahalla* and Islam in this way because they are conventionally accepted modes of action and experience. For example, dream encounters and experiences of healing, which in some societies might be interpreted as the playing-out of an individual's inner psychological issues or as exotic or irrational belief, are intelligible for many people in Uzbekistan as the intervention of divine agency. At the same time intelligibility is not only cultural. 'Cultural' models are shaped within existing relations of power.

An example of this is the institution of the *mahalla* itself. Despite the claims of regime discourses that the *mahalla* is an ancient institution and carrier of Uzbek cultural values, the form the *mahalla* takes today is very different from how it might have existed at any time in the past. During the Soviet period, and particularly since independence in 1991, the institution of the *mahalla* has been standardised as a residential unit with a leadership and a set of personnel with defined duties. It has been imposed in areas where it had never had any history before, such as urban multi-story residential districts, and variations in local forms of social organisation have been regularised through the now official structures. Moreover the relationship of the *oqsoqol* both with state authorities and with residents is to a large extent shaped by duties and practical power bestowed by the state. For example, the official *mahalla* committee is responsible for the distribution of state-funded poverty relief and child benefits, it issues documents and certificates which everyone

has need for at one time or another, and the state judicial system often refers domestic disputes and other cases which judges consider to be of minor importance back to the *mahalla*. Thus, although the *mahalla* might be a 'cultural model', the way it can be operationalised within Abdumajid-aka's ideas about what constitutes 'the good' is shaped by relations of power, within which state actors play a prominent role.

Were Abdumajid-aka to exceed the bounds of expression considered politically acceptable by the regime, he would be forced into the position of political opposition activist with all the dangers and restrictions on personal freedoms and forms of expression that this would entail. Were he to express his ideas on religion more publicly and attempt to persuade others of his view, as some in Samarkand have done who have founded what might be called 'New Age' movements in Western Europe, he would be shunned by practicing Muslims and would not hold the respected and prominent position he does at the moment. Abdumajid-aka engages creatively with the cultural models of the *mahalla* and Islam, but personal freedom is not unbounded. The way he is able to use these models, and the limits of his public action, are to a large extent shaped by relations of power.

Moral deliberations and moral justifications in Romanian organisations

The case study from Romania deals with the way in which individuals negotiate their allegiance to different moral models in a time of change (through moral deliberation) and with the construction of justifications for the deviance of practice from these models.

The moral models upon which Romanian urbanites draw are also diverse and sometimes conflict with each other, but the dynamics between these models have radically different consequences than in the above case of Abdumajid-aka. What characterises the post-1989 period in Romania is the rapid change in economic and political structures as well as in values. In the sphere of work, for instance, the new values that accompany liberal policies enjoy legitimacy because of their association with Europe. The employees are thus faced with competing sets of values: the socialist morality with its emphasis on equality and the satisfaction of needs, and the liberal values of competition, efficiency, and meritocracy. The new set of liberal values is rhetorically asserted to be superior, because of its link to economically successful societies. The old set of socialist values is closer to actual practices, however, and thus can be more easily invoked in order to explain them (it has set a 'tradition' of justifications and explanations with respect to these values). To further complicate the landscape of moral frameworks, the Christian morality which has, in its Eastern Christian (Orthodox) version, no concrete discourse related to the sphere of work, shadows individual

action, as both an 'old' and a 'new' framework.³ The weight and influence of these moral models on individual action is being thoroughly negotiated, the novelty of the encounter meaning that no synthesis or even equilibrium between these models has been reached.

If the context of social change means that several moral models are simultaneously at work in the society, the existence of a socialist past and the appeal of 'Europe' are responsible for the strength with which people believe in the power of these models. Indeed, one of the main disappointments with the socialist system was the duplicity existing between socialist values and actual practices (reflected in the work of social scientists in the classic distinction between 'socialism' and 'actually existing socialism'). After 1989, the year in which socialism was rejected, it was hoped that the new social order would not be duplicitous. Therefore there was a strong discourse inciting people to actually believe in the new values and to 'really' behave morally with respect to them, because the very act of rejecting socialism meant for them that new democratic values had to be adopted;⁴ and because this was a precondition for 'becoming European'. This led to a high moral imperative, which was publicly praised as one of the newly acquired freedoms. The post-1989 governments, mass media, and intellectuals put pressure on ordinary citizens to become 'new men' and to 'get rid of the old habits'⁵ if they wanted to 'get into Europe'.

Apart from the strong and conflicting moral models that characterise Romanian cosmology today, practices also enter into play and shape moral values. The moral justifications given by individuals, in which they explicitly or implicitly relate to moral models in order to justify their actions, show that deviant actions are more mildly judged if they are recurrent or if the existence of conflicting moral models prevents the elaboration of concrete guidelines. As a result of the negotiation between values and practices, the 'high standard of moral values' is diminished and reshaped to accommodate practices that would have been otherwise considered as 'deviant' or 'immoral'.

Traian, a young employee in his mid 20s working in a humanitarian non-governmental organisation, tried to justify his lack of involvement

³ The official suppression of religion during the socialist period did not lead to an eradication of religious values, and thus we might refer to the Christian Orthodox morality as being an 'old' set of values. The religious renewal that took place after 1989 generated a new understanding of Orthodoxy in urban areas. Thus a 'new' Christian Orthodox morality of mixed Christian inspiration is being created.

⁴ The public discourse in Romania emphasises the fact that Romanians did not want socialism, that the Soviets imposed it on them. Socialist values were not 'chosen', but forced on them.

⁵ Expressions used by the Prime Minister Mugur Isarescu in his public speech when launching the "Economic Strategy for Romania on Medium Term (2000-2004/5)", a major document when seen in light of the negotiations with the European Union.

in the organisation in front of his more dedicated colleagues. He expressed his conviction that work in a humanitarian organisation requires self-sacrifice: extra hours of work and a certain 'calling'. But he had taken the job of public relations coordinator here because he needed money and needed to be in the capital in order to prepare for the entry exams for the Academy of Theatre and Film to become a film director, a profession for which he had a 'calling'. While respecting his working hours, Traian let his mind wander into the realm of Shakespeare and made numerous mistakes when writing his more down-to-earth correspondence with partner institutions, thus affecting the NGO's activity and reputation. Traian was aware that none of the moral models that he invoked in order to justify his absentmindedness would absolve him from fault. Nonetheless he pointed out to his colleagues that he was working steadily, eight hours per day, under difficult conditions (during the summer it was 40 degrees Celsius with no air conditioning in the office), which would satisfy the socialist work ethic. He invoked also the fact that his whole life was dedicated to work, because after his eight hours in the NGO he continued working until late at night for his entry exams – which would satisfy the requirements of even the most extreme variants of the Protestant work ethic. Finally, he pointed out that he was deeply compassionate towards the beneficiaries of the NGO activities (HIV-infected children), a fact that was visible in his interaction with them and their parents.

None of Traian's justifications were lies and he probably embraced all the values he invoked, but none of these justifications actually excused him for not doing his job properly. According to all the moral models he himself referred to, he was guilty and his actions did not fit his stated values. His justifications were constructed for the purpose of appearing less deviant in front of his colleagues. As an excuse strategy, he also invoked the poor performance and work involvement of the state employees from the institutions with which he had contacts, the even more significant mistakes they were making in their relations with him, their lack of immediate response to letters, and so on. These statements, together with arguments linked to the lack of clear norms from the NGO management, were meant to diminish the importance of his deviant behaviour by lowering the work values that his actions had to fit. He was negotiating, both with his conscience and with his colleagues, the necessary level of involvement in a humanitarian organisation, and he was doing this by proposing lower standards.

This behaviour is current today among many service sector employees in Bucharest, who are aware of the fact that their performance does not match their values and the others' values, but 'cannot help it'. Despite attempts to bring values closer to practices, most employees still remain 'in between', knowing what 'ought' to be done and doing what they can do, in the difficult social conditions generated by rapid change.

Conclusion

The two cases we have presented, though derived from different social contexts, both show the dynamic nature of the processes by which models for moral action are incorporated within personal life projects. Depending upon their particular position within society and their own life trajectories, individuals have access to differing models. Agency is located in the choice available when confronted with multiple models, in the way they are combined and adapted. At the same time the form these models take and the way they can be operationalised are to a large extent shaped by relations of power. When people come into contact with new models for a virtuous life, they do not come 'cold', as it were. The way new models are perceived are influenced by what Asad (2003) has called "ethical sensibilities". Abdumajid-aka adopts the ideal of democracy from his experience of foreign travel, his education, from his involvement in the projects of American NGOs, and from the discourses of the regime itself. However, this is interpreted within the framework of his existing ideas, or 'sensibilities', of a 'good life', which are shaped within his experience of the *mahalla*, his Muslim upbringing, and his education and life under Soviet communism. Traian adopts his work values from the discourses of the NGO managements, media discourses on the 'Western' work ethic, and the work performance he witnesses around him. The contradictions existing between these models, as well as between these moral models and his needs, desires, and practices, leave him overwhelmed and ultimately torn apart.

As a final comment, a focus on morality offers potential for engagement with the already extensive literature within anthropology dealing with selfhood and subjectivities. Laidlaw (2002) points us in this direction with his anthropology of ethics which is founded on processes of moral reasoning and self-formation. For both Abdumajid-aka and Traian, their self-representations as a good Muslim, good community leader, and good worker are formed with reference to their value commitments. These are not 'mere' justifications or ideologies, but acquire their persuasiveness and force by reference to greater 'truths'. That these truths are historically produced, as is the freedom which they exercise when they engage with them, does not negate the fact that they are creatively adopted as sincerely held value commitments within their particular life projects.

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Rituals, forms of behaviour, and solidarity among hunters' groups in West Africa and South Siberia

Youssouf Diallo and István Sántha

Introduction

Hunters occupy an important place in the social and cultural life of many societies and they continue to play a crucial role in both West Africa and South Siberia. As a group, members of a hunting congregation have a particular ideology, share the same beliefs, and defend common values. As individuals, they have social and ritual (magic or divination) functions. This essay concerns social interactions and forms of internal solidarity among West African and Siberian hunters, linking these to anthropological discussions on group cohesion.¹

Theoretical comments

The study of groups, understood as collectivities of individuals engaged in interactions and bounded by definite criteria of membership, is not a new project per se. Group unity and behaviour have been analysed and explained from many different points of view. Early attempts to explore the process of group formation and the variety of social groups, called variously 'communities', 'societies', 'associations', 'guilds', or 'leagues', were made by sociologists such as Durkheim, Tönnies, Weber, and their followers. The sociology of Tönnies, which analyses the modality of groups and distinguishes between community and society as the two basic forms of human grouping, is probably one of the most systematic accounts that has taken place in sociology. Yet most theoretical discussions about groups deal with the opposition between the individual and the group. While making classifications of the most important groups and analysing the relationships between their members, other sociologists have considered the size aspect. Besides power, hierarchy, conflict, competition, cohesion, and solidarity, the size factor has also become an important issue in theories about groups (Simmel 1999, Weber 1978).

The study of these topics is of interest to other disciplines, too. Similar questions about group behaviour and solidarity have been explored by social psychologists and anthropologists, the latter dealing mainly, though not exclusively, with non-European societies. Groups may be formed voluntarily or on the basis of genealogical or affinal ties. The groups that social anthropologists have been most concerned with have tended to be age-classes, the clan, the tribe, the ethnic group, or the village community. However, these groups, based on criteria of common

¹ We are grateful to Joachim Otto Habeck for his comments on an earlier version.

descent or locality, are not the only modes of group formation. Plurality of membership is a characteristic of human beings (McIver 1948). In addition to being a member of a primary social unit, a person generally belongs to a variety of other groups, each of them characterised by a 'spirit' (Vierkandt 1928) or a consciousness which constitutes its individuality and specificity. From this perspective, what is important is that a person is a social actor who plays different roles in different contexts (Nadel 1970).

For a fruitful approach to any kind of human grouping one must not only look into the social criteria for membership and analyse the interactions in which actors are engaged, but also explore the relationship between the size factor and identity discourses. Indeed, the switch from one discourse to another has implications for group size. There are circumstances in which members of a group clearly put a premium on small size, while in others, the larger a group, the better it is considered to be. This was the premise behind the workshop on *The Size Factor in Identity Politics* organised by Günther Schlee at the MPI for Social Anthropology in May 2004. The general discussion and the concluding remarks of that workshop stressed the need to continue the discussions on forms of solidarity and group size. By presenting examples from West Africa and South Siberia, we seek to contribute to this debate on social interactions and group cohesion. However, we are aware that group theories are very complex and it is not our intention to reduce this complexity to a mere discussion of social interaction. A comprehensive analysis of the size factor and its significance for the case studies presented is beyond the scope of this paper.² However, this essay is a first attempt to discuss our ethnographic material in this theoretical framework.

The individual and the group

The idea that communities arise out of the will of their members constitutes the general principle of group theory (Tönnies 2001, McIver 1917). Sociologists who have studied the relations between individuals and group unity describe cohesion as arising not only from the sharing of common values and space, but also out of a consensus on ends and purposes. According to them, people are united because they are alike; they want the same things and follow the same interests. However, this explanation of groups by reference to the will of their members has further implications for collective action. If it is true that the pursuit of common interests brings individuals together and creates the conditions for group unity as well as a basis of cooperation between its members, it

² As McIver (1917: ix) rightly observed, "social relations can never be adequately stated in quantitative terms or understood as expressions of quantitative laws".

remains true that the pursuit of the same interests may also provoke competition or conflict.

This brief account of group unity and behaviour takes us to a crucial theoretical and methodological debate about the relationship, or rather the opposition, between the individual and the group. Anthropologists such as Nadel have tried to overcome such an opposition by using the concept of role (Nadel 1970). He has rightly argued that groups and relationships exist through individuals. When we want to describe groups we observe individuals (Nadel 1955). On the other hand, the antinomy of the individual and the group (or the society), which was one of the central topics in Durkheim's work, remains the core problematic of many sociological studies.³ While some authors give priority, as Durkheim did, to the unity or the whole (i.e. the group) in the study of social interactions, others consider the unit (i.e. the individual) as the starting point of their analysis. According to the second perspective, known as methodological individualism, individuals represent the supreme reality, because the group as such is not visible. What is interesting about this point of view is the way the question of the group is approached. Respect, authority, conflict, and cooperation are defined as basic principles of individual interaction, from which it is possible to shift to a theory of the group since the same dispositions can be observed within a group and contribute to explaining its behaviour and cohesion.

This approach, founded on the analysis of interaction between individuals and groups, provides the inspiration for our study of hunters in West Africa and South Siberia. The description by Youssouf Diallo, using his material on West African hunters as an example of the voluntary association⁴ of individuals, seeks to contribute to the discussion of group cohesion. The account by István Sántha illustrates the reality of another experience of hunting activities in South Siberia and substantiates the view that connects hunting with specific forms of cultural and social life, namely that of the Buryats and the Evenki/Tungus of the Baikal Region.

Hunters in South Siberia and West Africa

We start with some brief ethnic and ecological background before focusing on the belief systems and ritual observances of the hunters. Let us consider first the Baikal region of South Siberia, where István Sántha

³ Vierkandt (1928) makes a distinction between matters of the group (*Gruppenangelegenheiten*), for example preparations for war and its conduct, and private matters (*persönliche Angelegenheiten*) such as subsistence.

⁴ According to McIver (1917: 42), "a voluntary association is an association of likes, of members who have a common interest uniting them as an association".

did his field research on Buryat-Evenki (or Tungus) interethnic relations.

The Western Buryats speak Buryat, the northernmost language of the Mongol language family, while the Evenki people are speakers of one of the eastern dialects of the Evenki language, which belongs to the northern languages of the Manchu-Tungus language family. 'Tungus' was the generic name that the Evenki groups living to the west of Lake Baikal, near the western Buryats, used to designate themselves, and was subsequently appropriated by the Soviet regime after the October Revolution (1917). In a general sense, 'Tungus' as an ethnonym was replaced with 'Evenki' by Soviet officials in the late 1920s. In the local setting, however, 'Tungus' continue to be referred to as one subgroup of the Evenki.

This identification relates to ecological factors and modes of subsistence. In certain regions, the Evenki draw a distinction, according to their place of origin, between the subgroups originating from the steppe and those coming from the taiga. This distinction also relates to modes of subsistence, between 'horse breeders', also called Tungus, and 'reindeer herders' to the east of Lake Baikal, who are known as 'Orochens'. Up to the mid-1960s the two groups of Evenki were distinguished according to their livelihood.⁵

Besides this group diversity, the Baikal region is also an economically and ecologically diverse zone. The Buryats live in two different ecological zones, namely the taiga (boreal forest zone) and the steppe, and their neighbours the Evenki/Tungus only in the taiga. The western Buryats, close to the taiga, have the possibility of hunting in winter; but this ecological zone also offers them an alternative steppe economy based on pastoralism. While hunting only takes place in the taiga, hunters also spend time in the village. Although the village or steppe-taiga distinction is an important characteristic for both Buryat and Evenki/Tungus hunters, there is no clear-cut spatial division when it comes to rituals. There is a common perception of a transitional territory between the taiga and the steppe, recognised as such by both groups. However, the Buryats and the Tungus have opposite values and interests reflecting different perceptions of this territory. While for the Tungus the taiga is a familiar place, it remains a dangerous one for the Buryats living there. It is the task of the Tungus shaman to perform rituals for the benefit of the Buryat. The intervention of Buryat ancestors – whose intention is to protect the hunters from danger – plays a role in their hunting activities. The hunters, coming from the village, which is the sphere of their social life, go to the taiga and pray on the road. In the village most sacrifices are offered to the ancestors. In the

⁵ After 1917, 'Evenki' became a generic term to include the Orochons and the groups who call themselves Tungus and Evenki.

taiga, where there are fewer sacred places, sacrifices are made to the spirits.

Despite changing political attitudes to hunting in the 20th century, hunting has had an important position in the livelihoods of the two groups of Evenki. The Orochens kept reindeer as transport animals for the hunt while the Tungus hunters used horses. On the western side of Lake Baikal, in the taiga, both Evenki groups (those formerly with and without reindeer) nowadays hunt partly with horses and partly on foot. Before the October Revolution, hunting was a way of life for the Tungus and a supplementary activity for the taiga Buryats. While it still remains a seasonal activity for the latter, as a result of the communist regime hunting has become the main form of livelihood for the Evenki. Today, it is a way of life for the Evenki and one of the main activities for the taiga Buryats. In brief, for the groups established in the transition zone between the taiga and the steppe, hunting is a major economic activity and hunters have special social and ritual activities. Both of them have a shamanist tradition and there are complex linkages between shamans and hunters, as will be explained later.

We turn now to the West African savannah, a region also marked by cultural, ethnic, and linguistic diversity, where ethnicity, locality, and occupation, as well as religion, play a role in defining and shaping individual and collective identities. Voluntary associations are also an essential recruiting principle and a factor of integration in local political units.

The West African 'traditional hunters', called *donsons* or *dozos* in the Dyula language,⁶ are an example of this.⁷ These hunters form long-standing associations (*ton*) of men who carry shotguns. They dress in traditional uniform, wearing *gris-gris* (i.e. talisman) and accessories such as a fly whisk, a hunting knife, and a whistle (*donso fle*), which is used as an instrument of communication in the bush. They also have healing skills and they are feared by people who consider a good hunter ultimately to be a sorcerer (*suba* in Dyula). Indeed, it is believed that traditional hunters possess mystical powers which they employ in the bush and which can harm people they compete against or come into conflict with.

West African hunters' associations (*donso ton*) have a collegial character which cuts across ethnic differences. Members of different ethnic

⁶ The Dyula were long-distance traders in the West African savannah, where many people have adopted their language, which belongs to the Mande group.

⁷ The systematic use of the adjective 'traditional' in the literature on West African hunters intends to show that these groups constitute an ancient institution going back to pre-colonial times. The first appearance of hunting congregations in the West African savannah is concomitant with the emergence of pre-colonial state formations or empires (Ghana, Mali) or even before (Cissé and Kamissoko 2000).

groups might be members of the same hunting cult. Small groups of traditional hunters, whose exact number is not known, live today in Mali, Burkina Faso, and Côte d'Ivoire or further to the west in Sierra Leone, where they are known as *Kamajors*. In general, an association is made up primarily of hunters living in the same village or in a group of related villages. It has a master of rituals who is a kind of *primus inter pares*. The masters' assembly is composed of elders, who assume ritual functions and are responsible for the implementation of rituals. The interactions between members of hunting societies take place in ordinary everyday social life, but also in special contexts such as burials or funerals.

Recruitment

The study of how new members are recruited is an important key to the understanding of group analysis. It is through recruitment that groups form and renew themselves (Nadel 1955). However, material interests and advantages often induce groups to establish certain conditions for participation or to apply strategies by which they can restrict membership or increase it. Closure and openness to outsiders are two of these alternative strategies. The politics of inclusion-exclusion enables groups to control their numbers and protect a monopolistic position (Weber 1978).

Unlike secret societies and initiation societies, in which membership is automatic and compulsory, hunting societies are 'open' and flexible institutions. Participation in such a group is voluntary. In West Africa to be a hunter is a matter of individual choice and recruitment works by way of co-optation, not descent (Cissé 1994; Traoré 2000). The fact that a man is a member of a hunting society does not mean that his sons will also be hunters. The conditions for adherence to membership of a hunters' association include the ritual observance of common values which require the moral and intellectual probity of group members. Such values include sobriety, moderation in sexual matters, respectfulness, courage, cooperation, and solidarity with the group. The conduct proper to being a good hunter is so formulated as to limit membership and to promote the autonomy and cohesion of the group. A hunter should always be pure in all his activities, but also in his relations with other people.

The West African hunters assent to an egalitarian ethic. There is no social or ethnic distinction among them, that is to say, ethnicity and rank are not criteria of distinction. Candidates are recruited on the basis of the acquisition of a certain knowledge. A person who wishes to stand as a candidate for membership in the group should first offer a chicken to a master regarded as the mentor, who then offers it as a sacrifice to the divinities and the mythical ancestors of the hunters. After he has

answered “yes” to different questions related to the group moral and the way of life of hunters, the candidate receives a ritual purification. Given this agreement between the candidate and the representative of the association, it can be said that the membership in the group is achieved by contract. This contract clearly determines the rights and obligations of each party. The distribution of spoils and mutual assistance for the transportation of a killed animal are examples of these rights and obligations. The older a hunter is, the greater his knowledge of the mystical world, divination, and hunting techniques is believed to be. During the initiation, the neophyte follows his tutor in the bush, where he learns hunting techniques (individual or collective game hunting), including how to shoot a gun, how to identify and follow animals’ footsteps, where to hide and how to succeed in a confrontation with a dangerous animal. The neophyte also learns divination techniques and the use of medicinal plants. Finally, the young hunter sews a hunting coat, which he wears during rituals and meetings.

Among the Siberian hunters, too, descent is not the most important criterion of recruitment. Hunters have their own customary institution and system of norms, which is reflected in their behaviour. But some elements of their norms are difficult to discern in terms of group behaviour. To be a hunter is a decision taken at an individual level. Initiation does not involve a collective ceremony, but an individual accomplishment, after which a young man becomes an adult. This achievement involves a ‘ritual’ depending not on age, but rather on the first good luck in hunting and the value of sharing. The first killing of a bear is a meaningful social event in a young man’s life and a form of initiation for becoming a good hunter of bears. It is also a sign of future authority. On this occasion the entire village is invited to share the cooked meat of the head of the bear.

Ritual performance

From what has been said about the individual aspects of recruitment, it becomes clear that the attributes of a good hunter, which in some cases are acquired, are also connected with individual destiny and the development of a strong personality. This is possible to express only through ritual performance.

As we already mentioned both of them have a shamanist tradition (while the Western Buryats have practiced secretly but continuously during the Soviet period, the last Tungus shamans died in the end of the seventies at the West of the lake Baikal). Here, the link between shamanism and hunting is obvious, since the descendant of a good hunter may be a shaman. The main process for becoming a ‘good’ hunter is the display of magical power, which confers authority and

prestige. There are 'good' hunters of both bears and elks, but this qualification does not mean that the others are bad hunters, they are simply 'pure' hunters, without religious qualification. 'Good' hunters enjoy authority in their community. In the past, their mode of behaviour, their clothes, food, and other objects signified their power. The Buryats distinguish between individual and collective hunting and it is the shaman who is the leader of the collective hunt (*zegete aba*) (Baldaev 1961: 174; Baldaev 1970: 16; Khangalov 1958-60; Vladimirtsov 1934: 25, 74).

The Buryats (in the steppe) have a patrilineal system and the Tungus (in the taiga) have both patrilineal and matrilineal descent systems. Members of some Buryat patrilineages (*iyyele* in Buryat) do not eat the meat of certain animals. The Buryats living in the taiga are in an intermediate position, as the Tungus' influence on them is more noticeable and stronger in terms of the kinship system. It is not only the patrilineal system that determines whether one becomes a hunter and the destiny of good hunters. The role played by the maternal grandfather is also important in legitimising both hunter and shaman status. In some taiga Buryat villages there is no recognised shaman. According to popular belief, a person who is a good hunter has the ability to become a shaman, but not only because of his hunting activities. He is also entitled (*utkha*) to become a shaman, for example, if his maternal grandfather was a shaman and a good hunter. Thus we cannot exclude the possibility of inheritance on the maternal line. Furthermore, the Tungus' descent system is so noticeable among the Buryats that hunters are ideologically 'tungusised' individuals among the Buryats.

For both groups, amulets are among the most important hunting objects. Among the Tungus, *kutu* means 'luck' in hunting and it is an amulet, too, which is supposed to bring luck to an individual in hunting. On the other hand, the symbol of *ongons*⁸ (spiritual masters embodied in wooden figures) still exists among the Buryats, but there are very few regions today (for example in the taiga Buryat village) where one can still observe these figures and the practice of burning them after the death of their owner. There is a special *ongon*, *holongo ongon*, in the property of every hunter among the Western Buryats. This *ongon* and the connected rituals have a direct link to *olzoo*, which specifically means luck in hunting in the Buryat language. Each Buryat man with his own family sacrifices *togonoi* (alcohol distilled from cows' milk) to his own *holongo ongon* at the beginning of the hunting season (after October 14th) in order to have luck in hunting. After the death of its owner, the *holongo ongon* is burnt by his descendants. The property, usage, and symbolic meaning of amulets among the Tungus and Buryat hunters illustrates the importance of individual attributes and the religious dimen-

⁸ *Ongons* are amulets and represent different spiritual masters.

sion of hunting, whereas the social ties (and the hunter's role in group cohesion) come to the fore only occasionally.

From what has been said about systems of belief and ritual observance, it also appears that there are a variety of special terms connected with hunters and their activities in Southern Siberia and West Africa. In the Buryat language, *utkha*⁹, for example, is the historical 'root' of hunters' associations and also has significance in the wider social context (for example, for the *albin suglaan*, which constitutes an imaginary secret society of the ancestors). In recent times, the institution has been strengthened by the practice of common and popular shaman associations in the region. It is sanctioned by the society on the basis of common *utkha* with hunters. There is a conventional idea of different specialists endowed with *utkha* among the Western Buryats. The male shaman (*böö*), the female shaman (*od'igon*), the clan leader (*noyon*), the smith (*darkhan*), and the hunter (*agnuulshan*) are among the most respected leaders in Buryat society (Baldaev 1970).

Although *utkha* and *olzoo* refer to different things, they are similar. *Utkha* refers to a personal link to the ancestors. In addition to luck in hunting, *olzoo* refers to a connection to the spirits and the time spent in the taiga. The relations between the hunter and the spiritual master of the taiga or the wild animals through the killed animal are the basis of *olzoo*, a concept also connected with a successful reincarnation of the killed animal. *Olzoo* is dangerous because of the reincarnation of these wild animals, which represents the revenge of the spiritual master for killing his wild animal. Indeed, South Siberian hunters conceive of the spiritual master of a killed animal as a vengeful force. It is for the extension of the *olzoo* that the Buryats keep in touch with the spirits. Hunters' sons occupy an interesting role in this system of representation. Before going to the taiga, a hunter usually has a ritualised conversation with his son about luck, which takes the form of a divination. He asks his son about probable (good) luck in hunting and interprets the probability of luck from the answer given by the son. The latter always gives the permission to kill animals not only because of the necessity for the family to get something to eat, but also because such a divination is a careful practice to guard against the possible revenge of the spiritual master. To protect themselves against the revenge of the spiritual master of the killed animal, the hunters first cut away the left paw of a killed squirrel and a sable and throw them into the forest to the spiritual master of wild animals. The practice of burying a bear is another such practice (hunters put certain parts of the body back into the den),

⁹ *Utkha* is, on one hand, the inheritance of some 'attributions' and 'power' that an individual has received from the ancestors; on the other hand, it is connected with professional status. In the latter sense, it signifies the 'right' of the respective individual to become a specialist in the profession.

after which they can obtain the favour of the spiritual master of the bears.

West African hunters have a similar conception of a kind of vital energy associated with animals, considered to be a product of the soul and existing beyond time and space. This vital energy (*nyama* in Dyula), which is more or less dangerous to people, is found in human beings as well. However, the *nyama* of animals varies in accordance with their power, their resistance to death, the form of their body, and the fright they give people. A lion, for example, gives us a terrible fright when he appears, simply because he has a powerful *nyama*.

It is believed that the most dangerous part of an animal is its tail. When a hunter shoots an animal, before it dies its vital energy flows towards the tail. Therefore, it is important to know how to cut off the tail off a killed animal. To circumvent the *nyama*, the hunter must first recite magic formulas and whisk away the vital energy of the animal before cutting off its tail.

The ideas of punishment and revenge are characteristic of human-animal confrontations. Hunters believe that no attack on the life of animals can remain unpunished, because the *nyama* is a vengeful force. When a hunter kills a wild animal, the restless *nyama* of that animal will follow him, and finally strike him or a member of his family in some way. A hunter is thus a potential risk for his family and village community. He can bring bad luck to members of his family. To West African hunters, the misfortunes of a fellow are the teleological evidence of the intervention of the vengeful *nyama* of a killed animal. The exorcism of *nyama* is done with the aid of amulets, invocations, fly whisks, and a ritual bath, which hunters must regularly take.

Rights, obligations, and internal solidarity are expressed through behaviour. Interactions among the hunters in the taiga do not depend on their ethnic origins. In the taiga the life of hunters is characterised by equality, not by the social norms and values relevant in the village (such as so-called steppe patriarchy). A killed animal is the property of the lucky hunter (*olzootoi*), not the common property of the community. However, with regard to intra-group solidarity, sharing is a socially valued action. A good hunter operates outside society, but at the same time he has to take care of his social networks in order to preserve his integration in village life. The fur remains the individual property of the hunter, but the sharing of the meat takes an incremental form in the village. The hunter first shares part of the meat with the hunters with whom he spent the previous night in the taiga, and who have participated in the success of the hunting (and in transporting the meat to the hunting cabin). Then, kinsmen, neighbours, and elderly women of the village get their share. On this occasion, the meat is offered in a metal

bucket and, in return, the hunter receives the bucket with little presents (sweets and sugar) for his children. The giving back of an empty bucket is a sign of disrespect towards the hunter and his son (his family). The hunters need to share not only the meat and stories of the hunt, but also their luck. Thus, sharing the meat is equated with the sharing of good luck.

The political and military significance of hunting groups

With regard to West African hunters in particular, a crucial point for consideration is the growth of informal organisations for the maintenance of security and the entanglement of traditional hunters in violent conflicts. Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone are the most recent cases in point.

West African hunters are today a force to be reckoned with, because their importance in the regional context has increased following the progressive breakdown of internal order in many countries. *Kamajors* hunters were involved in the recent Sierra Leonean civil war. In Côte d'Ivoire, too, after the outbreak of the civil war in 1999, the northern rebellion quickly mobilised the *dozos*, who subsequently took an active part in the armed conflict. *Dozo* identity is tied to the northern region of Côte d'Ivoire, where the hunters' associations carry out their rituals and hunting activities on a seasonal basis. Most of the Ivorian traditional hunters are from the Senufo, Dyula, and Malinke northern ethnic groups.¹⁰ It is difficult to determine their exact number, though some estimates indicate a total of forty thousand traditional hunters. Also, the number of *dozos* fighters mobilised by the current rebellion is not known exactly. International Crisis Group (ICG), an independent NGO, estimated their number at one thousand fighters from *dozos* organisations, including at least five hundred from Mali (ICG, 2003).

Hunters' associations, according to their own traditions, require a degree of autonomy from the modern state. However, they have become a matter of national interest and an instrument of political manipulation. In response to the progressive collapse of the state, the level of military action undertaken by small groups of hunters is increasing at the expense of control by the state structures. The political north-south divide is at the heart of the current Ivorian conflict and there is a disputed claim concerning manipulation. Southern politicians accused northern leaders of manipulating the *dozos* hunters as paramilitary forces playing into their hands. However, the participation of hunters in public matters, which predates the conflict, is linked to the loss of confidence in

¹⁰ The Senufo and the Dyula are culturally related, but anthropologists distinguish between them as belonging to two linguistically and ethnically different groups. The Senufo are a *Gur*-speaking people.

the state in establishing and maintaining security in the northern region. Before joining the current rebellion, the hunters first undertook the role of a supplementary police force for several years. Their mobilisation began in the 1990s when the northern region became increasingly lawless. The administrative officer in Korhogo (the district's capital) appealed to the hunters for assistance and gave them the assignment of combating rural banditry.

In the same period, the state's absence from rural areas also affected farmer-herder relations. Local farmers organised a system for protecting fields from damage caused by cattle. They mobilised small groups of hunters to police the fields, to prevent nomadic pastoralists from using grazing land located within the confines of village territories, and to expel those coming from neighbouring countries (Mali and Burkina Faso). Their policing role, including the settlement of disputes, and their abuse of power led to violence and administrative officials eventually complained about the fact that the hunters were acting as a substitute for the local administration.

Despite concerns about violence and human rights' abuses inflicted on villagers living in areas under their control, the period leading up to 1999-2000 did not result in the quartering of *dozos* forces. After the military coup of December 1999, they were given instructions to control the roads. As a result, the *dozos* forces became more aggressive, extending their activities beyond the northern region of Côte d'Ivoire. This emerging role was a threat to state security. The then minister of interior of the military junta warned the *dozos* against any interference in public affairs, claiming that order and security fell strictly within the authority of the police. Nevertheless, the activities of the *dozos* and their abuse of power continued throughout the country and led to increasing violence. The situation became worse in 2000, when the *dozos* accidentally killed a student in Abidjan. The student association protested against the fact that the government allowed the traditional hunters to maintain order in the country.

It would be an exaggeration to say that all *dozos* hunters are willing to side with the rebellion against the state. It is a matter of investigation to what extent the members of *dozos* associations willing to preserve the autonomy of the group will decline in numbers. What is interesting for our purpose is the political and military significance of some of these associations and their entanglement in the current political crisis in Côte d'Ivoire. The growth of informal organisations for the maintenance of security in the country, or elsewhere where the use of violence has ceased to be a state monopoly, challenges the Weberian view which makes the maintenance of law and order a major criterion for a political organisation, especially that of the state.

Conclusion

Comparison of social institutions is a useful method for understanding groups, communities, and people's behaviour in relation to one another. In this essay the ideas, beliefs, and moral values of hunters, the field of politics, the recruitment of members, and ritual performance have been the topics selected for comparison. Social interactions or relationships and group cohesion are the theories involved in our interpretation of hunters' behaviour and the ways in which they behave towards others in their society.

Hunting societies, as understood in West Africa, that is to say, voluntary and congregational groups, do not exist as such in the Siberian context. In both contexts, however, a hunter is a person who behaves in a way consistent with his status, which involves proper conduct and good relations with his fellow hunters. In the case of the Buryat and Evenki hunters, despite the high status that hunters enjoy within their communities, the talent of a hunter, his luck, and his way of connecting with the spiritual masters are seen as individual attributes and the hunt happens outside the bounds of the village and its social norms. It would be wrong to assume that Buryat and Evenki hunters are 'individualists' free of loyalties and obligations. Rather, they appear to be engaged in negotiations with the spiritual masters of the forest and the animals more than with other hunters. Social cohesion is thus much stronger among the hunters of West Africa and it is acknowledged and expressed as such by the hunters through their very engagement in hunting societies.

Nevertheless, both contexts are similar in that being a hunter or a member of the group involves not only a particular ideology, but also specific forms of behaviour through which rights, obligations, and internal solidarity are expressed. Yet again, the difference is to be found in the degree to which these ideologies and solidarities are shared, the extent to which they are obligatory, and who they are directed at.

In discussing the social and ritual activities of hunters it has been necessary to identify the main categories shaping their ideas, beliefs, and ways of life. Certain preliminary parallels might be drawn between the West African concept *nyama*, that is, the vital energy of a being, and the Buryat/Evenki concept of spiritual masters, who decide on the hunter's entitlement to take an animal in accordance with his *olzoo*. However, a West African hunter will try to avoid confrontation and cut off dialogue with the *nyama* of the animal he kills since it can only result in revenge, whereas the Siberian hunter will try to maintain a positive, or at least peaceful, connection with the master of the forest and the spiritual owners of the animals in order to be granted the animal.

Finally, in the field of politics, concerning the involvement in violent conflicts and military action, the difference between West African and Siberian hunters can be explained most convincingly by their divergent histories and the (dis-)integrative processes of the states wherein they live. There is a long military tradition amongst Buryat and Tungus people, for example, who were soldiers in the Manchu Empire, in the squads of the Transbaikal Cossacks, and soldiers in the Second World War (Evenki hunters had a particular reputation among the Soviet troops as snipers). Here again, it is a matter of investigation to what extent the number of these people willing to preserve this military reputation tends to increase or to diminish. However, the examples mentioned in this essay speak of the participation in conflicts fought by the state, or on behalf of it. The Ivorian *dozos*, on the other hand, take to violent action as they witness the progressive collapse of the state. The battles occur at different levels: local (though partly transnational) versus transregional or even international. In Siberia, there are small-scale conflicts for the control of territory, between local and outside hunters on the one hand and, on the other hand, between reindeer herders and hunters. Although the battles do not occur at the state level, they illustrate different levels of affiliation, social inclusion, and exclusion, which take us back to the question of group size. With regard to the size aspect, we have described hunters' behaviour qualitatively (for example their ideas about luck and misfortune and the criteria of membership) rather than supporting the discussion with quantitative evidence. This is not to say that the size factor is irrelevant, however. Under the given circumstances for *dozos* hunters the question of group size and of distributing the spoils appears to be much more acute than for Siberian hunters. Even though many Buryat and Evenki hunters have been witnessing the 'retreat of the state' during the 1990s, the effects of this process are hardly commensurable with those in Côte d'Ivoire. In the Siberian case, the retreat of the state has reinvigorated subsistence strategies and rather induced hunters to spend more time in the forest, away from the sphere of influence of state authorities. On the contrary, the *dozos* hunters were called to take over control in important political matters in order to compensate for the retreat of the state.

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Department I

Director: Günther Schlee

Integration and conflict

Günther Schlee

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁹ For details, see appendix.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹¹ Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit GmbH/ German Technical Cooperation.

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

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

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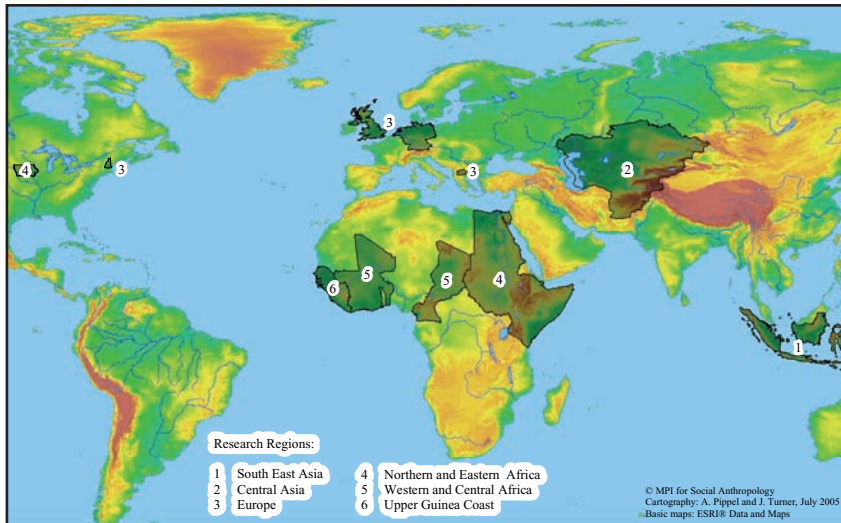
¹² TACIS: Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States.

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(Photo: O. Weihmann, 2005)

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

Research regions: general overview

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

Brief biographical data: current researchers

(as per August 1st, 2005)

Africa

North and East Africa

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

West and Central Africa

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

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

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

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

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

Upper Guinea Coast

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

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

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

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

Asia

Central Asia

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

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

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

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

Turaeva, Rano, Diploma, Urgench 1997.

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

Southeast Asia

Knörr, Jacqueline, see above.

Europe

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

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

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

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

Brief biographical data: former staff

Africa

North and East Africa

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

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

West and Central Africa

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

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

Asia

Central Asia

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

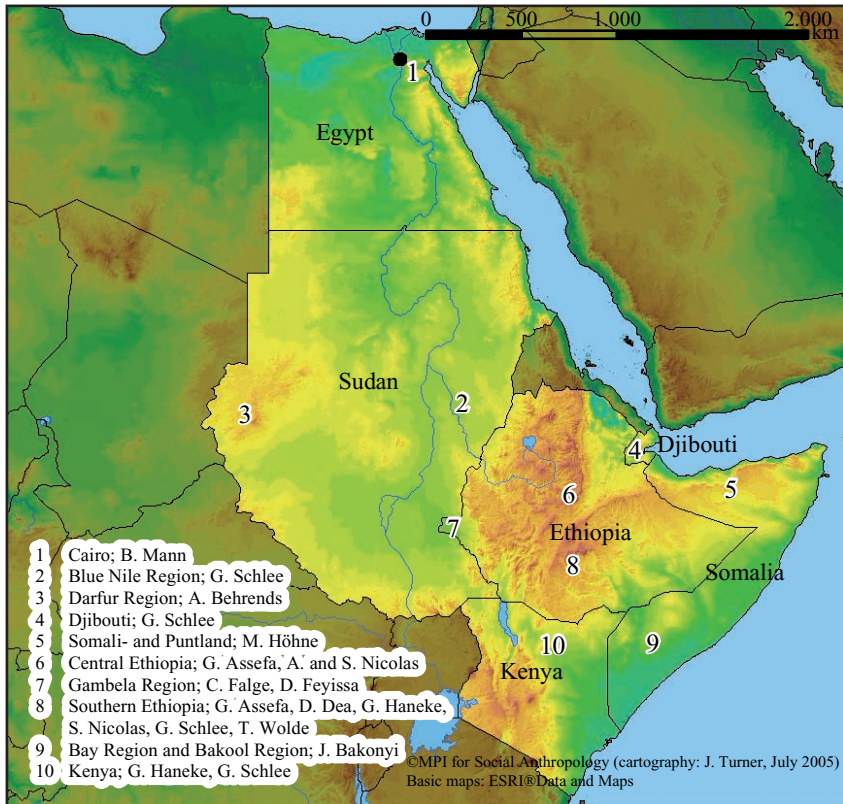
Europe

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

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

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

North and East Africa



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

Religion and integration in southwest Ethiopia

Data Dea

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

The global Nuer

Christiane Falge

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



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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

Getinet Assefa

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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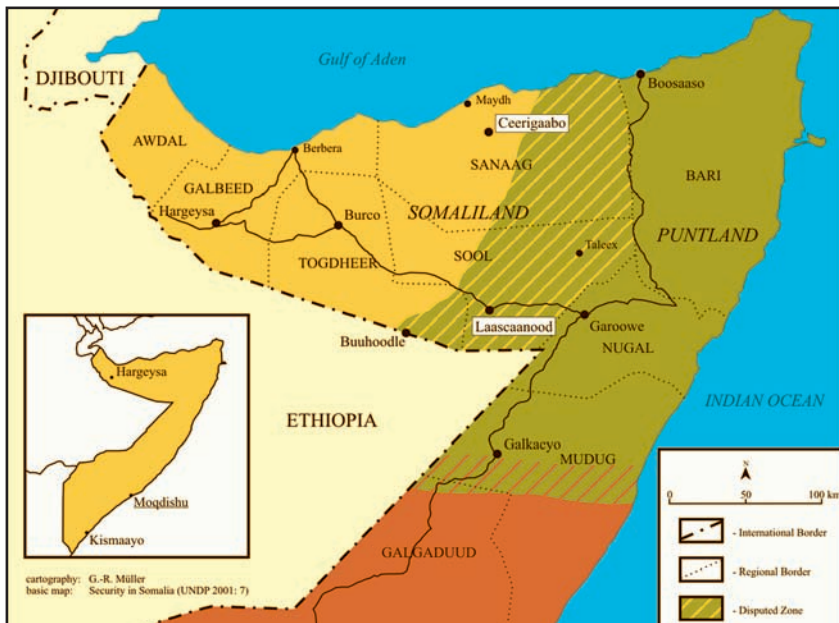
Conflicting political identities in northern Somalia

Markus V. Höhne

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

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

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



Map 3: Map of political divisions in northern Somalia.

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

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

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

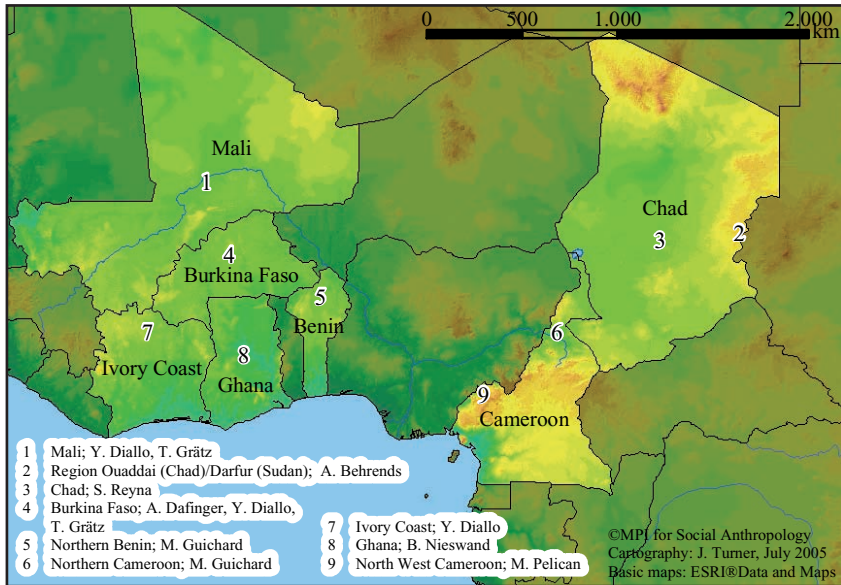
This research project examines the logic of political identification of individuals and groups in the context of re-emerging state structures in northern Somalia and how these identifications are related to conflict, especially in the politically contested regions Sool and Sanaag as well as the town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

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

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

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

West and Central Africa



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

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

Andrea Behrends

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

Youssouf Diallo

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

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

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

Tilo Grätz

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

Initial results (Atakora region, Northern Benin)

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

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

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

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

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

Martine Guichard

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

Outline of the social anthropological project

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Michaela Pelican

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

Oil and strings

Stephen P. Reyna

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

Oil, conflict and integration: towards an anthropology of oil

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

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

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

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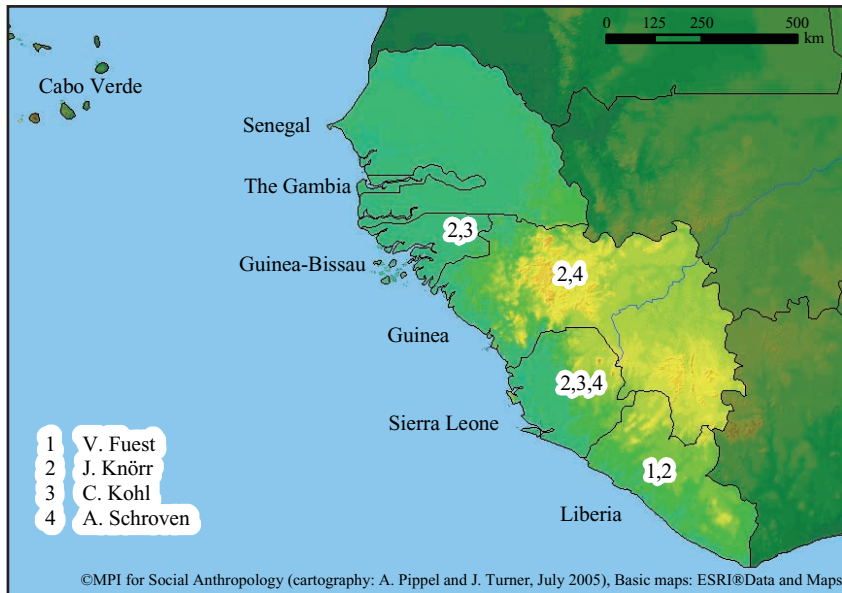
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Research Group: "Integration and Conflict in the Upper Guinea Coast (West Africa)"

Head of Research Group: Jacqueline Knörr

Senior Research Fellow: Veronika Fuest

PhD Candidates: Christoph Kohl; Anita Schroven



Map 5: Research Region "Upper Guinea Coast".

Point of departure

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

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

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

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

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

Assumptions/hypotheses

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

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

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

Historical and cultural background

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

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

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

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

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

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

Research objectives

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

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

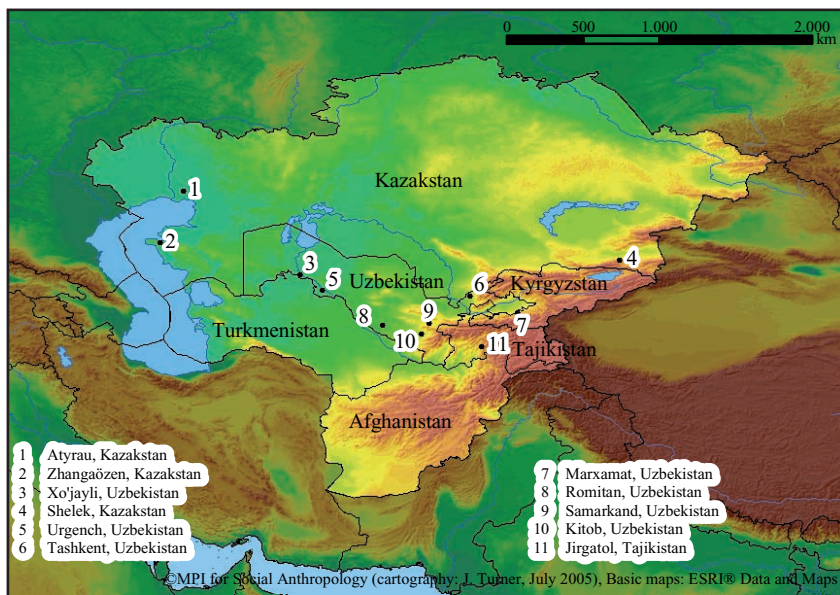
Specific themes within these dimensions of comparison might be the role of national elites in view of processes of national integration or disintegration; the role of elders, chiefs, secret society authorities, district officials, etc. in political processes and reconciliation; the role of experiential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

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



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

Central Asia



Map 6: Research region "Central Asia".

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

Kiepenheuer-Drechsler, Barbara: 9

Sancak, Meltem: 4, 7, 8

Roche, Sophie: 11

Turaeva, Rano: 5, 6

Yessenova, Saulesh: 1, 2

Central Asia activities within Department I

Peter Finke

Introduction

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

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

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

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

Research group and topics

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Perspectives

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

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

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

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

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

Rano Turaeva

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

The research questions to be answered are:

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

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

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

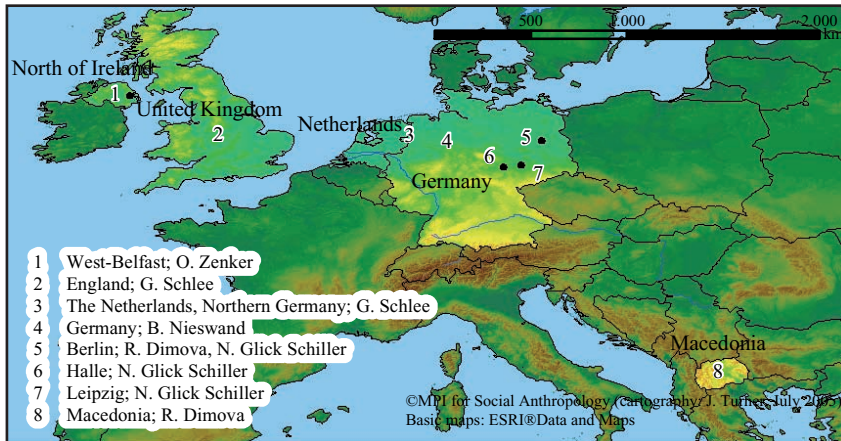
I seek to examine of groups and networks formed by these Khorezmians. If the findings show that these groups in Tashkent are in contact with each other and support each other, then these groups will be studied as a Khorezmian network to construct a more complete picture of their settlement.

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

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

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

Europe



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

Nina Glick Schiller

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

Ghanaian migrants in Germany and the stabilisation of transnational fields

Boris Nieswand

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

Olaf Zenker

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

Applied research

Applied research in conflict resolution

Christiane Falge and Günther Schlee

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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Applied research: a study in racialisation

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

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



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

Our findings are as follows:

(1) The event was not a village displaying people but a market in the zoo augmented by African singing, drumming, and 'oriental' belly dancing.

(2) The event was organised primarily to earn revenue for the zoo, the promotion company, and the exhibitors and performers.

(3) The event organisers linked the zoo and Africans in an endeavour to attract visitors by an 'exotic' event; they perceived the zoo with its 'African panorama' as a perfect environment for an African fair.

(4) Solidarity with African people and mutual understanding were not primary aims of the event.

(5) After visiting the zoo, visitors frequently linked Africa, Africans, wild animals, and nature.

(6) Organisers and visitors were not racist but they participated in and reflected a process that has been called racialisation: the daily and often taken-for-granted means by which humans are separated into supposedly biologically based and unequal categories.

(7) The questions raised by protestors about the 'African Village' in the zoo took the defenders of the event by surprise; the defenders equated racism with the atrocities of Nazism and attacks on Jews, Sinti, and Roma and did not reflect critically on problems dating from German colonialism.

(8) Images dating from those times contribute to contemporary exoticising, eroticising, or stereotyping of Africans and are sometimes promoted as multiculturalism.

(9) Against this background the Augsburg zoo was an inappropriate setting to hold a market of African crafts together with forms of 'traditional' African cultural performance.

(10) The African exhibitors and performers bore the greatest financial risk and some felt exploited by the particular circumstances of the event; however in a situation of high unemployment and unequal power, they rely on the marketing of cultural difference.

(11) The promotion of zoos through special events relating African culture, people, and animals is not a phenomenon limited to Augsburg or Germany; it is found also in other European and US zoos.

(12) In the current global economy, when marketing of difference is big business and when educational institutions such as zoos need to generate more revenues, there are incentives toward racialisation.

(13) The racialisation processes facilitated by the Augsburg zoo and other zoos are not benign because they can lay the groundwork for discrimination, barriers to social mobility, persecution, and repression.

The full report can be downloaded under:

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

Department II: Postsocialist Eurasia

Director: Chris Hann

A. Collective report

1. Focus Group: religion and civil society

- 1.1. Introduction
- 1.2. The East-Central Europe Cluster
- 1.3. The Central Asia Cluster
- 1.4. Conclusion: civil religion?

2. Other activities

3. Externally funded project

Political, economic and social inclusion and exclusion in Bulgaria and Poland: an anthropological study
(Deema Kaneff and Frances Pine)

4. Research Group

Caucasian boundaries and citizenship from below
(Lale Yalçın-Heckmann)

B. Individual projects

C. Prospect

Highlights

In the current reporting period this department has:

- Successfully completed the projects of its first Focus Theme, “Property Relations”.
- Consolidated work on a second Focus Theme, “Religion and Civil Society”.

Fieldwork has hitherto been concentrated in two regions, East-Central Europe and Central Asia. It is intended to continue work on this Focus Theme in the years 2006-2008, probably with new regional clusters and a modified theoretical agenda that pays closer attention to norms and values.

- Established Eurasia as the permanent name of the department.

The specification of Eurasia will allow us to draw those parts of the landmass that never came under the influence of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist socialism into the framework of our comparisons; however, it is likely that most projects, at least for the next few years, will continue to be located in countries of the former Soviet bloc and China.

Most projects will remain grounded in fieldwork and address contemporary social changes; but we are hoping to launch some new projects investigating long-term historical change and evolution within this Eurasian framework.

- Expanded its principal publication series, *Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia* (HSAE), to eight volumes; department members have published a similar number of books with other publishing houses in Germany, Britain, and North America.

A. Collective report

The years 2004-5 marked the successful completion of the department's first main Focus Group on "Property Relations". Although most of the individual projects terminated in the previous reporting period, one significant meeting was organised in 2004: *Das ländliche Raum Ostdeutschlands vom Sozialismus zum Postsozialismus: Ein interdisziplinärer Workshop*, convened by John Eidson and Gordon Milligan.¹ A synthetic essay drawing provisional conclusions from all the projects was included in the Institute's previous report. Furthermore, a comprehensive report was published separately in 2005, to which all members of this Focus Group contributed.² It is therefore unnecessary to say more about those projects in the collective section of this report (for the individual project report of Lale Yalçın-Heckmann see p. 192).

Instead we shall concentrate here in Part 1 on the first projects of the Focus Group on "Religion and Civil Society", which began its work in 2003 and is scheduled to continue until the end of 2008. After sketching the general agenda we introduce the present regional clusters (East-Central Europe and Central Asia) and outline how an emphasis on the common-sense meaning of *civility* enables us to bring together the literatures on civil society and civil religion, and to open up further avenues for the comparative investigation of morality. Part 2 outlines the more significant of our subsidiary departmental activities over the last two years. Part 3 documents the progress made with our most important externally funded project and Part 4 introduces the new team led by Lale Yalçın-Heckmann.

Following the presentation of individual projects (Section B) we conclude, as in past Institute reports, with a brief look ahead. The reasons for deleting the prefix "postsocialist" from the official designation of this department were outlined in the previous report. This time we take the opportunity in Section C to show how the concept of Eurasia can serve to specify the framework of future research in this department, and to distinguish our usage of this concept from other understandings, ideological as well as geographical.

¹ *The East German Countryside from Socialism to Postsocialism: An Interdisciplinary Workshop*. Exceptionally, the main language on this occasion was German.

² The report has been published as "*Property Relations*": *the Halle Focus Group 2000-2005*. Copies are available on request from the Institute: please contact Bettina Mann (mann@eth.mpg.de).

1. Focus group: religion and civil society

1.1 Introduction

The demise of socialist power in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union between 1989 and 1991 created a new situation for religious groupings of all kinds. Long-established faiths seized the opportunity to re-assume what they regarded as their rightful prominent position in the public sphere. At the same time, new religious groups, including foreign missionaries, have offered alternatives to the established churches and officially sanctioned forms of religious expression. More than a decade after the immediate convulsions of the early 1990s, the religious terrain is still unstable in many countries. It has not so far been the object of much sustained investigation by anthropologists. Most of the projects of this group were begun in 2003. Fieldwork was completed in 2004 but at the time of the preparation of this report in 2005 it is still too early to list definitive results. Our first major conference took place in April 2005 (*Religious Conversion after Socialism*, convened by Mathijs Pelkmans, László Foszto, and Irene Hilgers) and several more are scheduled for later this year.

The research challenge is accentuated by the fact that we know so little about the persistence of religious beliefs and practices under socialism, since this field was largely inaccessible to both local and foreign scholars. The exact legacy varies greatly. For example, if one compares the two largest countries in East-Central Europe, Roman Catholicism was able to sustain an almost hegemonic strength in Polish society, while sociological indicators suggest a decline in the strength of Orthodox Christianity in neighbouring Ukraine. Yet in both of these countries it is important to take account of regional differences. Moreover the vitality of the dominant Church in Poland does not preclude secularisation in some domains. Here, as in the case of Central Asia, our second regional cluster, it is important to investigate how deeply religion affects both moral norms and actual behaviour. How was religious knowledge transmitted under socialism, when at least some aspects of public practice were curtailed or eliminated by secular power-holders? In both of these regions it is also relevant to ask to what extent socialism itself fulfilled at least some of the functions of a faith, both before and after the collapse of the socialist states.

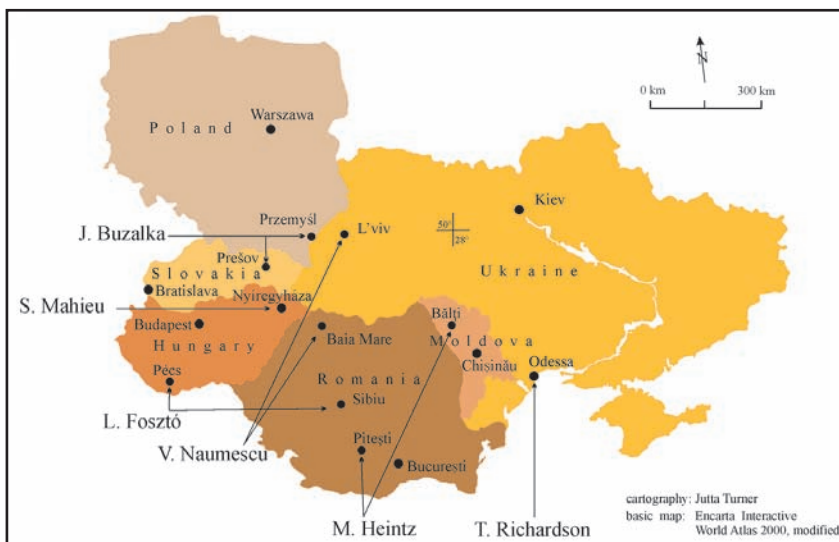
Hann's interests in this field date back to his fieldwork in Poland in 1979-81, updated by many visits to the same region in the postsocialist years. His main contribution to this cluster, however, has been that of catalyst and coordinator. To this end he has suggested adapting the concept of 'civil religion' so as to open up a new comparative agenda which, while particularly topical in the postsocialist countries, can also be fruitfully explored elsewhere (see section 1.4 below).

The researchers in this Focus Group share a double agenda: we want to show that anthropological theories and methods can contribute important insights to the analysis of religious phenomena in postsocialist countries, and we are at the same time interested in the implications of such analyses for the extension and refinement of the anthropology of religion and related topics in the discipline. For example, a workshop organised in May 2005 in cooperation with staff of the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology of the Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznań was entitled *Popular Religiosity after Socialism*. The concept of 'popular' was at first distinguished from that of 'folk' but, in the opinion of many participants, both tended to reinforce dichotomies that are unproductive for the comparative analysis of forms of religiosity.

All projects are grounded in the wider material context of socialist and postsocialist political economy. This means, for example, that we need to link the physical absence of churches and mosques on new socialist housing estates to the general socialist phenomenon of 'under-urbanisation'. We need to examine uneven patterns of industrialisation and migration in order to explain the continued importance, even in postsocialist years, of rural-urban links and the persistence of agrarian-based elements in religious behaviour in both the city and the countryside. It is intended that these projects will lead to improved knowledge of the links between religion and socio-economic transformation and in this respect build upon the work carried out by the previous Focus Group on "Property Relations". Together, the work carried out in these two Focus Groups shows the diversity of theoretical influences and types of enquiry which characterise our efforts to consolidate the anthropological study of Eurasia (more on this below in Section C).

1.2 The East-Central Europe Cluster

(Juraj Buzalka, László Foszto, Chris Hann, Monica Heintz, Stéphanie Mahieu, Vlad Naumescu, and Tanya Richardson)



Field sites of the East-Central Europe Group researchers

In the years 2003-2005 the members of this research cluster have been carrying out research in the following countries: Romania, Moldova, Ukraine, Poland, Slovakia, and Hungary. The individual projects have multiple links to each other and also to the research being undertaken by members of the Central Asia Cluster. They concentrate on groups whose history ties them primarily to the eastern stream of Christianity. Compared to the anthropological literature on Western Christianity, including Protestantism and all its myriad offshoots, the Orthodox churches (apart from Greece) have been neglected. One underlying goal is to cast doubt on stereotypical Western representations of 'Caesaropapism', sometimes invoked in support of claims that the Orthodox world forms a quite different civilisation from that of the West. If anthropological investigations reveal that the resemblances between strategies followed by the dominant churches are basically similar everywhere, e.g. when it comes to the *practices* of 'civility' (see below), then the emptiness of 'cultural' arguments for delaying the entry of more Orthodox countries into the EU is exposed.

In this context, the locations of our studies in the current borderlands of the EU give them an obvious topicality. This is addressed most directly in the project of Buzalka, who uses a concept of 'political culture' in analysing the significance of religion in Poland (with occasional

comparisons to the situation in his native Slovakia). Drawing on anthropological concepts of ritual and memory and ethnographic data gathered in Polish Roman Catholic and Ukrainian Greek Catholic communities in the city of Przemyśl, his work probes the notion of 'tradition' and how the weight of interethnic relations in the past (a boundary which largely coincides with inter-faith relations) continues to influence postsocialist changes. He argues that in this context it is religion rather than nation that serves as the primary category, due to its close connection to tradition. This has immediate implications for the development of 'civil society', and indeed the foundations of local civil society in this corner of Poland are quite different both from the ideal of secular liberalism and from empirical realities elsewhere in the EU.

Across the EU border, which lies only a few kilometres east of Przemyśl, Vlad Naumescu is concerned with 'the making of churches' in Western Ukraine. He is examining a plurality of confessions in both urban and rural settings, focusing on the emergence of 'differentiated Orthodoxies' and applying concepts of centre and periphery to Eastern Christianity in the postsocialist era. These themes will be explored further at our conference *Eastern Christianities in Anthropological Perspective* in September 2005 (convened by Hann, Naumescu, and Buzalka, jointly with Halle theologian Hermann Goltz). Elsewhere in Ukraine, Tanya Richardson's project expands on her doctoral research on local and national identity in Odessa. She is examining whether the emphasis on 'tolerance' in local ideology has practical effects on the social relations among

people adhering to different faiths in the city. Particular attention is paid to the influence of this ideology on city policies, the messages of religious leaders, and relations among individuals of different ethno-religious backgrounds in public places such as markets and schools.

Within Eastern Christianity, our projects have singled out the Greek Catholics, i.e. Eastern Christians in communion with Rome, whose liminal position 'between East and West' has fascinated Hann since the 1980s, when he began to collect data on this minority in Southeast Po-



Corpus Christi Procession in the main square of Przemyśl, Poland, May 24th 2005. (Photo: C. Hann)

land. The projects of Buzalka and Naumescu both focus on the recent consolidation of this church, in Poland and Ukraine (Przemyśl and L'viv) respectively. Stéphanie Mahieu has collected complementary data on the Greek Catholic Church in Hungary (Nyíregyháza), which is of interest as the only Greek Catholic church not suppressed under socialism. Conflicts over Greek Catholic ecclesiastical property have been analysed by Hann and Buzalka for Poland and by Mahieu for Romania (in an earlier project). Mahieu will convene an additional workshop on the Greek Catholics in September 2005, as a prelude to the above mentioned conference.

The Greek Catholic materials from Przemyśl and L'viv highlight the close links between religious and secular identities in this region. To be a Greek Catholic in these cities is also to be a patriotic Ukrainian, and in order to understand the significant rejection of Orthodoxy in favour of Greek Catholicism which has occurred since 1990 all over Western Ukraine, it is necessary to pay close attention to the national factor. Like Buzalka, Naumescu utilises concepts of tradition and collective memory. He also takes account of informal religious networks in the socialist period (the so-called catacombs church). His work indicates that national identity (the Greek Catholics have been strongly identified with the Ukrainian national movement since the early nineteenth century) is sometimes more decisively significant than either 'practical' or 'theological' aspects of religion. This is confirmed in the complex fissioning of the Orthodox Church into Kiev and Moscow patriarchates.

Elsewhere in the region, the intricate ecclesiastical politics behind efforts to (re-)establish a metropolitanate for 'Bessarabia' provide part of the background to Monica Heintz's project. Links between confession and national (ethnic) identity are also important in László Fosztó's case-study of the interplay between state and civil society in Transylvania with particular reference to the Hungarian and Roma minorities.

In addition to investigating new socio-economic factors, church-state relations, and the links to national identities, other common interests of the group include emotional and aesthetic aspects of ritual. Earlier research in Przemyśl by Hann and Stanisław Stępień indicated that, when Greek Catholics could not attend a service of their own faith but were obliged to choose between frequenting either Orthodox or Roman Catholic services, they were more likely to opt for the former. The reason was that the 'practical experience' of their religion is more similar in the case of the Orthodox services than it is to their fellow Catholics. They may theologically have more in common with the latter, not to mention their common leader in Rome, but Roman Catholic services are nonetheless perceived as foreign and fail to register an impact on subjectivities. Hann, Mahieu, and Naumescu are all interested in the preference of some Greek Catholics to pursue more 'pure' eastern forms in their observances, but equally in the negative reaction of others towards

efforts to correct past acculturation or syncretism. This and other themes will be discussed at the conference in September 2005, which will be preceded by a separate small workshop devoted to the Greek Catholics.

Heintz and Naumescu share an interest in the relations between individual and collective expressions of faith: how are the changing "modes of religiosity" (Naumescu) related to the stabilisation of religious representations? How do individuals construct their religious identities? On what models do they draw, and who has the authority to suggest and propagate them? How does their spread reflect the ambiguities of rapid social transformations? Is religion providing emotional support for coping with the insecurity and instability of life, and, if so, how exactly does it do this?

Fosztó pays special attention to the role of social and familial commitments in shaping religious conversion and religious activism. A focus on social control and norm enforcement under the pressure of the supernatural has led him to undertake a more general analysis of the social organisation of rural Roma communities. His study is breaking new ground in its documentation of how domestic and extra-domestic social organisation shapes the spread of a charismatic movement. Meanwhile Heintz emphasises the role of the community and of 'models of faith' for the individual's religious allegiance in Romanian Orthodox communities in Romania and the Republic of Moldova. She has paid particular attention to the transmission and spread of religious knowledge and practices, but has found that the impact of religion and the clergy on moral deliberations cannot be assessed without careful consideration of other sources of ideas, notably those transmitted through the family, the school, and the mass media. Mahieu focuses on the new roles of the Greek Catholic Church in Hungary and in particular on a moral role, epitomised by the families of priests, which is influential both inside and outside the religious community. She has also examined the Church's social role and the emerging forms of a Byzantine voluntary sector (e.g. retirement homes and detoxification centres), a theme which ties in well with some of the most common contemporary understandings of civil society (see section 1.4 below).

The group has been fortunate in being able to forge productive cooperative links with numerous partners, among them Stanisław Stępień (Przemyśl), Oleh Turiy (L'viv) and Bertalan Pusztai (Szeged). Special thanks are due to Paul Robert Magocsi (Toronto) and Hermann Goltz (Halle), who will ensure that our forthcoming workshop and conference maintain an appropriate interdisciplinary character.

1.3 The Central Asia Cluster

(Irene Hilgers, Paweł Jessa, Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi, Galina Khizrieva, Julie McBrien, Mathijs Pelkmans, Johan Rasanayagam and Manja Stephan)

The members of this research cluster are working primarily in the newly independent states of Central Asia, notably Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. Most of the individual research projects in this cluster deal with Islam, which has been the dominant religion of Central Asia for many centuries. Two projects, however, pay close attention to conversion from Islam to Christianity. The 2005 conferences on *Religious Conversion after Socialism* (mentioned above) and *Post-Soviet Islam: an anthropological perspective* (convened by Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi and Johan Rasanayagam) will enable the members of this research cluster to compare their findings with those of other social anthropologists working on these issues.



Map: Department II field locations in Central Asia.

The Soviet state attempted, with varying intensity, to combat religion and to control its public manifestations. Such attempts were only partially successful and Muslims found ways of adjusting to the rigidities of Soviet rule – outwardly conforming to the demands of the state while internally continuing to rely on informal lines of religious authority. Despite such continuities, the available evidence suggests that participa-

tion in religious affairs and knowledge about religious doctrines declined significantly, especially in urban areas. This situation changed in the 1990s, when Islam re-entered the public sphere in the successor states and it became safe, and even fashionable, to declare oneself religious. But although the 'resurgence' of religion is visible in, e.g., the number of newly constructed mosques and the harnessing of religion by the state for nation-building purposes, this is not always accompanied by an increased personal engagement in the sphere of religion. There is a need to examine patterns of socialisation and transmission of knowledge and how these relate to actual religious practice. Two research projects focus on the ways in which meanings of Islam are negotiated in public contexts. Manja Stephan takes up the question by investigating the transmission of religious knowledge through education in state schools, within families, and in private 'mosque schools' in city neighbourhoods in Tajikistan. In her research in Southern Kyrgyzstan, Julie McBrien explores how new forms of public religious life have challenged formerly stable concepts of Islam and 'Muslimness'. The confrontation brought about by these new forms is often expressed in criticism of local 'cultural markers' (e.g. life-cycle events, dress, etc), which some residents now wish to transform into modes seen as being more Islamic. Such debates proceed hand in hand with a re-evaluation of local concepts of religion and culture.

The encroachment of Islam into the sphere of politics is an important issue in all the post-Soviet states of Central Asia (and also in some parts of the Russian Federation such as Ingushetia, where Galina Khizrieva [Moscow] has been conducting an Associated Project). State authorities attempt to co-opt Islam as a source of legitimacy for their regimes, while at the same time political (and sometimes militant) opposition groups throughout the region also draw on Islam as the foundation of their programmes. There is a struggle over the right to define what constitutes proper Islamic practice, what it means to be a 'true' Muslim. Different groups promote their own conceptions of 'correct' Islam, which draw on different forms of authority and legitimation. These include the power of the state to regulate public religious expression, authority deriving from knowledge and engagement with the central texts of Islam, and forms of Muslim expression validated through the role they play in the reproduction of kinship relations and local communities. This interrelationship between different forms of authority in relation to Islam is the main focus of Johan Rasanayagam's research in Uzbekistan.

Another important area for research is how far 'official' versions of Islam are disseminated among the population, and how official categorisations facilitate or inhibit particular forms of Islam. This question is also taken up by Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi, who draws her data from shrines and shrine-based religious practices in the province of Khorezm,

Uzbekistan. With independence, shrine veneration became a main issue in the negotiations over 'correct' Islam between different groups. Kehl-Bodrogi's project shows how these ongoing debates affect people's attitude to shrines and their understanding of Islam as a whole, and elaborates on the variety of meanings individuals attach to them. In an Associated Project, Paweł Jessa, a PhD student who is completing his dissertation under the supervision of Professor Zbigniew Jasiewicz at the Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznań, is investigating changing aspects of saint veneration in both Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan.



Practices of the Aq jol movement, Almaty 2004. (Photo: P. Jessa)

Here, too, as in East-Central Europe, 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 arenas. Clearly religious institutions are important in providing the means for citizens to express their concerns and organise collective action. At the same time, the relation between a dominant religion and the new 'nation-state' may lead to intolerance of groups that do not conform to officially endorsed ideals. Two projects address these questions explicitly. Mathijs Pelkmans' research on missionary encounters in Kyrgyzstan shows that the influx of rich missionary organisations and the increasing numbers of Kyrgyz converts are perceived as endangering the integrity of the nation and the state. As such, they provoke reinterpretations of the content of, and the relations between, ethnicity, religion, and statehood. Ultimately the dynamics of 'conversion' and 'anti-conversion' signal the emergence of a new religious frontier in which religious and ethnic loyalties become less obvious, and, therefore, at the same time more conspicuous. Irene Hilgers deals with how the dominant concept of Islam as a marker for Uzbek identity is being questioned and re-defined through the emergence of new religious streams and groups (Islamic and non-Islamic) in Uzbekistan. Her project, which is focused on a city in the Ferghana Valley, illuminates the developments that have taken place in the religious scene in this highly sensitive region in recent years and how religious and secular identities are being negotiated and partially re-defined on both communal and individual levels.

By analysing the manifold relations between individuals, religious institutions, and the state, the projects of the Central Asian Cluster aim to present a dynamic picture of the return of religion to the public sphere and to understand how, through these complex systemic ties, the characteristic limits of civil society in Central Asia are defined.

We have been fortunate in the cooperative links developed in the course of the research, not only to local scholars in the countries where we have carried out fieldwork but also to Jürgen Paul at the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, Ingeborg Baldauf at the Humboldt University in Berlin, and Deniz Kandiyoti at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London.

1.4 Conclusion: civil religion?

It can be seen from the above outline that our projects range over many aspects of religion in the postsocialist world. Rather less has been said so far about the other term in the title of this focus group, 'civil society'. The vogue for this term in the social sciences has lasted for some two decades and shows little sign of abating. Yet there is no consensus on how anthropologists can best contribute to the current interdisciplinary debates. If we leave aside those who restrict their investigations to discourses, it is possible to identify two poles of a spectrum. While some anthropologists follow the most familiar Western definition of civil society and concentrate on the study of new NGOs, others argue that it is necessary to expand the concept for cross-cultural use. The latter may still find it useful to study formal associations, but they are likely to argue that other kinds of relations are more significant in sustaining the *moral* norms of civil society. In some circumstances new forms of NGO may create tensions, undermine the capacities of states, and lead to a decrease in *civility*. Hann has suggested that ethnographic investigations prioritise the latter concept in order to critique those in other disciplines who view the proliferation of Western forms of association as the ultimate index for a 'healthy' society.

The international enthusiasm for promoting a Western vision of civil society is clearly connected to neoliberal economic policies, global theories of good governance, and the rhetoric of human rights. This broad climate is very significant for our investigations of postsocialist religious phenomena. Recognising this, it seemed useful at an early stage to abbreviate the group's title and revisit the concept of 'civil religion'. From Jean-Jacques Rousseau in the eighteenth century to the contemporary work of Robert Bellah and others, many different approaches have been put forward. Hann has suggested distinguishing between three specifications.

First, religious groupings can be seen as another type of voluntary organisation *within* capitalist civil society, competing for individuals' time

along with sports clubs and leisure centres – and alternative communities of faith. Essentially, the model of the market applies here; it is the job of the secular authorities, monitored in turn by the human rights experts, to ensure that the playing field is level, which also means ensuring that the religious terrain in all states is open to new entrants.

Alternatively, civil religion can be approached more traditionally in terms of the Durkheimian solidarity of a community. This is to some extent separable from the spiritual significance of religion since it must transcend particular churches and faiths. We have noted, however, that in many postsocialist countries religious and secular identities show a high degree of congruence, i.e. the identity of the dominant nationality is uniquely tied to one particular faith. The question which then arises is: how can such a dominant religion form the basis of a civil religion that would embrace the entire population, without leaving the religiously 'incongruent' groups feeling excluded?

The third specification of civil religion, which takes off from the equivalent adaptation of civil society, seeks to answer this question by prioritising the notion of civility. For example, one can ask under what conditions a dominant religion is likely to promote a general idiom of *tolerance* among the entire population. One might hypothesise that imposing the vision of civil society reliant on market models, including the free marketplace of religions, will have socially divisive consequences if most followers of the dominant faith perceive that the identities they feel most deeply are being called into question – especially if those responsible are foreign missionaries. On the other hand, the promotion of tolerance and civility from *within* the dominant religions could be consistent with a strengthening of civil religion in the second sense noted above. This concept of civility is likely to be refined as we seek to operationalise it in our ethnographic studies, for example by investigating how the lower levels of the clergy actually interpret and disseminate the ecumenical appeals typically intoned by religious authorities and other hierarchical institutions. The very use of terms such as tolerance and civility may in some settings be problematic, especially if based simplistically on the current Western standard that Hann has criticised as "religious human rights-ism". We intend to continue this focus on civility after 2006, with more attention focused directly on the comparative analysis of values and moralities. As a prelude to this new emphasis, Monica Heintz and Johan Rasanayagam are convening a small workshop in December 2005, *Rethinking Moralities* (see also their comparative essay in this report). Meanwhile we have recently tested the usefulness of this approach to civil religion during an internal workshop held in the vicinity of Przemyśl in May 2005, at which all members of the present Focus Group presented papers. It is planned to publish them in 2006 as a volume in the series *Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia*.

2. Other activities

Members of the department have many interests outside the main Focus Themes and space does not permit a full presentation here.

Among the outside speakers we have invited, special mention should be made of the talks given by Sir Jack Goody (Cambridge) on Eurasia in June 2004, Hans Joas (Erfurt) on the religious origins of human rights in December 2004, John Borneman (Princeton) on the anthropology of Europe in July 2005, and Stephen Gudeman on his new approach to economic anthropology, also in July 2005.

We took advantage of a short visit by Jane and Peter Schneider (New York) in October 2004 to arrange a one-day workshop devoted to comparative explorations of informality and corruption.

In March 2005 Monica Heintz and Deema Kaneff convened a much larger meeting on *Emerging citizenship and contested identities between the Danube, Prut and Dniestr rivers*. This brought together scholars from a wide range of disciplines and countries, including many from the region itself. We knew that we were onto something here when the 'Call for Papers' brought a swift response from a branch of the US military, wishing to know if they might send a substantial delegation! Whatever one's view of the geopolitical significance of Bessarabia, it is evidently a region that exemplifies many of the political, economic, and social challenges facing postsocialist states. It therefore deserves to be better known in the anthropological literature than it is at present. Of course the same can be said for many other regions of Eurasia, and we shall look out for opportunities to organise similar meetings in coming years.

Between the Bessarabia workshop and the conference on *Religious Conversions after Socialism* in early April 2005 we celebrated our "Romanian Weeks". This consisted in inviting a number of scholars from that country, both senior figures and younger scholars, to interact with our own staff and to benefit from our facilities, in particular from the library. As in many other postsocialist countries, in Romania the discipline of anthropology is itself a terrain of contested identities. Through organising such visits we hope to spread a more informed awareness of other styles of enquiry in anthropology. Of course we, too, learned much from our Romanian colleagues, and so we hope that this experiment can be repeated for other countries in coming years.

This initiative is related to our interest in the recent history of the discipline in the countries in which we carry out most of our research. Papers from the workshop of August 2003, which addressed this disciplinary history in East-Central Europe, were published as volume 8 of our own series in 2005. We intend to organise a comparable workshop for South-East Europe in 2006, coordinated by Professor Vintila Mihailescu (Bucharest). In the current reporting period we have strengthened cooperative links to many institutions throughout the region, no-

tably in Poland (the Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań and the Jagiellonian University, Cracow). Of course cooperation begins at home, and we were pleased to be able to support a major international conference organised by Burkhard Schnepel at the Institute for Social Anthropology of the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg in July 2005 (“Memory and the Partition Motif in Contemporary Conflicts”).

Meanwhile, Hann has coordinated the publication of the lectures in the history of anthropology held to mark the Institute’s official opening in June 2002.³ He has also brought his collaboration with the historian Paul Robert Magocsi to a successful conclusion.⁴



Sir Jack Goody during his lecture at the MPI for Social Anthropology, July 2004.
(Photo: O. Weihmann)

³ *One Discipline, Four Ways*, Fredrik Barth, Andre Gingrich, Robert Parkin, and Sydel Silverman, Chicago University Press, 2005.

⁴ *Galicia: A Multicultural Land*, edited by Chris Hann and Paul Robert Magocsi, Toronto University Press, 2005.

3. Externally funded project

Political, economic, and social inclusion and exclusion in Poland and Bulgaria: an anthropological study

(funded by the Volkswagen Foundation)

Deema Kaneff and Frances Pine

This project is a study of inclusion and exclusion. It examines the importance of social networks based on kinship and other relations in these processes. The project also has a comparative dimension, focusing on Poland, a new EU member, and Bulgaria, which is anticipating entry in 2007. Although separate from the Department's main research group, it shares several areas of overlapping interest and interconnection. Not only is this project located in eastern and central Europe, it also pays particular attention to issues having to do with local identity and belonging, the problematic concept of civil society, the role of the church and other bodies which directly relate to individual and collective morality, and the development of new structures for economic, political, and social participation in the gaps left by the demise of the socialist state.

The ethnographic research is being carried out in two comparable urban areas of Poland and Bulgaria (Lublin and Plovdiv) by Frances Pine and Deema Kaneff and in the countryside outside each of these cities by two doctoral students, Anastazja Pilichowska and Zlatina Bogdanova. The Lubelskie region, of which Lublin is the capital, is one of the most economically disadvantaged areas in Poland and since Poland's entry into the European Union has represented the lowest GDP in the entire Union. The Plovdiv region, with its capital Plovdiv, is not considered the most economically disadvantaged in Bulgaria; however, since 1989 its importance as an economic centre has declined. Both cities are located at cross-roads. Lublin (ca. 380,000 inhabitants) connects trade routes between eastern and western Europe as well as eastern Poland and the rest of the country, while Plovdiv (ca. 350,000 inhabitants) is situated at the main transit corridor that connects Turkey to western Europe and southern Bulgaria with other major cities in the country. Plovdiv has a long history as a centre of trade and commerce. It is also an ethnically mixed city that brings together Bulgarians, Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Roma, and others in trading and other activities. Although until the tragic extermination of the Jews in the Second World War almost half of Lublin's population was Jewish, only a tiny number of Jews remain; the city is now primarily Polish Catholic, with some minority groups, most significantly Ukrainians and Roma. Lublin's current politico-geographic position near the easternmost border of the EU makes it, like Plovdiv, an important and complex site for the study of movement and mobility, exchange and trade. Like Plovdiv, it is an area that has

been undergoing economic decline since 1989, manifested largely in the collapse of heavy industry. In both cities formal estimates of unemployment are high, and these mask both hidden unemployment and extensive informal or hidden work. The research indicates substantial movement between rural and urban areas, primarily economically driven, in each place. Both also have high rates of temporary economic migration abroad. Friendship and kinship networks play a major role in the organisation of these movements.

Field research is still underway, and therefore our results are tentative. However, it seems clear that similar processes of informal connections and networks, which were extensively documented during the socialist period, continue to operate. All four project members are researching kinship and friendship networks: how and when such networks are used, by whom, and in what contexts. Migration, economic activity in households and businesses, the role of civil society, and EU integration are areas which have been given particular attention with respect to networks. In the following we highlight three main themes: kinship and friendship as particular forms of networks, EU integration, and migration.

Kinship and friendship networks in times of de-industrialisation

Our research so far indicates that kinship and friendship, in the context of personal and family networks, not only continue to be important in the postsocialist social economy, but also, in certain contexts, may be of increasing significance. One major factor here is the decline of state industry and the accompanying retraction of affiliated services and guaranteed employment. Fifteen years after the collapse of socialism, the long-term effects of de-industrialisation are becoming increasingly visible. In areas which previously relied heavily on one dominant industry (such as the helicopter factory in Świdnik, the town nearest Pili-chowska's field-site, or the automobile plant in Lublin) many of the thousands of people who worked in these enterprises have been formally unemployed since the decline of the factories, or only found short-term employment, often low paying and insecure jobs. In the Plovdiv region and in the city itself, a wide range of factories operated, from confectionary and Coca Cola bottling plants, to furniture and cosmetic factories. Even in this situation, where no single industry was dominant, many of the plants have been shut since 1989 while those that still operate as privatised companies have far fewer employees than before. For example, the privatised confectionary plant has reduced its production as well as its work force (from 2 300 in the 1970s to 400 in the late 1990s). And as in the Polish case, work is hard to find. When employment is obtained at these sites, it is almost always facilitated by existing ties of kinship or friendship. So, for instance, a Polish woman who had previously worked in the car factory in Lublin lost her job but

eventually found a new part-time position in a small cosmetics shop where her daughter was already employed. The owners of the shop, in turn, were close kin of her daughter's husband. In the Plovdiv confectionary factory, one middle aged couple, rather than waiting to be made redundant, started their own confectionary business, with the wife baking cakes and the husband running the coffee shop. Now, some 15 years later, this has grown into a family business: the son and daughter-in-law run a second coffee shop, selling cakes manufactured at the small factory started by the father and mother. Similarly, access to work in the ubiquitous 'black' economy, as well as users' knowledge of it, almost inevitably involves close personal ties of kinship, friendship, and/or neighbourhood.

In all four locations, most of those interviewed take it for granted that close ties, reciprocal aid and support, and often shared or joint household economies exist between parents, their children, and their grandchildren. In Lublin, questions about where people can turn and who they can count on in situations of financial, practical, or emotional difficulty are met almost with surprise: 'well my mother [or less often, my parents], of course'. For the younger generation, interestingly, it is often not parents but grandparents who are evoked as the first and most important source of support. This is particularly true in terms of financial support in families where lack of work necessitates reliance on social benefits. The grandparents' pensions often comprise a primary and steady, if not large, source of aid. This in turn has particular bearing on immigration (see below, point 3). In Plovdiv, family connections are also important, especially where the families are long established in the city. However, with the increased mobility since the 1960s, individuals are just as likely to depend on neighbours and work colleagues as on family, since parents left behind in the villages when the younger generations moved to the city cannot provide the same type of support. Nevertheless, personal networks are viewed as the most important resource: everything from getting a job to choosing a doctor is achieved through connections.

In both rural areas being studied, kinship and family ties and relations are ideally perceived as broad and strong. In the Polish case regular contact takes place primarily with members of the nuclear family. Indeed, there are indications that since EU accession the family has been taking on more importance, while neighbour and village relations are being 'activated' less often. The family is generally seen as the main site of support, manifested in inter-generational help, in the fact that through family connections it is easier to find work, or in the belief that it is thought best and safest to run a business with one's family because family members are trustworthy. In Cherven, rural Bulgaria, family ties are maintained partly as a result of the proximity of the village to the town of Asenovgrad (10 km away) and the city of Plovdiv (30 km

away). Many villagers commute daily to work in these urban areas, returning home to the village in the evenings, rather than moving permanently to the town or city. They stress the better quality of life they can have by living in the village – in terms of housing and in terms of their ongoing family relationships.

Entry into the EU

When Poles talk about EU accession, or Bulgarians about anticipated entry, they inevitably focus on marked increase (or anticipation of an increase) in the cost of daily life, from food to petrol and travel to consumer goods such as clothes and books; one Polish woman commented ironically that beer is still cheap, and everyone can afford to sit in a pub and drink a beer, but no one can afford a book anymore. In Plovdiv businessmen complain about the high costs of registering their companies in order to meet EU standards. Such costs are inevitably transferred to customers.

EU assistance for economic development is also a topic of comment in both rural and urban contexts. The type of small private businesses established, that is, shops, manufacturing workshops, or services, varies between the regions studied. In Lublin, although enterprises are developing in almost every field, the previous importance of the automobile industry is reflected in a plethora of mechanic's shops or tyre and clutch centres. The Plovdiv area was less industrially specialised during socialism, and contemporary small businesses range from construction to textiles and food industries to tourism. Such private businesses form an interesting border between the formal and black economies; usually legally registered and taxed, they are also often places of employment for informal workers, thereby avoiding the high costs of employers' contributions but also perpetuating the syndrome that important sources of state revenue are circumvented and, even more importantly, workers are unable to establish rights to social benefits. It is common practice in both countries for businesses to run parallel accounts: one with the 'official' figures for purposes of state tax, and one with the actual salaries of workers, which are much higher but lie outside pension and other benefit schemes. This combination of formal and informal economy allows a high degree of flexibility, which is particularly important as people move in and out of the local workforce, leaving at times to work abroad or holding several different jobs at the same time. People in Lublin working in the retail trade are currently despondent about the state of the local market, and further complain that although EU funds should be available to help them, they are discouraged from applying on every front: access to information about funding is obscure and complicated; even with knowledge of where and when to apply, the forms are too complicated and too difficult to complete; probably most importantly, funding often applies only to structural development or to

employment of new workers in existing businesses, and operates on a pay-back basis, so that money has first to be obtained as a bank loan and is only later reimbursed. Thus in difficult times people are likely to give up their businesses or to attempt to find funding either directly from the bank or from family. In Bulgaria a similar despondency concerning the local market is evident. In order to assist EU entry the local Plovdiv government set up a department to inform citizens about their rights and the help available. A year and a half on, it remains understaffed and information is hard to access. Meanwhile, businesses which have invested substantially in meeting EU standards are, for the present at least, placed at a disadvantage in relation to those who refrain from such spending and thus maintain lower operating costs.

As Poland joined the EU and Bulgaria's accession drew nearer, similar problems and challenges have been generated in the rural areas of both countries. Pilichowska's research in the Melgiew commune shows that local authorities are able and ready to benefit from accession (and pre-accession) programmes for infrastructural improvement. Specific cases from the field reflect very active membership in local government and a strong will to participate fully in, and benefit from, possible programmes (particularly significant here in financial terms are road improvements, infrastructural development, and school modernisation). Participation of individual farmers is a more complex question; however, one surprising finding is that most local farmers demonstrate a positive attitude towards new policies. Although EU requirements seem difficult to meet, most farmers take advantage of major support aid such as direct payments. In rural Bulgaria, Bogdanova's research in Cherven shows a number of local initiatives attempting to use EU pre-accession funds. But there are various problems relating to this: lack of local preparation due to inadequate information and expertise is a common pitfall (as in the Polish case). In some of the Cherven examples, access to EU funds appears determined by ethnicity: local, informal networks created among government officials of Turkish background are seen by some Bulgarians as favouring Turkish applicants. Reliance on family connections and bribes is also evident in the 'normal' course of applications for EU funding and again causes problems within the rural community.

Migration

When it comes to migration, where EU membership is a determining factor, we see perhaps the greatest differences between the two countries. Since Poland's entry, economic migration to the UK (where Poles now have the right to work legally) but also to Italy, Germany, Sweden, and France has increased dramatically. In Bulgaria, legal migration is more restricted. Germany and the USA are the two main migration sites, while illegal migration also targets Spain, Italy, and Greece (reli-

able figures are difficult to obtain). For Poles, EU membership has facilitated migration. This is not a new phenomenon (prior to and throughout the socialist period there was significant migration to the West); EU integration has just brought new possibilities. Cases from the Polish field sites (as in Bulgaria as well) show different types of migration: for different reasons; to different destinations; at different points in the life-cycle; and with different time spans.

One form of migration is a result of the increasing value attached to higher education. Domestically, rural-urban migration is increasing as more and more young people go to main university cities (mainly to Warsaw) to study and then to find a good job. Initially they receive substantial family support; one main form of support is 'food transfer'. With EU membership, more young people are migrating to other EU member countries (mainly the UK) to look for better life opportunities. In Lublin, almost all of the university students interviewed either have worked abroad already or are in the process of arranging to do so. Again, grandparents are frequently the source of initial funding and the young people combine work and holiday, travelling for some of the time before or after settling in one place, like London, for a month or two to earn money. In this group, most bring money home to supplement the domestic budget. It is often friends from university who are already living and working in London, rather than kin, who provide contacts and support abroad. For this group in particular, knowledge of English or less often French or German is a major advantage. Lublin has a growing number of language schools and it is common for school-age children to receive the gift of a language course from their parents and grandparents; the high costs of this are seen as justified by the increased opportunities that knowledge of English provides.

Previously, migration from rural areas was less visible; the strong labour markets of both Świdnik and Lublin allowed people to be 'peasant-workers' (*chłopo-robotnik*). Now rural economic migrants include middle-aged women going to Italy as housekeepers (mainly looking after elderly people) or to Germany to work in agriculture and men travelling to Germany to work on building sites or in agriculture. From Lublin too, in families where there is unemployment and where no one has gone on to higher education, economic migration may take the form of seasonal agricultural or building work for males, and for females agricultural work or more frequently cleaning or care work. Recruitment agencies now operate but most people appear to make their way independently, going to kin already working abroad and relying on their help to find work. Parents or grandparents often cover the initial costs of travel, and the migrants send or bring back contributions to the family 'purse'.

Bulgaria's current position outside the EU means that somewhat different social networks are activated and migration patterns displayed. Internal city-to-city and village-to-city migration is not a new phe-

nomenon: after an initial boost in the 1960s and 1970s, it has been steadily increasing and this trend has not changed dramatically in the last 15 years. There is, therefore, a strong tradition of attaining higher education in the capital or another big city and then remaining in the city. In this sense, long established networks of family support continue within the country. In Cherven, situated close to two urban centres, the commuting life begins with school pupils and continues for university students. However, an interesting and new trend is that while employment is sought in urban areas, residence remains in the village. This is clearly a response to the economic crisis of the last 15 years. Urban-rural migration is now carried out on a daily basis: in Cherven many people hold jobs in the neighbouring town or in Plovdiv but maintain their permanent residence in the village. Such commuting is made possible by the proximity of the village to neighbouring towns and the regular transport available.

At present, and undoubtedly until Bulgaria joins the EU, prohibitive costs make studying abroad less common than for Poles. Nevertheless, primarily students, but sometimes older people too, travel to European and American destinations in order to work temporarily and earn money. The many agencies in Plovdiv attest to the number of students who legally spend 4-6 months every summer working, often on farms, in the UK and other European locations before returning to university in autumn. Interestingly, financial support for such trips comes in the form of loans from family and friends and is repaid on return. The money earned is not usually passed on to the family, who rarely make claims to it (unless the young person remains for a longer period – i.e. over a year). Nor are family or friendship networks used in organising the trip (probably because migration abroad was not common in the socialist period and there are few equivalents to the established Polish networks). Rather, the students set up friendships with fellow Bulgarians, with whom they work in the host country. These become the main source of help and support while abroad. Such connections are encouraged by the agencies in Bulgaria, who give out phone numbers and names of fellow travellers. Most student migration is temporary: individuals return within the official period to continue their degrees. However their travel abroad is repeated over a period of several years. As well as students, men and women in their 50s (i.e. young pensioners) also migrate to European locations (e.g. Spain and Greece). After establishing themselves in a place and finding work, they frequently bring out their children and even grandchildren before returning to Bulgaria themselves to take care of the home. In such cases, migration is very much an inter-generational enterprise and, as in the Polish case, family members pool their resources of networks and earnings.

4. Research Group

Caucasian boundaries and citizenship from below

Lale Yalçın-Heckmann

This new research group will focus on the notion of citizenship, which has been changing in the postsocialist context. The former Soviet republics of the Caucasus were quick to declare their independence from the dissolving Soviet Union, but since then they have been seeking to re-establish old alliances and to forge new ones. War, political tensions, conflicts, and economic crises have closed some borders but opened up others. Throughout the transition years, the new republics from the former socialist bloc have been subject to transnational processes of democratisation and privatisation, which have been accompanied by nationalising politics and the re- and de-territorialisation of borders and, hence, also of citizenship, belonging, and property (Verdery 1998).

By employing the concept of citizenship 'from below', the members of the project group intend to explore how social citizenship is articulated in the South Caucasian republics. The notion of *social citizenship* includes not only citizens' economic, social, and political entitlements concerning the welfare state but also state practices resulting in the inclusion and exclusion of individuals as citizens (legal citizenship rights) and the civic commitments that are expected of citizens (duties). To what degree do the claims and duties of citizens correspond to state policies and practices regarding citizenship? When these do not correspond, do citizens organise and act as agents to shape new notions of citizenship and belonging? If so, how?

Paying special attention to *citizenship 'from below'*, we are looking for answers to the following questions: How do people negotiate the social units, which they want to belong to? How do they use economic, religious, and other networks to increase their bargaining power? Do they retain and renew their old passports, and, if so, how do they use them? Do they choose emigration or life in the diaspora? Or do they remain active in regional networks in order to secure economic and political survival?

Labour migration and trade, both of which involve temporary movement across borders, are a major phenomenon in the South Caucasus, and, therefore, they will be a first important axis of research into new notions of belonging and citizenship. For instance, the Armenian and Azerbaijani Republics suspended warfare in 1994 and still have no common peace agreement. Nevertheless, traders from both countries meet in Georgia to buy, sell, or barter their goods. Ethnic Azeris have been unofficially expelled from Georgia, but they still go there to trade and maintain their networks. Nakhichevan is formally cut off from Azerbaijan and survives economically through trade and labour migra-

tion to and from Turkey. All these movements of people and goods for economic or political reasons are bound to shape and be shaped by notions and practices of citizenship, in short by citizenship regimes.

Citizenship laws and regulations seldom reflect the dynamics of social action or their economic and political implications. In the case of the Caucasus republics, the maintenance of 'old' Soviet passports or their replacement with new documents from the new states has important consequences. It is estimated that millions of Azerbaijani citizens living in formerly Soviet countries, especially in the Russian Federation, still have these old passports, which they often keep in order to avoid having to apply for visas and residence permits. Therefore, legal notions of citizenship have to be investigated in wider social contexts, which frame the second axis of research in this project, namely, the more diffuse *ideas of political belonging and group identity* in Transcaucasia. For example, Turkey has become a 'Western' country in the eyes of its former communist neighbours, especially because of its economic opportunities. Turkish traders have been remarkably entrepreneurial in almost all former socialist countries. Turkish goods as well as Turkish businessmen and officials (technical experts, bureaucrats, military staff, and politicians) are agents who help shape new forms of cultural and political belonging and who encourage the development of new notions and practices of citizenship. Simultaneously, Turks utilise their new links to the former Soviet countries as resources in negotiating their identities as 'harbingers of modernisation' and in renegotiating their ethnic and political allegiances: Are the Azerbaijanis really their ethnic brothers? Are the Georgians fundamentally different because of their religion? To what extent do the Armenians in Armenia differ from their ethnic brothers in Turkey, if at all? The answers to such questions are dynamic, as are all comparable notions of political and economic inclusion and exclusion; and they are subject to change, depending on the experiences that people have had in the last fifteen years and are continuing to have.

Within this thematic focus, research will be carried out in the former Soviet countries of the Caucasus and also in Turkey. Fieldwork will reveal how, through links across new borders and through the effects of regional interests and global processes, new notions of citizenship are being created from below.

Reference

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B. Individual reports

Nation and religion: the politics of commemoration in south-east Poland

Juraj Buzalka

Juraj Buzalka graduated from Comenius University, Bratislava, Slovakia with a major in political science. He later turned to social anthropology and during his MA studies at Sussex University, Brighton, UK he became increasingly interested in the anthropological dimensions of political culture.

Since the beginning of my PhD project at the MPI for Social Anthropology in 2003 I have been investigating three major changes that have taken place in Poland and Slovakia after the demise of communism: those known as postsocialist transformations; those connected with various nation-building projects; and those related to integration into the European Union. The main question of my work is how these changes are influenced by religion and how religion reacts to them, especially within the broadly defined domain of politics.



Returning to the inter-war tradition, the Ukrainian war commemoration takes place on June 6th. After a long interruption, the march from the city to the war cemetery in Pikulice has been revived after 1990. In the foreground are the graves of WW II soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and in the background the tomb of the Ukrainian heroes of the Polish-Ukrainian war 1918-1919. (Photo: J. Buzalka, 2004)

I gathered my ethnographic material from June 2003 to August 2004 in the city of Przemyśl, south-eastern Poland. I focused on the relations between Roman Catholic Poles and Greek Catholic Ukrainians, both divided by their religious rites and nationality but united in one Catholic Church. In contrast to the city's multi-ethnic composition before WW II and as a result of ethnic cleansings during and after the war, Przemyśl's seventy thousand inhabitants today are overwhelmingly Roman Catholic Poles. The Greek Catholic community amounts to around two thousand Ukrainian believers. Przemyśl is the historical and contemporary seat of bishops of both Catholic rites. At the beginning of the 1990s, the city became known in Poland and abroad for what Chris Hann has

called "uncivil society". The 'uncivility' was represented by the nationalist tensions over Church property and especially by the religious-national battles over the Carmelite Church, before 1947 the Greek Catholic Cathedral. The city is surrounded by purely agricultural settlements and as a gateway to the East it makes a limited profit from the nearby border with Ukraine. The region is expected to attract tourists, not only thanks to its architectural heritage and nature, but increasingly also thanks to its mixed Polish-Ukrainian population and the presence of Jewish heritage. Europe in particular and state-driven ideologies and policies of multiculturalism are supposed to eliminate the intolerant Roman Catholic Polish dominance of city's public sphere. As I discovered, however, these policies and ideologies might also continue to uphold the mutual exclusiveness of the national cultures.

After returning from my fieldwork I decided to look at ritual and the politics of memory, through which I can analyse the major themes of my dissertation: nation and religion and their relations to social change. I argue that despite socialist modernisation policies and ongoing postsocialist transformations, there are still significant structural features, practices, and relations in the everyday life of people that are similar to the ones known from the agrarian era. One of the main promoters and defenders of these 'rural' structures, practices, and relations is the Catholic Church. As my research also shows, although people live lives quite independent from the institutional religion, churches nevertheless dominate the public sphere; they supervise most of political rituals, influence collective memories, and remain inseparable from the nation constructions. The main argument, therefore, remains that it is impossible to build a tolerant society in south-eastern Poland outside of the sphere of religion, and my work should contribute to the understanding of what kind of 'civil society' comes out of this religious-political domain.

The commemoration of the sixtieth anniversary of murders of Poles by Ukrainian nationalists in the village of Rumno, L'viv county (contemporary Ukraine) was organised in Przemyśl on 4 June 2004. The ceremony climaxed in the placing of soil from Rumno into the courtyard's wall behind the Holy Trinity Church. (Photo: J. Buzalka)



Charismatic Christianity among the Roma in Romania

László Fosztó

László Fosztó was born in Romania and obtained his first degree in Hungarian language and ethnography at the Babeş-Bolyai University (BBU), Cluj/Kolozsvár. He was awarded an MA in Nationalism Studies at the Central European University in 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 the Eastern European Roma and charismatic Christianity.

The project focused on issues related to religious change in the post-socialist period. The main target of this research was to inquire into the ways religious conversion to neo-Protestant movements alters grass-roots social relations and challenges established patterns of religious and ethnic divisions in a traditionally multi-ethnic and religiously pluralistic region of Romania. The main part of the fieldwork was carried out among the Roma in the Cluj area (Transylvania) in both urban and rural settings. Additional fieldwork focused on 'the local majorities': Magyars in the rural settlement and Romanians in the urban context.



Symbolic suppression of differences: Roma dress up in local peasant folk costumes during a Calvinist ceremony (Photo: L. Fosztó)

The traditional relationships between religious groups can be described as consisting of monopolistic structures. All of the 'historical churches' in Romania have a connection to ethno-national ideologies or identity projects. This is not only true for the connection between the Romanian national identity and Orthodox Christianity; it is also the case with the so-called 'Hungarian churches'. These are the Roman Catholic, Reformed (Cal-

vinist), Unitarian, and to some extent the Lutheran Evangelical church. Most of these churches have their faithful among the Magyars and are promoting – though there are differences in degree – the Magyar identity. In this region, therefore, belonging to one of these churches is directly linked to Magyar ethnicity just as belonging to the Orthodox Church is equated with being an ethnic Romanian. As the new religious

movements are the only actor in the religious landscape whose demographics do not depend on the faithful being born into an ethno-national group and baptised by parents, but which work rather through converting adults, they avoid – more or less consciously – entering into the ethnic divisions. Their relative success among the local Roma population is apparent.

The Roma I worked with are prone to convert to Pentecostalism. The success of Pentecostalism and the charismatic churches among the Roma has been observed both in Eastern and Western Europe, though few detailed ethnographies have been published. My dissertation will document in depth the process of conversion, paying attention to the particularities emerging from the ethnic and linguistic diversity and the differences between rural and urban contexts. This research demonstrates how this process influences the self-perception and social relations of the Roma as individuals and as a group. It also seeks to explain why the conversions are peaceful among the Roma in postsocialist Romania. The inquiry into the local concepts and practices of civility (even 'rural civility') connects this project to the framework of the "civil religion" research group. The focus on conversion is opening up comparative perspectives with other projects in the department that deal with conversion and charismatic Christianity as being one of the most dynamic global religious forces.



Rural civility: burials mobilise the solidarity of the local community beyond ethnic divisions.
(Photo: L. Fosztó)

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's degree 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 of Bucharest.

My project bears on the moral education of the Romanian-speaking population in Romania and the Republic of Moldova. Within this project, I pay particular attention to the transmission and spread of religious knowledge and practices in Romanian Orthodox communities in Romania and the Republic of Moldova and their impact on moral deliberations.



Sunday sacredness – an old woman who spends her Sunday trying to sell two bunches of garlic. (Photo: M. Heintz, 2004)

This project was conducted in two stages. In the first stage of this research, focused mainly on the religious 'revival' and the relation between the Romanian Orthodox Church and the state, I returned to Romania in the summer of 2003 and pursued these themes in the rural community of Langești and the neighbouring city of Pitești in the south of Romania. The main focus of this study is the analysis of the aims, means, difficulties, and results of the activity of the clergy at the local level (the parish). I study the negotiation between the state and the majority church regarding their role in the education of citizens, the role of the priest compared to the role of other local authorities, and the confrontation between the axiological model proposed by the Church (Christian morality) and other cultural models (socialist values, neoliberal values).

I have observed, on the one hand, the content of moral teaching and the way in which it is received, negotiated, and internalised by

lay people; and, on the other hand, their practices, as revealed through 'cases' facing open judgment in the community. This allows for the identification of moral values and normative judgments and of the difference between these values and the actual practice of individuals. Starting from the individual's point of view, I study his or her deliberation between several real or imaginary models of good conduct under the constraint of individual and historical circumstances. I compare the transmission of religious representations in urban and rural areas and I study the new forms of religiosity encountered in urban areas.

In the second stage of this research, I conducted fieldwork in the rural community of Coșăuți in the north of the Republic of Moldova, where I comparatively study the role of the church, the school, the family, and mass media in moral and civic education. My research in Moldova is focused on the moral and civic education of the youth, because this was a topical subject in a country massively affected by migration, in which many children grow up without parental education and authority. I am working on a monograph on this rural community in Moldova, in which I am addressing the act of lying from the point of view of the moral education and of moral judgments pertaining to it. This monograph deals in a parallel manner with lying in the public space, lying in the local community, and the education against lying provided by families. This monograph allows me to pursue an earlier interest in the methodology of research on values through its questioning of the methods and theoretical frameworks available for research on the linguistic act of lying.



*Orthodox Church, Bucharest, Romania.
(Photo: M. Heintz, 2004)*

Religious identities in the Ferghana Valley – continuities and changes

Irene Hilgers

Irene Hilgers was trained in anthropology at the universities of Bonn and Cologne, where she obtained her master's degree in 2002 with a dissertation titled "Transformationsprozess im Norden Kirgistans. Sozio-ökonomischer Wandel am Beispiel eines Dorfes."

This project is focused on the changing role of religion in the public sphere in Uzbekistan after the implementation of reforms and liberalisations introduced in the early 1990s. It also addresses the changing concepts of religious and national identities among Uzbeks in their encounter with new forms of religious pluralism.

Islam, including its religious customs and habits, is perceived by Uzbeks as an important feature of Uzbek identity and the foundation of social, cultural, and legal life. This notion is used in official government discourse for consolidating and legitimating an Uzbek nation-state. Islam is thus acknowledged as a national religion in national independence ideology, even though Uzbekistan is according to its constitution a secular country.



Women conducting a mavlud at the shrine of Bibi Ubaida, Ferghana Valley, Uzbekistan 2004. (Photo: I. Hilgers)

During Perestroika, the country opened itself to missionaries of various religious groups and to new notions of Islam, a process which intensified after the introduction of a new constitution in 1992. Liberalisation in the sphere of religion, the increasing access to information on religions, and the encounter with representatives of a scriptural interpretation of Islam all led to discussions of questions of the legacy of local Islamic practices versus the textually based interpretation of Islam. Tensions between so-called reformists, propagating a scriptural interpretation, and defenders of local practices of Islam came to head in a schism within Islam in the mid-1990s. Though this open dispute is now settled, questions on Muslim and Uzbek identity and the legitimacy of local

Islamic practices versus textual interpretations are still frequently discussed among Uzbek Muslims in the urban setting where this research was conducted. In attempting to align themselves with what are per-

ceived to be universal standards, devout Muslims strive to conduct religious practice according to the scriptural interpretation of Islam. Uzbeks following a 'traditional' understanding of Islam view this trend with suspicion and perceive it as a threat to Uzbek culture and tradition.

Concepts of religious identities and traditions are challenged not only by new streams of Islam, but also by non-Islamic religious groups that are being established in the region. Though still a marginal phenomenon, conversion from Islam to another religion is a transgression of the prevalent ethno-religious boundaries in a society where Islam is seen as deeply intertwined with ethnic identity. For Uzbeks who become a member of a non-Islamic faith, this implies a dilemma regarding allegiances with their tradition, national identity, and their new chosen religious affiliation, the last of which is regarded as not Uzbek but Russian.

Parallel to the (re-)definition of Muslim identity, questions of national identities became more pronounced after the independence of the country and its re-positioning as an independent 'Uzbek' nation state. The questions and the debate about a national 'Uzbek' identity did not remain confined to the level of the official discourse, but rather questions of what is particularly Uzbek and the role of Islam in this concept of identity became more central on the individual level as well.



Pilgrims buying souvenirs at the shrine of Bibi Ubeida, Bibi Ubaida, Fergana Valley, Uzbekistan 2004. (Photo: I. Hilgers)

The cult of saints in Uzbekistan and south Kazakhstan

Paweł Jessa

Paweł Jessa obtained his master's degree in Anthropology at the Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznań, where his dissertation examined the worldview of Kazakh nomads. His PhD dissertation project (supervised by Prof. Dr. Zbigniew Jasiewicz, Poznań) 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.

The cult of saints is one of many innovations which were introduced to Islam mainly through Sufi brotherhoods. The specific character of the veneration of saints is expressed above all in the fact that as part of 'popular' Islam it is unconnected to official places of prayer (mosques) and functions. An individual can be included in the pantheon of local saints in the person's lifetime or after death. Eligibility for holiness derives from a special bond with God, the main features of which are miraculous properties (*karamat*) and the power of bestowing divine grace (*baraka*). In Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, as elsewhere in Central Asia, saints are called *walī* (Arabic "the friend of the God", pl. *awliya*). The local saints reduce the distance which the text of the Koran creates between man and God. They bring relief from suffering, healing, children to the childless, and blessing for all who visit their graves (*mazar*).



Bata at the Kaynazar-ata mausoleum near Almaty; Aq jol pilgrimage, Kazakhstan 2004. (Photo: P. Jessa)

The veneration of saints is an evolving phenomenon, and new forms are observable in contemporary Kazakhstan. The most important of the new religious movements in Kazakhstan is *Aq jol* ("The White Way"), established around and by Bayjanova Zeyniykamal Karjinbaevna, a

female healer. In a prophetic dream in 1995 Zeyniykamal Karjinbaevna was given an order from the ancestors' spirits to start performing *namaz* and spread the faith of Muhammad. She tended to alcoholics, drug addicts, and all who needed help, showing them 'the right way' that would enable them to turn to God. The modifications introduced by the movement into the cult of saints relate above all to the enlarging of the local saint pantheon. The long-standing first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan D.A. Kunayev (1912-1992) is revered as the "father of the nation", who preserved Kazakh culture in the hard times of the Soviet period. In the southern town of Sozaq, money is being collected for the construction of a mosque bearing his name. A leaflet distributed during Ramadan in the year 2003 included a photo of Kunayev with the inscription: "The whole world knows him as Aūliye Ata" (*Әлем Таныған Әулие Ата*). His grave in Almaty is visited by many pilgrims. Many pray to this "new saint" for a position in the bureaucracy, which used to offer security to so many when Kunayev was in power.



"Holy Kobız"; pilgrimage by members of the Aq jol group, Kazakhstan 2004. (Photo: P. Jessa)

Aq jol is a hierarchical 'corporation' whose members have different functions (e.g. as shamans or clairvoyants) but who are systematically integrated through regular performance of a ceremony called *shiraq*. During *shiraq* the people who gather are healed and blessed by ancestors' spirits. Members also participate in pilgrimages to holy places, especially to Turkestan.

The concluding blessing (*bata*) creates a strong sense of *communitas*. The charismatic leaders of *Aq jol* stress the Muslim character of the group, but it is multi-ethnic and members of other denominations (mostly Christians) are regularly invited as guests. *Aq jol* attracts people of very different social backgrounds. In the group, they undergo a 'Muslim education course' based on interpretations of Islam prepared by the movement's leaders, who link Islamic traditions to regional ones and to 'tips' given by dead ancestors. The principles promoted by *Aq jol* are generally identical to the norms of 'official Islam', but its syncretic features are especially attractive to people who prefer to keep a distance from the 'official mosque'.

Saints, shrines, and spirits in Khorezm – A study of local Islam in post-Soviet Uzbekistan

Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi

Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi was born in Budapest, Hungary. She completed her graduate education in ethnology at the Free University of Berlin in 1986 with a dissertation entitled “Die Kızılbaş/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 postsocialist Uzbekistan.

While currents of political Islam in independent Uzbekistan have received much scholarly attention, little research has so far been carried out into everyday religiosity. Islamic traditions and identities vary greatly according to region, making generalizations difficult. This project explores the modes in which people appropriate Islam in the overall social, political, and economic context of postsocialism in the province of Khorezm in the far west of the country.



Pilgrims praying at the shrine of Mushkul Kushod, Urgench, Uzbekistan. (Photo: K. Kehl-Bodrogi, 2005)

In addition to its distinctive dialect, hardly understood outside the region, Khorezm is also marked by other cultural peculiarities. Since “shari’-mindedness” and Islamic scripturalism are traditionally poorly developed here, the general reassertion of Islam has assumed less dramatic forms than in central Uzbekistan. Islamic identity manifests itself mainly in the performance of domestic rituals, much as it used to before independence. The most visible sign of the return of Islam into the public sphere is increased shrine pilgrimage, and this was the main focus of the initial phase of fieldwork. I found that the major shrines can be best analysed as an arena of competing religious and secular discourses. On the one hand, the new state promotes shrines and seeks to graft its own symbols onto them, thereby staking a

claim to have a say in the interpretation of the holy sites and by extension of Islam as a whole. On the other hand, the representatives of legalistic scripturalism are opposed to the view that local traditions can be part of Islam as such. The articulation of these competing discourses

and the conflicts they generate are discussed with respect to one specific site in another part of this report (Kehl-Bodrogi and Schlee, pp. 9-22).

The realm of domestic rituals has also been affected by recent political and religious changes and this was the main focus of research in the second period (2005). Most Khorezmians regard the commemoration of the dead (*maraka*) as the major Islamic duty. Consequently, the Soviet ban on these rituals and on Islamic burial practices is perceived in retrospect as the most serious violation of religious freedom under socialism (though not the only one). However, the upsurge in *maraka* celebrations after independence attracted the attention of both official and unofficial religious authorities and increasingly of the state itself. While the former criticise extensive mourning and ritual weeping as un-Islamic, state propaganda condemns such rituals for their lavishness; similar criticism is made of wedding ceremonies. The project therefore explores the ways in which domestic religious rituals are maintained and reformulated between the constraints of state regulations, religious 'reformism', and the demands of 'tradition'.

Particular attention has been paid to religious healing. The revival of such practices can be attributed both to the general upsurge of interest in religious issues and to the dramatic worsening of the health care system since independence. The persuasiveness of religious healing is derived largely from the authority of tradition. However, its current revival is not a straightforward revitalisation of pre-Soviet traditions. Rather, religious healing in present-day Khorezm involves complex reconstructions and re-inventions of traditions that have to incorporate new methods and new meanings.



The shrine of Narinjan Baba, Khorezm, Uzbekistan. (Photo: K. Kehl-Bodrogi, 2004)

Chechen and Ingush Muslim identity from a comparative perspective

Galina Khizrieva

Galina Khizrieva obtained her master's degree at the Philological Faculty of the Moscow State University. In 2002 she defended her PhD in anthropology at the Council on Cultural Anthropological Studies. Her main research interests are historical anthropology and sociology, especially concerning the Muslim world.

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, contemporary Chechen-Ingush (also known as Vainakh) and a few other Daghestani highland communities began to re-establish their traditional social systems of self-government, the development of which had been interrupted in the late 1920s.

The majority of rural dwellers of the northeast Caucasian highlands belonged to the Sufi (*Qadiriyya* and *Naqshabandiyya-Khalidiyya*) orders, whose brotherhood organisations united various patronymic groups. The differences between these brotherhoods consisted in their different ritual practices. Highlanders who belonged to one or the other Sufi brotherhood (*tariqa*) identified themselves with a social group (a village or a municipal unit) and practiced the same ritual of praising Allah (*dhikr*). In the case of the Chechen-Ingush, they were economically integrated into one community under the guidance of their spiritual teacher (*ustaz*) or under the guidance of a *tamad* – a ‘manager’ of the community. The latter’s position is in some communities hereditary, as in those based on the teachings of Batal-hajji, and in others, such as those based on the Husein-hajji or Kunta-hajji teachings, the position is elected. According to my interview partners, the system of self-government was first introduced by one of the local holy teachers – Kunta-hajji. More than a century ago he appointed *tamads* in those communities that had been learning the *Qadiriyya tariqa dhikr* from him. The *tamads*’ task was to strengthen the communities to enable some supra-clan structures beyond the patronymic clan (*vird*) to come into being.

Kunta-hajji also gave the right and permission (*idjaza*) to some of his close adepts (*murids*) to continue his teaching. Following the supra-clan model, the *murids* introduced new institutions: the institution of teaching the brotherhood community the correct ritual practice and making the *tamad* position hereditary. The *Qadiriyya* brotherhood’s social organisation influenced *Naqshabandiyya murid* communities of Chechnya and Ingushetia such that they became very similar. The two brotherhood communities frequently intermarry.

The most striking religious development among them is that they both worship their deceased holy teachers (mostly sheikhs). This, however, is still a contested and sensitive issue; for many, such veneration is

a provocation, because a dead person, however pious, should not be regarded as spiritual teacher by and for human beings.

Unlike the Ingush-Chechen *Naqshabandiyya*, the brotherhoods in Daghestan maintained their social structure after the Caucasus War (1828-1859). The religious teacher stands symbolically and even physically at the centre of his circle of adepts (*murids*). The adepts are even free to elect their teacher. In one family there may be different teachers, while some members of the family may not have any. They usually form a looser type of community than the Ingush-Chechen case. With the permission of the teacher, the *murids* are allowed to leave their homes in the countryside and take up urban lives. Thus they have come to form a network of adepts across the country, joined by their relationship to their sheikhs. They are scattered all over Daghestan, in the big cities of the Russian Federation, and in the Volga-Ural region. From time to time they return to their teachers to continue their religious instruction.

Another common feature of Vainakh and Daghestani *murid* communities has to do with the specific features of the collective practice of *dhikr*, which is performed in a circle. For the *Naqshabandiyya murids* of Daghestan, the *dhikr* consists of a repetitive part where the concentration is silent. For Chechen and Ingush *Qadirriyya-Kuntahajiyya murids*, the *dhikr* takes place at a quick and loud pace, a method of ritual practice that has become a symbol of their brotherhood, of their communities' social structure, and of the revival of Islam. The same symbol of Chechen-Ingush brotherhoods has come to indicate the eternal movement of life. In 1992 it became the symbol of the new Ingush republic.



The solar symbol, which here represents the *dhikr* Muslim ritual circle of the *murids*, followers of the Hussein-hajji Qadirriyya brotherhood; Plievo village, Ingushetia 2005. (Photo: G. Khizrieva)

Re-orientalising the Church: charity and morality among the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church

Stéphanie Mahieu

Stéphanie Mahieu received her first degrees and MA in social anthropology from the Free University of Brussels. She defended her PhD thesis on the recent revival of the Romanian Greek Catholic Church at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (Paris) in 2003. She then held a post-doctoral Fellowship at Viadrina University, Frankfurt/Oder (2003-2005). With the help of a grant from the MPI for Social Anthropology she undertook field research in Greek Catholic communities in Hungary (Nyíregyháza area) during the summer of 2004 – work she will continue in the second half of 2005.

My project focuses on the recent internal changes in the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church (HGCC), the only Greek Catholic Church of the region to escape political repression during the socialist period. It pays special attention to three interrelated topics:

- *Re-orientalising the Church.* Two main trends can be identified within the HGCC: the advocacy of a return to the 'true' tradition, that is a re-orientalisation of the Church, and the advocacy of a *status quo*, that is a combination of Latin and Eastern elements. This tension is nothing new or specific to the HGCC. Indeed, the issue of Latinisation of the rite within the Greek Catholic Churches has always been passionately discussed. However, since 1993 and the promulgation of the *Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches* by the Vatican, a liturgical 'purification' through the elimination of Latin elements has been acutely promoted. The Eastern trend seems strong in Hungary, where, unlike in Romania and Ukraine, Greek Catholics do not have to differentiate themselves from dominant Orthodox Churches. In addition, they often promote Eastern spirituality as a 'real' religious experience, unlike what can be found within the Western, secularised Latin Church. A large part of the analysis is dedicated to the implementation of such a liturgical 'renewal': what does it mean for the faithful and for the priests? Which elements have to be changed (church architecture, interior decoration, hymns)? What is to be considered the 'true' tradition?

- *Morality and the role of priests' wives.* Greek Catholic priests, who follow the Eastern Canons, do not have the obligation to celibacy. Therefore, their families, and especially the priests' wives, play a crucial role in the parish life; their behaviour is considered a moral example. Priests' wives have always been a moral example within rural communities, but this is becoming the case in urban areas as well, though in a different way: many of them have permanent jobs, and their contacts with the faithful are based less on everyday encounters. Specific attention will be paid to

priests' wives' narratives and everyday life in both rural and urban settings. How do they combine their jobs and volunteer activities within the parish? Which moral values do they want to promote? Are these moral values connected with Eastern spirituality?

- *Charity and civil religion.* For a few years, new forms of institutionalised faith-based charity have been emerging within the HGCC, besides informal, network or family-based solidarity. A case-study will be dedicated to a detoxification and rehabilitation centre managed by the Greek Catholic Church in North-East Hungary, based on the Greek Catholic liturgical order and Eastern monastic spirituality. Unlike Catholic and Protestant traditions, charity as an institutional activity was much less developed within Eastern churches, which were more interested in exploring the mystery of divine revelation than in the well-being of their followers. Comparisons will be made with other faith-based organisations in order to underline the specificity, if there is any, of Eastern faith-based forms of charity. A more general discussion about 'civil religion' and the role of churches as new actors in the implementation of a civil society in postsocialist countries will be addressed.



The Paraklisz Greek Catholic detoxification centre, Rakaca, Hungary. (Photo: S. Mahieu).

Muslim life in a Kyrgyz-Uzbek town

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 for Social Anthropology in 2003 as a PhD candidate. Her current project is based on field work conducted in Kyrgyzstan from July 2003 to September 2004.

This project investigates Muslim life in a small town in Southern Kyrgyzstan near the Kyrgyz-Uzbek border. During the (late) Soviet period, public notions regarding Islam and Muslimness were fairly stable and largely uncontested. Following independence, but especially since the late 1990s, the formerly established ideas began to be questioned and variations in Muslim practice and ideology became evident, especially in the public sphere. The most obvious signs of this religious expansion were the construction of mosques, increased mosque attendance, and alterations in female dress to more covered forms of veiling. Less apparent, but still influential, were the proliferation of ideas and modes of practice through small, home-based Quranic study groups and the missionary efforts of local *davatchis* (one who delivers a religious message).



Supposedly sinful elements of evening parties – like the display of the bride and consumption of alcohol– are being removed from some weddings in Bazaar-Korgon in order to align the events with ‘new’ beliefs about how Muslims should behave. (Photo: J. McBrien)

Another mode through which alternative interpretations of Islam were being transmitted were new wedding parties. In those events, the supposedly sinful elements of traditional evening wedding parties – such as dancing, drinking, and gender mixing – were excised. In their place, a religious teacher was invited to deliver a message calling guests

closer to the 'true' path of Islam. The interpretations of Islam taught at the weddings, and those Islamic ideas generally gaining ground in the community, tended toward doctrinally-based forms of Islam. Followers of these interpretations validated their claim to orthodoxy through an appeal to written text; they evaluated proper Muslimness on the basis of religious knowledge and the performance of certain prescribed religious duties such as regular prayer. These notions challenged the ideas and identities of community members who held to interpretations of Islam that stressed the keeping of life-cycle rituals, that incorporated supposedly 'non-Muslim' elements such as charms or healing, or that, perhaps most importantly, were largely 'secular'.

This research project focuses on this recent expansion of Islam in the local setting and the reactions of various Muslims to it. The assertion of 'new' ideas in the public sphere and the ensuing responses they engendered meant more than an aseptic debate over Muslimness and Islam; it forced a rethinking of personal and group identity and the role of religion in (local) society. Many residents, especially the young, already involved in rethinking these notions, responded with enthusiasm to the new ideas. Though not always accepting them, they enjoyed the opportunity to explore what they saw as 'real Islam'. Others, whose way of life and sense of identity were more poignantly challenged by the alternative interpretations of

Islam, often responded by distancing themselves from those propagating these ideas by labelling them *Wahhabis*, *Hizb ut-Tahrir*, or extremists.

The project argues against interpretations of the religious and political situation in Central Asia which see the increase of belief in, and practice of, textually-based forms of Islam as the wholly foreign import of radical 'Islamist' ideas. Although 'global' ideas have long been incorporated into religious innovations in Central Asia, these have always been mediated, contested, and reconstructed in ways that were specific to the particular temporal and spatial characteristics of the community.



Residents of Bazaar-Korgon, Kyrgyzstan, say that the building of new mosques – such as the construction of this mosque in summer 2004 – is one source of confirmation that their town is becoming 'more religious'. (Photo: J. McBrien)

Modes of religiosity in Eastern Christianity: Greek Catholics in Western Ukraine

Vlad Naumescu

Vlad Naumescu obtained his first degree in social psychology and an MA in social anthropology, both in Bucharest, Romania. His main academic interest has been in the anthropology of religion and the interactions between anthropology and psychology/psychiatry.

My PhD research with the MPI for Social Anthropology started as a comparative project dealing with the development of the Greek Catholic churches, in Western Ukraine and Romania. These churches shared a similar history from their conception up to their revival in early 1990s. Their evolution involves questions regarding institutionalisation, relations with the state and other religious groups, and an ambiguous confessional position within Christianity. For the PhD project extensive fieldwork was undertaken in Western Ukraine (from June 2003 to September 2004) where the size of the group studied, and an extremely diversified religious space, required more attention during the research process. However two short fieldtrips to Romania provided the basis for certain controlled comparisons.



In the Soviet district of Sykhiv many church buildings of different confessions appeared after 1990. These two neighbouring chapels are splinter groups of a once united Orthodox community in Syhiv. They are facing an impressive new Greek Catholic Church which occupies the other side of the square. (Photo: V. Naumescu, L'viv, 2004)

Since independence Ukraine's vague legislation and feeble involvement of the state in religious matters set the conditions for an emerging religious pluralism. Investigating its origins in a Soviet suburb of L'viv (Sykhiv) revealed two of the mechanisms which led to the present plurality: successive splitting of one church community into three "new churches" and the social repositioning of formerly banned groups (Greek Catholics, Pentecostals, Jehovah's Witnesses) into the now open public spaces. This process of 'the making and unmaking of churches'

characterises the 'religious revival' period of Ukrainian society (to the mid-1990s).

Contrary to what the literature suggests, the resulting plurality is not based on the market-like religious competition – faced with the choice of four Eastern Christian Churches, believers prefer to relate to an imagined overarching Orthodoxy which goes beyond confessional affiliation and unites these different churches. This aspect is well-reflected in the low commitment to religious institutions, deriving from the forced separation between religious practice and institutionalised churches during the Soviet regime. When churches were closed, religious practice remained part of the domestic sphere. But the sense and plenitude of one's religious life were given by occasional excursions into spirituality: 'underground' liturgies, visits to 'special' churches or to places of intense devotion. This alternation shaped a particular rhythm of religious life in which two "modes of religiosity" (a term I borrow from Harvey Whitehouse) are acting: a routinised practice offering the needed continuity but little satisfaction, and an extra-ordinary practice which is emotionally charged and thus highly motivating. The latter, the imagistic mode of religiosity, also has the role of adjusting the religious message by adapting it to the changing reality. Creative responses are produced not only as a reaction to modernity but also to social change more generally. Explorations of the contemporary religious imaginary can lead to an understanding of how religion makes sense of the postsocialist situation.



The monument of the Virgin Mary in the old centre of L'viv has multiplied last year in several similar statues. These copies were supposed to be sent with missionaries to Eastern Ukrainian "atheist" towns which needed to convert. The cult of the Virgin Mary occupies the most important part of the local religious imagery. It had been very strong during Soviet times and new apparitions still take place every year in Western Ukraine. (Photo: K. Trencsenyi, L'viv, 2004)

Religious frontiers after socialism: missionary encounters and the dynamics of conversion in Kyrgyzstan

Mathijs Pelkmans

Mathijs Pelkmans obtained his MA in cultural anthropology at the University of Nijmegen in 1996 and completed his PhD at the University of Amsterdam in 2003 with a dissertation titled "Uncertain Divides: Religion, Ethnicity, and Politics in the Georgian Borderlands". For his post-doctoral research at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology he conducted fieldwork in two urban settings in Kyrgyzstan between July 2003 and September 2004.

The research project looks at changes in the frontier between the Muslim and Christian realms after socialism in Kyrgyzstan. Employing the concept of the frontier as a zone of contact and interaction between different religions, the project analyses the impact of 'new' religious movements in Kyrgyzstan. The project shows that the destabilisation of Soviet and Muslim space has allowed Evangelical and Pentecostal Christian groups to make significant inroads into Kyrgyz society. By comparing missionary encounters in the two fieldwork settings – the capital Bishkek and the former southern mining-town Kok-Jangak – it is not only possible to understand the dynamics of conversion, but also to explain increased resistance to missionaries as they move from an anonymous urban space to the socially denser environment of a small post-industrial town.

One recurring theme in the project is the uneasy relation between Pentecostal Christianity and Kyrgyz national ideals. Most Kyrgyz tend to equate their national or ethnic identity with being Muslim. A basic strategy of Pentecostal churches to overcome this 'ethnic barrier' is to disconnect religious and ethnic categories by introducing and stressing differences between faith, religion, and culture. Moreover, by building on ideas of 'modernity' and the appeal of the West, Pentecostal churches are able to attract significant followings. The rapid growth of Pentecostal churches worldwide has often been associated with the attractiveness of the 'Gospel of Prosperity'. Likewise, part of the attraction of the largest and fastest growing Pentecostal church in Kyrgyzstan is that it not only offers salvation, but also stresses universal access to prosperity, health, and success by faithful prayer. The message proves particularly attractive to the poorer layers of society, especially to those who are in one way or another outsiders in their own community. The narratives of converts contain important critiques of postsocialist change – in particular of gender inequality, economic deprivation, and social exclusion. Initially, the converts' turn toward the "power of Jesus" does not necessarily imply a radical transformation of spiritual convictions. Indeed, there are remarkable similarities between the worldview promoted by Pentecostal churches and indigenous notions

about spirits, as well as between 'Christian' faith-healing and traditional 'Muslim' healing.

But in spite of such apparent continuities, the act of conversion draws explicit reactions from Muslim neighbours, kin, and local leaders. As individual religious choices are deeply entwined with the larger social environment, social repercussions of conversion quite often lead to a renunciation of one's newly found belief. Moreover, the influx of rich missionary organisations and the increasing numbers of Kyrgyz converts are perceived as endangering the integrity of the nation and the state, and as such have provoked reinterpretations of the content (and interrelation) of ethnicity, religion, and statehood. As such, conversion to Protestantism in Kyrgyzstan results not only in the creation of special Christian niches in a predominantly Muslim environment, but also in the appearance of new dynamics of inclusion and exclusion which in turn engender a complex frontier between the Muslim and Christian realms.



*A Pentecostal congregation in front of their church 'God's Power' in Southern Kyrgyzstan.
(Photo: M. Pelkmans)*

Modes of authority: Islam, state, and community 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" and joined the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in 2003.

This project looks at the interaction between modes of power and authority in relation to Islam. Within the Soviet Union, the place of religion in the public sphere was restricted and closely regulated by the state. For the majority of the population of Central Asia, Islam was largely experienced as an element of national and cultural identity, manifested in such events as life-cycle rituals, shrine visitation, and various forms of religious healing. While the public sphere was dominated by values of socialist modernity, the private sphere of the family was a space for the expression of local identity and culture, part of which was identity as being Muslim.



Friday prayers at the mosque of Hoja Abdu Darun in Samarkand. (Photo: J. Rasanayagam)

Since Uzbekistan gained its independence following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Islam has re-entered the public sphere and people have joined the rest of the Muslim world in contemplating reflexively about what it means to be a Muslim. Different groups promote their own conceptions of 'correct' Islam. State authorities, fearful of the potential recourse to Islam by opposition groups, continue to closely regu-

late public expression of Islam and try to define it as non-political and the private affair of individuals. Another group consists of the imams and others trained in the state-controlled *madrassas* who draw upon an authority based on knowledge of the central texts of the Koran and Hadith. This textual interpretation is often at odds with much of local Muslim practice, such as the veneration of Muslim saints, healing with the aid of spirits, and many forms of women's religious expression. The forms of authority invoked in these latter contexts are those derived from unmediated encounters with the divine, or forms of Muslim expression validated through the role they play in the reproduction of kinship relations and local communities.

The approach being taken here in part follows that advocated by Talal Asad, in that the project looks at the manner in which 'orthodoxy' is developed as different groups attempt to promote their own conceptions of 'correct' Islam. Relations of power and political economic realities are integral to this. However, the focus is on the person as the site where different forms of authority and power are realised, and on the means by which people create a sense of selfhood through beliefs and practices of Islam.

Field research took place over a period of 10 months in the city of Samarkand and in a village near the city of Andijan in the Fergana Valley in 2002-2004. Research focused on a number of issues. These included the relationship between clergy trained and appointed by the state and unofficial, locally chosen, or self-appointed religious practitioners; possession healing from the point of view of both healers themselves and their patients; women's Muslim expression; and conversion to Christianity and other religious groups.



A bridal party at the Imam al-Bukhari mausoleum near Samarkand. (Photo: J. Rasanayagam)

Living cosmopolitanism? Religious revival and local identity in Odessa

Tanya Richardson

Tanya Richardson has a BA from the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada and an MPhil. and PhD from the University of Cambridge. She worked in Kyiv, Ukraine, from 1995-1999 and conducted fieldwork in Odessa during 2001-2002.

My project “Living Cosmopolitanism? Religion, ‘Tolerance’ and Local Identity in Odessa” expands on doctoral research which examined the contradictions of local and national identity in Odessa, Ukraine. Odessa, a city of one million people in the south of Ukraine, was founded and developed rapidly with the expansion of the Russian Empire into the area in the late 18th century. Since Odessans assert that their city is “multi-ethnic,” “international” and “tolerant,” this project examines whether the emphasis on “tolerance” in local ideology has practical effects on the social relations among people of different ethnicities and faiths in the city. What kind of model of tolerance does this local ideology propose? What does this model envision for the place of different ethnicities and religions in the public life of the city? Given that the genealogy of tolerance in local ideology can be traced to imperial Russia of the early 19th century, what effect might it have in the current, radically different political context? In what ways does the presence of tolerance as an emic category relate to local practices of toleration?



Main synagogue of the Hitvak Orthodox Community. (Photo: T. Richardson)



Synagogue of the Chabad Community. (Photo: T. Richardson)

Two main avenues were pursued during fieldwork in July 2005. The first line of research explored how toleration and conflict operate in everyday spaces such as marketplaces and residential courtyards in the old part of the city. Odessans consider the historical cohabitation of different nationalities – mainly European – in communal courtyards to have played a major role in the historical production of the “Odessan character”. Nowadays marketplaces are considered the arena of the

most intensive interactions between city residents of 'old' and 'new' nationalities (i.e. migrants from Africa, Asia, and the Caucasus). Most traders interviewed asserted that there were no conflicts arising at their markets among different nationalities. In some markets, concern and anger were expressed when Azerbaijanis and Chechens occupied a niche at a market. Most traders however, like Odessans in general, asserted that conflicts do not arise because of nationality but rather because of some other issue (personality, economic competition, etc.). This type of argument was also used by both Roma and Bulgarians in an event in which Bulgarian residents wrecked the houses of their Roma neighbours in the spring of 2002 as a result of a conflict between two youths.

Secondly, through interviews with religious leaders I explored how religious institutions interact with local authorities, perform as political actors, and generate or mitigate conflict with other churches or faith communities. One dimension of conflict concerns the relations between the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchy (UOC-MP) and other Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant churches. In Odessa, the UOC-MP is by far the dominant church in the city and possesses some 30 churches and monasteries in contrast to the UOC-KP (Kyiv Patriarchy) and the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia each of which have two churches. In a local representative survey conducted by sociologists at the Odessa National University, 40% of believers identified themselves as Orthodox Christians, while 1% identified themselves as adherents of Ro-

man Catholicism, Greek Catholicism, Protestantism, Judaism, and Islam, respectively. Two informal councils of Christian faiths have emerged since 2001 in order to lobby for common interests in the local administration, counter legislation they disagreed with such as attempts to pass a new law on the freedom of conscience, and issue joint statements on events such as the presidential elections in the fall of 2004. No comparable council has been created for all confessions including Muslims, Jews, and others, although they meet at official meetings organized by the *oblast* council.



The newly reconstructed Spaso-Preobrazhensky Sobor (Cathedral of the Transfiguration of the Saviour): this is the designated cathedral church of the Odessa Eparchy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchy. (Photo: T. Richardson)

The moral education of children in contemporary Tajikistan: secular concepts and Muslim realities

Manja Stephan

Manja Stephan is a graduate of Mittelasienwissenschaft and Ethnologie at the Humboldt and Free Universities in Berlin, Germany. Her master's thesis was concerned with religious practices of Muslim Women in Uzbekistan.

My present project is part of the international research project "Islamic education in the Soviet Union and the CIS" at the Ruhr University of Bochum, financed by the Volkswagen Foundation. Fieldwork was conducted between 2002 and 2004. I am happy that I have been able to join the Central Asia research cluster during the analysis of my data and that my doctoral dissertation can be submitted at the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg.

Moral mobilisation of society is a crucial focal point in the conflict between traditional, religious (Islamic), and modern (secular) values in post-Soviet and post-civil war Tajikistan. In times of social instability and ideological confusion, a vehement call for the moral education of the youth is clearly evident in all domains of the Tajik society. Various voices in the public sphere demand a return to the 'Eastern morality' to help in overcoming the Soviet legacy of 'foreign' or 'Russian values' and to bring young people closer to cultural traditions and to the moral system of the 'glorious past'. At the same time, new interpretations of Islam emerge and compete with the secular state in the public discussion of morality.

Against this background the project investigates moral education and socialisation of children into values within the family in traditional urban neighbourhoods and suburban areas in the capital city of Dushanbe. Special focus is placed on various concepts of *odob* – i.e. morality, proper conduct, and good manners – and how these concepts interact with family traditions, social expectations, and the moral code of the local community as well as with official interpretations of *odob* propagated by the Tajik state. Furthermore, the conceptualisation of moralities serves as a tool to investigate the negotiation of various meanings of Islam within the Tajik society.

Moral education and socialisation into values is closely connected with the lifecycle. Within this context, special attention is paid to the stage of *baloghat*, i.e. coming of age. At this stage the moral education of children in the family is primarily aimed at confronting the child with local concepts of gender. At the same time, the *baloghat* stage marks the beginning of Islamic learning. Consequently, the project tries to link not only gender studies with an anthropology of childhood, but also morality studies with the domain of religious education. The local mosque serves as an example of the overlapping of the religious and the moral

spheres, since it links text-based Islamic learning with the transmission of the moral codes and gender concepts of the local community.

Since the state also provides moral education through ethics classes at schools, Tajik youth is also confronted with a secular interpretation of *odob*, as part of the official national ideology. The juxtaposition of moral education in the religious and in the secular sphere leads to the question: what is being presented as 'secular values' and how are these values related to the Muslim realities of Tajik society? The ethics classes show the place the state assigns to Islam in the official national ideology. On the one hand, the fusion of different value systems into a new secular moral concept incorporates Islamic elements and leads to the secularisation of religious elements. On the other hand, long-standing values are being designated as "Islamic" and presented as reactionary when they come into conflict with modern values which underlie the secular character of the Tajik state. Nevertheless, contrary to the official secular line, ethics classes also strengthen the central role Islam plays in the Tajik society as a symbolic system through which new values are transmitted by teachers to their pupils.



Religious students helping to serve palav to neighbourhood members, who came to the newly built local mosque to join in the navruz (New Year's) celebrations, northern centre of the capital city of Dushanbe, Tajikistan, spring 2004. (Photo: M. Stephan)

Individualists by force? Property reforms and rural economy in postsocialist Azerbaijan

Lale Yalçın-Heckmann

Lale Yalçın-Heckmann was born and educated in Istanbul and studied social anthropology at the London School of Economics (PhD 1986). Her first research was on tribes and local politics among the Kurds in Turkey. She has published on Kurds as well as on migrants and Islam in Germany and France. She joined the MPI for Social Anthropology in June 2000 and is currently following up her work on rural property in Azerbaijan by assuming the leadership of a new team which will investigate 'citizenship from below' in the South Caucasus.

This project focused on privatisation policies in the Azerbaijani countryside. By the time I began fieldwork in 2000, a significant number of reforms were being rapidly implemented. Nevertheless, privatisation has proceeded with different degrees of success in different sectors of the economy. Azerbaijan's economic development is dominated by the energy sector, which accounted for more than 30% of GDP in 2001. In comparison, agriculture is marginal at the national level.

The marginalisation of the rural economy despite radical privatisation of agricultural land was one of the main themes of my investigation in two field sites, one in the west of the country and the other a smaller settlement farther north. At the first site, Tüzəkənd, privatisation of former *sovkhoz* (state farm) and *kolkhoz* (collective farm) land had been completed and some residents had already received their deeds. According to the provisions of the land reforms, all residents of rural settlements were entitled to receive equal shares of land. This meant 0.14 hectares per person in the case of Tüzəkənd. An effort was made to ensure that household members received land in the same locations to enable them to work it jointly. Entitlements to land depended on where a person was registered as residing and on family status. A comparison with the case in Ukraine showed that the Azerbaijani reforms were apparently the more radical in the extent to which they eliminated all traces of the Soviet agricultural infrastructure. Production and marketing are now sustained primarily by informal networks based on kinship and friendship.

Land reforms were designed to eradicate collective property and give individuals the opportunity to become owners and farmers. The former *kolkhoz* and *sovkhoz* workers were forced to become individualists, that is, to become economically active without state support. At a certain level the policies succeeded, for the old collective structures indeed vanished and individuals were forced into more entrepreneurial roles. It was not, however, anticipated that they would focus their energies on household plots or migration. The privatised land remained undercultivated. More intensive cultivation of the household plot was the

main response to the economics of smallholder cultivation, differentials in soil quality and access to water, the limited availability of markets, and the withdrawal of almost all state support. This work suited households' labour composition and could be lucrative through the production of cash crops such as herbs and vegetables for markets in Russia.



Household plots, a legacy of the socialist period, are the main source of income in rural Azerbaijan because they are more suitable for intensive cash crop production than the newly privatised fields of the ex-socialist sector. (Photo: L. Yalçın-Heckmann)

That some individuals made no use of a good given to them free of charge, preferring instead to migrate, could be partially explained through a comparison with the second field site. Pirdinar, a settlement for internally displaced persons (IDPs), is located in a region where the shares of privatised land individuals received were significantly larger than those in Tüzäkänd. The IDPs were not, however, entitled to own land in this settlement but were only granted use rights to certain sections of communally owned land. Legal restrictions on ownership, together with the politics of regional and ethnic patronage, forced IDPs to appropriate land which legally (after its distribution) belonged to others, following its distribution. The appropriations were successful because Kurdish ethnic activists were able to manipulate official policy to support IDPs, who were perceived as distressed. The major comparative discussion of the land reforms in Azerbaijan is in preparation as a *Habilitation* thesis.

C. Prospect

At the time of this Institute report's preparation in the summer of 2005, this department has recently advertised a large number of vacancies at both post-doctoral and PhD levels. Interviews are scheduled for October-November, and we expect to launch a new cycle of projects from the beginning of 2006. Details cannot be given here, because a great deal will depend on the applications we receive. As noted above, we plan to continue with the Focus Theme on religion. We would like to be able to give greater prominence to projects investigating norms and values (or perhaps 'moralities'). In our advertisement we have also tentatively raised the possibility of extending the Institute's enquiries into kinship and social security (see p. 279) to other parts of Eurasia. Here too the theme of morality is bound to be important, so that in one way or another this topic seems sure to be central to our work in the coming years. Finally, the advertisement also encouraged, at the postdoctoral level only, applications from scholars proposing to investigate some aspect of 'social evolution' in Eurasia. If such a group emerges, it will be the most radical new departure for us in the years ahead.

At present only the following can be stated with a high degree of certainty: as of early 2006 we will still be working on religion in the formerly socialist countries; the new group under Lale Yalçın-Heckmann working on "Caucasian Boundaries and Citizenship from Below" will become fully operational; and we shall complete the Volkswagen Foundation project on "Social Inclusion and Exclusion in Bulgaria and Poland".

Given these uncertainties we shall use this space to provide a concise outline of the reasoning for settling on the designation "Eurasia" as the long-term name of this department. Since our Focus Themes will continue to change from time to time, it might seem preferable to dispense with an over-arching name. But it seems that we are obliged to have one! What follows is an elaboration of the name modification announced in the previous Institute report.¹

Definition and caveat

Unfortunately the term Eurasia remains puzzling and confusing to many, including fellow anthropologists. We therefore need to explain what the Eurasian perspective in our sense of it means and what it does not mean. Some take Eurasia to denote an indistinct zone where Europe and Asia interact, roughly speaking the steppe between Mongolia and Eastern Europe. This usage is established in some academic nomencla-

¹ A fuller version of this argument, including references, can be found as Chapter 10 of *Not the Horse We Wanted! Postsocialism, Neoliberalism, and Eurasia*, LIT Verlag 2006 (HSAE 10).

ture, e.g. in the United States, where there are departments and centres for the study of "Eurasia". From our perspective, however, such entities would be more appropriately named "Central Eurasia". In Russia, by contrast, the term "Eurasia" is associated not with obscure branches of academia but with a highly political ideology, one which legitimates Russian hegemony in Siberia and Central Asia, and which, in postsocialist conditions, has come to stand opposed to 'Europe' and 'the West'. As Caroline Humphrey has shown, Eurasianism in this sense has spawned fantastic nationalist imaginaries, both among Russians and among smaller peoples of the Russian Federation.

Our use of "Eurasia" differs from all of these. Following Jack Goody, we take Eurasia to be the entire landmass between the eastern Atlantic and the western Pacific and between the Indian Ocean and the Arctic. The definition cannot be formulated solely in geographical terms: for historical reasons, to be discussed below, North Africa must also be considered as part of Eurasia. Eurasia is the 'Old World' of agrarian empires. It later initiated the decisive shift away from agrarian civilisations, though it still exhibits a vast range of economic and political forms. Eurasia is also 'home base' for anthropology, in the sense that the modern discipline developed here, primarily as the study of humans on continents which had a quite different long-term history. To correct the biases introduced by the European colonial empires, which have troubled so many anthropologists in post-colonial times, we argue that it is necessary to pay more attention to Eurasia, rather than Europe, as the discipline's home base.

Eurasia cannot, of course, be the limit of anthropological comparisons. Again the work of Goody is instructive. While many of his earlier contributions emphasised the gulf between Eurasia and sub-Saharan Africa, he has more recently drawn attention to universal cognitive capacities, identifying the same basic tensions in all human societies regardless of their means of production and communication (degree of literacy). He has been impressed by the rapid changes that have taken place in recent years almost everywhere in the world, above all concerning demographic transition. Even in Africa, a continent where land was generally abundant and virtually a 'free good', thanks primarily to the twin forces of migration and education a transformation in birth control is well under way. Indeed, remarkable processes of convergence have taken place worldwide; to that extent, the historical distinctiveness of Eurasia may have little significance for the comparative study of contemporary social change.

The point can be readily illustrated with reference to our current projects at the MPI for Social Anthropology on "Religion and Civil Society". Marxist-Leninist-Maoist (hereafter MLM) socialist ideology and the accompanying repression of religion were sufficiently uniform to make 'postsocialist' a helpful baseline for these projects. In several of the pro-

jects, however, (e.g. those of László Foszto and Mathijs Pelkmans concerning the impact of Pentecostalist churches) it will make sense to widen the frame in order to take account of anthropological studies of similar charismatic groupings elsewhere in the world. In other words, drawing attention to the unity of Eurasia should not detract from the necessity for a global perspective and for venturing comparisons with other continents whenever they are pragmatically warranted.

A negative motivation

The emphasis on Eurasia is in part a negative reaction against the privileging of Europe, which has been pushed to obsessive extremes in the political rhetoric of this part of the land mass in the postsocialist years and continues to shape discussions over the constitution that has been proposed by Brussels. The pursuit of an 'anthropology of Europe' has a somewhat older history. Much of the work carried out by such 'Europeans' has been entirely laudable. It has, for example, helped some traditions, such as the British, to modify imperialist legacies by showing how the discipline can be applied closer to home as well as 'at home'. For other research traditions, an emphasis on Europe has brought a step 'up' from the national level, which had previously exhausted the scope of the discipline (as in the case of German *Volkskunde*; some traditions of 'national ethnography' in Eastern Europe have yet to make this move).

However valid and welcome it is to apply the anthropological gaze to European societies, the phrase "anthropology of Europe" carries the danger of implying that this place called "Europe" has some sort of cultural or civilisation unity, that there is an anthropological rationale for specifying boundaries of this type. The practical difficulties in reaching agreement on these boundaries highlight their deeply problematic character. To the extent that countries within the expanding European Union are increasingly subject to the same legislation and controls, it becomes possible to conduct a comparative 'anthropology of Europe' with reference to contemporary institutions. In earlier periods one may invoke religion as a source of the 'ultimate' boundaries for comparative analysis. But those currently constructing European identity in this way, emphasising cultural contacts *within* the 'European heritage zone', forget that this religion itself originates outside it, in the Hebraic culture of the Middle East.

The argument, then, is that, over the *longue durée*, it makes little sense to view Europe in isolation from the rest of the Eurasian landmass. We do so due to the deep bias of European scholarship, which an anthropological perspective on history should enable us to overcome. The surfeit of Europeanism is most disturbing when it takes the form of self-congratulatory proclamations about the alleged uniqueness of 'Euro-

pean values'. Is it not remarkable that some academics and politicians in a country such as Germany, with its recent history of genocidal aggression, can now, a mere two generations later, complain that countries such as Japan and Turkey have allegedly failed to come to terms with their problematic pasts? The moral high ground is now packaged as *europäische Erinnerungskultur* ("European culture of remembrance"). More attention to the 'big history' of the landmass should help us to see the parochialism of such claims and to expose the hubris behind them.

Positive arguments: spatial and temporal

Turning to the positive aspects of the Eurasian perspective, there is, first of all, the spatial aspect. Most studies in socio-cultural anthropology over the last century have focused on intensive case studies. Following Eric Wolf, we think that this balance needs to be redressed. It is now even more important than it was a few decades ago when Wolf wrote *Europe and the Peoples Without History* to pursue global connections. The 'face-to-face community' of classical anthropology may have given way to 'multi-sited ethnography' but, even under this new rubric, the evidence from detailed case studies is often left disconnected from both the immediate regional environment and from global spatial networks. Sometimes the ethnography of mobile cultural formations leads researchers to exaggerate the extent of fracture and fragmentation, to forget the fact that the great majority of the world's population is not becoming 'transnational'. That is an empirical issue. In any case, to emphasise the level of Eurasia is to counter the trend that leads other social scientists to dismiss us as the purveyors of unrepresentative case studies. The case study at the micro level remains the indispensable hallmark of modern anthropology, but we do not practise ethnographic description for its own sake and need to invest more effort in connecting the local details to the broader picture.

But, especially in the age of neoliberalism and intensifying inter-continental entanglements, why exactly should Eurasia be the privileged spatial framework for that broader picture? At this point our approach diverges from the global vision of Wolf. Concentrating his analysis on the period after 1400, his magisterial account reinforces a basic dichotomy of Europe (or 'the West') versus the rest. He notes some of the interconnections which united the Eurasian landmass in earlier centuries, but, in the framework of a dominant narrative devoted to the expansion of Europe, India and China are left to merge structurally with tribal populations in Melanesia or Amazonia. This is inadequate. Following scholars such as Goody and André Gunder Frank, we must shed our Eurocentrism and pay more attention to the years that preceded the 'great divergence' and the long-term similarities of East and West.

This perspective has a contemporary facet, as we shall see, but it also insists upon a much longer time frame than has been typical for recent generations of anthropologists. The emphasis upon fieldwork has led to a neglect of the kinds of historical and evolutionary questions which were the preoccupation of most pre-modern anthropologists. Bronisław Malinowski did not oppose historical research when sources were available, but his 'synchronic functionalism' had the effect of leading generations of followers to privilege the present, i.e. the observations that could be made in the field, and, often enough, to suppress historical time altogether. This danger has been widely recognised. Many later anthropologists have reached back into the past, collected oral histories from individuals, charted the contours of collective or social memory, and utilised many types of written source. However, explicit attempts to divert the Malinowskian stream into more historical directions, from Edward Evans-Pritchard through Ioan Lewis to Nicholas Thomas, have done little to change the course of the main current. An emphasis upon participant observation still dominates in the professional formation of socio-cultural anthropologists, at any rate in the Anglo-American world. This has inevitably restricted the attention given to history. The majority of ethnographers engage with only as much history as they find essential to make sense of what they hear and observe in the present; all too often, this is not very much.

This methodology has of course brought certain benefits. The close-up observations of anthropologists able to carry out fieldwork in socialist and postsocialist societies may not have yielded insights comparable to those of Malinowski and the late colonial researchers of 'tribal' societies who were inspired by him; but they do have considerable documentary value. They have cast light not only on remote regions and marginal peoples but on core aspects of social transformation in the major cities. Yet several recent collective volumes show that, these days, anthropologists are not the only ones to deploy ethnographic methods. We may claim to do it better than colleagues in sociology or cultural studies, but fine-grained presentist ethnography cannot exhaust the anthropological contribution. Let us, somewhat arbitrarily, starting from the postsocialist present, develop a metaphor to express how we might renew our engagement with history.

The house of Eurasian anthropology

We can think of the anthropology of Eurasia as a multi-storeyed house. Its foundations (which include some dark cellars) have much in common with those of other houses in the street and need not detain us here. The ground floor is crowded with researchers who conduct fieldwork-based studies in the postsocialist present. Since both the impact of socialism and its demise were experienced everywhere, the term postso-

cialist can define the present era for all parts of the landmass, including those where socialism 'at home' meant Fabianism or social democracy rather than one of the MLM variants.

This floor of our house has an open-plan organisation and light pours in from all directions. Those termed "culture" and "identity" are among the strongest rays at present; more needs to be done to allow beams of political economy to filter through. Today new forms of political and economic integration are developing throughout Eurasia, including many that were unthinkable in the not-too-distant past – such as the flow of energy from Russia to new markets in Western Europe (and from Central Asia to China). These developments have enormous implications for local populations: in our own department, the recently completed dissertation of Florian Stammeler provides a good example.² Hann has shown how the livelihoods of small-scale wine producers in Hungary have been rendered insecure by the country's increasing integration into international wine markets. The projects of Yalçın-Heckmann pay close attention to the push-and-pull factors influencing labour migration out of the Caucasus. In short, if anthropologists are to make their voices heard, they need to understand the wider political economy as well as the specific local context of their ethnographic research. The ground floor of this house needs multiple open doors to facilitate close contacts with other social scientists.

Numerous staff members at the MPI for Social Anthropology have ascended the central staircase to the second storey of our imaginary house. Here they have engaged in a more careful scrutiny of the encounter with MLM socialism, an encounter that lasted a good three generations in some places but was significantly shorter in others. They have supplemented their fieldwork and the collection of personal testimonies with work on abundant documentary materials: the archives of the former socialist countries have turned out to be richer and more readily accessible than anyone would have predicted in 1989. For example, Deema Kaneff and Frances Pine have recently worked alongside oral historians and others to explore collective and social memories of the socialist era.³ In their projects on property, John Eidson and Gordon Milligan have made intensive enquiries into the social history of two regions of the former German Democratic Republic.

Hann too, though he conducts no formal fieldwork in Halle/Saale, has taken considerable interest in how the socialist past is remembered in this region, both publicly and privately. In June 2005, for example, the Hungarian rock group Omega played at the open-air festival theatre at Landsberg, 13 kms from Halle/Saale. Several thousand fans from all

² Florian Stammeler: *What It Means To Be A Herdsman: The practice and image of reindeer husbandry among the Komi of northern Russia*, LIT Verlag, 2005 (HSAE 6).

³ Frances Pine, Deema Kaneff and Haldis Haukanes: *Memory, Politics and Religion; The past meets the present in contemporary Europe*, LIT Verlag, 2004 (HSAE 4).

over the former GDR braved the rain that evening to enjoy an outstanding concert. This group was established in 1962 and it had most of its hits more than 30 years ago. In those days the GDR had a grim reputation. It was certainly not possible for a Western anthropologist to conduct work there, as Hann was able to in Hungary. Yet a 'subculture' grounded in popular music spread throughout the countries of East-Central Europe from the late 1960s. It was profoundly subversive, even if hardly any Omega numbers could be given a political interpretation. On this occasion in Landsberg, many German fans brought their children. The audience could not understand the songs, which were all Hungarian, but nonetheless a taste for this music has been transferred to a new, postsocialist generation, just as it has in Hungary itself. For those Germans who do not share this history, who still have trouble in fathoming *Ossis* and speak dismissively if not contemptuously about *Ostalgie*, events such as this provide a good opportunity for urgently needed fieldwork.

Those anthropologists who can draw on field experiences in the socialist period are well placed to refute some of the more simplistic notions (still) in circulation in recent years. For example, it is commonly argued that there was no 'civil society' under socialism. Even if one adopts a restrictive definition of civil society in terms of autonomous formal associations, it is hard to sustain this claim. In Poland associational life was very closely linked to the dominant Roman Catholic Church. The Scouting movement, suppressed in other socialist countries, was conspicuous example. During his years in Budapest Hann was a member of a sports club, officially known as the association of the Postal Workers' Trade Union but in practice open to a wide array of sports enthusiasts regardless of their background or employment. Clearly the forms of associational life in Eastern Europe varied, and almost all were subject to constraints not found in the West. Yet to conclude that civil society was simply absent in the East seems inadequate. One can ensure the truth of this assertion by imposing a Western definition and ruling out any association with a link to the state authorities, which in the conditions of socialist Hungary would involve disqualifying sports clubs that were run by trade unions. The more challenging task is not to quibble over definitions but to explore the ways in which diverse institutions, including informal networks, operated under socialism and the influence that some of them continue to exert in the postsocialist years.

This second storey of our house would also have to be equipped with special-access corridors to the houses of neighbouring disciplines. Apart from contemporary history, anthropological explorations of memory and of rupture or persistence in micro-level patterns of social relations should be complementary to the approaches of other social sciences. For example, our data could be used to test the ideas of sociologists and

political scientists who have emphasised 'path dependency' in their explanations of differing patterns of transformation, both within and between countries. We can expect difficult discussions when it turns out, as it often does, that the social memory which we uncover through fieldwork diverges from what we can glean from the archival sources.

At least some of the expressions of sociality which anthropologists have documented under socialism are likely to extend well back into the pre-socialist era. On the third storey of our house, we are obliged to engage in serious dialogue with a wide range of historians – both those who study political, intellectual, and religious elites and also those whose primary endeavour is to recover as much as possible of the everyday life-worlds of larger social groups, such as craftsmen and peasants. Historical anthropology, as it has developed in recent decades in a number of European countries, including Germany, depends on the availability of source materials, but the analysis of those materials can be enriched by the theories and methods which other anthropologists have developed through fieldwork. As with the present-day case studies of the fieldworker, there is a danger in this field that the researcher who digs deep into local details may lose the wider perspective. The challenge is to do both. For example, Carlo Ginzburg has shown that techniques of ecstasy, which he has studied in local contexts in Italy, must be understood in a wider context that is Eurasian rather than merely European. The work of Esther Kingston-Mann (a regular visitor to our Institute) on Russian peasants before, during, and after socialism provides many examples of the kind of history that anthropologists cannot afford to ignore.

At the same time, a few anthropologists have shown how it is possible to engage with history at more rarefied levels. Keith Hart, a pupil of Jack Goody, has recently argued that the institutions of domination set up to maintain the inequalities established under agrarian conditions continue to frustrate the emancipatory potential of new technologies in our present, post-industrial society. Hart and Goody point us further up the stairs to a fourth storey of our house, which contains poorly furnished and rather shabby rooms inhabited not only by historians but also by archaeologists. The intellectual challenge at this level is to locate the socialist century in the context of the long-run dynamics of Eurasian politics and social relations. Beginning in the Neolithic with the discovery and consolidation of agriculture, this period continues with the development of urban civilisation in the later Bronze Age. The social organisation and political forms associated with these innovations can be compared to the complex forms which emerged later, and more ephemerally, in the Americas and in sub-Saharan Africa. But only in Eurasia do we find a dynamic over millennia between multiple centres of agricultural production (notably the Middle East and China) and other forms of economy, notably mobile pastoralism; between city and

countryside; and between 'world religions' and folk practices. The Mediterranean was one of the principal centres and communications arteries for this dynamic evolution, which is why, in the overall spatial framework, Eurasia has to include North Africa.

For Goody, as for a few of the historians inhabiting this storey, the question of how Europe rose to its dominant position is less significant than the long prior history of agrarian civilisations in Eurasia as a whole. For millennia there has been more or less intensive interaction across this Eurasian landmass. Owen Lattimore and Thomas Barfield have shown how the distinctive forms of the Chinese empires and the marauding nomadic empires of Central Asia were shaped in their long-term interaction. Patricia Crone may be right to suggest that some peripheral regions, notably in Siberia, were barely integrated into the macro-continental developments; but even here, historical anthropological research has uncovered centuries of more or less tight links to states and metropolitan centres seeking to extract their tribute. Wherever one looks in Eurasia, the romantic anthropological goal of uncovering pristine socio-cultural forms through contemporary fieldwork in apparently remote places has to be abandoned as illusory.

The historians of this storey tend to occupy separate rooms, carrying signs such as "world history" (William McNeill) and "civilisation analysis" (Johann Arnason). There is general agreement among them that the comparative analysis of civilisations does not have to entail the apocalyptic meta-history of Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee, nor the value-laden accounts of Samuel Huntington in recent years. In a seminar room on this floor there is a long-running debate concerning the 'Axial Age', where a contribution from anthropologists has long been awaited. There is a corridor called "ethnohistory" and another bearing the name *Kulturgeschichte*. The rooms here have apparently been abandoned – but at least some of the more restrained historicist traditions in German anthropology might be worth refurbishing.⁴

Beyond this fourth floor of our imaginary house, a more rickety staircase leads up to a musty attic – or is it, perhaps, a modernised penthouse, with light flowing in on all sides, offering wonderful views of all the surrounding streets of academia? All that is known for certain is that, in recent years, very few contemporary socio-cultural anthropologists have been willing to ascend this staircase. Yet to begin in the Neo-

⁴ Historical work grounded in diffusionism remained strong in anthropology in the German-speaking countries long after it was displaced elsewhere. Particularly influential was the concept of 'cultural circles', initiated by Fritz Graebner and Bernhard Ankermann and later adapted by Pater Wilhelm Schmidt and his 'Vienna School'. Some adherents of *Kulturgeschichte* were openly racist in the Nazi period and the legacy of this school has been largely disavowed or ignored in more recent German anthropology. For obvious reasons, it may be easier for foreign researchers than it is for natives to approach these traditions afresh.

lithic is to exclude by far the greater period of human life on earth. Can there be good intellectual grounds for maintaining a categorical distinction between questions of long-term history and questions of evolution? At this level of our house, the challenge to socio-cultural anthropologists is to engage seriously with evolutionary biologists – if not ultimately with astronomers. This evidently far exceeds our competence and so this is where even scholars such as Goody draw a clear line. When Jared Diamond attempted to push world history back into the Palaeolithic, Goody, rather than finding elements supporting his own view of Eurasian history, dismissed this work as geographical determinism. Socio-cultural anthropologists have been even more suspicious of biological determinisms, e.g. the 'consilience' theories of E. O. Wilson (a *bête noire* ever since his earlier championing of sociobiology).

Whatever one's views about this attic/penthouse, it clearly involves time scales that precede the revolutions which have given the Eurasian landmass a substantive measure of unity in recent millennia. There is therefore no longer any particular reason to prioritise Eurasia – except that the sources available for Eurasia probably present better opportunities for the necessary interdisciplinary collaboration than any other part of the world. It is not inconceivable that the data collected by fieldworkers in a particular location, primarily addressing the present or perhaps the first of the time frames addressed above, should be utilised by historical and cognitive anthropologists concerned with explaining the evolution of social systems and identifying universals of human psychology. For example, the evidence we have found in documenting the failure of attempts to privatise land in the Russian countryside, such as attitudes of envy towards those perceived to be rejecting the solidarity of the community by withdrawing their land from the successor to the *kolkhoz*, could be brought to bear on discussions of a general human disposition to 'reciprocity' or even 'fairness'. In this sense decollectivisation, our main Focus Theme to date, can be viewed as a natural experiment, the results of which offer little support for the neoliberal conception of human nature. Observations that privatising land and issuing title documents do not suffice to induce rural citizens to invest more and to work harder may be useful if they enable improved specification of the institutional conditions for the desired outcomes; but they can also contribute new insights to fundamental debates about the moral underpinnings of human communities.

In general, therefore, the anthropologists of this department will be encouraged to study at multiple levels in the house of Eurasian anthropology. We anticipate that long-term fieldwork will remain a prerequisite at the doctoral level, but postdoctoral fellows in particular will be encouraged to knock on many doors and make as many appropriate connections as possible, in time as well as space.

Eurasia and the maturing of anthropology

The perspective that we are advocating would have several salutary implications. Though generalisation is dangerous, since the Eurasian landmass has an abundance of scholarly traditions, it seems fair to say that both the unity and the ethnographic diversity of Eurasia have been neglected in anthropology.⁵ Neither of the two main tendencies of socio-cultural anthropology, as the field took shape from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards, were in a position to do it justice. The one trend – *Völkerkunde* – was towards work overseas, in the far-flung colonies of European powers, among exotic *Naturvölker*. It produced valuable work, including that of the British school established in the inter-war decades of the twentieth century by Malinowski, but it also perpetuated distortions and biases. Some of these problems have been addressed by later scholars such as Eric Wolf. Even before the end of the colonial period, some of Malinowski's students were undertaking field-work in the 'complex' societies of Eurasia. Later decades have seen much high-quality work in Europe as well as on the Indian subcontinent and the emergence here, as in China and elsewhere, of distinctively new anthropological traditions. Nonetheless even a cursory glance at most modern anthropology textbooks – at least those in the English language – will suffice to show that Eurasia is underrepresented. The bias would be modified if the Anglo-Saxon scholars had better access to the research results of Russians in the Siberian territories which came under Tsarist and, later, Soviet control. In any case the basic point remains: the legacy of various colonialisms has distorted anthropology in general, and the anthropological analysis of Eurasia in particular.

The second main prong of the anthropological/ethnological sciences was very weak in Britain, somewhat stronger in the French-speaking countries, very strong in the *deutschsprachigen Raum*, and dominant in most neighbouring countries of central and eastern Europe. I refer of course to *Volkskunde*, the documentation of one's own culture in all its glory, with the potential to serve the causes of nation-building. This tradition has produced much fine work in many parts of Eurasia. In Germany it was severely weakened but by no means eliminated by the catastrophe of National Socialism and, as noted above, it has been reformulated at the European level (*Europäische Ethnologie*). Remarkably, despite nominal commitments to internationalism and a universalist theory of social evolution which the founders of Marxism derived from Lewis Henry Morgan, this national orientation remained dominant in the anthropological establishments of most countries of the Soviet bloc.

⁵ Here we are using "anthropology" as the most familiar term in English to cover a very wide field that includes the disciplines known variously as ethnology, ethnography, folklore, and museum studies, as well as social and cultural anthropology as developed in Western Europe and North America.

Even within the Soviet Union, the *ethnos* theories of Yulian Bromley tended paradoxically to sustain what Western scholars usually described as "primordialist" approaches to ethnic and national identity. Meanwhile the Cold War restricted fieldwork opportunities in most parts of Eurasia and hindered contact between socialist scholars and the increasing number of Western anthropologists working in Europe. Scholars in postsocialist countries who wish either to switch away from the traditions of 'national ethnography', or to supplement them with new comparative approaches drawing on Anglo-American traditions of social and cultural anthropology, usually face many practical difficulties. Given the fluidity and instability of the current situation, it makes good sense to encourage a younger generation of scholars to pay more attention to Eurasia as a new level of cosmopolitanism; apart from the intellectual arguments, undertaking fieldwork outside of one's own society but within Eurasia is often more pragmatically feasible, in terms of costs and linguistic expertise, than fieldwork elsewhere.

In short, increased attention to both the unity and the diversity of Eurasia would, at the current moment in the history of anthropology, be an overdue corrective to long-term sources of bias, above all to the twin distortions arising out of colonialism and nationalism. Taking this focus seriously means adopting a more critical approach to the fieldwork-dominated projects of most twentieth century Anglo-American anthropology. Without abandoning the virtues of ethnography, it is worth looking again at historicist schools, especially the German – even if one shies away from that final staircase.

Conclusion

For the last three millennia at least, it makes sense to treat the Eurasian landmass as a unified entity. A focus on postsocialism and on the nature of MLM socialist societies reflects the high degree of homogeneity which socialist institutions established across most of the landmass in the twentieth century. But this is clearly incomplete and insufficient. We need to adopt a long-term historical perspective on the ultimate unity of Eurasia's historical experience since the Neolithic, based upon the expansion of plough agriculture, literacy, and increasingly complex, stratified polities. As Goody has argued, over the *longue durée* centres of material and intellectual creativity in the Far East were more than a match for centres in the Far West, at least up until the developments of the last few centuries. Of course, East and West did not evolve in splendid isolation. There was borrowing (diffusion). But it is also important to recognise the development of similar structures and similar patterns of social organisation in response to similar conditions. Even scholars of the calibre of Max Weber failed, due to their Eurocentric bias, to appreciate the significance of common patterns of development.

This perspective is unfamiliar and few citizens of Eurasia have ever seen things this way. We are accustomed to European summit meetings, corresponding to those of heads of state in the Americas and in Africa, but these in reality bring together only the Europe of the EU. It will no doubt take some time yet before we are accustomed to regular Eurasian summits. The intellectuals have tended to celebrate differences, at every level up to the level at which Europe is pitched against Asia. Modern anthropology, which developed as an academic discipline in Western and Central Europe, could not begin to address the underlying problem as long as its agendas were skewed by the geographies of European colonial empires. But that age is over. Recognition of the unity of Eurasia, leaving behind parochialisms such as “Europe” and “the Middle Kingdom”, is long overdue. This would be a sign that today’s anthropology is transcending the handicaps of its birth and youth, and is ready to function as a mature, cosmopolitan science.

The house of Eurasian anthropology has many rooms. Our department at the MPI for Social Anthropology has by now made itself thoroughly at home on the open-plan ground floor. Many of us have been upstairs and poked our heads around on the first floor. In the coming years we shall continue to be active at these levels, but it is time to venture on to the upper storeys.

Project Group Legal Pluralism

Heads of the Group:

Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann

Contents

- A. Highlights
- B. Introduction
- C. Working themes
- D. Individual projects
- E. Developing the anthropology of law: conferences and workshops
- F. Networking and cooperation
- G. Teaching
- H. Future prospects

A. Highlights

- We have, together with Melanie Wiber, further developed and refined a framework for the comparative analysis of property relationships with a layered structure of law and social organisation at its core.
- We have traced transnationalised legal forms through all relevant socio-political fields, which has allowed us to understand the consequences of the transnationalisation of law for the existing configurations of legal pluralism within states.
- We have intensified our comparative work on law and religion.
- The Project Group has been involved in an increasing number of cooperative ventures within the Max Planck Society, the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, and in international research and training networks.
- A new research project has been formulated for the coming years, focused on “Dispute Management: civil courts and their religious alternatives”. In May 2005 the President of the Max Planck Society, following the strong recommendation of the Institute’s International Advisory Board, responded positively to the Institute’s request to continue the Project Group with this new project for three more years until the end of 2009.
- Julia Eckert was appointed to the position of Head of Research Group (W 2) on July 1st, 2005.

B. Introduction

The research objective of the Project Group is to analyse and explain the emergence, maintenance, and change of constellations of legal pluralism in society. This involves assessing the relative social significance of different types of law in social, economic, and political life. The programme of the Project Group published in the 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. It provided an outline of the research projects and initiated and identified a number of key issues to which members of the Project Group contribute both jointly and through their individual projects. We identified a number of conceptual, methodological, and theoretical challenges that transcend the more specific research questions of the individual projects: the conceptualisation of law and legal pluralism for comparative inquiry; the relation of law and social practice as conditioned by complex legal constellations; and the relations between individuals, communities, and governance, and between identity formation, legal insecurity, power, and inequality. These themes are studied in specific social settings, selected on the basis of socio-economic and political developments, with a view to comparison both between the individual projects and beyond the departmental boundaries of the Institute. The individual projects focus primarily on dispute management, property rights and natural resource management, changes in complex social security systems, and change in governance under the conditions of transnationalisation, decentralisation, and privatisation. The Institute's Report 2002-2003 (pp. 271-313) gave an overview of the progress of the individual research projects and showed how the original aims of the research programme had been consolidated around these four thematic domains and the comparative and theoretical issues.

During the past two years we have continued to work on these issues, focusing mainly on the effects of transnationalisation and globalisation of law, the changing and expanding role of religious law and religious movements, and the comparative analysis of property relationships. Together with Melanie Wiber, we have further developed and refined a framework for the comparative analysis of property relationships with a layered structure of law and social organisation at its core. While the framework was developed for comparing property regimes, it is a general framework for comparison that may be used in other fields of law as well. This framework will be published in a collected volume *Changing Properties of Property* that will come out next year.

By taking an approach to the transnationalisation and globalisation of law that distinguishes itself from the dominant approaches, our research has managed to fill in several lacunae in empirical research and theory. We have traced transnationalised legal forms through all rele-

vant socio-political fields, which has allowed us to understand the consequences of the transnationalisation of law for the existing configurations of legal pluralism within states. By showing that in each of these fields transnational law may be used, appropriated, and transformed in distinctive ways, we have shown how important it is to look at transnationalised law and its impact 'after arrival' and 'beyond the state'. Our research has also shown how transnationalised law affects other legal orders within the state, for instance religious law, customary or traditional law, and the relationships between these orders. Thus, our analysis does not focus exclusively on the question of whether supranational and transnational law and governance organisations affect the sovereignty of nation-states, their legislative autonomy, and their law. Our research has gone beyond the transnationalisation of legal forms created and 'sent on their way' by states, international agencies, and non-state actors such as law firms and NGOs.

During the past year we have intensified our comparative work on law and religion. Research on transnational religions shows how religion is used to frame social issues, often drawing on religious scripture and oral traditions as well as human rights discourses. Expanding transnational religious movements and missionary organisations emphasise religion and religious law as the solution to all social problems and as paving the way toward social justice. Thus, normative orders are established in which religious experts offer services as diverse as professional decision-making and mediation in disputes, social security, and transcendental purification. This is a powerful way of mobilising mass support, offering an important potential for challenging state authority. Our research findings suggest that new types of religious experts are emerging, combining highly professional competence in business or other economic domains with religion, which will pose challenges to the current ways in which migrants and transnational organisations organise their interventions.

Section C of this report contains a focus on themes that have emerged in the ongoing discussions of our individual research projects. While discussing the wider implications of our research projects and comparing results, we discovered common themes that had not necessarily been the main subject of our research but seemed to deserve further inquiry. Parallel to ongoing comparison within the Project Group we further developed these issues in conferences and workshops. These themes are presented as short essays in the first section of this report. Although they do not necessarily form the main focus of the individual research projects, they are an important product of our combined research efforts and represent preliminary findings while pointing to issues for further research. Sections E and F give an overview of the conferences organised and the major networks of cooperation in which members of the Project Group are involved.

The development and results of the individual projects during the years 2004 and 2005 can be found in section D of this report. During this period, the Project Group has had a dynamic composition. Tatjana Thelen spent six months working on a major EU project, KASS ("Kinship and Social Security") coordinated within the Institute. In that project, she coordinated the research in Germany, besides carrying out three months of fieldwork herself. Her research on changing forms of social security in Rostock, developed in the Project Group, feeds excellently into this new research programme and will profit from that research, while the KASS project can draw on her expertise built up during the Rostock research. Julia Eckert spent some time outside the Institute based on her prize from the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Young Scholars, and both she and Anja Peleikis took maternity leave but have since taken up their work in the Project Group again. Fernanda Pirie left the Project Group after the expiration of her fellowship in September 2005, moving on to her new position as research fellow at the Socio-Legal Studies Centre of the University of Oxford.

New projects were started in the course of 2005. Judith Beyer joined the Project Group for several months to prepare a PhD project on neo-traditional *aqsaqal* courts in Kyrgyzstan under the supervision of Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann. She has been accepted as a PhD student by the new graduate school of the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, "Asia and Africa in World Reference Systems" (Graduiertenzentrum Asien und Afrika in globalen Bezugssystemen).

The report concludes with a brief note on teaching activities and the outlook for the future.

C. Working Themes

1. Law and development

Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann

Law is an important instrument for organising and legitimating changes in social, political, and economic organisation. While national governments all over the world have always practised legal engineering, in the realm of development law has largely been neglected and considered to be of secondary importance to technological and economic changes. After the 'law and development movement' of the 1960s, law more or less disappeared from the development scene and even less attention was paid to the pluralistic legal conditions that existed in former colonial states. The past two decades have, however, seen an unprecedented boom in law and development activities by bilateral and transnational development agencies, both governmental and non-governmental. In the 1990s the World Bank declared law (rule of law, good governance, a well functioning judiciary, and economic regulations) to be 'economically relevant' and initiated legal reforms in developing countries. Legal models, in the form of both draft legislation and general regulatory concepts and developed both by international organisations and transnational epistemic communities, are gaining in global significance on an unprecedented scale. These developments have forced policy makers and scholars of law and international relations to take the issue of legal pluralism more seriously. While the problems caused by the coexistence of state, international and transnational law, and conventions have been widely discussed, the implications for the wider constellations of legal pluralism, which frequently include religious law, forms of neo-customary law, and new local law, need further research. These are central issues being researched in the Project Group.

Comparisons of current processes of legal development with the colonial and early post-colonial periods show some striking continuities as well as some major differences. There is continuity in that law is being used as an instrument to effect dramatic social, economic, and political changes. The existing plurality of law, which is a legacy of colonialism, continues to be regarded as an obstacle to economic progress, especially to the extent that it incorporates 'traditional' customary or religious law. It is thought that they should be replaced by unified, 'modern' national laws. Legal reforms are being initiated in the fields of marriage, property and inheritance law, and land, water, and forest resources. Such interventions change the constellation of pluralistic legal orders, however. They change the spheres of validity of the respective legal orders. They also usually affect the ways in which various available types of law, whether officially recognised or not, can be used in social interactions. A major departure from the earlier law and development

phase is that international law plays a far greater role than in the immediate early post-colonial times. Moreover, unification of law no longer occurs exclusively within single colonial empires, but tends to occur on a global level, aiming at a “transnationally assimilated system of municipal law” (Wiener 1999). It also involves a much larger and more diverse set of governmental and non-governmental organisations, which often compete for influence and law-making power. However, now, as in the past, changes in legislation are often overburdened with immense expectations, although the institutional, legal, and social conditions under which these expectations could be fulfilled are hardly addressed and the time frame in which development is to take place is usually unrealistically short.

Our research has shown how development cooperation is an important avenue through which legal concepts, norms, and procedures find their way from the national level into local legal arenas. This concerns laws derived from the national legal system of a donor country or laws created by transnational epistemic communities and international organisations. Religious (Islamic and Christian) organisations are also active in the field, using their laws as instruments of social change. Sometimes these new laws are more or less forced upon national states or local communities, frequently as conditions of financial aid. In other cases, the adoption of such legal models is rejected or subtly circumvented. Research also shows that communities often voluntarily adopt legal models from abroad and make them part of the locally available law. The globalisation of law, in other words, cannot merely be understood as the expression of a hegemony of which local actors are mere victims.

Our research has shown that transnationally operating actors may change the power relationships among local actors and may also affect local constellations of legal pluralism. Thus, the issue of legal pluralism extends far beyond the interface of national and transnational legal systems. Moreover, the research of the Project Group has shown that legal development cooperation creates an additional layer of law in the form of ‘project law’, making pluralistic legal constellations even more complex. Project law is generated in two connected social fields which shape the relations and interactions between development agencies, their partners, and so-called target groups. On the one hand, rules and procedures, usually set by law and political conditions in the donor country, shape the interactions between donor agencies and those (governments, universities, NGOs) with whom they cooperate. On the other hand, they shape the interactions with the envisaged ‘beneficiaries’ and often introduce new rules about access to resources and the distribution of authority in the project area. These decision-making procedures, legal concepts, and rules of accountability may be alien to the local situation. Resistance to these rules by the recipients forms a constant source of

conflict and misunderstanding and can be a major obstacle to the success of development projects.

These issues have been discussed in a series of workshops at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology which drew together both scholars and practitioners in the field. In September 2002 the Project Group organised an informal meeting with representatives and consultants from the German Agency of Technical Cooperation (GTZ) and in September 2004 a larger workshop on *Law as Resource and Obstacle of Development* was held. This workshop was organised in cooperation with the GTZ and the "Working Group for Development Anthropology" (Arbeitsgemeinschaft Entwicklungsethnologie e.V., AGEE). Legal anthropologists, policy makers, and practitioners of development cooperation engaged in a dialogue with the aim of understanding the constraints under which development cooperation has to operate, which typically remain implicit in project designs. These constraints concern, in the first place, the conditions under which development agencies have to work in their target areas, where they have to adapt their strategies to the dominant political power relations, which often present them with considerable obstacles. Equally important but less reflected are the constraints of the relations of authority and dependence within individual agencies and within the state administration as well as in the international network of development agencies in which they are embedded. The meeting was an attempt to go beyond the conventional law and development discussions by specifically focusing on the extent to which development institutions themselves create their own 'project law' and how this affects the relationships between 'donors' and 'target groups'.¹

The pressures under which development agencies work, including the necessity of convincing the politicians of their donor countries, often force them to formulate utopian goals. However, these goals are so unrealistic that implementation almost inevitably ends in failure. Related to this "Icarus effect" (Quarles van Ufford and Roth 2003) is the fact that, despite an impressive body of research on development cooperation, development agencies are resistant to the reasons it suggests for the failure of many development projects. What are repeatedly called the 'undesired' consequences of legal development activities are generally predictable as the result of the constellations of legal pluralism in which these activities are situated. One general conclusion was that the mere abolition of customary or religious law by the state does not necessarily entail that these laws are no longer used by the population, although their social force may be affected. Development planning must consider the existing local constellations of legal pluralism. Another more specific lesson to be learnt from many reforms of land law is that

¹ The revised papers presented at the meeting have been published (Benda-Beckmann et al. 2005).

the introduction of registered titles of individual ownership tends to increase the accumulation of land in the hands of a few, rather than having the benefits (incentives for production and sustainable resource use, security for credit, and so on) which most economic development theories anticipate from such reforms.

Much discussion was devoted to the difference between a relatively distanced, descriptive, and analytical view of legal complexity taken by anthropologists on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the situation of project officials, who cannot live in analytic contemplation but are forced to propose, make, and also implement difficult decisions. While the concept of 'legal pluralism' was generally felt to be a useful and, indeed, necessary sensitising concept for the legal context in which development cooperation takes place, practitioners felt it could not solve their dilemmas of having to choose among the relevant legal regulations. They called for standards by which they could evaluate the various elements in such a pluralistic legal constellation and establish which norms they should regard as legally valid.

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2. New security discourses and security measures as a topic for research in legal anthropology

Julia Eckert

The 'war on terror' has affected anti-terrorism laws and anti-terrorism policies worldwide. New legislation has been passed in many countries; laws existing prior to September 11th, 2001 have been used with a new focus on security and prevention; and there have been attempts to integrate and harmonise national and international anti-terrorism measures in order to coordinate strategies against what is perceived as a global and globally coordinated threat. This threat is perceived as potentially immense but at the same time as elusive. This perception gave legitimacy to the introduction of security measures that had in many cases been debated for a long time; (parliamentarian or media) resistance to

the shift towards 'preventive repression' was in many countries overcome by the construction of the threat as being novel in nature and in scope.

While the contradictions between the various measures that have been taken on the one hand and civil liberties as well as international law on the other have been addressed by jurists and political scientists, their impact on social relations has hardly been explored. Perspectives from legal anthropology, gathered at a conference on *The Social Life of Anti-Terrorism Laws* that took place in May 2005 at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, took up the assessment of the (unintended) effects of the politics of security on the way various conflicts are re-interpreted and consequently dealt with as 'terrorism', on identity formation and group relations, on access to law and the use of state institutions, and on practices of citizenship of both state agencies and citizens.

The global rise of a new security discourse and the introduction of new security measures in many countries after September 11th, 2001 have had repercussions in the legal organisation of fields not immediately related to terrorist activities. In fact, the identification of the fields that are considered to be directly related to the threat of terrorism and that therefore have to be addressed by the new security measures is a contested matter. Because of the allegedly diffuse nature of the terrorist threat, policy makers and different state agencies adopt encompassing visions of the new necessities of preventive control: not only financial transactions, organised crime, and illegal border-crossing are under observation, but also policies towards minorities, towards migration and immigrants (whether naturalised or not), towards religious (Islamic) or minority-rights organisations, and towards data protection have been re-thought in connection with current perceptions of the threat of terrorism.

Consequently, the conceptualisation of citizenship has undergone implicit but fundamental changes. Firstly there appears to emerge a new stress on national homogeneity. Related to this, conceptualisations of different 'degrees of membership' in polities have gained a new saliency. These enter into naturalisation procedures and legal grounds for expulsion or for the observation, screening, and inspection of whole categories of the population (rather than of individuals). The culturalisation of membership rights works in two directions: firstly, the idea of a national core culture, be it the so-called Judeo-Christian tradition of Europe or Hinduism in India, which different groups can be more or less close to – and which bestows on them more or less legitimate claims to membership – re-emerges as a notion of political organisation. This firstly targets Muslim minorities: while distinctions are made on all levels of the new security discourses (mostly by non-Muslims) between 'good Muslims' and 'bad Muslims' and between Islam and Islamism,

the implicit labelling of people (and of types of conflicts) under the quasi-explanatory heading of Islam constructs Muslims as the 'other'. The impact of this on group relations has yet to be explored, and even more so since the concept of 'the sleeper' as the undiscovered and undiscoverable 'dangerous other' has complicated the relation between assimilation and 'otherness'. Moreover, the question is to what degree the notion of necessary cultural homogeneity is revived in relation to minorities of other religious backgrounds as well.

Secondly, the changing conceptualisation of citizenship is visible in developments that lead to unequal structures of access to law. Not only citizenship rights but even basic civil rights attain a new character as they become attached to conditions either of membership or of 'worth'. This is visible *in extremis* in the treatment of 'enemy combatants' in Guantanamo and other places of detention; however, on a smaller scale it is visible also in tendencies towards a shift of the burden of proof onto defendants, or towards holding not individuals responsible for crimes but rather groups and all their members and even affiliated organisations and groups. Although there are competing criminologies of the new terrorism – identifying either Islamist fanaticism, a clash of civilisations, or US imperialism and undemocratic structures in many Muslim countries as the root cause of Islamist terrorism and thus holding either cultural or political and sometimes also social factors responsible for violence – the measures taken mostly concentrate on repression and exclusion of people identified as potential sympathisers. These repressive measures often entail an (often only implicit) change in the division of powers: the shift towards greater authority for the executive powers and for security agencies is often not encoded in law, but is produced by practices such as the greater reliance of the judiciary on intelligence reports or the 'loyalty' of the fourth power, the media, in relation to governmental policies towards Muslims and Islam. A new consensus emerges out of the new conceptualisation of security and risk that relates individual, national, and international security in a new manner.

Related to this, the practices with which previously existing laws are also implemented and used have changed. This entails a re-interpretation of these laws that is again often not formal but implicit in everyday practices, routines, and new forms of interaction and cooperation between different state agencies. Furthermore, there seems to emerge a new legitimacy of secrecy of governmental activities within democratic regimes. This raises the question as to what changes in the ideas of the state and of government have been promoted by the emerging culture of security, how they affect notions and practices of citizenship, and whether a general shift is underway, from a providing state (either of welfarist or developmental nature) to a controlling state for which 'terrorism' is merely an occasion of expansion.

While on the one hand the question is whether these developments actually serve to diminish the threat of further terrorist activities and recruitment, on the other hand the question is whether the structures created and the laws passed do not affect political practices and social relations far beyond their immediate goal, what long term effect they thus have, and to what degree they are reversible.

For the exploration of the social significance of the new legal measures, four fields of inquiry emerge as particularly important. The first field of exploration concerns the changing practices of state agencies: the implicit reformulations of norms in these practices and new relations and modes of interactions between different state agencies as well as between state agencies and other bodies such as the media, or religious bodies, or individuals of different legal status and ethnic or religious background. This also involves an evaluation of how and in what cases anti-terrorism laws have been made use of in different contexts, and of how domestic political issues and problems of security were linked to the international agenda of combating terrorism. A second field is the creation of differential access to law, the impact of labelling on access to law, new legal provisions that restrict access to law for some groups, and also interconnections between practices of different state agencies that make access to legal redress difficult. A third field of inquiry is the impact of legal and practical labelling of people and of specific types of conflict on processes of identification. This concerns identification with (and reference to) norms and the use of state and political institutions as well as identification with a polity, but also tendencies towards growing exclusiveness of identifications with specific social groups or organisations. Related to this is a fourth field of enquiry that explores the impact of these developments on the way social conflicts are carried out: under what conditions and in which contexts these new security discourses and related practices lead to the desired effect of sorting 'good' from 'bad', and when they lead to a retreat of the targeted groups and further segregation or even to the creation of new tensions and an escalation of conflict.

3. Order and disorder

Fernanda Pirie

Order and disorder are issues that have concerned anthropologists since the earliest days of the discipline. Many of the great sociological thinkers have ultimately constructed models and theories of social order: Marx's superstructure and ideology, Durkheim's mechanic and organic solidarity, Weber's sociology of law, and Giddens's structuration theory. Such theories suggest explanations for the ways in which societies do and should function. Asking similar questions about the conditions under which social life becomes possible, anthropologists have emphasised the place of ritual, cosmological understandings, and non-state systems of legal control in producing regularity and order in small-scale societies.

Nevertheless, as explicit topics of enquiry these issues have almost faded from sight since the 1960s, possibly because of what are now seen as outdated structuralist approaches and an emphasis on the analysis of rules and decisions. More recently, legal anthropologists have tended to focus on law as a political process, connected to forms of hierarchy and hegemony, to power relations, and to unequal access to resources, while processes of conflict resolution have also been seen in terms of the actors' strategic manipulation of legal proceedings and normative orders. While these developments have been valuable, the issues of order and disorder have largely disappeared from the analysis, although they are present as undercurrents in a number of monographs. In order to refocus attention on these central concepts a workshop was organised at the Institute in November 2004 by Keebet von Benda-Beckmann and Fernanda Pirie. Eight participants were asked to concentrate, not so much on the question of how social order can and should be generated, maintained, or imposed, but on the question of what social order actually is: how it is conceptualised as a state, and when it arises as a matter of concern.

The papers presented in this workshop varied from theoretical analyses of developments within the literature, and the light these can shed on the central concepts of order and disorder, to detailed ethnographic studies from West Africa, Siberia, Morocco, and Tibet. They included more broadly ranging comparative discussions, encompassing Indonesia and the US, the political realm in South Asia, and historical developments within the Ottoman Empire. Many contributions made it clear that disorder is a state that demands as much anthropological attention as order. This ultimately led the participants to reflect on the tensions and dynamics that arise between different forms of social ordering.

Order, as many papers showed, is generally conceptualised and articulated through images of disorder. Ideas about order are found in concerns about unpredictability and irregularity, in such cases often reveal-

ing the existence of unreflected assumptions about how society functions. More explicit concepts of order are found in the discourses surrounding the resolution of violence, conflict, and dispute; in complaints about a lack of restraint or social control; and in the reactions to the contested exercise of power. There is a great variety in the concepts of order evoked in such situations, whether expressed or assumed, asserted or implied. Moreover, ideas about disorder are far more complex than a Hobbesian chaos out of which order can be constructed and social life begins. Both order and disorder are social constructions and it is evident that we must regard them as matters of perception and understanding as much as states of affairs.

3.1 Reflected and unreflected order

The boundary between order and disorder is often a thin and elusive one because in many cases it marks concepts of order that are unexpressed and unreflected. The ideas that people hold on to, simply to have confidence that social existence is possible, are often not articulated or barely even conceptualised. Such ideas become apparent in the breach, or in a small moment that symbolises the underlying order of society, often a tiny movement from the acceptable to the unacceptable, the legitimate to the illegitimate. The behaviour that is consistent with the sense of a functioning order, in such cases, thus might not be reflected in patterns of observably ordered behaviour. As several case studies demonstrate, the apparent informality of the local judicial processes in small-scale communities, for example, may belie their centrality as guardians of the local order. The most minute signs indicate to the local population the fact that judicial authority is being exercised by certain individuals, that justice is following its allotted course, that conflict has been resolved, and that life can continue as normal. At other times, order may actually be symbolised in moments of disorder, for example in expressions of collective disapproval. It may also appear in the ritualised chaos or subversion of the carnival.

3.2 Unstable order and predictable disorder

Order is often, therefore, to be found in unreflected ideas and expectations and these need not necessarily play themselves out in patterns of obvious regularity. While many communities place a high value on peaceful and cooperative social relations, in others certain types of violence and irregularity, certain challenges to the structures of social life, may arise as inevitable and expected elements of the social life. As numerous studies have shown, for example, feuding and revenge are the expected result of concepts of individual status and group honour in the Mediterranean and Middle East. A certain type of order (or disorder) may, nevertheless, be unconsciously maintained by means of established responses to anticipated forms of disruptive behaviour. Sense can

be made of predictable instances of insubordination, rule-breaking, aggression, and violence, just as certain types of anti-social behaviour can be counteracted through processes of ritual resolution.

A predictable form of disorder thus emerges within circumstances of instability and conflict. It could be called an unstable form of order, distinguishable from the state of peace and cooperation, which is also valued by most of these groups. However, this form of unstable order must also be distinguished from forms of disorder that are felt to threaten the very conditions for social existence. Ultimately, we suggest, it is the apprehension of unpredictability that distinguishes the violence, innovation, and individuality that can be limited, contained, and counteracted and, thus, accepted as part of (an unstable) social order, from that which threatens the very conditions of social existence.

3.3 Order and legitimacy

It is under conditions of social change that new forms of social ordering, more deliberate and explicit, are generally introduced. The notion of order, when it arises as a conscious and reflected concept, is often evoked in such circumstances to legitimate the actions of those who claim to be maintaining it. Such models of order may, then, be used to justify the imposition of control and to legitimate the exercise of power, but also to contest it. The nation-state is the paradigm of 'legitimate' governmental control and its order is symbolised in the elaborate ceremonies and regimentation of military parades and the grandeur, ritual, and moral symbolism of the parliament chamber and the court room. These symbols of an abstract, all-encompassing order present to the public the need for a functioning nation-state and the enforcement of a system of laws as the necessary condition to the possibility of social life.

The deliberate evocation of images of order and disorder is, therefore, often associated with the contested exercise of power. It is now well-accepted that engendering a fear of disorder in a population, for example with the imminent threat of terrorism, can successfully legitimate an increase in governmental control in the name of security. A (manipulated) fear of disorder can become so strong that what might otherwise appear as political oppression is accepted as legitimate social control. However, in many cases the underlying moral narratives can also be used to challenge such activities, to question the moral basis for war, for example, or the justice of new legislation.

3.4 Competing orders

As many of the papers presented in the workshop demonstrated, explicit attempts to establish legitimacy for a form of imposed order, typically the order of the state, often come into conflict with other forms of social ordering. A state may classify as a criminal act certain types of violence which are legitimate and anticipated or even obligatory acts of

revenge on the part of those involved. In other circumstances, a government's attempts to reorganise social relations in order to promote its own ideal form of national order, as in the communist societies of the Soviet Union or Maoist China, may create a sense of uncertainty and upheaval for the constituent communities. A plurality of orders, as well as laws, is the result.

We therefore return to our initial suggestion that disorder is more than a single concept or state, more than a formless, Hobbesian chaos. Not only does the apprehension of disorder take a different form within different communities, but the competing forms and sources of order may raise different apparitions of disorder within one community. The tensions between them create further instability and dynamics of disorder. In fact, all of the papers presented in the workshop to some extent describe the ways in which people attempt to make sense of such disorderly conjunctions. They may not achieve a stable and satisfying order, but try to generate a sense of predictability, which allows life to proceed amidst the chaos of the modern world.

4. Social security and religious networks

Tatjana Thelen

Individual actors develop their social security arrangements through a complex web of resources and social networks. Besides the state and state-organised insurances, personal networks are also important providers of social security. These networks may include kinship relations, peer groups, patron-client relations, and religious networks. Religious networks are seldom the sole provider of social security in an individual's life, but may play an important (and perhaps even growing) part in these complex webs of social security. However, most of the public debate centres on a narrow concept of state resources or state-organised insurances and kinship networks. As a result, the impact of other important providers of social security has been underestimated and the changing meanings and interplay between them have gone unnoticed or at least under-theorised.

Assessing the role of religious networks in individual sets of social security relations is complicated, as actors themselves often define them differently. They may, rather, stress common belief and faith as the basis of their activities and deny their role as recipients or givers of help. For analytical purposes, however, we can differentiate between different kinds of resources distributed in religious networks as well as between different ideologies and practices of support.

First, as already indicated, immaterial security in form of belief and religious rituals constitutes one, perhaps the most obvious, form of social security provided by religious networks, in that they furnish people

with hope and spiritual security. In some cases they offer protection against all sorts of insecurity and new risks such as for example new diseases, which may induce new practices or a change in the meaning of already existing patterns. Besides spiritual offers of security, a second, rather evident function of religious networks is the provision of material goods and services to the needy. Thirdly, the perhaps least obvious kind of social security provided by religious networks is concrete help among co-members. These different functions of social security are usually embedded in different kinds of social relations and ideologies.

Religious networks may entail various kinds of social relations, from very egalitarian circles to associations with strong hierarchies; they may include someone who regularly attends religious services as well as a religious authority such as a pastor or *marabout*. The distribution of goods and services may therefore be hierarchically structured or take the form of reciprocal exchange. The kind of support provided depends on the individual position in such a religious network as well as on individual resources or needs.

Material goods are most often distributed on the basis of the religious ideology concerning charity or solidarity. These ideas might differ between the various hierarchical levels of religious organisations. Similarly, as religious organisations are often translocal in their activities, conceptualisations of need may differ in different localities. These ideas might embody different cultural understandings about distinctive roles of personal and collective responsibility. While global ideals, such as charity towards the poor, might remain the same, the definition of deserving and non-deserving might be redefined in the local context. For example, ideas might differ between a giving community in the US and a receiving community in Africa as to who is eligible for support. With accelerated globalisation, different ideologies might also travel faster inside translocal religious networks and mirror the interrelatedness of social developments in Western countries with changes in other parts of the world.

The next analytical level would be to analyse how ideology and legal obligation are realised in actual practice. Local networks might develop mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion which restrict or permit access to resources in ways not foreseen by those at the top of such organisations. In some cases it may be an advantage to be closer to the circle that has access to such resources. Similarly, if the state distributes resources through religious institutions, the religious law might differ in its prescriptions as to who deserves what.

While social security provision of these kinds is embedded in hierarchical relations between centre/top or well-off and not so well-off communities or donors and recipients, help between co-members in religious networks follows more egalitarian procedures. One might again

differentiate between ideology and practice. Within most religious networks there is a sense of obligation to help one another in times of need. This kind of social security provision might be more or less institutionalised. At other times forms of assistance might be given without such explicit reference to moral obligation, on the basis of the overlapping bonds between co-members as well as, at the same time, between friends, neighbours, and so forth. This may include material resources, but also mutual assistance in everyday life, such as help in looking for a job or care in cases of illness. Different deficiencies might be exchanged against one other. For example, an old lady might offer money for care, looking for an appropriate, 'trustworthy' person in her religious community. Provision of social security might go unnoticed and appear as a side-effect of membership in such multifunctional networks.

Furthermore, religious networks, like other providers of social security, are deeply embedded in changing social and political realities. This means that they are influenced by and influence other networks. For example, religious networks may complement or replace kinship or state obligations and, thus, they may strengthen or weaken the functions of other networks. Due to the embeddedness of religious networks in wider social and political frameworks, their social security functions undergo constant transformations in form (material, immaterial, etc.) and meaning. The factors that have an impact on social security may be local, national, and transnational. Changes may be induced by the emergence of new risks as a result of political or economic transformation such as de-colonisation or the demise of state socialism. Still other developments include rapid urbanisation and globalisation, as well as new diseases such as AIDS and ecological catastrophes. In such cases religious networks can acquire new meanings and functions. Similarly, the emergence of new resources, such as material assistance from partner churches abroad, is also likely to change concepts of social security in religious networks. Such a development may establish a new form of social security or alter channels of distribution. In other cases the migration of network members may also contribute to new social security functions in religious networks. For example, religious networks channel migration similar to kinship networks and help migrants to establish themselves in new circumstances. Religious networks may also channel the flow of resources back into the home countries and thereby also influence the social security functions of other networks or alter conceptions of age and gender obligations.

To approach the complexity of current development in this field the author organised (together with Anja Peleikis and Carolin Leutloff-Grandits) a conference on *Social Security in Religious Networks: Changes in meanings, contents and functions* in November 2005 at the Institute. The conference brought together academics from different disciplines and different countries to explore and systematise the issues involved.

5. Legal responsibility in Islamic societies: collectivities, individuals, and conflicts of responsibility in legal practice

Bertram Turner

New forms of legal responsibility are arising in the Middle East and North African societies as a result of the infiltration of transnational legal standards into Islamic societies. Legal responsibility is understood here in the widest sense, ranging from ascribed civil duties and obligations and notions of criminal liability to the initiatives taken by certain individuals for managing and maintaining legal order and generating rules. In recent years, attempts to implement international concepts of civil society have resulted in a whole wave of efforts to transform national and local legal spheres. Quite different initiatives promote the active exercise of civil rights in the same spheres. These initiatives encourage the establishment of new institutions in civil society, such as local NGOs, charity organisations, and religious, developmental, and other civic interest groups. Powerful agencies such as the UN, the World Bank, and the IMF seem to regard the allocation of legal responsibility to these groups as the best way to achieve good governance, decentralisation, and democracy. Human rights standards, international goals of sustainable development and environmental protection, legal regimes conducive to the fight against rural poverty – all these objectives appear to require a re-allocation of legal responsibility. Such efforts are generally presented as being sensitive to local conditions and, accordingly, as reflecting ‘good’ tradition. The resulting revitalisation of tradition can be observed in many local settings and legal constellations, and the Islamic world is no exception to these phenomena. The forces and motivations behind them are manifold and do not conform to a single pattern. Nevertheless, it is the transnational actors already mentioned who are often, directly or indirectly, the triggering agent. Such developments are supposed to be adapted to work within national legal systems but they often neglect, or even ignore, the role the state plays or should play in the local legal arena. As they attempt to establish new structures of civil society, transnational actors even bypass state legislation on the basis that their own standards have not yet been incorporated into national law, or not yet implemented in the rural margins. However, such efforts are not always opposed by state agents. On the contrary, there are many examples of state representatives actually propagating such tendencies.

These processes can however generate confusion and insecurity when the responsibility of individuals and collectives in the local legal sphere is put on the agenda. The goals of decentralisation, good governance and democratisation, environmental protection, and sustainable development are propagated without consideration of the high variability of local legal arenas. Moreover, agents of all these powerful donor organisations, development agencies, and religious movements often face

powerful opposition on the ground. Other transnational actors, particularly Islamic movements but also non-religious associations, are organising resistance towards increasing external interference and the effects of neoliberalism and globalisation. They are competing with those global actors who are associated with a more occidental way of life. Religious movements not infrequently claim absolute control over the allocation of legal responsibility in local arenas, such as villages and other groups based on collective identity, according to their own perception of an undisputable religious law. In many cases it still remains to be seen where the interaction between local interests and transnational actors will lead as regards the allocation of legal responsibility. Local actors employ many different means of maintaining a degree of legal autonomy. In many cases processes of adaptation to local conditions involve integrating, transforming, or rejecting these external forces.

Such examples provide an excellent empirical basis for reconsidering the question of the allocation of legal responsibility already raised in the writings of Max Gluckman, Sally Falk Moore, and Franz von Benda-Beckmann. It is useful to return to some of the classic works in legal anthropology when faced with the challenge of understanding new dimensions in the transnational-local interplay. In order to do this we need to examine the social conditions under which both individuals and local organisations (either autonomous or externally supported) are able to effectively negotiate a local order. This can include the revitalisation of an institutional repertoire for producing local legal practices. In order to understand this, we have to look at the generation of rules and their enforcement. In the narrower sense this includes asking whether these new legal regimes effectively ensure long-term local rural development. Who, if anyone, is responsible for sustaining them and in which legal environment? In this context special attention must be paid to individuals and groups and the allocation of legal responsibility between them. When focusing on the individual as part of a collective entity or as opposed to it, responsibility may be expressed as social commitment or as the obligation to intervene in a legal case. Notions of solidarity and belonging may motivate collective intervention with legal implications for its members. The focus on responsibility involves considering many different fields of human interaction relevant to law: solidarity and social cohesion, social and political organisation and self-government, and notions of equality and difference are some of the most prominent in this context.

The goal of this research is to contribute to the ongoing debates on the effects of legal transnationalisation by re-examining notions of collectivity and individualism in the Middle East and North Africa with respect to the allocation of legal responsibility. This will challenge the predominant paradigms of economic institutional theory and global development models as they apply to local legal fields. In these arenas

individuals can play a great variety of legal roles. The relationship between individuals and collectivities as responsible legal actors requires a new analytical revision with respect to these developments. Furthermore, the research agenda contributes to debates in legal science concerning the individual, the legal person(a), free will, and the self-autonomous subject.

In order to explore these issues, in May 2005 the Project Group Legal Pluralism, together with the Institute of Anthropology of the University of Copenhagen and the Danish Institute in Damascus, organised a workshop entitled: *Between State, Religion, and Tradition – Re-examining the Concepts of Collective and Individual Responsibility in the Islamic World*.

6. Law and religion in a complex world

Bertram Turner and Fernanda Pirie

Migration and transnationalism, religious fundamentalism, the legal recognition of religious pluralism, international human rights: these are the changing arenas within which law and religion intersect in the modern world. Many of the issues involved, such as the movement of populations between nation states, tensions between religious organisations, and attempts by states to give effect to religious law, are far from new. However, they are emerging in novel forms in contemporary society. The relationship between religious and legal forms of order needs to be reconsidered in the light of these new developments. Classic areas of intersection need to be discussed alongside newly emerging points of tension. Legal anthropologists thus face the challenge of identifying and analysing new and complex forms of religious-legal interplay and their social impacts. These affect social conditions, legal frameworks, moral conduct, and human behaviour in all parts of the world.

When examining the interface between law and religion the notion of 'law' has to be understood in its widest sense, to mean normative ordering. This can include both state and non-state as well as local and international orders, which may well be at odds with one another. National legal systems are just as influenced by religious ideas and values as local legal fields. Religion, in the broadest sense, including all forms of interaction with the supernatural and cosmological, provides many alternative bases for normative ordering. However, the boundary separating the legal and the religious is often contested. An interesting analytical field for legal anthropological studies lies in this area of interaction.

Both law and religion are also the foundation for institutions, social and political movements, group organisation, and constructions of identity. Moreover, legal and religious concepts play a fundamental part in the creation, concentration, and contestation of processes of power and domination, hierarchy and resistance.

In order to interrogate the resulting complexities and transformative processes, a number of research questions have been developed. These concern the influence of religious ideas and actors on legal systems at local, national, and international levels, including the challenge they pose to such systems; the role of religions and religious experts in legal processes; and the legal aspects of religious institutions and movements. In order to explore these issues a conference was organised at the Institute in August 2005 by Bertram Turner and Fernanda Pirie, entitled *The Legitimate and the Supernatural: Law and religion in a complex world*. This attracted an international group of over 20 participants, whose papers engaged with all three themes.

6.1 The impact of religion on legal systems

The normative force of religious orders beyond the cosmological and ritual, along with their interplay with other legal orders, is one field of relevant enquiry. The ways in which religious ideas are invoked as justifications for political and legal action, as tools of power and competition, as the basis for social stratification, and as markers of identity affect the organisation of human societies in many ways. The role that religion and religious ideas play in legitimating (or not legitimating) schemes of morality and regulation goes far beyond the sphere of individual behaviour and individual expectations for spiritual gratification. They are invoked during processes of conflict resolution and in order to determine truth and to provide legal sanctions, but they also affect political decision-making at the highest levels.

The investigation of state legal orders in order to discern the impact of religious ideas is, thus, an important theme. This involves examining the extent to which legal systems are based, either expressly or implicitly, on religious norms and values. However, global and local mobility, as well as new technologies, disseminate religious messages, challenging state legal systems and their sources of legitimacy. Such issues arise in the context of migration but may also have complex histories. Both national and local legal systems are, therefore, exposed to challenges by proponents of different religions, who often make claims to absolute or universal validity. Some nations respond by attempting to create legal conditions in which religious plurality can flourish, while others privilege the claims to universal validity of one particular religion. We must, therefore, examine the extent to which law-makers are obliged and able to provide legislation which reflects the norms and practices of a plurality of religions.

New international orders are another arena in which religious and legal norms intersect and conflict. Ideologies of human rights and neoliberal ideas are often justified on the basis of religious neutrality, but this is challenged by others who contend that Christian values, in particular, are embodied beneath a veneer of objective morality. Human rights and

environmental standards, for example, are often perceived by religious groups as being contrary to their values. Certain religious leaders are, however, able to interpret them in ways which make their provisions acceptable to local groups. Other activists and law-makers claim that international legal orders can and must be developed consistently with the requirements of different religions. The assumed or effective importance of religion in contemporary debates on national and international security is just one aspect which demands attention in this regard.

6.2 The role of religion in legal processes

In Europe, religious values are increasingly becoming the subject of court proceedings, in the context of such issues as the use of violence, funeral rights, and appropriate activities and dress codes for school-children. The related arguments are often made in terms of ethnicity and culture, matters which are presented as being fundamental to identity but which often closely reflect religious values. On the other hand, there is a tendency by some states to allow religious communities and their leaders to regulate their own affairs, insofar as these relate to religious rules. This can entail a remarkable loss of jurisdiction by state institutions and representatives.

Religious experts have long been involved in processes of conflict settlement as ritual specialists, professional mediators, and decision makers. New forms of legal insecurity are giving them new opportunities to exercise power and influence over legal affairs on the basis of their expertise in religious matters.

6.3 Religious institutions and movements

Another set of issues concerns religious institutions and movements, missionary activities, modern cults, and charismatic leaders. The role they play in the shaping of the religious and legal landscape is highly visible. How they adapt, expand, and pursue their interests within the changing conditions of state legislation and political regimes is a matter of more complex debate. The social activities of religious groups often amount to organised resistance to state and international policies and those of competing religious groups. But their agendas vary from millenarian salvation to the mundane amelioration of social conditions. These various legal aspects of their activities have hitherto been little studied. Modern religious cults develop dissenting ideologies as alternatives to the existing sets of moral and normative orders, and many develop and present their ideas in the terms of legal discourse. Conversely, groups promoting racial and supremacist ideas, for example, often frame their arguments in quasi-religious discourse.

An important and related issue is that of religious dogmatism and the rigidification of religious norms both within and outside of a formal legal framework. New means of control and communication may be

altering the relationship between the centres of religious orthodoxy and the religious periphery, where a creative interaction between religio-legal ideas and alternative ideas formerly took place. On the other hand, religious dogma is more exposed than ever to external challenge.

Wide-ranging ethnographic studies and discussions are required to unite the pieces in this contemporary jigsaw puzzle of legal and religious interdependence. Debates that transcend the established boundaries of the world religions and challenge the dichotomy between the arenas of law and religion can themselves contribute to the design of new comparative approaches in legal anthropology.

D. Individual projects

1. Decentralisation and village reorganisation: changing constellations of legal pluralism in West Sumatra, Indonesia

Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann

This research project deals with the process of decentralisation and the effects of the reorganisation of local government. Starting in 1999, shortly before the national laws on decentralisation were passed, field-work was concluded in early 2005, shortly after the first major revision of these laws. While most other research is devoted to the higher levels of state administration, this project deals with the implementation and effects of the laws on the relationship between districts and villages. It is thus far the only long-term research project on these issues in Indonesia.¹ The research studies the way in which changes in state administration affect the relationship of state law, *adat* (custom or customary law), and Islamic law in the domains of political organisation and rights to natural resources. The research also examines the impact of transnational actors and the legal and political ideas of state administration, which various actors have introduced into the regional and local political arenas. The initial phase of research suggested considerable variation in modes of implementation within the region. We intensified our cooperation with researchers of the Institute for Social and Cultural Development of Andalas University in Padang (SCDev) in 2004 and initiated data collection on the return to the neo-traditional Minangkabau form of the village, *nagari*, in 49 villages. For the first time the degree of intra-regional variation has been documented, significantly broadening our basis for comparison. In 2004 and 2005 preliminary findings were presented at a number of international workshops and conferences and in a number of publications (see appendix). Our publications focused on six different aspects:

- The changing geography of authority at the village level and processes of re-centralisation within the overall process of decentralisation.
- The significance of the return to traditional village-based local governance for the relations between *adat*, Islam, and the state. *Adat* has gained in influence, but not as much as certain protagonists of *adat* had wanted. During the first two years, Islam seemed to have been pushed to the background, but it is now regaining influence.

¹ The research is being carried out in cooperation with the Dutch-Indonesian research programmes (financed by the Dutch Royal Academy of Sciences) on "The Impact of Crisis in Indonesia" and "Indonesia in Transition" (with the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague and the Universities of Nijmegen, Utrecht, and Amsterdam).

- The shifts in power among the levels of state administration, in which districts gained most, while provinces were the main losers. Major economic sectors have not been decentralised, resulting in contradictory legislation at the lower levels of state administration. There are major attempts to re-establish power at the central and provincial levels, as a result of which the state administration, in general, is instable.
- The adoption of rules of governance introduced by transnational actors through development cooperation.
- The significance of a revitalised *adat* and the return to the traditional village as a unit of local government for Minangkabau ethnic identity. This identity is torn between matrilineal *adat*, Islam, and modernity, and has ambivalent relations with the national state.
- The politics of law in the field of rights to natural resources. The new opportunities and obligations for generating village funds have kindled interest in the village commons. These had largely been under state control as state land or forest and are, with some success, being reclaimed as village land governed by *adat* law.



Decentralisation and 'the return to the nagari' led to the renovation of the Village Adat Hall of nagari Canduang Koto Laweh. (Photo: F. von Benda-Beckmann, 2004)



PEMERINTAHAN NAGARI

CANDUANG KOTO LAWEH KECAMATAN CANDUANG KABUPATEN AGAM

Alamat Kantor : Jl. Raya Balai Sati No. 01 Hp. 081363167474 & 081535420424 Kode Pos 26192

SEKARANG SEDANG MELAKSANAKAN PEMBANGUNAN
SARANA IBADAH MUSHALLA KOMPLEK PEMERINTAHAN DI BALAI SATI
MOHON SUMBANGAN, INFQA, SADAQAH, DERMA DAN LAIN SEBAGAINYA



PERANGKAT NAGARI CANDUANG KOTO LAWEH :
 Wakil Nagari : **ANNA KARI BATUHAN**
 Sekretaris Nagari : **Drs. METRIZAL SYAHRI MALIN**
 Kepala Pembangunan & Pemerintahan : **SY B. SUTAN RAJO KARYO**
 Kepala Asasi & Keuangan : **EMIRZAL RAJO BAGA**
 Kepala Keadan : **Z. PRANDIKO SATI**
 Sekretaris BPBN : **IRA MAYA SAGU**

KEPALA JORONG :
 Jorong Padi Ramah : **M. NYIAN BAGINDO**
 Jorong Labuhang : **E. MALIN BAGA**
 Jorong Bungkah : **M. SIDI KANDONO**
 Jorong Koto Kato : **E. FAKSH KARYO**
 Jorong Lelausi Aka : **M. ST. RAJO LELO**
 Jorong Batu Batah : **S. MALANO BATUHAN**
 Jorong B. Rumpuang : **M. KATIK BANGARU**

KETUA LEMBAGA LEMBAGA NAGARI CANDUANG KOTO LAWEH :
 Ketua BPBN : **SY. SUTAN RUMAH GADANG**
 Ketua KAN : **H. DATTUHA AMBAGA**
 Ketua MUKA : **H. AMIRAN A. SYAHMAD**
 Ketua MANAS : **H. ARDUL MAJID**
 Ketua POK : **Drs. H. NIGAR**
 Ketua Rumpu Kumbang : **KORINTE SYAM**
 Ketua BIKAT : **H. ASMI ARBAS**
 Ketua Parli Paga Nagari : **Z. PRANDIKO SATI**

2005

JANUARI

1425 H. DZULQADHA
1425 H. DZULHIJAH

FEBRUARI

1425 H. DZULHIJAH
1425 H. MUHARRAM

KOREKSI WAKTU

26	2	9	16	23	30
27	3	10	17	24	31
28	4	11	18	25	
29	5	12	19	26	
30	6	13	20	27	
31	7	14	21	28	
1	8	15	22	29	

2005

MINGGU
SENIN
MON
SELASA
TUE
RABU
WED
KAMIS
THU
JUM'AT
FRI
SABTU
SAT

KOREKSI WAKTU

30	6	13	20	27
31	7	14	21	28
1	8	15	22	1
2	9	16	23	2
3	10	17	24	3
4	11	18	25	4
5	12	19	26	5

HARI BESAR :

JANUARI :

11. TAMAN BANGI
21. LELU AKA
(10 DZULHIJAH 1425 H.)

FEBRUARI :

10. TAMAN BANGI
18. TAMAN BANGI
(10 MUHARRAM 1425 H.)

*** JANUARI ***

Tanggal	Shubuh	Syuruq	Zuhur	Ayaz	Magrib	Taya
01 - 03	05:00	06:00	12:25	13:00	18:00	19:00
04 - 06	05:00	06:00	12:25	13:00	18:00	19:00
07 - 09	05:00	06:00	12:25	13:00	18:00	19:00
10 - 12	05:00	06:00	12:25	13:00	18:00	19:00
13 - 15	05:00	06:00	12:25	13:00	18:00	19:00
16 - 18	05:00	06:00	12:25	13:00	18:00	19:00
19 - 21	05:00	06:00	12:25	13:00	18:00	19:00
22 - 24	05:00	06:00	12:25	13:00	18:00	19:00
25 - 27	05:00	06:00	12:25	13:00	18:00	19:00
28 - 31	05:00	06:00	12:25	13:00	18:00	19:00

2005

MINGGU
SENIN
MON
SELASA
TUE
RABU
WED
KAMIS
THU
JUM'AT
FRI
SABTU
SAT

*** FEBRUARI ***

Tanggal	Shubuh	Syuruq	Zuhur	Ayaz	Magrib	Taya
01 - 03	05:00	06:00	12:25	13:00	18:00	19:00
04 - 06	05:00	06:00	12:25	13:00	18:00	19:00
07 - 09	05:00	06:00	12:25	13:00	18:00	19:00
10 - 12	05:00	06:00	12:25	13:00	18:00	19:00
13 - 15	05:00	06:00	12:25	13:00	18:00	19:00
16 - 18	05:00	06:00	12:25	13:00	18:00	19:00
19 - 21	05:00	06:00	12:25	13:00	18:00	19:00
22 - 24	05:00	06:00	12:25	13:00	18:00	19:00
25 - 27	05:00	06:00	12:25	13:00	18:00	19:00
28 - 31	05:00	06:00	12:25	13:00	18:00	19:00

Calendar issued by the village government of nagari Canduang Koto Laweh in the district of Agam, West Sumatra. It is used for collecting contributions for the construction of a prayer house on the complex of the village government buildings. The calendar states all names and functions of the village government officials, the village ward heads, and the heads of the other village organisations.

2. The use of civil, administrative, and religious state courts in West Sumatra

Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann

This research involves an analysis of the long term developments in the use of civil and religious courts in West Sumatra. The major focus is on disputes over land rights and inheritance, the single most important source of conflict in rural and semi-urban areas. When pursuing property and inheritance disputes outside the local community, Minangkabau disputants have a choice between ordinary civil courts and Islamic courts. The quantitative use of these courts is an important indicator of which type of institution and which underlying constitutional principles are important. The choice of one type of court reproduces the legitimacy of the rules and values through which it is constituted. The legal repertoire used in the attempt to legitimate rights to land and inheritance by disputing parties and state institutions is, therefore, a strong indicator of the relative significance of the different legal orders.

Building on earlier research in the 1970s, in 2000 we initiated a long-term study of the use of civil state courts in central Minangkabau in cooperation with staff members and students at the Centre for Alternative Dispute Resolution of the Faculty of Law at Andalas University in Padang. In 2002 the research was expanded to cover all civil and Islamic state courts in the province. This has resulted in data collection from the registers concerned with court use and court decisions from 1980 to the end of 2004. The data analysis will continue in 2005 and 2006, 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 judgments based on *adat* law and to an increase in judgments based on official state law; and that the increasing political significance of Islam and the widening of the jurisdiction of the Islamic state courts in 1989 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. The data on the years immediately following the fall of the Suharto regime and the end of political repression, the so-called *era Reformasi* or reform period, also suggest that no major rise or fall in court use has taken place. In terms of the *per capita* litigation rate, the last 25 years have, rather, seen a slight decline. There is a remarkable continuity in the kinds of cases for which state civil courts are used, despite major changes 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, despite considerable regional socio-economic differences. Finally, in contrast to other regions in Indonesia, disputes over inheritance, donations, and testaments have not shifted to Islamic courts, despite the change in jurisdiction.

3. The politics of customary law: courts of elders (*aqsaqals*) in Kyrgyzstan

Judith Beyer

The project is an anthropological study of a traditional legal institution in contemporary Kyrgyzstan – the courts of elders (*aqsaqaldardyn sotu*). It aims at analysing the social significance of these courts as part of the current legal system of the Central Asian republic, especially in regard to their role as dispute management institutions. The research will approach the *aqsaqal* courts from a historical and contemporary perspective and from a local, national, and transnational point of view.

In the mountainous northern part of Kyrgyzstan where fieldwork will take place, villages are dispersed. Local institutions such as the aqsaqal-courts play an important and multifunctional role in village life. (Photo: J. Beyer, 2005)



3.1 *The historical investigation of aqsaqal courts in pre-Soviet and Soviet times*

After investigating their social, cultural, and legal functions in pre-Soviet times, special attention will be given to the analysis of what happened to *aqsaqal* courts between 1922 and 1991. The historical development of *aqsaqal* courts will be analysed through the use of written material (primary and secondary literature and archive data) and oral history. The historical development of the institution of *aqsaqal* courts will not only provide a solid background for the understanding of the institution's current functioning and activities within Kyrgyz society, but also fill in a research gap in regard to the general historical investigation of *aqsaqal* courts in Central Asia.

3.2 *Aqsaqal courts as dispute management institutions in contemporary Kyrgyzstan*

The research will focus on the use made of the courts, on the effectiveness of their decisions, and on their (complementary or competitive) relations with other local and state institutions. The research project will investigate the actual functioning of courts of elders in rural areas, their roles in everyday village life, and their interplay with other local institutions and actors. The research will first of all explore to what extent the courts of elders are approached, with what kinds of disputes, and by which kind of persons or organisations. It will study the procedural style and decision-making processes of the institution and will also trace the post-decision phase.

3.3 *Influences of national and transnational institutions on the dispute management capacities of aqsaqal courts*

The third part of the project will investigate the effects which national and transnational institutions and actors have on the actual functioning of courts of elders. This part of the project sets out to answer how the official recognition and continuing legislation of the institution by the Kyrgyz government and the increased activity in the field of *Alternative Dispute Resolution* (ADR) by transnational actors are impacting the social significance and agency of these courts in regard to their dispute management capacities. Since its re-invention in 1995, the agency of *aqsaqal* courts has been significantly shaped by various institutional and individual ascendancies. By locating the *aqsaqal* courts in a wider setting including national and transnational institutions, the project, therefore, goes beyond the scope of an anthropological village study. It aims at analysing the embeddedness of the courts of elders in national and transnational spheres, looking specifically at discourses and practices of dispute management and local self-governance.

4. Security, citizenship, and democracy in an Indian metropolis

Julia Eckert

The project on security, citizenship, and democracy in an Indian metropolis examined the organisation of governance in Mumbai (formerly known as Bombay) in the field of law and order, crime and punishment. The administration of justice and of law and order in India is not concentrated in the state's hands. Rather, it is fragmented and subject to situational constellations of actors that wield control and apportion rights. In the city of Mumbai, matters of adjudication, law and order, crime, and security are 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; they all directly or indirectly involve themselves in the definition of rights and entitlements as well. Thus, forms of legal pluralism shape much of everyday ordering and disputing in urban India. These relate equally to formal law and to various customary legal orders in ways that are eclectic and pragmatic; they involve social norms filtered through the relations of power that shape them.

Rather than such forms of legal pluralism being residues of incomplete state-building, or results of the incomplete expansion of the state legal and judicial system, it appears that they are part of and embedded in functional regimes of governance. These are shaped by processes of (sometimes informal or unofficial) delegation of tasks by the state to non-state agencies as well as by the (forceful) appropriation of them by the latter. I want to call these processes those of the selective state. Selectivity of statecraft is not necessarily an integrated strategy, but rather evolves from the strategies of different state and non-state actors. 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. However, the processes of delegation and appropriation show that the state is often deeply involved in the so-called informal, in the reproduction of informality, and thus in the drawing of its own boundaries and limits.

The concept of the selective state also implies that we need to move away from a 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. What is of interest is the question of which role which particular state agencies play, how they interact with other state agents and with specific non-state institutions, and how this shapes a specific configuration of state-ness.

To this aim, the project focused on the police. The police appear as the critical institution in shaping the selectivity of statecraft; they play a

significant role in organising access to other state and non-state agencies; and they are the middlemen of delegation and appropriation.

Since practical selectivity of governance runs counter to the legitimacy and the façade of the state, it is visible mainly in the everyday practices of state institutions. The project thus examined everyday police practices of dispute regulation, adjudication, registration, the generation of classifications used for policing and internal matters of competition, income generation, and obedience. Within these routine processes of ordering an operative legal order emerges. This was, however, also shaped by the practices of citizens making use of the police and both their official and extra-legal practices in various ways. It traced the daily negotiations of state authority and the legitimacy of rule (and rules), of law and justice.

The project thus aimed at evaluating the micro-processes of everyday selective statehood, that is, the practices of state agencies in everyday routines of governance, their interactions with other providers of law and adjudication, and the use of state institutions by different sections of society. Such a focus can provide us with a denser picture of state organisation than can be provided by dichotomies such as that of the weak vs. the strong state, of failed states or the rule of law. It gives an account of the emergence of specific constellations of state-ness and of the reality of institutions. The project further analysed how these emerging governmental regimes affect practices and ideas of citizenship as employed by both citizens and state agents and how the interactions between the police, citizens, and other state and non-state authorities were shaped by the (democratic) competition amongst political contenders, changing notions of the nation, and recent international discourses on security (e.g. 'the war on terror').

5. Who owns the village? Legal pluralism, cultural property, and social security in a Baltic tourist centre: the case of the Curonian Spit/Lithuania

Anja Peleikis

The objective of the project is to describe and analyse the changing constellations of legal pluralism against the background of the research region's different and historically changing affiliations to nation-states in the course of the 20th century (Germany, the Soviet Union, and Lithuania) and of the resulting changes in its population. With reference to the village Nida on the Curonian Spit in Lithuania, the project primarily focuses on the touristic (re)modelling of this region, which has been registered as a cultural landscape on the World Heritage List by the UNESCO. Interviews with Lithuanian inhabitants in Nida and with German and Lithuanian tourists as well as former inhabitants now living in Germany show how conflicting local, national, and transna-

tional protagonists mobilise and use different conceptions of legality in order to pursue their respective political, economic, and social interests.² Special attention is given to the change of social security systems and the revival of religious identities and practices as well as debates regarding property and 'places of memory'.

A particular characteristic of the village in question is the continuously changing composition of the population due to flight, expulsion, migration, and resettlement. At the end of the Second World War the majority of the German/Curonian population fled to Germany, while in the 1950s – during Soviet times – Russians, and Lithuanians in particular, settled on the Spit. After the fall of the Iron Curtain the former German inhabitants and their descendants were able to visit their 'old home' for the first time after 50 years. Some of them only visit once as tourists, while others attempt to actively participate in the post-Soviet reorganisation of the village.



Member of a Lithuanian folkdance group and German tourists. (Photo: A. Peleikis, 2004)

A noticeable feature is the German support given to the Protestant minority in the village, for whom the German tourists have turned into an important source of social and economic security. While the different religious identities played no role whatsoever during Soviet times, the

² Fieldwork in Nida as well as interviews with German and Lithuanian tourists were carried out during various stays between 2003 and 2005. The research also involves additional travels in order to visit former inhabitants at their current places of residence in Germany and to accompany them on their journeys to their native village.

confessional difference between the Catholic majority and the Protestant minority has developed into a source of conflict since Lithuania's independence, due to the support Protestants receive from Germany, either from individuals or from church organisations. The project examines the resulting conflicts and shows how national and transnational social actors participate in local struggles.



A reconstructed fisherman's house from the German period, now used as an ethnographic museum. (Photo: A. Peleikis, 2004)

Nida has always been a popular holiday resort, and after Lithuania's independence prosperous Lithuanians and foreigners were given the opportunity to purchase local property. The project seeks to investigate the transformation process in this village with regard to property issues, the existing legal foundations at the time of independence, and the extent to which the respective laws were applied or redefined. With the conversion of the Curonian Spit into a European holiday resort, the restoration of old buildings dating back to German times – as ethnographic evidence and tourist attractions – plays a pronounced role. The conflicting interests and negotiation processes regarding questions of ownership and the treatment of 'places of memory' are analysed in detail.

6. Judicial order and conflict resolution in ethnographic Tibet

Fernanda Pirie

Since the demise of the Lamaist regime in central Tibet, its peoples have been minorities in the nation-states of which they now form a part. This project investigates the contrasting experiences of governmental control on the part of Tibetan groups in Ladakh and Amdo, now part of India and China, respectively. It does so by focusing on legal processes, the management of disputes, and the maintenance of order and by contrasting the historical evidence of such practices within the former Tibetan regime.

Both regions were formerly on the margins of the central Tibetan state, but Buddhist monasteries became powerful political players in each area. In the theocracy of the Dalai Lamas political power was officially combined with religious authority and legal codes which were supposedly based on Buddhist moral principles. Surprisingly, however, few traces of Buddhist principles have been found within the local practices investigated in this project, either current or historic, although Buddhist lamas act as mediators in Amdo. The implication is that economic and political relations, as much as religious principles, explain the relationship between the religious establishments and practitioners and legal processes here.

Legal practices in both areas are further studied in the context of relations between local groups and the modern state. The Indian government pursues policies of economic development, while encouraging a local (*panchayat*) form of village government supported by a rights-based legal system. Nevertheless, in a remote agricultural village in Ladakh disputes are largely contained and resolved within the boundaries of the community. Judicial processes and authority are regarded as matters for village organisation, while order is internally generated, the product of conciliation and agreement rather than being imposed by external judicial authorities. Although government agents are respected, these



Nomad on the Amdo grasslands.
(Photo: F. Pirie, 2004)

officials are distanced from such processes, even in the town, where similar practices represent a real alternative to the state's courts.

In China a concerted attempt by the Maoist regime to eradicate Tibetan Buddhism and collectivise pastoral practices has been followed by a period of liberalisation. Nevertheless, government representatives still impose centrally determined policies on local populations, based on the principle that civil relations must serve state and social interests. At the same time, an ambitious programme of economic development is being pursued. In contrast to the state's legal principles, traditions of feuding and warfare characterise relations between the nomadic tribes in Amdo. These form segmentary structures, combining and dividing in the event of conflict. The emphasis is on a direct and individual response to aggression, and the settlement of a feud, once initiated, can only be achieved through elaborate mediation conducted by high status individuals, ultimately the reincarnate Buddhist lamas. The government's administrators have been forced to recognise these procedures for the resolution of feuds. However, the nomads also selectively rely upon the power that the police and other authorities can wield to restrain the outbreak of violence and determine disputed boundaries. Although most aspects of governmental control are widely resented, the nomads' complex patterns of feuding and mediation nonetheless require them, on occasion, to appeal to external sources of judicial authority.

These two Tibetan groups, therefore, respond to state control in ways which reflect their own concepts of order, and their own ideas about what conflict is and how it should be managed and controlled, as much as the social and legal orders imposed on them by their respective states, and this mirrors the way in which both groups have historically kept religious principles and Buddhist practitioners (in the case of Ladakh) at a distance from such practices.

7. Changes in social security in East Germany: functional transformation of social networks

Tatjana Thelen

Individual social security arrangements consist of a broad array of social relations. In different situations of need a variety of different sources, agents, and networks are built upon. Besides the state and state-organised insurances, religious, kinship, and friendship networks are also important providers of social security. These networks are always flexible and subject to constant change. While some risks may vanish, others develop; new actors take over responsibility for welfare or on the contrary reject it. At the same time, the rhetoric and meanings that actors give these functions and institutions change as well. This complexity and flexibility of social security relations makes it notoriously difficult to uncover any logic or direction within these changes.

Since the German unification abruptly replaced one state system of social security with another, East Germany offers a rich and complex field of research for these issues. The two pre-unification systems constituted different risks as well as moral and legal obligations of the state, various intermediary institutions, the family, and the individual. This especially abrupt change allows for research into alterations in meanings, as well as into the functional transformation of parts of these networks. While state socialism did vanish as a political and legal system in Germany, its everyday practices and normative orientations are still influential. This leads to situations of legal pluralism that become particularly obvious when people talk about their 'rights' or make decisions about the distribution of resources.

Taking into account the specificity of postsocialist change and the complexity of social security arrangements, I approach my research from different perspectives. Starting with the characteristic features of socialist social security provision I pay special attention to the interplay of changing risks and state provision of welfare with social relations in personal networks.

Christmas party for former employees.
(Photo: T. Thelen, 2004)



Not only did socialism guarantee full employment, but many other state resources were distributed through the workplace as well. These included the goods and services officially distributed by the departments of 'social and cultural care', such as child care, canteens, holiday facilities, medical care, and care for the pensioners. However, as the economy led to shortages in consumer goods, the workplace, besides serving its official function in the socialist enterprise as a provider of social security, was also a source of more informal individual appropriation of resources. Given the centrality of the workplace for social security, I decided to carry out fieldwork in a formerly large enterprise and explore how work relations changed with the loss of multifunctionality, the end of shortages, and the new risk of unemployment. A second

focus is upon different attitudes towards legal and moral obligations and rights as shown by different social groups in the enterprise.

The characteristics of the socialist economy had implications for social security provided by kin as well. Child care distributed at the workplace often replaced care given by mothers or grandmothers. Similarly, inheritance as part of family-provided social security lost much of its importance. At the same time the older generations and sometimes even extended kin, if living in West Germany, acquired new tasks, such as for example bringing or mailing consumer goods. With unification these kinds of transfer in kinship networks had to be radically restructured. This part of my project, in connection with my work in the KASS project (see this volume) and my research on a small Protestant network, will contribute to the understanding of the functional transformation of different social security arrangements and an anthropological approach to social security as a dynamic concept.

8. Local legal repertoires, access to natural resources, and the impact of transnational legal actors

Bertram Turner

The research examines the effects of transnational legal actors on the legal agency and processes of decision-making and conflict regulation in Southwest Morocco. The Souss plain, surrounded by the Atlas and Anti-Atlas mountains, is characterised by an ecosystem which is unique worldwide, as well as by zones of conventional and hyper-modern agrarian production. It is also a centre of Islamic learning and spirituality. These factors make the region a preferred arena of intervention where different transnational institutions and organisations aim at implementing their respective agendas. The spectrum ranges from the UNESCO, the World Bank, and other development organisations to the Islamic movement of *Salafiyya*. One central field of intervention is the sphere of law. As a consequence, local communities with their folk-legal repertoires increasingly face external transnational legal impacts. In the course of research, three foci of transnational legal intervention became apparent:

Firstly: transnational legal standards of resource management, incorporating criteria of sustainable development and universal environmental protection. These standards were made on the basis of international conventions and adopted into national law. The fact that this did not produce the desired results motivated development agents and the powerful donor organisations to advance to implementing these standards directly in the local fields, thus bypassing the state. The revitalisation of local tradition was seen as a transmitter of an ideology of sustainability and a Western perception of the environment.

Secondly: religious movements. Religious activists propagate a universal Islamic law as the solution to all problems and demand absolute obedience. They introduce into the local legal discourse issues such as social inequality, the fight against poverty, renunciation of false Western ideals, and the need for collective mobilisation. Previous local legal practices and ways of life are characterised as non-Islamic and rejected by them. The reactions of the state to their presence, cumulating in the adoption of transnationally inspired anti-terror legislation, bring another legal standard into this peripheral region.

Thirdly (and rather recently): transnational discourses on the universality of human rights. In local arenas, the human rights rhetoric of state and civil society institutions has led to the increasing importance of human rights as a way to come to terms with the era of state injustice and political repression.



*Members of a village-NGO in the upper Souss region in front of their club house.
(Photo: B. Turner, 2002)*

The coexistence of these partially incompatible legal models has led to an accelerated competition for 'the correct law' in the legal arena, as well as to a considerable amount of confusion. The different recent legal notions not only interact differently with the existing and already varied local legal repertoires; they also inevitably interact with each other and affect the actors who had brought them into the local arena.

It is one of the central ambitions of the research within this rather unexplored field to arrive at empirically based analytical conclusions. As

a first result it is worth mentioning that the widely held assumption of an increasing homogenisation of variable local legal repertoires, due to transnational legal standards, cannot be confirmed. Elements of external normative complexes and codes of behaviour are locally interpreted, incorporated in local contexts, or modified, while others are rejected. At the same time, folk legal repertoires prove their continuing power in processes of negotiating social cohesion and local belonging. The focus on the problem of how the interactive constellation of local legal orders and transnational legal models will affect social processes and power relations will provide ample room for developing theoretical propositions on the dynamics of pluralistic legal constellations.



*Students of the qur'an on the occasion of an official event as representatives of local piety.
(Photo: B. Turner, 2003)*

E. Developing the anthropology of law: conferences and workshops

The conferences and workshops mentioned in section B focus on specific domains in which the transnational and religious dimension of legal pluralism is explored. Besides this, the Project Group has continued to increase the visibility of the anthropology of law as an important specialisation within social anthropology and the legal sciences through a number of conferences and workshops orientated around more sub-disciplinary matters.

MPI – Edinburgh University cooperation

The cooperation with Prof. Anne Griffiths of the University of Edinburgh, which began with the first joint conference in Halle/Saale (2002) on *Mobile People, Mobile Law: Expanding legal relations in a contracting world* was followed by two jointly organised conferences held in Edinburgh (financially supported by the Wenner-Gren Foundation and the British ESRC). The 2004 conference dealt with law, power, and control. The 2005 conference emphasised space, territoriality, and time. Both conferences will lead to book publications.

Oñati Conference 2005

Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann, together with Sally Merry, organised an international workshop on *Polarisation and Convergence in Socio-legal Studies* at the International Institute for the Sociology of Law in Oñati, June 22th-24th, 2005. This conference explored the changing relationships between different socio-legal approaches to law in society and legal scholarship.

Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism conferences

With Keebet von Benda-Beckmann as its president (until 2004), Franz von Benda-Beckmann as a member of its Executive Body, and Bertram Turner as a member of the Commission's Board, the MPI for Social Anthropology played a major role in organising the conference of the Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism on *Law, Plural Society and Social Cohesion* at the University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, Canada in August 2004. The conference and course again attracted many scholars and practitioners working with legal pluralism from South and Southeast Asia, who were supported by a grant of US \$ 150 000 from the Ford Foundation. Bertram Turner and Fernanda Pirie organised a panel on "Religion and Law" at the conference.

Supporting the transdisciplinary interest in law among young German scholars

In November 2005, the Project Group for the second time hosted a conference for young socio-legal scholars in Germany. This was jointly organised with the Berliner Arbeitskreis Rechtswirklichkeit, the Sociology of Law section of the German Society for Sociology, and the chairs for Criminology and Sociology of Law at the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg and Public Law and Gender Studies at the Humboldt University in Berlin. The first meeting of this kind was held at the Institute in 2003. The conference on *Law as a Transdisciplinary Challenge* brought together young scholars from 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. It proposed a comparative perspective on 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 the processes of transnationalisation of law as well as political science models of the latter, and anthropological approaches to legal pluralism, as well as several papers on legal approaches to regime changes. The 2005 meeting focused on the topic of *Public and Private: transdisciplinary perspectives on state, society and individual*.

In addition, members of the Project Group organised panels on issues of legal anthropology at national and international conferences. At the EASA conference in Vienna, Franz von Benda-Beckmann, together with Werner Zips (University of Vienna), organised a panel on *Reintegrating the Anthropology of Law into Social Anthropology*. For the conference of the German Anthropological Association (DGV) in October 2005 in Halle/Saale, Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann organised a panel on *Revitalisierung von Tradition in Recht und Religion: Rückfall in die Vergangenheit oder zukunftsorientierte Strategie?* (The Revitalisation of Tradition in Law and Religion).

F. Networking and cooperation

During the past two years, the Project Group as a whole and its individual members have become increasingly involved in a number of cooperative ventures within the Max Planck Society and the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg. Together with Department I (Günther Schlee) the Group will participate in the planned interdisciplinary International Max Planck Research School on *Retaliation, Mediation and Punishment* (REMEP), which is being organised by the Max Planck Institutes for Comparative Public Law and International Law, Foreign and International Criminal Law, European Legal History, and Social Anthropology. The Project Group is also participating together with De-

partment I in the cooperation with the MPI for Foreign and International Criminal Law. Bertram Turner gave a paper at the international conference on *Alternative Means to Retributive Justice in Violent Conflicts in the Middle East* (September 2004 in Kloster Banz), jointly organised by the MPIs in Freiburg and Halle/Saale.

The Group also participates in the proposed Networks of Excellence and Graduate Schools established by several Departments of the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg: the Graduiertenzentrum "Asien und Afrika in globalen Bezugssystemen" (Asia and Africa in World Reference Systems) and "Steuerbarkeit von Innovationen" (Governance and Social Innovation). Moreover, the Group together with Department I and Department II takes part in a European "Marie Curie Programme for Human Resources and Mobility" in the field of social anthropology (a collaboration between University College and Goldsmith's in the UK, the Central European University in Hungary, the Babes-Bolyai University in Romania, and the MPI for Social Anthropology).

During the von Benda-Beckmann's research in 2004 and 2005 in Indonesia, the cooperation with the University Andalas in Padang was intensified.

Keebet von Benda-Beckmann has been elected into the Board of Trustees, class of 2007 of the Law & Society Association. She served on the organising committee for the Chicago Conference 2004. She also is a member of the internationalisation initiative of the Law & Society Association to support and strengthen worldwide networks of socio-legal scholarship.

Julia Eckert is involved in several interdisciplinary projects of the *Junge Akademie* of the Berlin Brandenburg Academy of Sciences: together with Jens Beckert, Wolfgang Streeck, and Martin Kohli she organised a conference on *Solidarity Beyond the Nation State*; together with Marc Hütt and Jens Wick she developed a research methodology to evaluate processes of self-organisation in NGOs; she is furthermore involved in a working group on boundaries. All of these projects were financed by the *Junge Akademie*.

Julia Eckert collaborates with members of various institutions, such as the Research Group "Micro-politics of armed groups" at the Humboldt University, the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik Berlin and the Danish Institute for International Studies within the ad hoc group "Orders of violence" of the German Association of Political Science (DVPW) that regularly organises workshops and conferences on issues of the organisation of the state in countries of the South. She is a member of the initiative 'Justizgewährung, Staatsräson und Geheimdienste' of the Berlin Brandenburg Academy of Sciences.

Fernanda Pirie has established links with the Department of Central Asian Studies at the Institute of Asian and African Studies at the Humboldt University in Berlin. Together with Professor Toni Huber she or-

ganised a conference there in November 2005 entitled *Conflict, Religion and Social Order in Tibet and Inner Asia* which was also attended by a number of researchers from the MPI for Social Anthropology (Peter Finke, Agnieszka Halemba and Brian Donahoe).

Since summer 2004 Tatjana Thelen has been involved in the EU-financed KASS project (see this volume). Since April 2005 she has been leading the research on kinship and social security in Germany. She and her team work with different ethnographic methods as well as a questionnaire in one rural and one urban setting on the significance and practices of kinship in providing social security.

Bertram Turner is engaged in a project-bound cooperation with the Danish Institute in Damascus (Jorgen Baek Simonsen) and the Institute of Anthropology of the University of Copenhagen (Hans Christian Korsholm Nielsen) on legal anthropology in the Middle East and North Africa. A workshop has been organised in Damascus in May 2005 on *Re-examining the Concepts of Collective and Individual Responsibility in the Islamic World*. The results of that workshop are to be published in the series of the Danish Institute.

Together with Thomas Sikor (Humboldt University Berlin) and Lutz Laschewski (University of Rostock), Bertram Turner is one of the three organisers of the DFG-funded scientific network: "Rural Property: contemporary processes of rural transformation and differentiation". Within this framework a series of workshops will be organised bringing together researchers from different disciplines working on postsocialist, western European, and 'post-colonial' rural environments (Berlin 2004, Toruń 2005, Halle/Saale 2006, Nexoe 2006). This network also interlinks internal MPI research activities on rural property with an internationally composed research community. Keebet von Benda-Beckmann and Franz von Benda-Beckmann are acting as "senior researchers"; John Eidson, Deema Kaneff, Lale Yalçın-Heckmann as well as Bertram Turner are also participating as "junior researchers" in the DFG-network programme.

Anja Peleikis has built up collaborations with Lithuanian researchers from the Institute of Baltic Sea Region History and Archaeology, University of Klaipėda and from the Centre of Social Anthropology, Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas. Together with historians and social anthropologists from these institutions she plans to develop a multidisciplinary research project on the *German/Lithuanian/Russian borderland*.

G. Teaching

During the past two years, relations between the Project Group and the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg and the University of Leipzig have been strengthened. Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann have been appointed honorary professors for ethnology at the University of Leipzig. In 2004, they were appointed honorary professors at the Faculty of Law of the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg. Members of the Project Group have taught courses in Halle/Saale, Leipzig, Rotterdam, and Berlin (see Appendix). Since the last report Gerhard Anders has successfully defended his PhD thesis at the University of Rotterdam. Keebet and Franz von Benda-Beckmann also supervise three PhD students at the Centre for Development Research (ZEF) in Bonn. Bertram Turner has co-supervised a PhD thesis at the Humboldt University in Berlin.

The Project Group again played a central role in teaching an international course on legal pluralism at the 2004 international conference of the Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism in Fredericton (Canada). At this course, an Asian Initiative on Legal Pluralism was established which held its first meeting in Cochin, India in May 2005.

H. Future prospects

In the course of 2005 a number of developments have created the conditions for the future work of the Project Group beyond 2006, providing a sound basis for preparing an application for the establishment of a third department in this field in 2008. In May 2005, the president of the Max Planck Society, following the strong recommendation of the Institute's Scientific Advisory Board, responded positively to the Institute's request to continue the Project Group for three more years until the end of 2009. In the coming years, research will more strongly focus on various aspects of disputing processes and the mobilisation of law in different institutional forums. The theme of the research group, headed by Keebet von Benda-Beckmann, will be "Dispute Management: Civil courts and their religious alternatives". Julia Eckert who was appointed to a position as Head of Research Group will lead the research on "Law against the State".

Siberian Studies Centre

Directors: Chris Hann and
Günther Schlee

Coordinator: Joachim Otto Habeck

The Siberian Studies Centre is an interdepartmental research unit of the Institute. It consists of two directors, five post-doctoral researchers (including the coordinator), one doctoral student, and three associated researchers. All of the post-doctoral researchers were awarded their PhD degrees in late 2003 or early 2004 and have since been working on new research projects, both in their established fieldwork sites and in new ones.

Research over the last two years has been conducted within four broad thematic fields:

- discourses about the environment and land use;
- generational and gendered perspectives;
- indigeneity and ethnicity as dimensions of identity;
- conversion and the interaction of diverse forms of spirituality.



Researchers and associated members of the Siberian Studies Centre as of November 2005. From left to right: Yulian Konstantinov, Katharina Gernet, Vladislava Vladimirova, Joachim Otto Habeck, Virginie Vaté, István Sántha, Brian Donahoe. Not pictured: Agnieszka Halemba and Kirill Istomin. (Photo: O. Weihmann)

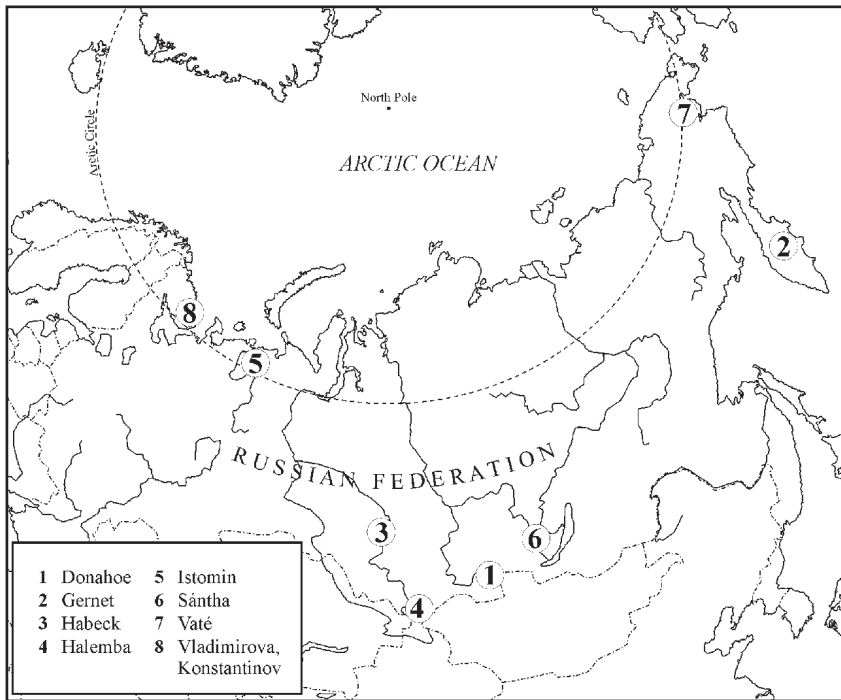
Joint research themes

Discourses about the environment and land use

This research focus emerged early on as a shared interest among all the researchers of the Siberian Studies Centre. It represents a continuation of relevant anthropological scholarship pursued at various institutions throughout the 1990s and at the Max Planck Institute since its foundation in 1999. In addition to hunting and reindeer herding as so-called traditional forms of land use, tourism, extractive industries, and environmental protection initiatives are becoming ever more common and contested management strategies that demand attention. The central point of investigation is the multitude of diverse and oftentimes conflicting perspectives on how land and resources should be managed and in whose interests.

Recent developments in legislation on land, most notably the introduction of private land ownership, open the door to new possibilities for a variety of interested parties, but simultaneously place immense obstacles before those who do not have the financial and/or political resources to purchase the land on which they work and live. Under such circumstances, members of local communities try to secure access to land by taking advantage of various legal options, including setting up kin-based cooperatives (*obshchina*) and establishing protected territories. However, the instrument of environmental protection in conflicts over land evokes negative associations in the minds of many people. In the past, at least, establishment of protected territories was a way of denying local people access to sizeable swathes of land on which they had been living for centuries. The 1990s and early 2000s have seen complicated legal and practical negotiations combining different forms of nature conservation with local land rights in a variety of ways. The increasing economic significance of tourism adds yet another dimension to the complexity of negotiations. Tourism is seen by local inhabitants in several south Siberian regions both as an economic opportunity and as a potential threat to their way of life.

Researchers of the Siberian Studies Centre have jointly developed the research initiative 'Negotiating the land', which provides a platform for ongoing and future activities. The initiative's regional focus on southern Siberia and the Far East has recently been expanded to include the Russian Northwest through the launching of a project within the DFG *Sonderforschungsbereich* (Collaborative Research Centre) 586, *Difference and Integration*, and through the integration of two associated projects.

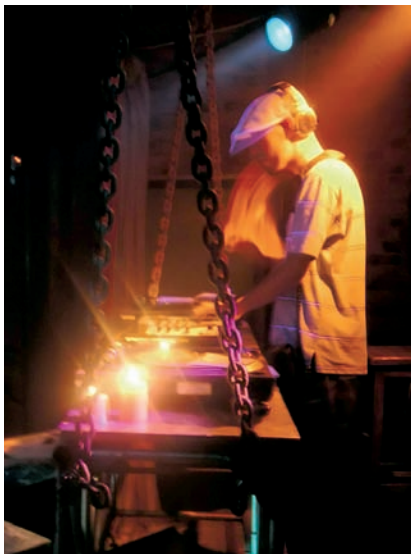


Fieldwork sites of the researchers of the Siberian Studies Centre

These three projects in the northwest (Barents and Yamal Regions) analyse strategies of land use, access to land, negotiations over the land, and different actors' perceptions of the land, through the lens of reindeer husbandry. These projects will generate valuable data to be used for comparisons with the projects in the Far East (Chukotka, Kamchatka) and southern Siberia (Tyva, Buryatia) on the situation of reindeer herding across Russia. They will provide new insights into the question of why reindeer husbandry in the eastern and southern regions faces economically and politically more adverse conditions than in the Northwest. They will also lay the groundwork for a comparative analysis of how the newly introduced private land ownership will be implemented in practice in different reindeer-herding regions of Russia.

Generational and gendered perspectives

This thematic focus was ushered in by a workshop organised by the Siberian Studies Centre in November 2003 with the title, *'Everything is still before you': being young in Siberia today*. A selection of papers has been published in the 2004 volume of the journal *Sibirica*, under the guest editorship of Joachim Otto Habeck. These papers centred on (1) the concept of youth, the process of becoming an adult, and the expectations connected with it; (2) acquisition of knowledge within and outside of formal education; and (3) sports, music, and games as meaningful and creative spheres of social interaction. In Russia, many members of the older generation think of youth as an object of concern and a 'lost generation', yet this view is not necessarily shared by youth themselves, who often assert their willingness and ability to make a change for the better. However, there is widespread agreement that life in rural settlements offers few prospects for young people, and many if not most rural youth envisage moving to the city, particularly those who wish to obtain higher education. Oftentimes these aspirations remain unfulfilled, as many families simply cannot afford to send their children to the city to study.



DJ-ing in a club is a prestigious activity among urban youth. In Novosibirsk, a number of clubs feature fashionable music styles, such as hip-hop, drum & base, rave, and techno. (Photo: J. O. Habeck, August 2005)

Ongoing research addresses the perception of gender relations as expressed by indigenous and non-indigenous women and men. Despite the centrality of gender in anthropology today, it has been largely neglected in the Siberian context (although there are notable exceptions). Research on gender relations in Russia has been conducted mostly in European Russia and in large cities. Discussions of gender relations in indigenous communities have usually been limited to the distribution of labour, patterns of behaviour (including taboos), marriage, and kinship, and have generally failed to address sufficiently how gender relations are constructed and evaluated by the informants themselves and how such evaluations change over time.

Indigenous women and men often express their concerns about imbalanced gender relations. Single mothers as heads of households constitute a significant portion of the population. Women represent a disproportionately large segment of the urban population, and are under-represented in the tundra and the taiga. The increasing absence of women from these domains is considered one of the principal reasons for the current crisis in hunting and reindeer-herding economies. In addition, indigenous men, particularly in reindeer-herding encampments, complain about the loneliness of the single life and the lack of women to share household duties. The fact that women no longer lead a 'traditional way of life' and now often marry non-indigenous men is frequently blamed for the breakdown of family structures.

Gender and generation are interdependent and mutually constitutive dimensions of identity and personhood. Along with other dimensions of identity, an individual's generational affiliation and gender exert a powerful influence on the choices and limitations regarding work, leisure activities, and patterns of consumption. In Russia, gender roles and socially accepted forms of behaviour have markedly diversified over the last twenty years, but not in a uniform manner throughout all parts of society. Comparative research has the potential to reveal to what extent the development of this diversity crosses ethnic boundaries, and to what extent it is informed by ethnic diversity. Simultaneously, this research will show how the changing views of inter-generational relations and gender roles influence the symbolic and economic significance of different livelihoods in different ethnic contexts.



Dukha youth assembling a satellite dish outside their tipi. Satellite TV, portable solar panels, and chain saws are among the technological amenities nomadic Dukha reindeer herders have adopted to make life in the taiga of northwestern Mongolia more comfortable. (Photo: B. Donahoe, 2004)

Indigeneity and ethnicity as dimensions of identity

Another focus of joint work is the ethnic dimension of identity as it relates to state-constructed ethnic categories, how these categories have come into being, and how they are assigned and instrumentalised in local struggles over resources and symbolic capital. In Soviet times, ethnic affiliation – *natsional'nost'* – was considered such a fundamental and integral feature of an individual's identity that it came to be known as the 'fifth point' (*piaty punkt*), in reference to the fact that it was inscribed on the fifth line of every Soviet citizen's passport, behind only name, date of birth, place of birth, and sex. Each citizen was assigned to one and only one officially recognised ethnic group (*natsional'nost'*), effectively denying the possibility of multiple or mixed ethnic affiliations. At age 16, when they received their first passports, children of mixed parentage had to choose to which *natsional'nost'* they wanted to belong, a strategic choice that was greatly influenced by the parents.

Another important factor in the identity politics among Russia's indigenous peoples is that of population size. Those peoples who number fewer than 50 000 are officially registered as 'small-numbered' (*malochislennye*). They enjoy certain benefits that other indigenous peoples are not entitled to. This 50 000 threshold was introduced in 1996 as a pragmatic administrative definition to differentiate between those small-numbered indigenous peoples in need of developmental assistance and larger indigenous peoples who are presumably less in need of assistance. But this distinction has taken on a political significance it was never intended to have, as indigenous groups have started to use it in the struggle for limited resources. The role of the 'size factor' in politics of ethnicity and indigeneity came to the fore in the run-up to and subsequent release of results from the 2002 Russian Census, which documented crucial and surprising developments in the population figures of several small ethnic groups. The political ramifications of the size factor is a theme of ongoing research by four members of the Siberian Studies Centre, who draw on case studies from Tyva, Buryatia, Altai, and Komi.

Three researchers of the Siberian Studies Centre (Habeck, Sántha, and Vaté) have recently discussed aspects of ethnicity and identity in their contributions to the book *Rebuilding Identities: Pathways to reform in post-Soviet Siberia*. This is the third volume of a series edited by Erich Kasten, former coordinator of the Siberia Project Group (2000-2002) of Department II. The series illustrates the level of anthropological scholarship and ongoing debates pertaining to Siberia and the Russian North. It also shows the manifold thematic linkages between researchers of the previous Siberia Project Group, the current Siberian Studies Centre, and research centres elsewhere.

Conversion and the interaction of different forms of spirituality in Siberia

In Soviet times religion was officially portrayed as obsolete, backward, and dangerous. Religious practices were severely circumscribed and challenged by the Soviet state and its ideology. Since the late 1980s, there has been a rapid growth of interest in various forms of spirituality, religious experiences, and religious institutions. Many people have been searching for new frames of orientation and new moral values (*moral'nye tsennosti*) in times of acute social insecurity and economic turmoil. Alongside the re-emergence of institutionalised religious traditions that had existed in earlier times, new religious expressions have been burgeoning, including new Protestant denominations and other spiritual movements. This raises questions of the reasons for, and results of, religious conversion. How do personal choices regarding religious life change social relations within a local community? How can the analysis of conversion help us to understand knowledge practices, attitudes to land, and notions of personhood?

One can also observe the (re-)invigoration of 'shamanic' practices in many communities and regions of Siberia. These contemporary practices do not necessarily correspond to the image of 'shamanism' as portrayed by ethnographers working in Siberia before 1930. However, these contemporary forms of 'shamanism' lay claims to legitimacy through reference to the past. These new forms of practices include organisation of shamans' associations and clinics, which is leading to the institutionalisation of this historically non-institutionalised belief system. How is 'shamanism' perceived and negotiated? What new meanings of such terms as 'shamanism' or 'animism' arise from the analysis of contemporary situations? How are different religious traditions being negotiated through people's practices?

Individual projects

Mobility, 'tenuriality', and the politics of indigeneity in the Sayan Cross

Brian Donahoe

Brian Donahoe's research agenda is based on comparative analyses of four closely related indigenous communities inhabiting the 'Sayan Cross' region of the Eastern Sayan mountain range that separates Siberia from Mongolia: the Tozhu of the Republic of Tyva (Tuva), the Tofa of Irkutsk Oblast', the Soyot of western Buryatia, and the Dukha of northwestern Mongolia. The common origins and divergent histories of these peoples provide the ideal opportunity to engage in a variety of theoretical debates, including: the interaction between mobility, territoriality, and tenure among nomadic (or formerly nomadic) groups under different administrative regimes; different approaches to protecting territory, guaranteeing indigenous rights to land, and establishing an economic basis through natural resource extraction, tourism, and/or development of small industry; and the dynamics of constructing, maintaining, and asserting ethnic identity and indigeneity.

Using case studies from the above-mentioned groups, Donahoe tracks the relationship between mobility and what he dubs 'tenuriality', defined as behaviour related to asserting rights of access to land and resources. Drawing on concepts from institutional analysis and theories of property rights, especially with regards to common-pool resources, this research demonstrates that reduced nomadic mobility not only negatively affects hunting and reindeer husbandry, but also leads to increased 'tenuriality', which is causing changes in social relations. This assertion could be interpreted simply as a restatement of various theories of territoriality, intensification of land use, or evolutionary theories of property rights. However, in these cases Donahoe focuses *not* on endogenous and ecological factors as the causes of the reduction in mobility and the subsequent move toward greater assertion of property rights, but rather exogenous political and economic factors such as land privatisation, the development of tourism and extractive industries, and a variety of state-imposed land and natural resource management strategies.

Closely related to the mobility and tenure project is Donahoe's work on land use, environmental protection, and tourism. Southern Siberia and Mongolia are experiencing rapid growth in both tourism and nature protection initiatives. It is often assumed that nature protection measures are inherently good both for the environment and for the people who make their living directly from the environment, but this assumption obscures conflicting notions and practices related to the land. For example, the establishment of some protected areas places reindeer

pastures and hunting grounds off-limits to local people. This forces local inhabitants to resort to poaching to meet subsistence needs and to generate an income, while at the same time foreign tourists, lured by the promise of good hunting, come to many of the same protected territories that locals are prohibited from using.

The case of the Dukha demonstrates the impact tourism can have on nomadic mobility patterns. Some groups of Dukha choose the location of their summer camps in part to create ease of access for tourists. While this allows them to generate some income by charging tourists to ride on their reindeer, to stay in their tipis, and to take photos of them and their lifestyle, it is proving detrimental to the health of the reindeer herds.

Finally, as part of his ongoing research on the politics of indigeneity, Donahoe is comparing the different trajectories these four communities have taken to become nationally and internationally recognised 'indigenous' peoples. 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, and a notion anthropology has worked so hard to discredit. For these reasons the concept of 'indigeneity' poses serious challenges to anthropology, especially that branch of anthropology known as 'action anthropology' and other forms of engaged activism for the rights of indigenous peoples. By comparing the different experiences of these otherwise closely related peoples,

this research project highlights the role of international geopolitics, the state, and ethnographers in the construction of indigenous identities in the former Soviet Union and in contemporary Russia and Mongolia.



In recent years, almost all Tozhu reindeer herders have built permanent structures as a way of laying claim to what they are coming to consider 'their' territory. (Photo: B. Donahoe, Republic of Tyva, 2000)

Identity and self-determination of young indigenous women in Central Kamchatka, Russian Far East

Katharina Gernet

From December 2004 to September 2005, Katharina Gernet conducted fieldwork on the Kamchatka Peninsula. She has been working in a rural district in Central Kamchatka (Bystrinskii Raion) and in the regional capital Petropavlovsk. Her main task is to study the situations, expectations, and scope for self-determination of young indigenous women, for the most part of Even ethnic background. Her research questions are guided by the concept of liminality, or 'in-between-ness'. Being an Even woman means to be torn between two social roles: on the one hand, Even women do not want to, or are not able to, act as keepers of local traditional culture, which is characterised by a nomadic life in the taiga and tundra; on the other hand, life in the city is hardly accessible to them and they feel excluded from 'modernity' in the global context. Their everyday existence in the rural settlements mirrors the symbolic and economic significance of both spheres – the taiga and the city – yet the identities and patterns of life connected with these two spheres appear to be incommensurable.

Only a very few women succeed in managing their lives in a way that suits and satisfies them, whereas many others drift off into severe misery. The goal of the research project is to examine which factors play a role in the shaping of young indigenous women's existence in Central Kamchatka, and what possibilities they have to take control over their own lives. What are their expectations for the future and how do they try to realise them? Which values and norms give them orientation when it comes to making decisions for their individual futures? Categories such as age, gender, ethnicity/indigeneity, kinship, 'regional positioning', and 'tradition' (see below) will be addressed as the first step in assessing how these categories provide for specific identities. This will then make it possible to further ask to what degree each of these factors influences the scope of young Even women's self-determination.

Of the many anthropological publications on the situation of indigenous peoples in the Russian Federation, few have examined the situations and self-perceptions of women, young people, and particularly female youth. By combining and applying the gender and age perspective, Gernet seeks to add a new dimension to the discourses on identity, ethnicity, and indigeneity among indigenous peoples of Russia. Moreover, she investigates the issues of 'region' and 'tradition' as aspects of identity among the Evens of Central Kamchatka. 'Region' or 'regional positioning' denotes people's positions in the relations between the rural and the urban sphere. 'Tradition' is used as a heading for the analysis of how indigenous inhabitants of Central Kamchatka perceive and comment on certain developments of '(neo-)traditionalism', and

how they assess the relevance of traditional lifestyles for their own lives – currently and in the future.

Finally, under the heading of ‘self-determination’ Gernet examines the scope of the possibilities young Siberian indigenous women have to take control over their lives. The oft-used concept of ‘agency’ (as discussed with regard to indigenous communities in Russia) may need to be balanced by introducing ‘patency’ – in the sense of ‘being hindered from realising agency’ – in order to speak more appropriately about the *limits* of self-determination for the (female) indigenous population of Central Kamchatka.

Cultured places in an uncultured landscape: notions of culture in Novosibirsk

Joachim Otto Habeck

Joachim Otto Habeck recently completed the evaluation of data he had collected in two research projects on land use, environmental protection, and environmental perception in the Barents Region. Special attention was paid to the status of reindeer husbandry among the Komi. The resulting data feed into the ongoing research activities of other scholars at the Siberian Studies Centre, notably in the research areas of reindeer husbandry in northwestern Russia (Istomin, Konstantinov, Vladimirova) and environmental protection and access to land (Donahoe, Halembo, Sántha).

As a result of his research on the public image of reindeer husbandry, Habeck became interested in the notion of ‘culture’ and its use in a spatial sense: many inhabitants of Russia perceive the reindeer-herding regions and, more generally, the North and Siberia as regions which lack ‘culture’. Within the North and Siberia, though, there are places commonly associated with culture – dispensaries of culture, so to speak – notably the school, the club, or the House of Culture. Moreover, the idea that ‘culture’ is unevenly distributed over space connects with the phenomenon of gendered space: women are the dominant actors in many rural cultural institutions, whereas men constitute the majority among those who appropriate and manage natural resources far away from the settlements. Using this as a point of departure, Habeck designed his current research project, ‘Cultured places in an uncultured landscape’ (see the project description in the Institute Report 2002-2003). The aim is to examine how different inhabitants of Siberia perceive, judge, and instrumentalise a concept – culture – which itself is of key importance in anthropological debates (and in doing so, the project complements Vaté’s research on the representations of ‘nature’ in a different part of Siberia).



Young break-dancers perform on summer evenings in the city centre of Novosibirsk. Passers-by of all ages are attracted by these demonstrations of urban youth culture. (Photo: J. O. Habeck, August 2005)

The next step in Habeck's project is a study of what may be considered the other end of the cultural continuum: the cultural sphere in a big city. In the summer of 2005 Habeck conducted short-term fieldwork in Novosibirsk with the aim of mapping the cultural scene of this city, notably the formal and informal institutions in the field of music (opera, conservatory, orchestras and bands, event management, etc.). The purpose of this mapping was to identify key elements in this scene, the actors and their networks, and the degree of cohesion within the scene. Secondly, representatives of the cultural sphere (along with other individuals) were asked about their own conceptions of culture. Behind these interviews is an attempt

to chart the diversity of understandings of 'culture' and its normative content, which will also be examined in its spatial dimensions. This research will also be used to test the hypothesis that in the cultural scene of a big city, gender interactions are fundamentally different from those in cultural institutions in the rural parts of the North and Siberia.

The project also has significant implications for the study of identity: beyond the dimension of ethnicity, Habeck argues, there are other dimensions of identity that have thus far received comparatively little attention. Among these are gender and age (see Gernet's and Sántha's projects), natural and spiritual aspects of the environment (e.g., Halamba, Vaté), and occupation and lifestyles. The influence of occupation on a person's identity and the emergence of lifestyles as self-conscious expressions of identity need to be examined on the basis of a cross-sectional approach, in both rural and urban settings, in so-called traditional and globalised spheres of action. Habeck seeks to complement his occupational study of reindeer herders in the Far North with comparable studies from other occupational fields. The results of the short-term fieldwork in Novosibirsk will lay the groundwork for the selection of an occupational and/or lifestyle group, among which participant observation will be conducted in subsequent years.

Negotiations about the land (Republic of Altai)

Agnieszka Halemba

Agnieszka Halemba's research project examines different attitudes to land and different ways of dealing with land in the Republic of Altai (southern Siberia). It combines political and legal issues with research on environmental perceptions and the spiritual dimension of the land.

In today's Russian Federation, laws and official regulations are fluid and subject to rapid and unexpected change. Moreover, in contrast to the 1990s, when most people looked at the state as the sole provider of work, social security, and entitlements, they now see the state either as a partner in negotiations over resources, or as an adversary competing for control over land with people who actually live on the land. New legal reforms scheduled to go into effect at the beginning of 2006 will introduce a free market in real estate. The new laws stipulate that land will be sold at open auctions to the highest bidder. Indigenous inhabitants of Altai know that, under such a system, they will lose out to outsiders with money and connections. In anticipation of this, they are trying to find clauses within the legal framework that will allow them to keep significant parcels of land off the auction block so that they can eventually secure control over the land. The expansion of tourism in Altai is a particular cause of anxiety. The regions closer to the republic's capital are already crowded with tourist camps and hotels, and there is a general sense that in these regions local people have already lost their battle over land to investors foreign to the region. People living in the regions further away from the republic's capital are convinced that the wave of tourism and investments will soon reach their land as well. Of particular importance for the Altaians and Telengits (indigenous people living respectively in central and southern Altai) is that the land is the foundation of their religion – Altai is alive and is supposed to be worshipped and protected by the people. The future of the people depends directly on the state of their land, which in turn depends on their capacity to protect it.

While securing rights to land is a major preoccupation of a majority of the 'indigenous local inhabitants' of Altai, we cannot naively assume that these people represent a homogenous and unified community. Different local groups and individuals have different aims and objectives, and employ different and often conflicting approaches to achieve them. Among the various strategies to secure control over land, the most often used is the establishment of nature parks, as the land in nature parks cannot be sold freely. The second strategy of securing access to land is the designation of certain parcels of land as 'territories of traditional nature use' (*territorii traditsionnogo prirodopol'zovaniia*, abbreviated as TTP). This option is limited to those people who belong to ethnic groups designated as 'small-numbered indigenous peoples' according to

the federal legal definition. Legal and bureaucratic hassles with the foundation of TTPs in other regions of Russia have created the feeling that this strategy, while it may temporarily protect land from the real-estate market, cannot be relied upon as a long-term solution to the problem. The third possible strategy to secure access to land is privatisation proper. Although full and unconditional ownership in land does not exist as of yet, it will come into being when the new legal reforms take effect.



Participants of the 2nd meeting of nature-park administrators of the Altai Republic in the Chui-oozy nature park. (Photo: A. Halemba, May 2005)

Some individuals or groups of relatives insist that they know best how to protect the land and do not want external organisations and regulatory bodies to get involved. Hence, they sometimes reject the first two strategies presented above – nature parks and TTPs – in the expectation that they will be able to buy land outright. There are two possibilities here. The first one is to properly prepare documents confirming ownership of former collective farm lands. Such ownership was assigned when the collective farms collapsed in the 1990s, generally on the basis of long-standing membership in the collective farm. However, the documentation was inconsistent and imprecise, and those hoping to claim land on that basis now must go through the process of having the land surveyed and new documents drawn up. The second way is to lease the land from whichever governmental body is currently responsible for it. It is assumed that the person who holds the lease at the time the new legal reforms take effect will have the first option to purchase the land without having to compete for it at auction.

These various strategies and the convoluted legal environment within which they must operate make for a complex picture of how land is assessed, discussed, and negotiated. Worship of the land and competing religious movements claiming affinity to traditional land-worship further complicate this picture. Given the rapid development of tourism and the imminent creation of a real-estate market, this research is highly topical and has important political and economic ramifications.

Orientation in, perception, and utilisation of space on the edge of the Arctic: nomads and sedentary people in northwestern Siberia

Kirill Istomin

Kirill Istomin joined the Siberian Studies Centre in July 2005, under a joint agreement with the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg. His research project is part of the *Sonderforschungsbereich* No 586 (Collaborative Research Centre) *Difference and integration: interactions between nomadic and settled forms of life in the civilisations of the Old World* funded by the DFG. The project addresses the perception of and orientation in space among different groups in northwestern Siberia (Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Region), including reindeer herders, fishermen, traders, administrators, and industrial workers. As these groups of actors use the tundra in different ways, one may expect that they also differ in their perceptions of space and in their methods of orientation.

In his previous research among reindeer herders in the European part of Russia, Istomin analysed herding strategies and herders' movements along their migration routes between the summer pastures in the tundra and the winter pastures in the boreal forest zone. The conceptualisation of space among the reindeer herders of northeastern Europe reflects not so much its natural (biological, physical, geographic) properties, but rather the amount of work required to maintain control over the reindeer herd in a certain place. The same factor – the difficulty of herd control – is decisive for the pattern of space utilisation.



On their way to the summer pastures, Komi reindeer herders cross a river during the peak of the snowmelt. The older herders select suitable points for fording some days in advance. (Photo: J. O. Habeck, June 1998)

Reindeer herders' migrations in northwestern Siberia do not necessarily follow the same pattern as those of the European reindeer herders. While some spend the winter in the forest zone and migrate up to 600 km north to summer pastures in the tundra zone, others stay in the north all year round. In addition, the technology of reindeer pasturing, particularly the technologies for controlling the reindeer herds, are reported to be different in Siberia than in European Russia. A central question of this research project is whether and how the differences between the Siberian and European migration patterns and herding technologies, as well as between the migration patterns of different groups of Siberian reindeer herders, are reflected in the spatial orientation systems of their respective practitioners.

Hunters and fishers use the tundra along with the reindeer herders, yet they too have different patterns of mobility. They tend to be sedentary, but still maintain a variety of ties with the nomadic groups. A comparative study is particularly promising here since both reindeer herders on the one hand, and hunters and fishers on the other, are for the most part more comfortable speaking Nenets than Russian and share a common Nenets identity. If the perceptions of and orientations in space of these two groups prove to be different from each other, then we can hypothesise that their perceptions and orientations are based on different use patterns and interests in the tundra.

The situation is more complex when considering administrators and businessmen. People in these groups usually have a different linguistic background (Russian instead of Nenets). Among those businessmen who themselves were once reindeer herders, it will be possible to study to what degree their spatial perception has changed since they began to move through space by mechanical means (i.e., snowmobile, motorboat, or helicopter) rather than by reindeer sledge.

Industrial workers, who live for the most part in urban space and will therefore be considered sedentary, are included in this study as a control group. Members of this group are nevertheless highly mobile, as they move in shifts between the Russian 'mainland' (*materik*) and the Far North where they drill for oil and gas.

Based on case studies collected through ethnographic fieldwork with the above-mentioned actors, the varying concepts of space are to be identified and the relationships between them explained. This research will reveal whether we can speak of a specifically 'nomadic' perception of space in contrast to a 'sedentary' perception. This observation will, in turn, shed light on the theoretical discussion about whether a classification into absolute, relative, or intrinsic systems of perception of space can be justified, and contribute to the understanding of human orientation systems more generally.

Maintaining or reinventing a relation to 'nature': religious practices and systems of representation in the Russian North

Virginie Vaté

Virginie Vaté's research is devoted to Chukchis, a people living in the northeastern Siberian Arctic. In her earlier research, she paid particular attention to reindeer-herding life in the tundra, but also devoted an important part of her fieldwork to life in herders' and sea-mammal hunters' villages, and to urban indigenous *intelligentsiia*.

Her current research focuses on the conception of, and interaction with, 'nature'. 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. Vaté approaches this issue from two closely related directions, *environmental knowledge and representations of 'nature'*, and *competing religious practices and systems of representations in interaction*.



Tolya, herdsman from Amguema, struggles to train a reindeer for future sledge-pulling duty. (Photo: V. Vaté, October 1997)

Environmental knowledge and representations of 'nature' in Chukotka

As one of the spheres that has been most directly affected by the consequences of Soviet policy, relation to 'nature' is being redefined according to gender, generation, and livelihood (herders, hunters, urban residents). This research focuses on a precise study of environmental (ethnobotanical, ethnozoological, etc.) knowledge and investigates how

'nature' is used and represented. This entails consideration of how knowledge is transmitted, and how environmental knowledge and human-'nature' relations are continually subjected to reinterpretations. As a first step toward investigating these phenomena, Vaté's fieldwork in the autumn of 2004¹ was mostly devoted to the study of what Jean-Pierre Digard calls the 'domesticatory system' (*système domesticatoire*), that is to say, the commitments a human can have to animals at a technical, sociological, and symbolic level. This approach makes it possible to analyse social changes through human-animal relations. In Vaté's application of the 'domesticatory system' concept, particular attention has been paid to reindeer, the animal at the centre of Chukchi life.

With regard to reindeer husbandry, collectivisation and sedentarisation in the Soviet past and various unsuccessful reorganisations in the last decade have introduced a variety of approaches to herding, each of which implies a somewhat different type of human-reindeer relation. With the break from tundra life, it is the whole 'domesticatory system' (and what it implies from a technical and cognitive point of view) that is modified.



Facing the port of Anadyr, the capital of Chukotka, the statue of Saint Nikolai Chudotvorets, erected in summer 2004, welcomes people coming from the airport side and seems to invite them to the Orthodox church being built nearby. (Photo: V. Vaté, October 2004)

¹ Part of this research was funded by the *Fondation Fyssen* (from January to October 2004).

Competing religious practices and systems of representations in interaction

After the collapse of the Soviet system, people of northeastern Siberia, along with other inhabitants of the former USSR, were free once again to resume their religious practices. Nowadays the religious situation in Chukotka is highly diverse. In some regions, among the Chukchi reindeer herders in the tundra, one can observe rituals carried out in a very similar manner to the way in which they were described a century ago. In other regions, particularly those of the sea-mammal hunters, festivals are no longer performed in their 'traditional' form, but persist sometimes in a very Soviet-influenced version or reappear in a new way through local attempts at reviving them. In settlements where newcomers predominate (such as in Anadyr, the capital of Chukotka), Russian Orthodoxy is regaining some of its former power. Finally, indigenous peoples have become both the target of active proselytising by Protestant denominations (such as the Pentecostalists), and open to the influence of the *New Age* movement, primarily via the Russian translation of Michael Harner's books on neoshamanism.

Central to this research is the idea of interaction. In a context where the 'profane' is not conceived of as a distinct realm from the 'sacred', conversion to a new religion such as Pentecostalism implies a negotiation of practices not only in the ritual context but in all spheres of daily life. Thus, conversion influences practices and knowledge related to 'nature' and animals. In addition, this research aims to address questions such as: How does conversion modify social networks and social organisation? What are the strategies of missionaries, and how are they managing to achieve ever greater success in villages and herding areas?

Individual projects of associated members

Towards a model of comparing transitional forms in Russian reindeer husbandry

Yulian Konstantinov

Yulian Konstantinov is head of the Centre for Anthropological Field Studies at the New Bulgarian University. His ongoing research activities build upon many years of field research in the reindeer-herding regions of the Kola Peninsula (northwestern Russia). His current research project is carried out with herders' teams (brigades) of the Reindeer Herding Cooperative 'Tundra', based in Lovozero. He examines how economic changes in reindeer husbandry (and in the agricultural sector more generally) interact with strategies for the maintenance of material security pursued by individuals, households, families, and other social networks.

The state-instigated agricultural reform model in the Russian North recommends the creation of cooperative structures, among them kin-based cooperatives (*obshchina*) in the areas of small-numbered peoples. At the same time, it encourages the preservation of pre-reform organisational forms. As a result a multitude of organisational forms has appeared in what used to be a rather unitary domain of collective farms (*kolkhoz*) and state farms (*sovkhos*).

This research aims to provide a general model for the analysis of this diversity of cases marked by a dynamic reformulation in search of more effective adaptive strategies. It is based on the premise that specific paths of development are determined by the ways in which the former collective or state property is being transferred to new forms of ownership. Two extremes can be postulated as ideal types: residual adherence to a state farm-like structure ('para-*sovkhos*') at the one end of a hypothetical continuum, and full private ownership at the other. The case of reindeer husbandry in the Russian European North is of the para-*sovkhos* type slowly moving towards informal redistribution of extant collective property.

The term 'para-*sovkhos*' attempts to capture the persistence of management practices characteristic of state socialism and the simultaneous emergence of new economic strategies. Even when an entity has retained its name as '*sovkhos*' or '*kolkhoz*', two essential and critical ingredients have effectively disappeared: state subsidies and state marketing. The state as owner of the Soviet state farm had reached the curious situation of both ensuring production and buying from itself. In this sense, in accordance with the general structural principle of state socialism, the *sovkhos* had developed more as a socio-political institution than as a strictly economic enterprise.

A redistributive system like state socialism creates a discrepancy in the overall economy between 'soft budget constraints' for state commanded enterprises and 'rigid budget constraints' for their employees. A two-tier economic activity is the result, in which the rigidly constrained employees have to resort to an informal, 'crypto-entrepreneurial' economy for promoting their own day-to-day interests. The reduction of the discrepancy between the formal and informal aspects of the state farm's economic performance is a most interesting feature of the departure from the state socialist model. The true strength of this comparative model will come from the analysis of how each local case behaves in reference to this hypothetical diminishing of the formal/informal gap as stipulated in the officially professed pro-market approach.

Intergenerational relations in an Evenki community

István Sántha

István Sántha is a post-doctoral researcher at the Institute of Ethnology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. His main research themes revolve around intra- and interethnic relations among Buryats and Evenki (Tungus) in the Baikal region. He examines how these relations are manifest in marriage preferences, kinship patterns, and genealogical memory, and how they are reflected in rituals and activities, such as shamanic ceremonies and hunting.

In accordance with one of the MPI Siberian Studies Centre's core themes, in late 2003 he conducted research on young peoples' activities, lifestyles, and ideas among the inhabitants of Tutura, a predominantly Evenki village in a remote part of Irkutsk Region.

Sántha locates his research on youth in the context of intergenerational relationships and opinions. By understanding how young and older people see and interact with each other, he seeks to achieve a fuller picture of the local community's perspectives on the future. Adults' expectations about how young people should behave are juxtaposed with young people's own views on their behaviour. Members of the two age groups engage in constant negotiation of what the community should look like in the future, aware that it is the youth who will ultimately enact this future.

However, while there are differences in the views of the two age groups, these should not be over-interpreted as a gap between the generations. In fact, young people pursue the same activities as their parents, as there are few alternatives available for them besides moving away, which is a complex issue in its own right. Rather, by working hard and rehearsing the adults' activities, young people place a mirror before their parents, through which the latter are forced to reflect upon

their own behaviour. In this way, both youth and adults make practical statements of moral relevance.

Sántha focuses on three fields of inquiry for closer analysis: ethnic identity, alcohol consumption, and intimacy/sexuality. These three domains are pertinent, even if not necessarily addressed verbally, to both young and adult people in the village. Moreover, drinking and sex are subject to very persistent, ethnically loaded stereotypes.

Alcohol consumption and sexual encounters highlight important stages in becoming an adult. While drinking is, in theory, forbidden for boys before military service, and for girls before giving birth to the first child, everyone knows that drinking also occurs among youth who have not reached these stages. Yet there is not much adults can do to prevent it, since the youth drink alcohol only while the adults themselves are engaged in drinking parties. Events of alcohol consumption among the youth expose a loss of control on the part of the adults. With regard to intimacy and dating, there are certain spaces in the village where encounters between young people are legitimate. Among the males, only those who have returned from the army and have shown their ability to hunt are commonly eligible for such encounters. It appears that the young women want to find reliable partners for their future lives.



The head of a kin-based cooperative (obshchina) in an Evenki village in Irkutsk Region distributes ammunition and other hunting gear to hunters, in accordance with their new membership contracts. (Photo: I. Sántha, October 2003)

Even though being a successful hunter is of such central importance in demonstrating one's manhood and desirability as a potential marriage partner, some men very easily give up hunting if they find work in the centre, since hunting is a seasonal activity. Moreover, hunting as a traditional activity does not exclude the possibility of working in the district centre, as both activities attest to an individual's skill and authority.

Generally, while not much appears to have changed in the economy and everyday life of this remote community, Sántha's findings do document greater awareness of social problems within the community, a greater willingness among young people to take on a certain level of responsibility for themselves, and a greater necessity of making decisions about their lives than the representatives of the older generation faced when they were young (in the 1970s and 1980s).

Ethnic economy and 'sovkhoism': post-Soviet living strategies in a sub-Arctic environment

Vladislava Vladimirova

Vladislava Vladimirova is a PhD student in the Department for Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology, Uppsala University. Her dissertation research investigates organisational changes in reindeer husbandry on the Kola Peninsula and addresses the debate over private versus collectivist forms of resource management.

Reindeer herding on the Kola Peninsula is pursued by former state enterprises (*sovkhos*), transformed in the first half of the 1990s into agricultural cooperatives. Cooperative reindeer herding is based on the persistence of human networks and informal activities that were commonly practiced in Soviet times. This pattern has been described by the concept of *sovkhoism*. According to this concept, rural inhabitants want to continue to live in a *sovkhos*-centred environment (even if the organisational form of the enterprise has changed), while promoting their own private informal economic activities at its expense. The appeal of *sovkhoism* lies in its ability to provide a public platform for private entrepreneurial activities. More importantly, the worldview of *sovkhoism* permits members of the cooperatives to reconcile informal private economic practices with the moral values of collectivism, idealism, and solidarity, which are prominent in the local discourse.

In contrast to many other regions of the Russian North, Siberia, and the Far East, on the Kola Peninsula the activity of reindeer herding has never been firmly associated with any specific ethnic group. However, in contrast to the 'non-ethnic' spirit of the *sovkhos*, there is a recent tendency in some circles among the Kola reindeer-herding communities to emphasise the supposedly ethnic significance of reindeer herding. This

tendency has been part of the political and economic agenda of the Kola Sami ethnic movement over the last fifteen years. Lately, it has been manifested in the formation and development of Sami *obshchinas* (kin-based cooperatives). Their foundation has been inspired and supported by Western organisations, mainly from Fennoscandia.

The *obshchina* movement has triggered a negative reaction because the very idea of leaving the *sovkhoz* to set up a new, potentially competitive enterprise challenges the symbolic prerogative of the collective economy. This confrontation is studied through the case of Lovozero, the largest reindeer-herding community on the Kola Peninsula. The surface text of the confrontation ('cover version') can be summarised as 'egoistic *obshchina* vs sharing cooperative', or 'private ethnic initiative vs solidarity of the collective'. The two sides are heavily asymmetrical in their numbers. While only a handful of people support or participate in the *obshchina* movement, the *collectivists* or *sovkhoists* constitute practically the whole community, including its elites and decision makers.

While the ideological stands of the two protagonists seem clearly outlined and differentiated, in terms of actual practices the difference is much less clear. Upon closer examination, *obshchina* strategies turn out to be little different from *sovkhoist* ones. The practice of ethnic economy reveals the same propensity for seeking a public platform for private economic activities, except that, in this variant, the platform comes from abroad. Hence at a higher level of generalisation, we can say that *sovkhoism* pervades the whole of the community of Lovozero, including the *obshchina* movement.



Petr Terent'ev, a young reindeer herder of Komi-Nenets origin, trains his reindeer to pull the sledge. Due to the decrease in the frequency of helicopter flights and other motorised transport over the last fifteen years, reindeer sledges have regained their importance as a means of transportation. (Photo: V. Vladimirova, March 2005)

The research questions can be framed thus: Why are private informal economic interests, when embedded in the collectivist discourse, seen as compatible with the moral high ground, while explicitly private economic interests, following a capitalist model, are seen as morally reprehensible? On a more general level the question is: why do the majority of the rural inhabitants of the Russian Federation attempt to sustain and reproduce the *sovkhos* mode of life, with its inherent ambiguities and informalities, and refuse to adopt foreign (Western) models, which otherwise promise a viable economic future?

One way to answer these questions is through careful examination of the values and moralities to which the community seems to be firmly attached. In particular, labour ethics emerges as the most meaningful moral aspect of the conflict between *sovkhoism* and the *obshchina* movement. At the same time, this labour ethic is perceived as being superior to the ethics contained in 'Western' economic models. It thus happens that well-intentioned international support, which fails to recognise the local specifics, brings tension and conflict into a social environment already shattered by economic and political insecurity.

Researching the role of relatives in Europe

Patrick Heady, KASS coordinator

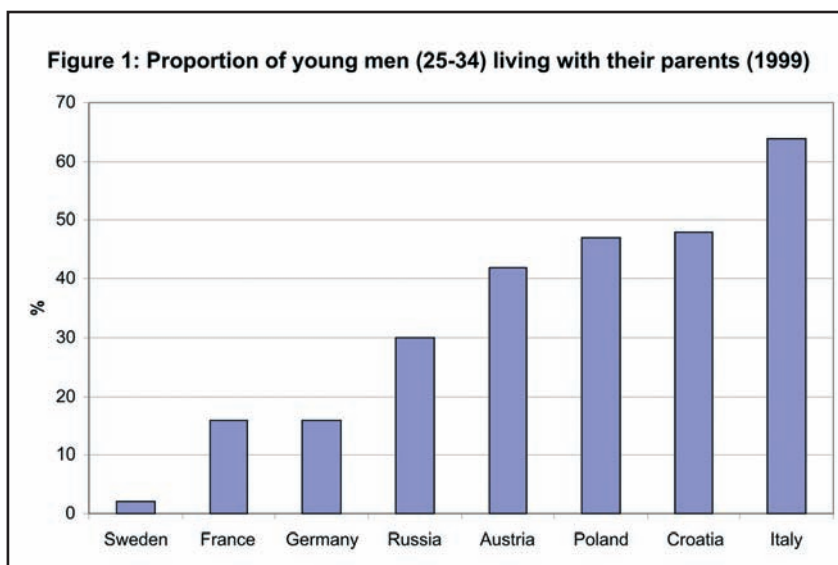
Anthropologists setting out from one European country to study life in another often feel vulnerable to the suggestion that they have not really engaged with social or cultural 'otherness'. In the field of kinship this feeling has been reinforced by references by such celebrated authorities as Goody and Strathern to 'the European family' and 'Euro-American kinship' – as though any distinctions between contemporary European kinship systems were rather trivial.

A very different picture emerges from historical studies of European family patterns. Over recent decades historians have worked with parish registers, estate management records, early modern censuses, and other sources to build up a rich, though still somewhat patchy, statistical record of European family life from the Middle Ages until the beginning of industrialisation. The story they tell involves much local variation, but also some marked and persistent contrasts between different European regions. One of these concerns which members of the family live together in the same household. Broadly, and with some important exceptions, nuclear family households and neolocal marriages were characteristics of northwestern Europe – along with households that included unrelated servants (often young people who had left home before marriage to work for unrelated employers). In other regions of Europe many different family forms were observed, but generally households consisting of three-generational and extended families were much more common than in northern Europe, and households including unrelated people were rarer. There was also a difference in fertility and mortality patterns, with relatively low fertility and mortality being characteristic of northwestern Europe (though the figures were very high in comparison with present day standards). Relatively high fertility was particularly characteristic of eastern and southern Europe, and some authors, such as Hajnal, have suggested a causal link between the social norms for household composition and fertility, with extended family households being one factor that favoured early marriage and high birth rates.

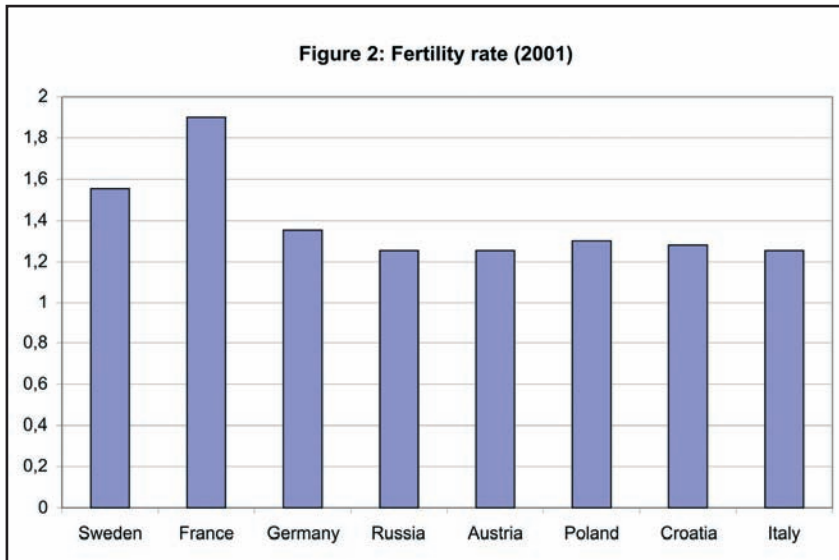
Curiously, though, the statistical work done by family historians tends to tail off just at the point when modern census records become full and reliable, and family historians have also been slow to exploit the increasingly rich databases provided by official and academic sample surveys over the last half century. The lack of comparison between the historical analyses and contemporary statistical data has sometimes left the impression that the family patterns observed by the historians of pre-industrial Europe have little to do with the realities of contemporary post-industrial society. However, a brief look at contemporary statistics suggests that this may not be so. One characteristic of societies with

extended and complex family households is that a high proportion of young adults live in the same household as their parents. As figure 1 shows, at the end of the twentieth century this aspect of family structure still followed much the same geographic pattern as in pre-industrial times. (It would be wrong, however, to interpret these differences purely in terms of residential norms. Age at marriage also plays a part – and the exceptionally high proportion of young Italian men still living with their parents is partly due to an unusually late average marriage age.)

However, if this aspect of family life seems to follow a rather traditional pattern, the connection with the geographical distribution of fertility rates is no longer apparent. In all eight countries shown here, the average number of children born to each woman is now below the level needed simply to replace the population of the previous generation – as the results in figure 2 make clear. Indeed, a closer look at figure 2 shows that the highest levels of fertility are now observed in countries in northwestern Europe – precisely those characterised by relatively low fertility in pre-industrial times.



Source: *European Values Study* (<http://www.europeanvalues.nl>)



Source: Eurostat (<http://europa.eu.int/eomm/eurostat/>)

Clearly, family life in modern Europe can be understood neither in terms of the automatic continuity of past historical patterns, nor in terms of simplified ideas about the uniform impact of the modern global economy. The question now is how to understand the role of family relationships in contemporary Europe. This is by no means merely an academic question. An understanding of the role of family relations is very important for public policy. The state and the family (including the whole network of relatives extending beyond any particular household) are the two largest 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. Changing patterns of marriage, cohabitation, and divorce, declining fertility, and aging populations also have implications for the family's role in social security.

It is comparatively easy to collect statistical information about household composition and fertility. It is much more difficult to investigate the meaning and practical importance of family ties – both within the same household and across the whole network of recognised kin. This is where anthropologists can help. There have been some very interesting anthropological studies of the meaning of kinship in various European societies but their conclusions have been controversial even within anthropology. There have been charges that the ways northern

European and American anthropologists have described kinship systems in other parts of Europe have owed as much to prejudice and ideology as to any real differences that may exist.

KASS ("Kinship and Social Security") is an EU-financed pan-European research project that aims to draw on the unrivalled ability of ethnography to investigate the meaning of kinship in different European societies, while at the same time avoiding the pitfalls of excessive subjectivity – by linking the ethnographies to historical and statistical data, and by using both quantitative and qualitative methods to collect and analyse the ethnographic data. By doing so we hope to demonstrate the ability of qualitative ethnography to connect with the debates in quantitative social sciences – contributing insights that quantitative methods alone could not provide. The eight countries covered by the project are France, Sweden, Germany, Austria, Italy, Croatia, Poland, and Russia. This geographical spread enables KASS to take account of the main contrasts in European historical experience. We have further extended the range of comparisons by including two field-sites in each country, one urban (usually a small district within the capital city) and the other rural.

The project is coordinated by the MPI for Social Anthropology – but it is very much a cooperative venture. In most countries we are working with research teams from leading local anthropological and historical institutes – while taking responsibility for the German field research ourselves. We are sharing the work of coordination with Hannes Grandits and his colleagues at the University of Graz in Austria, who are steering the program of historical research, and are also gathering statistical data from existing official and sociological sources. We are also working with academic specialists in the economics, sociology, and demography of European family life – including colleagues from two other MPIs – the MPI for Demographic Research in Rostock and the MPI for Research into Economic Systems in Jena. (See the project website <http://www.eth.mpg.de/kass> for a full list of the project partners.)

Within this institute the work has also been a team effort. The small KASS coordination unit, headed by Heiko Kastner, has worked hard to provide all our partners with the administrative help they need and has also organised two successful project meetings – one of technical specialists in July 2004, and the other of the leading researchers from all the KASS participating institutions in October of that year. The other major achievement during the first year of the project was the development of a computerised kinship network questionnaire (KNQ) – designed to collect comparable quantitative information about kinship networks and patterns of mutual assistance in all our field-sites. This has been the first time that the research and information technology sections of this institute have collaborated so closely on the design and

implementation of a sustained research project. Gordon Milligan led the team that was responsible for turning the questionnaire design into a visually attractive and effective program, assisted by Christian Kieser and several dedicated student assistants. We are also very grateful to Michael Fischer (University of Kent) for providing us with the program code of his “kinship editor” which enabled our own developmental work to get started. The field teams of most of our partners also made a vital contribution to testing and refining successive versions of the questionnaire – not least the MPI for Social Anthropology’s German field team, led by Tatjana Thelen and seconded by Astrid Baerwolf and Tilo Grätz.

Coordination and services

Bettina Mann and Kathrin Föllner

Together with the IT-Department, Research Coordination and Administration form the three central service units at the MPI for Social Anthropology. The guest programme, organisation of conferences and other event management, as well as fund raising support and in-house training, require significant cooperation between these units (see Report 2002-2003, pp. 339-353). During 2004 and 2005 Research Coordination and Administration established further procedures to facilitate the routine management of work and information flows, cooperation between the service units, and the integration of new researchers and guests into the academic life of the Institute. A new database for the expanding guest programme was developed in cooperation with the IT-department. Research Coordination and Administration also worked on the improvement of internal data collection and archiving. Since 2004 the Administration has been training an apprentice as a *Verwaltungsfachangestellte* (in the German dual system of professional education). Members of staff of the service units took part in various training courses (*Weiterbildung*) to enhance professional skills and to update their knowledge on changes in administrative regulations and procedures.

Responding to the growing demands in the realm of fund raising, Research Coordination regularly offers information on project funding by national and international organisations and advises researchers on how to submit projects proposals. In December 2004 the "Project Development Group" (PDG) was established, coordinated by Jacqueline Knörr. It aims to develop new research ideas which may eventually result in applications for third party funding. Such projects would: a) supplement the research projects already present at the Institute and fill research gaps between them in a meaningful and useful way; b) make use of and further develop inter-institutional research potential in Halle/Saale (MPI for Social Anthropology/Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg). The group is open to everyone interested in engaging in such project development.

During the last two years cooperation with neighbouring universities was further strengthened by a variety of joint activities, such as the Joint Institutes' Colloquia, an anthropological workshop, and collaboration in teaching and training. Research Coordination has played a central coordination and supporting role in these.

The Researchers' Assembly continues to be an important inter-departmental forum for the discussion of scientific and organisational questions. It was founded in December 2002 and includes all active and visiting members of the scientific staff of the Institute, with the exception of the directors, heads of the Project Group, Administration and IT Department. It makes recommendations to the Kollegium as well as to

the service units, which improves communication and helps to identify problems that need to be addressed in order to improve support for the researchers.

Taking into account the growing number of parents among the staff at the Institute the Administration initiated a cooperative arrangement with a child-care institution in Halle/Saale in 2005, which provides a more flexible service for staff of the MPI for Social Anthropology.

The Institute further expanded its office space in this period, converting the attic in the villa to provide eight new work spaces.

Library Report

Anja Neumann

Collection

The library of the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology specialises in providing literature, electronic media, and information services in the field of social anthropology with a close focus on the Institute's research on "Integration and Conflict", "Postsocialist Eurasia", "Legal Pluralism", and "Siberian Studies". General works from related disciplines, such as sociology, law, history, and political science, are also available. The collection reflects the broad interdisciplinary approach of research carried out at the Institute. The library primarily serves the Institute's academic staff and guests; researchers and students from other institutions are welcome to use it as a reference library during opening hours.

The library holdings currently comprise about 16,200 monographs, 125 subscribed journals, 2,150 journal volumes, 241 videos/DVDs, and 310 maps. Our holdings grow by about 2500 media units annually.

The library budget was increased in 2004 by an additional 33% and in 2005 by an additional 10% through a special library fund programme provided by the Max Planck Society for the Humanities Section. This funding has been used to acquire literature for new thematic and regional research areas as well as anthropological classics and reference works and for filling in gaps in the collection.

Due to the establishment of four new research groups at the MPI for Social Anthropology, the library has had to develop new core collections, which comprise the regions of the Caucasus, Liberia and Sierra Leone, and Central Asia.

Within the framework of the project “National Licences” of the DFG-financed German Special Collections Libraries (*Sondersammelgebiete*), our Institute has free access to several digital collections and databases. Of interest for our field is the licence for the database “Periodicals Contents Index”. Furthermore, researchers can sign up individually for the “World Biographical Information System” as well as, for the future research focus on China, the “China Academic Journals”.



(Photo: P.-O. Blüher, Halle/Saale, 2005)

Library Committee

In October 2004 a new academic library committee was elected for a period of one year to support the head librarian in subject-related questions.

New members are Andrea Behrends and Data Dea, re-elected are John Eidson (replaced by Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi as of November 2005), Joachim Otto Habeck, Irene Hilgers, and Bertram Turner.

Services / Projects

Owing to the growth of the Institute for Social Anthropology at the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, the number of external users and students in particular is increasing constantly. The library staff offers introductions to library services at the beginning of each

semester. The staff has also produced a flyer providing information on the use of the library.

The librarians cooperate closely with the coordinator/team of EVIFA Virtual Library of Social Anthropology, which is maintained by the University Library of Humboldt University, Berlin. This web based portal offers anthropological and folkloristic information. Through a connection to our library catalogue the complete MPI collection is searchable via the portal. Since the end of 2004, the Working Papers series of the institute has been integrated into EVIFA and the PDF files can be viewed through the portal. The library staff is licensed to use the Resource Editor to index the metadata and subjects of each Working Paper. EVIFA is also part of the interdisciplinary internet portal Vascoda.

Ongoing developments in e-publishing, online databases, and virtual libraries are monitored and implemented by library staff and the Library Committee.



(Photo: P.-O. Blüher, Halle/Saale, 2005)

IT Group Report

Armin Pippel

The previous reporting periods (1999-2001 and 2002-2003) described the setup and subsequent upgrade, and the qualitative enhancements of the Institute's infrastructure, as well as a number of special research applications, which were first used experimentally and later gradually applied in routine research.

In the current period (2004-2005) new devices and software products were added to the spectrum of techniques. Designing and implementing the first software tools for processing data led to solutions for special problems as well as to a basis for further developments in research technology (in terms of both toolsets and skills).

The Institute's growing number of staff, guests, third-party funded researchers, and student assistants inevitably requires more computer workstations, resources, and services. The equipment for file, backup, e-mail, intranet, and database services was renewed. The introduction of new technologies resulted not only in higher capacity and speed but also in a qualitative improvement of services (functionality, ease of use, etc.).

In addition to the permanent update and expansion of nearly all initial network components, peripherals and field research equipment have been gradually replaced.

Supplying and maintaining more than 250 networked computer workstations (including notebook-based "field offices") at high service level, responding to a broad spectrum of users' needs, and allowing for a continually changing technological environment [all] demands extra commitment and creativity, even if from the users' perspective this may look like "business as usual". The same applies to the support on field equipment and multi-media techniques.

Several software tools (combining database and web technology) were developed to manage and coordinate guesthouse management and workplace allocation, computer resources, acquisition of information on research activities for reporting, and publication purposes. The internal information system (intranet) and the MPI website were rebuilt and adapted to the same technical platform.

Software development was conducted in tandem with research research methodology development. A first application was a multi-media archive for storing, indexing, exchanging, and presenting visual and audio research data. The Kinship Network Questionnaire (see KASS-project, pp. 279-283) highlighted the Institute's success in writing innovative software (in this case a programme for interactive data acquisition) ready for use on a professional level.

During the development process of these two products we have also seen that full efficiency and user acceptance can only be achieved if the

software is tailor-made to the specific purpose, is compatible with existing standards and also provides improvements in the overall everyday workflow.

External expertise – a workshop and conceptual suggestions on social network analysis as a key method (by D.R. White, of the University of California Irvine) – turned out to be very helpful for the theoretical and technical assessment of the concept of network. The IT Department also cooperated with the MPI for Psycholinguistics concerning acquisition, structuring, and archiving of data

All these activities can be considered as preliminary stages of a long-term development of an integrated working environment for social anthropologists, encompassing all steps from data acquisition in the field, to analysis, reflection, and debate, and through to publication and presentation of results. To this end, the IT Department and the Institute's researchers participate in joint working groups on specific software applications and research themes.

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Ethiopian Sociologists, Social Workers and Anthropologists Association
 Ethiopian Management Professionals Association
 Ethiopian Economists' Association
 Studienwerk Sudan e.V.

Behrends, Andrea

African Studies Association
 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
 European Association for Social Anthropologists

Benda-Beckmann, Franz von

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Rechtsvergleichung
 European Association of Social Anthropologists
 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
 Dutch Association of the Sociology of Law (VSR)
 Executive Body of the Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism of IUAES
 German Association of Sociology of Law
 Royal Institute for Linguistics and Anthropology (The Netherlands)

Benda-Beckmann, Keebet von

Law & Society Association
 Board of Trustees of the Law & Society Association
 Programme Committee for the Law & Society Association Meeting 2004 in Chicago
 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
 Dutch Organisation for the Social-scientific Study of Law
 Executive Body of the Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences

Bogdanova, Zlatina

International Association of Southeast European Anthropology

Dafinger, Andreas

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
 African Studies Association
 European Association of Social Anthropologists
 Frobenius Gesellschaft

Dea, Data

Ethiopian Association of Sociologists, Social Workers and Anthropologists
 Studienwerk Sudan e.V.

Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa

American Anthropological Association

African Studies Association

Society for the Anthropology of Religion

Diallo, Youssouf

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde

African Studies Association

European Association of Social Anthropologists

Groupe de Recherches Comparatives sur les Sociétés Peuples

Dimova, Rozita

Canadian Association of Anthropology

American Anthropological Association

Association for the Study of Nationalities

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde

International Association for Southeastern European Anthropology

American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies

Donahoe, Brian

American Anthropological Association, Anthropology and the Environment Section

Society for Applied Anthropology

SOYUZ – The Research Network for Postsocialist Cultural Studies

NECEN – Nordic and East/Central European Network for Qualitative Social Research

IASSA – International Arctic Social Sciences Association

Eckert, Julia

Junge Akademie der Berlin Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Leopoldina

European Association of Social Anthropologists

Deutsche Vereinigung für politische Wissenschaft

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde

Sektion Entwicklungssoziologie und Sozialanthropologie der

Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie

Eidson, John

American Anthropological Association

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde

Culture and Agriculture

European Association of Social Anthropologists

Falge, Christiane

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde

Studienwerk Sudan e.V.

Ethiopian Sociologists, Social Workers and Anthropologists Association

Finke, Peter

Central Eurasian Studies Society

European Society for Central Asian Studies
 SOYUZ – The Research Network for Postsocialist Cultural Studies
 Society for Economic Anthropology
 American Anthropological Association
 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde

Fuest, Veronika

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
 Liberia Working Group e.V.
 Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Entwicklungsethnologie

Gernet, Katharina

Deutscher Akademikerinnenbund e.V.

Glick Schiller, Nina

American Anthropological Association
 European Association of Social Anthropologists
 Haitian Studies Association
 Society for Medical Anthropology
 American Ethnological Association

Grätz, Tilo

European Association of Social Anthropologists
 Vereinigung von Afrikanisten in Deutschland e.V.
 Sektion Entwicklungssoziologie/Sozialanthropologie der
 Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie
 European Association of Social Anthropologists

Guichard, Martine

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
 Groupe de Recherches Comparatives sur les Sociétés Peuples

Habeck, Joachim Otto

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
 SOYUZ – The Research Network for Postsocialist Cultural Studies
 NECEN – Nordic and East/Central European Network for
 Qualitative Social Research
 German Committee for the International Polar Year 2007-2008

Halemba, Agnieszka

International Arctic Social Sciences Association
 SOYUZ – The Research Network for Postsocialist Cultural Studies
 NECEN – Nordic and East/Central European Network for
 Qualitative Social Research
 Central Eurasian Studies Society

Haneke, Georg

Wissenschaftlicher Arbeitskreis Horn von Afrika e.V.

Hann, Chris

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

Association of Social Anthropologists
 Honorary Member, Hungarian Ethnographical Society

Heady, Patrick

European Association of Social Anthropologists
 Royal Anthropological Institute

Heintz, Monica

European Association of Social Anthropologists
 Association of Social Anthropologists
 SOYUZ – The Research Network for Postsocialist Cultural Studies

Kaneff, Deema

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

Kehl-Bodrogi, Krisztina

Central Eurasian Studies Society
 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde

Knörr, Jacqueline

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
 Vereinigung der Afrikanisten in Deutschland
 European Association of Southeast Asian Studies
 European Association of Social Anthropologists

Mann, Bettina

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
 Sektion Religionssoziologie der Deutschen Gesellschaft für
 Soziologie

Naumescu, Vlad

Romanian Society of Cultural Anthropology
 SOYUZ – The Research Network for Postsocialist Cultural Studies

Peleikis, Anja

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
 European Association of Social Anthropologists
 SOYUZ – The Research Network for Postsocialist Cultural Studies

Pelkmans, Mathijs

American Anthropological Association
 Central Eurasian Studies Society
 SOYUZ – The Research Network for Postsocialist Cultural Studies

Pelican, Michaela

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde

Pine, Frances

Royal Anthropological Institute
 European Association of Social Anthropologists
 Association of Social Anthropologists

Pirie, Fernanda

International Association of Ladakh Studies

Richardson, Tanya

American Anthropological Association
Canadian Anthropological Society

Schlee, Günther

African Studies Association
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
European Association of Social Anthropologists
Vereinigung deutscher Afrikanisten in Deutschland
Studienwerk Sudan e.V.

Thelen, Tatjana

European Association of Social Anthropologists
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde

Turner, Bertram

Sektion Sozialanthropologie/Entwicklungssoziologie der Deutschen
Gesellschaft für Soziologie
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism
Deutsch-Marokkanische Gesellschaft
European Association of Social Anthropologists

Vaté, Virginie

Anthropologie Médicale Appliquée au Développement et à la Santé
Comité National Français des Recherches Arctiques et Antarctiques
International Arctic Social Sciences Association
NECEN – Nordic and East/Central European Network for
Qualitative Social Research
SOYUZ – The Research Network for Postsocialist Cultural Studies
Société d’Ethnologie

Yalçın-Heckmann, Lale

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde
European Association of Social Anthropologists
Royal Anthropological Institute
SOYUZ – The Research Network for Postsocialist Cultural Studies

Zenker, Olaf

Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism
European Association for Social Anthropologists
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde

Professorships

Benda-Beckmann, Franz von

Professor at Wageningen University, The Netherlands

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

Honorary Professor at the University of Leipzig, Germany

Benda-Beckmann, Keebet von

Extra-ordinary Professor at the Erasmus University Rotterdam, The Netherlands

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

Honorary Professor at the University of Leipzig, Germany

Hann, Chris

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

Honorary Professor at the University of Leipzig, Germany

Honorary Professor at the University of Kent at Canterbury, UK

Glick Schiller, Nina

Professor at the Department of Anthropology, University of New Hampshire, USA

Pine, Frances

Professor, Institute of Gender and Women's Research, University of Bergen, Norway

Reyna, P. Stephen

Professor at the Department of Anthropology, University of New Hampshire, USA

Schlee, Günther

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

Honorary Professor at the University of Leipzig, Germany

Editorships

Benda-Beckmann, Franz von

Australian Journal of Asian Law

Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law (associate editor)

Focaal: European Journal of Social Anthropology (consulting editor)

Benda-Beckmann, Keebet von

Australian Journal of Asian Law

Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law (member of the editorial board)

Focaal: European Journal of Social Anthropology (member of the editorial board)

Buzalka, Juraj

Slovak Foreign Policy Affairs

Glick Schiller, Nina

Identities, Global Studies in Culture and Power (founding editor and Board)

American Ethnologist 2001- (editorial committee)

Social Analysis (editorial board)

Anthropological Theory (editorial board)

Focaal: European Journal of Social Anthropology (editorial board)

Grätz, Tilo

Afrika Spectrum, guest editor 3/ 2004

Habeck, Joachim Otto

Sibirica (member of the editorial board)

Hann, Chris

Archives Européennes de Sociologie

Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia

Kaneff, Deema

Ethnologia Balkanica: journal for southeast european anthropology

Schlee, Günther

Zeitschrift für Ethnologie

Nomadic Peoples

Teaching

Behrends, Andrea

Winter Semester 04/05, Konflikt und Flucht in Darfur, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie, Halle/Saale, Germany

Benda-Beckmann, Franz von

02.06.04 to 04.06.04, PhD research training course, *jointly with Christian Lund*, Roskilde University, International Development Studies, Nexoe, Bornholm, Denmark

21.08.04 to 24.08.04, Plural societies and social cohesion: Challenges, and legal pluralism, International course on legal pluralism, Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism, University of New Brunswick, Dept. of Social Anthropology, Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada

04.04.05 to 11.07.05, Introduction to the Anthropology of Law, *jointly with Keebet von Benda-Beckmann*, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie/Rechtswissenschaften, Halle/Saale, Germany

Benda-Beckmann, Keebet von

21.08.04 to 24.08.04, Plural societies and social cohesion: Challenges, and legal pluralism, International course on legal pluralism, Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism, University of New Brunswick, Dept. of Social Anthropology, Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada

04.04.05 to 11.07.05, Introduction to the Anthropology of Law, *jointly with Franz von Benda-Beckmann*, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie/Rechtswissenschaften, Halle/Saale, Germany

Dafinger, Andreas

Fall Semester 04, Core Concepts in Anthropology, University of New Hampshire, New Hampshire, USA

Fall Semester 04, Cain and Abel in Africa: agriculture and pastoralism in sub-Saharan Africa, University of New Hampshire, New Hampshire, USA

Spring Semester 05, Global Perspectives: Introduction to Anthropology, University of New Hampshire, New Hampshire, USA

Spring Semester 05, The Anthropology of Landscape, University of New Hampshire, New Hampshire, USA

Diallo, Youssouf

Winter Semester 04/05, Klassiker der Ethnologie, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie, Halle/Saale, Germany

Summer Semester 05, Einführung in die Ethnographie der Sahelzone, Universität Leipzig, Institut für Ethnologie, Leipzig, Germany

Winter Semester 05/06, Islam in Westafrika, Universität Leipzig, Institut für Ethnologie, Leipzig, Germany

Eckert, Julia

Winter Semester 03/04, Die Entwicklung des Rechts im kolonialen und postkolonialen Indien, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie und Südasiawissenschaften, Halle/Saale, Germany

Finke, Peter

Spring Semester 04, Economic Anthropology, Middle East Technical University, Department of Sociology, Ankara, Turkey

Spring Semester 04, Peoples and Cultures of Central Asia, Middle East Technical University, Department of Sociology, Ankara, Turkey

Fall Semester 04, Introduction to Anthropology, Middle East Technical University, Department of Sociology, Ankara, Turkey

Fall Semester 04, Economic and Social Transformations in Eurasia, Middle East Technical University, Department of Sociology, Ankara, Turkey

Spring Semester 05, The Anthropology of Central and Inner Asia, Middle East Technical University, Department of Sociology, Ankara, Turkey

Spring Semester 05, Introduction to Anthropology II: History of Anthropological Thought, Middle East Technical University, Department of Sociology, Ankara, Turkey

Glick Schiller, Nina

19.08.04 to 20.08.04, Diasporas, Transnationalism and Political Mobilisation, University of Copenhagen, Graduate Summer Seminar, Department of Sociology, Copenhagen, Denmark

20.01.05 to 15.05.05, Peoples of the Caribbean, University of New Hampshire, Dept. of Anthropology, Durham, New Hampshire, USA

Grätz, Tilo

Summer Semester 04, Jugend im urbanen Afrika (Vorbereitungskurs: Lehrforschung Benin), Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie, Halle/Saale, Germany

Winter Semester 04/05, Jugend in urbanen Räumen Westafrikas (Auswertung Lehrforschung Benin 2004), Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie, Halle/Saale, Germany

Summer Semester 05, Einführung in die Wirtschaftsanthropologie, Universität Leipzig, Institut für Afrikanistik, Leipzig, Germany

Habeck, Joachim Otto

Winter Semester 05/06, Geschichte ethnologischer Forschung: Beispiel Sibirien, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie, Halle/Saale, Germany

Halemba, Agnieszka

January 04, Anthropology of religion and magic, University of Warsaw, Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Warsaw, Poland

April 04, Directions in contemporary studies of religion, University of Warsaw, Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Warsaw, Poland

January 05, Anthropology of postsocialist transformations, University of Warsaw, Institute Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Warsaw, Poland

April/May 05, Anthropology of postsocialist transformations, University of Warsaw, Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Warsaw, Poland

Hann, Chris

28.02.05 to 04.03.05, Multi-sited fieldwork, Birzeit University, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Birzeit, Palestine

Winter Semester 05/06, Arbeit und Eigentum, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie, Halle/Saale, Germany

Heintz, Monica

Summer Semester 04, Postsocialism, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie, Halle/Saale, Germany

Höhne, Markus V.

Winter Semester 05/06, Somalia im Kontext: Annäherung an Gesellschaft und Politik am Horn von Afrika, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie, Halle/Saale, Germany

Kehl-Bodrogi, Krisztina

Winter Semester 05/06, Heiligenverehrung und Wallfahrt im Islam, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie, Halle/Saale, Germany

Knörr, Jacqueline

Winter Semester 04/05, Sierra Leone: Einführung in Geschichte, Kultur und Gesellschaft, Universität Leipzig, Institut für Afrikanistik, Leipzig, Germany

Nieswand, Boris

Summer Semester 05, Migration und Gesellschaft, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie, Halle/Saale, Germany

Winter Semester 05/06, Der ethnografische Blick: Einführung in die teilnehmende Beobachtung, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie, Halle/Saale, Germany

Peleikis, Anja

Winter Semester 03/04, Ortswechsel, Wandel sozialer Räume in Zeiten der Globalisierung, Universität Leipzig, Institut für Ethnologie, Leipzig, Germany

Pelkmans, Mathijs

Winter Semester 05/06, The Anthropology of Borders, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie, Halle/Saale, Germany

Pine, Frances

March 04, Kinship, University of Warsaw, Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Warsaw, Poland

September 04, Teaching anthropology: means and meanings, *jointly with Michael Stewart and others*, University of Cluj, Interethnic Research, Cluj, Romania

November 04, Gender and anthropology, University of Warsaw, Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Warsaw, Poland

September 05, Teaching anthropology: means and meanings (ethics), University of Cluj, Interethnic Research, Cluj, Romania

Pirie, Fernanda

June 05, Special seminar for Introduction to the Anthropology of Law, *run by Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann*, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie/Rechtswissenschaften, Halle/Saale, Germany

Rasanayagam, Johan

Winter Semester 04/05, The anthropology of postsocialist societies, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie, Halle/Saale, Germany

Schlee, Günther

19.09.04 to 26.09.04, Afternoon sessions with students, 11th Mediterranean Ethnological Summer symposium (MESS), Piran, Slovenia

18.09.05 to 24.09.05, Afternoon sessions with students, 12th Mediterranean Ethnological Summer symposium (MESS), Piran, Slovenia

Yalçın-Heckmann, Lale

Summer Semester 04, Einführung in die Wirtschaftsethnologie, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie, Halle/Saale, Germany

Zenker, Olaf

Summer Semester 05, Repräsentation und Praxis – Ein Grundproblem der Ethnologie, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie, Halle/Saale, Germany

PhD-examinations

Benda-Beckmann, Franz von

Susanne Rodemeier, Tutu Kadire – Erzählen und Erinnern lokalgeschichtlicher Mythen am Tanjung Muna auf Pantar in Ostindonesien, 24.05.04, University of Leipzig, Leipzig, Germany (with Prof. Dr. H. E. Wolff; Prof. Dr. R. von Franz; Prof. Dr. B. Streck)

Benda-Beckmann, Keebet von

Leena Avonius, Reforming Wetu Telu: Islam, adat, and the promises of regionalism in post-new order Lombok, 24.06.04, University Leiden, Leiden, The Netherlands (with Prof. Dr. P. Spyer, Prof. Dr. H. Schulte Nordholt)

Gerhard Anders, Civil Servants in Malawi: Cultural Dualism, Moonlighting and Corruption in the Shadow of Good Governance, 14.04.05, Erasmus University Rotterdam, Rotterdam, The Netherlands (with Prof. Dr. E. Hey)

Hann, Chris

Eiji Miyazawa, Memory Politics: Circassians of Uzunyayla, Turkey, 10.05.04, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, UK (with Dr. S. Zubaida)

Florian Stammmler, When Reindeer Nomads meet the Market: Culture, property and globalisation at the end of the land, 14.07.04, Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, Halle/Saale, Germany (with Prof. Dr. B. Schnepel)

Aimar Ventsel, Reindeer, Rodina and Reciprocity: Kinship and property relations in a Siberian village, 20.01.05, Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, Halle/Saale, Germany (with Prof. Dr. R. Rottenburg)

Carolyn Leutloff-Grandits, Claiming Ownership in Post-War Croatia, The dynamics of property relations and ethnic conflict in the Knin region, 10.10.05, Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, Halle/Saale, Germany (with Prof. Dr. R. Rottenburg)

Kristina Šliavaite, From Pioneers to Target Group: Social change, ethnicity and memory in a Lithuanian nuclear power plant community, 25.11.05, University of Lund, Lund, Sweden (Fakultetsopponent)

Pine, Frances

Trev Hill, Traveling Theatre as a Technology of the Self, 16.01.04, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland, UK (with Dr. T. Hansen)

Sarah Posey, Masquerade and the Meaning of Work in Rural Romania, 18.04.04, University College London, London, UK (with Dr. M. Stewart)

Fran Deans, Culture, Community and Enterprise in a Hungarian Romany settlement, 28.06.04, University College London, London, UK (with Dr. W. Guy)

Julia Holdsworth, Post-Soviet Uncertainties – Chaos and Coping in Donetsk, Ukraine, 27.07.05, University of Hull (with Dr. Mark Johnson)

Jayoung Shin, History and Memory among Korens in Kazakhstan, December 2005, London School of Economics (with Dr. Charles Stafford)

Schlee, Günther

Wossen Marion Popp, Conflicting Practices of Natural Environment Construction in *dodola woreda*, Ethiopia, 19.05.04, Free University Berlin, Institute of Social Anthropology, Berlin, Germany (with Prof. Dr. U. Luig)

Thomas Osmond, Possession, Identités et Nationalisme Oromo: le cas des dignitaires religieux Qaalluu en Ethiopie, 16.12.04, Université de Provence, Aix-en-Provence, France (with Prof. Dr. B. Martinelli)

Mei-huan Lu, Ritual construction of the “community” and the arena: Multiple identities of a Mazu pilgrimage in Taiwan, 03.06.05, Bielefeld University, Bielefeld, Germany (with Prof. Dr. J. Pfaff-Czarnecka)

Elise Demeulenaere, Herbes folles et arbres rois: Gestion paysanne des ligneux du pays konso (Ethiopie), 08.12.2005, Museum National d’Histoire Naturelle, Paris, France (with Prof. Anne-Marie Frérot)

Turner, Bertram

Jutta Werner, Nomades entre marginalisation, entrepreneuriat et conflits, 13.05.05, Humboldt University Berlin, Faculty of Agriculture and Horticulture, Berlin, Germany (with Prof. U.C. Nagel and Dr. K. Fliege)

Visiting scholars 2004

Name	University	Date
Atabey Jumaniyazov	State University of Urganch, Uzbekistan	25.01. – 06.02.
Anthony Glendinning	Department of Sociology, University of Aberdeen, UK	25.01. – 01.02. 23.07. – 02.08. 11.11. – 19.11.
Yuri Popkov	Siberian Branch, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russian Federation	28.01. – 01.02.
Olga Kolesnikova	Siberian Branch, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russian Federation	29.01. – 09.02.
Vera Assenova Davidova	Sofia University, Bulgaria	28.01. – 16.02.
Jonathon Ngeh	Linköping University, Sweden	24.02. – 06.03.
R. Manimohan	Wageningen University, The Netherlands and Research Centre, Irrigation and Water Engineering Group, India	09.03. – 18.03.
Chaizu Kyrgys	Ubsunur National Park, Russian Federation	10.03. – 09.06.
Florian Stammeler	Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge, UK	11.03. – 12.03. 23.03. – 24.03.
Markus Weilenmann	Büro für Konfliktforschung, Rüschlikon, Switzerland	29.03. – 31.03. 29.09. – 10.10.
Awad Al-Karim Al-Faki	University of Sinnar, Abu Naama, Sudan	29.03. – 01.06.
Merera Gudina	Department of Political Sciences, University of Addis Abeba, Ethiopia	30.03. – 01.04.
Adriette Dekker	UNISA, Department of Mercantile Law, South Africa	05.04. – 08.04.
Catherine Alexander	University of London, UK	07.04. – 26.06. 07.04. – 15.04. 31.05. – 26.06.

Mariam Orkodashvili	Tbilisi State University, Georgia	14.04. – 30.06.
Hiroki Takakura	Centre for Northeast Asian Studies, Tokyo, Japan and University of Cambridge, UK	15.04. – 18.04.
Robert Morrell	School of Education, University of Natal, South Africa	26.04. – 18.05.
Melanie Wiber	University of New Brunswick, Canada	01.05. – 16.06.
Mats Utas	Nordic Africa Institute, Sweden	06.05. – 08.05.
John Comaroff	University of Chicago, USA	17.05. – 21.05.
Thomas J. Csordas	Department of Anthropology, University of Cleveland, USA	16.05. – 18.05.
Hans Christian Korsholm Nielsen	Moesgard Museum, Denmark	18.05. – 18.06.
Abdullahi Dima Jillo	Egerton University, Njoro, Kenya	17.05. – 15.07.
Michael Hechter	University of Washington, USA	23.05. – 26.05.
Mihály Sárkány	Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Hungary	06.06. – 19.06. 18.08. – 03.09.
Petr Skalník	University of Pardubice, Czech Republic	06.06. – 14.06.
Jack Goody	University of Cambridge, UK	06.06. – 08.06.
Getachew Kassa	Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Abeba University, Ethiopia	10.06. – 09.08.
Anatoly Khazanov	University of Wisconsin- Madison, Middle East Studies Faculty, USA	17.06. – 20.06.
Vesna Vucinic- Neskovic	University of Belgrade, Serbia and Montenegro	27.06. – 25.07.
Mahir Saul	University of Illinois, USA	30.06. – 16.08.
Rebecca Kay	University of Glasgow, UK	05.07. – 07.07.
Martin Zachary Njeuma	University of Buea, Cameroon	07.07. – 21.09.

Heide Castaneda	University of Arizona, USA	12.07. – 28.07.
Kaur Mägi	University Tartu, Estonia	18.07. – 23.07.
Florian Siegl	University Tartu, Estonia	18.07. – 23.07.
Elizabeth Watson	University of Cambridge, UK	18.07. – 23.07.
Steve Tonah	University of Ghana, Ghana	14.07. – 25.08.
John Jak Deang	New Sudan Council of Churches, Sudan	26.07. – 28.07.
Shaakhmat Mutalov	Tashkent, Uzbekistan	20.09. – 24.09.
Stéphanie Mahieu	L'Université Libre de Bruxelles, Centre de recherche en ethnologie européenne (CREE), Belgium	29.09. – 01.10.
Filippo Zerilli	Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Italy	02.10. – 06.10.
Gideon M. Kressel	The Blaustein Institute for Desert Research, Ben Gurion University, Israel	03.10. – 14.02.
Jane Schneider/ Peter Schneider	The University of New York/Fordham University	04.10. – 06.10.
Anja Titze	Technical University Dresden, Germany	04.10. – 04.12.
Michael Meeker	Department of Anthro- pology, University of California, USA	20.10. – 30.11.
Giorgio Blundo	EHESS Marseille, France	17.10. – 19.10.
Tadesse Berisso	Addis Abeba University, Ethiopia	19.10. – 18.01.05
Ventsel, Aimar	Estonian Literature Museum, Tartu, Estonia	03.11. – 30.11.
Nursyirwan Effendi	Andalas University, Padang, Indonesia	24.11. – 28.02.
Olga Brusina	Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russian Federation	05.12. – 09.12.

Visiting scholars 2005

Name	University	Date
Thomas Hoppe	Helmut Schmidt University, Hamburg, Germany	09.01. – 14.01.
Kepa Fernández de Larrinoa	Universidad del País Vasco, San Sebastián, Spain	10.01. – 06.02.
Aimar Ventsel	Estonian Literature Museum, Tartu, Estonia	10.01. – 09.02.
Sergei V. Sokolovskii	Institute for Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russian Federation	15.01. – 18.02.
Brahim Badaoui	Constantine, Algeria	17.01. – 29.01.
Kata Jávör	Academy of Sciences, Hungary	17.01. – 23.01.
Jolien Glashouwer	The Netherlands	26.01. – 29.01.
Julia Dröber	Institut für Ethnologie, Tübingen, Germany	07.02. – 09.02.
Olga V. Ulturgasheva	Scott Polar Institute, University of Cambridge, UK	20.02. – 03.03.
Khalil Allio	Universität Mainz, Germany	22.02. – 23.02.
Shawuti Pawan Abuduhaike	Universität Mainz, Germany	28.02. – 31.10.
Enikő Magyari Vincze	University of Cluj-Napoca, Romania	06.03. – 07.03.
Ana Coretchi	SOROS Foundation, Republic of Moldova	07.03. – 13.03.
Vintila Mihailescu	University of Bucharest, Romania	07.03. – 10.04.
Bénédicte Michalon	University of Nice, France	08.03. – 15.03.
Nese Özgen	Ege University Izmir, Turkey	08.03. – 12.03.
Alin Rus	Hunedoara, Romania	09.03. – 09.04.
Laura Assmuth	Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, Helsinki, Finland	09.03. – 13.03.
Ileana Benga	The Folklore Archive of the Romanian Academy, Romania	14.03. – 10.04.
Bogdan Neagota	University of Cluj-Napoca, Romania	14.03. – 10.04.

Anne Griffiths	School of Law, University of Edinburgh, UK	20.03. – 23.04.
Csilla Könczai	University of Cluj-Napoca, Romania	30.03. – 15.04.
Michael Stewart	University College London, UK	05.04. – 12.04.
Olga Lupu	University College London, UK	05.04. – 10.04.
Alice Forbess	Department of Anthropology, Goldsmiths College, University of London, UK	06.04. – 09.04.
Mahmadou Djingu	University of Ngaoundere, Cameroon	09.04. – 20.05.
Cristina Cesàro	Italy	12.04. – 13.05.
Jonathan Parry	London School of Economics, UK	18.04. – 10.06.
Alois Hahn	Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin, Germany	25.04. – 26.04.
Murray Last	University College London, UK	02.05. – 05.05.
Abdullahi Shongolo	Marsabit, Kenya	05.05. – 27.06.
Elizabeth Watson	University of Cambridge, UK	12.06. – 19.06.
Christophe Heintz	Institut Jean Nicod, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, France	12.05. – 31.08.
Salah Abd Elgayoum	University of Sennar Abu Naama, Khartoum, Sudan	27.05. – 12.06.
Anatoly Khazanov	University of Wisconsin-Madison, Middle East Studies Faculty, USA	01.06. – 10.08.
Joseph Opala	New Haven, USA	06.06. – 14.07.
Zeljko Jokic	Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney, Australia	10.06. – 14.06.
Akhmed Sultygov	Moscow, Russian Federation	20.06. – 01.07.
Bea Vidacs	Budapest, Hungary	20.06. – 28.06.
Douglas R. White	University of California, Irvine, USA	23.06. – 27.06.
Deniz Kandiyoti	SOAS London, UK	26.06. – 01.07.
Habiba Fathi	IFEAC, Tashkent, Uzbekistan	27.06. – 02.07.

Nazif Shahrani	Indiana University Bloomington, USA	27.06. – 01.07.
Richard Tapper	SOAS London, UK	28.06. – 31.06.
Dagmar Langenhan	Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung, Potsdam, Germany	04.07. – 31.12.
Milena Benovska	New Bulgarian University, Sofia, Bulgaria	04.07. – 30.10.
Keith Hart	Goldsmith College, London, UK	07.07. – 15.07.
Stephen Gudeman	University of Minnesota, USA	07.07. – 14.07
Sophie Chevalier	Université de Franche- Comté, France	07.07. – 15.07.
John Borneman	Princeton University, USA	12.07. – 17.07.
Dimitri Funk	Russian Academy of Sciences, Russian Federation	27.07. – 24.08.
Ursula Dalinghaus	University of Minnesota, USA	12.07. – 15.07.
John Borneman	Princeton University, USA	13.07. – 17.07.
Zsuzsanna Varga	University Budapest, Hungary	01.08. – 01.09.
Steve Tonah	University of Ghana, Ghana	01.08. – 07.08.
Ida Harboe Knudsen	University of Aarhus, Denmark	04.08. – 01.04.06
Mark Davidheiser	Nova Southeastern University, Fort Lauderdale, USA	24.08. – 08.10.
Chagat Almashev	Gorno-Altai, Altai, Russian Federation	05.09. – 17.09.
Jacek Nowak	Jagiellonian University Krakow, Poland	12.09. – 30.09.
Ingo Schröder	Universität Marburg, Germany	15.09. – 24.11.
Melissa Caldwell	University of California, USA	16.09. – 30.09.
Lukasz Smyrski	University Warsaw, Poland	18.09. – 30.09.
Bertalan Puztai	University of Szeged, Hungary	19.09. – 26.09.
Galia Valtchinova	Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia, Bulgaria	20.09. – 17.10.
Paul Robert Magocsi	Toronto University, Canada	20.09. – 26.09.

Han Durdy Kurbanov	The State Institute of the Cultural Heritage of the Peoples of Turkmenistan, Ashgabat, Turkmenistan	24.09. – 24.12.
Vilius Ivanauskas	Institute of Lithuanian History, Lithuania	08.10. – 01.12.
André Czegledi	University of Witwatersrand, South Africa	07.10. – 30.10.
Stanisław Stępień	Southeastern Europe Institute, Przemyśl, Poland	09.08. – 15.09. 10.10. – 30.10. 22.11. – 15.12.
Tobias Hagemann	Swisspeace, Bern, Switzerland	19.10. – 20.10.
Richard Jenkins	University of Sheffield, UK	25.10. – 28.10.
Gábor Vargyas	Hungarian Academy of Sciences and University of Pécs, Hungary	30.10. – 13.11.
Ulla Johansen	Universität Köln, Germany	03.11. – 04.11.
Kepa Fernández de Larrinoa	Universidad del País Vasco San Sebastián, Spain	06.11. – 30.11.
Caroline Leutloff-Grandits	University of Graz, Austria	08.11. – 11.11.
Gábor Barna	Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, University of Szeged, Hungary	08.11. – 15.11.
Rieke Leenders	International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden-Amsterdam, The Netherlands	08.11. – 10.11.
Liesbet Nyssen	International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden-Amsterdam, The Netherlands	08.11. – 10.11.
Musa Adam Abdul Jalil	University of Khartoum, Sudan	14.11. – 27.11.
Jewgeni Helimski	Hamburg University, Germany	01.12. – 03.12.
Fuat Güllüpinar	Department of Sociology Middle East Technical University Ankara, Turkey	10.12. – 09.03.06
Jerzy Wasilewski	Warsaw University, Poland	15.12. – 16.12.

Conferences and workshops

Conference: Verwandtschaft und Freundschaft: Begriffsbildung und methodische Zugänge in den verschiedenen Wissenschaften, 12-14 February 2004

Convenors: Projektverbund „Freundschaft und Verwandtschaft“, gefördert durch die VW-Stiftung (Kooperationspartner: Prof. Dr. Frank Rexroth, Universität Göttingen; Prof. Dr. Günther Schlee, MPI für ethnologische Forschung, Halle/Saale; PD. Dr. Peter Schuster, Universität Bielefeld, Prof. Dr. Rudolf Stichweh, Universität Luzern; Prof. Dr. Fritz Trillmich, Universität Bielefeld)

Papers presented:

Günther Schlee (MPI für ethnologische Forschung) „Diebe haben keine Kinder.“ Väter, Gevattern, Erzeuger und die soziale Konstruktion des Biologischen **Sylvia Kaiser** (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster) Zur Biologie sozialer Beziehungen: Dominanz, Bindungen, soziales Netz **Jan Marbach** (Deutsches Jugendinstitut e.V., München) Verwandtschaft und Freundschaft im Licht familienbezogener Umfragedaten: Empirische Befunde und theoretische Folgerungen **Fritz Trillmich** (Universität Bielefeld) Ultimate und proximate Fragen zu Verwandtschaft und Freundschaft bei Tieren **Franz J. Neyer** (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin) **and Frieder Lang** (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg) Die Wiederentdeckung der Verwandtschaft in der Psychologie **Patrick Heady** (MPI für ethnologische Forschung) Kameraden und Geschwister: Empathie und Solidarität in sozialen Netzwerken **Klaus van Eickels** (Universität Bamberg) Verwandtschaftliche Bindungen, Liebe zwischen Mann und Frau, Lehenstreue und Kriegerfreundschaft: Unterschiedliche Erscheinungsformen ein und desselben Begriffs? **Gabriele Jancke** (Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut, Berlin) Patronage, Freundschaft, Verwandtschaft – Gelehrtenkultur in der Frühen Neuzeit **Kerstin Seidel** (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen) Zwischen Klüngel und Konflikt. Konzepte von Freundschaft und Verwandtschaft in einer Kölner Chronik des 14. Jahrhunderts **Gabriela Signori** (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster) Geschwister: Metapher und Wirklichkeit in der spätmittelalterlichen Denk- und Lebenswelt **Johannes Schmidt** (Universität Luzern) Das Verhältnis von Ehe und Freundschaft im 18. Jahrhundert **Eckart Voland** (Justus-Liebig-Universität Giessen) Verwandtschaft, Freundschaft, Feindschaft – Evolierte Interessen und Familienbeziehungen in der ostfriesischen Krummhoern des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts **Andreas Schinkel** (Universität Hannover) Verlust der Freiheit. Die Entzauberung des romantischen Freundschaftsbegriffs in den modernen Sozialwissenschaften **Yvonne Schütze** (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin) Alte Eltern und ihre erwachsenen Kinder – Verwandte oder Freunde? **Jürgen Heinze** (Universität Regensburg) Basenwirtschaft im Insektenstaat: Warum Verwandtschaft doch nicht

alles ist **Ann Elisabeth Auhagen** (Freie Universität Berlin) Zur Psychologie der Freundschaft **Peter Kappeler** (Deutsches Primatenzentrum, Göttingen) Affenfreundschaften: Nachweis, Muster und Funktion

Workshop: The Size Factor in Identity Politics, 24-25 May 2004

Convenor: Günther Schlee (MPI for Social Anthropology)

Papers presented:

Michael Hechter (University of Washington) Reflections of forms of solidarity and group size **Andreas Dafinger** (MPI for Social Anthropology) The significance of scale: changing dimensions of group size. A case study from Burkina Faso **Rozita Dimova** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Between Size and Dominance: Ethnic Groups, the State, and Transnational Agencies in Contemporary Macedonia **Tilo Grätz** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Small groups, strong cohesion: Social strategies of local groups in relation to immigrants in West African gold mines (case studies from Mali and Benin) **Peter Finke and Meltem Sancak** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Structural and Strategic Adjustments of Group Size **Christiane Falge** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Is it the "blood" or the context that matters? Contracting and expanding kin groups among Nuer in a global field **Yousouf Diallo** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Hunters groups: forms of behaviour and internal solidarity **Siberia Group** (MPI for Social Anthropology) To be or not to be small: Ethnic identities and the size factor in the Russian Federation Small-Scale City in Global Society: Non-ethnic Simultaneous Incorporation in Manchester New Hampshire **Michaela Pelican** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Minority strategies: Mbororo and Hausa in the Cameroon Grassfields **Getinet Assefa** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Group sizes and mobilisation strategies: Comparing the Oromo and the Gurage of Ethiopia

Workshop: Der ländliche Raum Ostdeutschlands vom Sozialismus zum Postsozialismus: Ein interdisziplinärer Workshop, 3-4 June 2004

Convenors: John Eidson and Gordon Milligan (MPI for Social Anthropology)

Papers presented:

Jens Schöne (Berlin) Agrarpolitik und Krisenmanagement. Neues von der Kollektivierung **Dagmar Langenhan** (Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung, Potsdam) Die Last der Tradition – ländliche Arbeits- und Lebenswelten in den 1970er/80er Jahren **Barbara Schier** (München) "Wir haben uns gegen die Kooperationsentwicklung gestemmt wie die Löwen..." Industriemäßige Landwirtschaft, individuelle Hauswirtschaft und Alltagsleben in einem thüringischen Dorf **Lutz Laschewski** (Universität Rostock) Landwirtschaft und die Entwicklung ländlicher Räume in Ostdeutschland **Katrin Küster** (KOWA-Kooperationsstelle

Wissenschaft und Arbeitswelt Thüringen, Jena) Die Entwicklung der ostdeutschen Landwirtschaftsstrukturen ab 1989 – aus agrarsoziologischer Sicht (Beispiel Thüringen) **Claudia Neu** (Universität Rostock) Die Klasse der Genossenschaftsbauern – revisited **Karl Martin Born** (Freie Universität Berlin) Die Dynamik von Eigentumsrechten im Nordosten Deutschlands – eine geographische Perspektive **Judith-Maria Buechler** (Hobart and William Smith Colleges, Geneva, USA) und **Hans Buechler** (Syracuse University, USA) Vielfalt der Eigentumsstrukturen in einer gleichgeschalteten Agrarlandschaft: Landwirte der Bernburger Gegend in den 90er Jahren **John Eidson und Gordon Milligan** (MPI für ethnologische Forschung) Welche Bedeutung haben regionale Bedingungen für Entwicklungen im ländlichen Raum? Westsachsen und Vorpommern im Vergleich
Discussants: **Jonathan Osmond** (Cardiff University), **Eberhard Schulze** (Institut für Agrarentwicklung in Mittel- und Osteuropa, Halle/Saale), **Chris Hann** (MPI for Social Anthropology)

Workshop: Conditions of Pastoral Mobility, 18-19 June 2004

Convenors: Günther Schlee (MPI for Social Anthropology) and Anatoly Khazanov (University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA, and The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel)

Papers presented:

Anatoly Khazanov (University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA, and The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel) Mobility and Territoriality in the Kazakh Society in the Pre-Colonial and the Early Colonial Periods
Olga Naumova (Russian Academy of Science in Moscow, Russia) Conditions for Mobile Pastoralism in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan: unrealized potentialities (West-Kazakhstan) **Reuven Amitai** (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel) Did the Mongols in the Middle East Remain Nomadic Pastoralists? **Jörg Janzen** (Centre for Development Research, National University of Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar, and ZELF, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany) Changing Patterns of Pastoral Mobility in Mongolia **Peter Finke** (MPI for Social Anthropology and Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey) Changing Conditions for Pastoral Migrations in Western Mongolia **Slawoj Szynkiewicz** (Polish Academy of Science, Warsaw, Poland) Family Nomadizing in Mongolia. Collective farms period and thereafter **Jörg Gertel** (University of Leipzig, Germany) Restructuring Pastoral Landscapes in New Zealand **Nazif Shahrani** (Indiana University, Bloomington, USA) State Failure, Land Tenure and Pastoral Mobility in Northeastern Afghanistan **Roy Behnke** (Macaulay Institute, Aberdeen, UK) The Bio-Physical Determinants of Pastoral Mobility: seasonality, opportunism and crowding in Turkmenistan **John Galaty** (Mc Gill University, Montreal, Canada) Modern Mobility: Transformations in pastoralist land tenure and territoriality in Africa **Jeffrey Kaufmann** (University of Southern

Mississippi, Hattisburg, USA) How Cactus Curtails Mobility Among Mahafale Pastoralists of Madagascar **Abdullahi Dima Jillo** (MPI for Social Anthropology and Egerton University, Njoro, Kenya) Pastoral Resources Administration, Tenure and Conflict Mitigation among the Waso Borana of Northern Kenya **Youssef Diallo** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Forms of Pastoral Mobility in Ivory Coast

Workshop: Rational Choice and the Limits of Individual Agency, 16-18 September 2004

Convenors: Günther Schlee, Peter Finke and Bettina Mann (MPI for Social Anthropology)

Papers presented:

Hartmut Esser (University of Mannheim) Rationality and Commitment. The model of frame-selection and the explanation of normative behaviour **John Ziker** (Boise State University, USA) Rational Choice and Limits of Agency in Siberia **Karl-Dieter Opp** (University of Leipzig) When Do Institutions Change Preferences? How the European Union creates institutional identifications **Martin Beckenkamp** (MPI for Research on Collective Goods, Bonn) Institutions Adapted to How the Human Mind Works **Peter Finke** (MPI for Social Anthropology and Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey) Is Migrating a Rational Decision? The centrality of institutions in social life **Stefan Magen** (MPI for Research on Collective Goods, Bonn) Culture as a Tool for Solving Game Theoretic Problems? **Joachim Görlich** (University of Cologne) Does Rational Choice Take Cultural Meaning into Account? The case of exchange and ritual agency in Melanesia **Günter Bierbrauer** (University of Osnabrück) The Alleged "Mental Gap" Between East and West Germans. How construal of social categories leads to false group polarization **Douglas Heckathorn** (Cornell University, Ithaca, USA) Micromobilization Cascades and the Emergence of Collective Action: the reciprocal role of identity and incentives **Patrick Heady** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Rational Choice and the Rationalization of Allegiance **Luis G. González** (MPI for Research into Economic Systems, Jena) Trust, Reciprocity and Hiring Competition **Andreas Diekmann** (Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule Zürich, Switzerland) Norms of Reciprocity. A challenge to rational choice theory

Workshop: Recht als Ressource und Hemmnis von Entwicklung, 29 September-01 October 2004

Convenors: Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Entwicklungsethnologie, AGEE e.V.; Projektgruppe Rechtspluralismus (MPI for Social Anthropology)

Papers presented:

Mechthild Rüniger (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, Eschborn) Wie viel Rechtspluralismus verträgt der demokratische Rechtsstaat? Eine entwicklungspolitische Positionierung zu

Kernbereichen, Kompromissen und Kohärenz in pluralistischen Rechtssystemen **Franz von Benda-Beckmann** (MPI für ethnologische Forschung) Alte und neue Fragen zu Recht und Entwicklung **Friederike Diaby-Pentzlin** (Fachhochschule Wismar, Fachbereich Wirtschaft) Projektpraxis und Wissenschaftshäme: Die Einsamkeit der Projektkonzeptionalisierung beim Rechtspluralismus **Bertram Turner** (MPI für ethnologische Forschung) Der Wald im Dickicht der Gesetze: Transnationales Recht und lokale Rechtspraxis im Arganwald **Markus Weilenmann** (Büro für Konfliktforschung in Entwicklungsländern, Rüschlikon, Switzerland) Ist Projektrecht ein Erfüllungsgehilfe von EZ-Organisationen? Eine Fallstudie aus Burundi **Jilles van Gastel** (University of Wageningen, The Netherlands) Policy makers und project peasants: The world of Dutch development cooperation **Philip Quarles van Ufford** (Free University Amsterdam, The Netherlands) Development cooperation after Icarus' flight **Rita Schäfer** (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) Ansätze zur Stärkung der Rechte von Frauen in pluralen Rechtssystemen

Discussants: **Michael Schönhuth** (Universität Trier, FB IV – Ethnologie), **Keebet von Benda-Beckmann** (MPI for Social Anthropology), **Wolfram Heise** (Arbeitsgemeinschaft Entwicklungs-ethnologie, AGEE e.V., Göttingen), **Helen Ahrens** (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, Eschborn), **Barbara Darimont** (MPI für ausländisches und internationales Sozialrecht, München), **Karin von Loebenstein** (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, Eschborn), **Christoph Antweiler** (Universität Trier, FB IV – Ethnologie)

Workshop: The Chimera of Rechtsstaatlichkeit: Comparative Perspectives on Informality and Corruption, 5 October 2004

Convenor: **Chris Hann** (MPI for Social Anthropology)

Papers presented:

Jane Schneider (PhD Program in Anthropology, City University of New York, USA) and **Peter Schneider** (Department of Sociology, Fordham University, USA) Rethinking Corruption in Light of White Collar and Organized Crime **Filippo Zerilli** (University of Cagliari, Italy) Corruption, Property Restitution, Romanianness: Taking corruption seriously through ethnographic temporality **Italo Pardo and Giuliana Prato** (University of Kent, UK) Corruption between the Public and the Private: Comparative insights from Europe **Davide Torsello** (Collegium Budapest, Hungary) The Art of Finding the Right Person. Clientelism, trust and informal ties in eastern Europe and southern Italy

Conference: Order and Disorder, 26-27 November 2004

Convenors: Keebet von Benda-Beckmann, Franz von Benda-Beckmann and Fernanda Pirie (MPI for Social Anthropology)

Papers presented:

Simon Roberts (London School of Economics and Political Science, UK) Representations of 'Order' in Socio-legal Scholarship **Peter Just** (Williams College Williamstown, Massachusetts, USA) Law, Ritual, and Order **Aimar Ventsel** (Estonian Literary Museum, Tartu, Estonia) Pride, Honour, Individual and Collective Violence: order in a 'lawless' village **Fernanda Pirie** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Order, Individualism and Responsibility: contrasting dynamics on the Tibetan plateau **Tilo Grätz** (MPI for Social Anthropology) The Rise of Militias or Vigilante Groups: political transcontinuities or signs of state devolution? **Bertram Turner** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Imposing New Concepts of Order in Rural Morocco: violent responses to transnational challenges to local order **Jonathan Spencer** (Graduate School of Social and Political Studies University of Edinburgh, Scotland) Political Disorder

Discussant: Franz von Benda-Beckmann (MPI for Social Anthropology)

Workshop: Oil, Integration and Conflict, 13-14 December 2004

Convenors: Günther Schlee, Andrea Behrends (MPI for Social Anthropology) and Stephen P. Reyna (University of New Hampshire, USA)

Papers presented:

Terry Lynn Karl (Stanford University, USA) Oil and War **John Gledhill** (University of Manchester, UK) Oil and the Nation in Latin America **Naomi Schiller** (New York University, USA) "Now That the Petroleum Is Ours:" petroleum, community television, and changing expectations in Venezuela **Richard Rottenburg** (Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg) Oil and Sudan Politics **Florian Stammeler** (Scott Polar Institute, Cambridge, UK) Peace in the Russian Arctic? An analysis of non-violent oil development and indigenous communities in West Siberia **Galina Khizrieva** (Institute of Cultural Studies, Moscow, Russia) Three Components and Three Sources of the Chechen Revolution and National State: Oil, deportation and warriors of Jihad **Stephen P. Reyna** (University of New Hampshire, USA) Artica and the Bull: Warfare involving petro-states and the current aging bull in imperial fields **Andrea Behrends** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Oil and International Intervention: Darfur and its repercussions

Workshop: Emerging Citizenship and Contested Identities between Dniester, Prut and Danube Rivers, 10-11 March 2005

Convenors: Monica Heintz and Deema Kaneff (MPI for Social Anthropology)

Papers presented:

Florent Parmentier (Institut des Sciences Politiques, Paris) Failed State and Citizenship. The case of Moldova **Florentina Bodnari** (Centre Marc Bloch, Berlin) Can Federalism Cope with the Challenges of the Transnistrian Conflict? **Hülya Demirdirek** (University of Victoria, Canada) The “banal nationalism” of the transnational movement **Tanja Boneva** (University of Sofia, Bulgaria) Power and Identity in the Local Community: A Long Term Perspective **Ekaterina Anastasova** (University of Sofia, Bulgaria) Ethnicity, Tradition and Power in the Transitional Period in Southern Bessarabia. The example of a settlement **Cristina Petrescu** (University of Bucharest, Romania) Bessarabians, Romanians or Moldovans? Issues in Collective Identity Formation in Eastern Europe **Alexander Ganchev** (Odessa University, Ukraine) Bessarabian Bulgarians, Studying in Bulgaria on Searches of Identity **Elisabeth Anderson** (New York University, USA) Backwards, Forwards, or Both? Moldovan Teachers’ Relationship to the State and the Nation **Alexander Prigarin** (Odessa University, Ukraine) The Ethnoconfessional Culture in the Context of Boundary Territories: The old-believers (Lipovans) in Bessarabia **Jennifer Cash** (University of Pittsburgh, USA) Memories of States Past: Identity Salience, Regionalism, and the Challenges of Citizenship in the Republic of Moldova **Leyla Keough** (University of Massachusetts, Amherst) What’s a good mother-worker to do these days? Representations of and by female Gagauz Moldavan labor migrants and their potential political effects in Moldova **Vsevolod Samokhvalov** (Odessa University, Ukraine) Economic and trade patterns and ethnic identities in Ukrainian Bessarabia: Reni District Case **Abel Polese** (International Christian University, Kiev, Ukraine) Post Soviet Strategies of daily survival: the Odessa-Chisinau Elektrichka **Patricia Fogarty** (Emory University, USA) “We all do it and we all think it’s bad”: Discourses and Practices of Corruption in Moldova

Discussants: **Dan Dangaci** (University of Bucharest), **Vintila Mihailescu** (University of Bucharest), **Stefan Troebst** (University of Leipzig)

Conference: Religious Conversion after Socialism, 7-9 April 2005

Convenors: Mathijs Pelkmans, László Foszto and Irene Hilgers (MPI for Social Anthropology)

Papers presented:

Monika Wohlrab-Sahr (University of Leipzig) Introduction to the Conference **Heather Coleman** (University of Alberta, Canada) Converting the Russian People: The Russian Orthodox Church’s anti-sectarian mission in the 19th and 20th centuries **Sebastien Peyrouse** (French Institute for Central Asia Studies, France) Proselytizing Stakes and Christian Perspectives in Soviet Central Asia **Tatiana Barchunova** (Novosibirsk State University, Russia) Experimental Conversion, and

Commitment (Novosibirsk case) **Galina Valtchinova** (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Bulgaria) Converting “Back” to the “Faith of Our Ancestors”? **Laur Vallikivi** (Estonian National Museum, Estonia) Conversion from Animism to Protestantism: Nenets reindeer herders facing new religious perspectives **Johannes Ries** (University of Leipzig) Gypsies and the People of God: The impact of Pentecostal mission on Roma culture **Magdalena Slavkova** (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Bulgaria) Gypsies in Lom: The case of Gypsies who convert to Protestant Christianity **László Foszto** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Conversion to Pentecostalism among the Roma in Romania **Nathalie Clayer** (CNRS, Paris) Missions, ‘Conversions’ to Christianity and Revalorization of Islam in Albania **Oscar Salemink** (Free University Amsterdam, The Netherlands) Socialist, Capitalist and Protestant Conversions of Vietnam’s Central Highlanders **Bill Clark** (NGO Yntymak, Kyrgyzstan) Uighur Protestants: A review of conversion trends **Irene Hilgers** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Defining the “Uzbek Christian”: Conversion among the Uzbeks in the Ferghana-Valley **Jeffers Engelhardt** (University of Chicago, USA) Right Singing and Orthodox Conversion in Estonia **Esther Peperkamp** (Amsterdam School for Social Science Research, The Netherlands) The Creation of Religious Subjectivities and the Market in Poland **Jaroslav Klepal** (Charles University, Prague, Czech republic) Against Religious Conversion? Remarks on becoming a Krishna devotee in the Czech Republic **Virginie Vaté** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Conversion to Pentecostalism in Chukotka (Northeastern Siberia, Russia): A quest for an ‘indigenous’ religion? **Catherine Wanner** (The Pennsylvania State University, USA) Faith Healing in Ukraine **Mathijs Pelkmans** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Evil Spirits and Healing Power: Charismatic Christianity in Kyrgyzstan **John Peel** (School of Oriental and African Studies, London, UK) Final Address

Workshop: Between State, Religion, and Tradition – Re-examining the Concepts of Collective and Individual Responsibility in the Islamic World, held at the Danish Institute in Damascus, 5-7 May 2005

Convenors: Bertram Turner (MPI for Social Anthropology), Jorgen Baek Simonsen (Danish Institute in Damascus) and Hans Christian Korsholm Nielsen (Institute of Anthropology, University of Copenhagen)

Papers presented:

Bertram Turner (MPI for Social Anthropology) Conceptualising Legal Responsibility in Islamic Societies: Collectivities, Individuals, and Conflicting Allocations of Responsibility in Legal Practice **Keebet and Franz von Benda-Beckmann** (MPI for Social Anthropology) State law, Adat, Syariah and Human Rights: Views from Indonesia **Hans Christian Korsholm Nielsen** (Institute of Anthropology, University of Copenhagen, Denmark) Taking responsibility through the settling of

disputes in Upper Egypt **Baudouin Dupret** (Institut Français du Proche-Orient Damascus) Spirit possession, mental deficiency and criminal liability in Egypt **Ali Wardak** (University of Glamorgan, UK) Jirga Collective Responsibility and Local Dispute Settlement in Afghanistan **Annika Raabo** (Center for Research on International Migration and Ethnic Studies, Stockholm University, Sweden) 'It is all for himself these days' – debates on collective responsibilities versus individualism among Aleppo souq-traders and among villagers in the Raqqa province in Syria **Zouhair Ghazzal** (Loyola University, Chicago, USA) Violence and Legal Responsibility: The Construction of Criminal Narratives in Contemporary Syria **Tillmann Hannemann** (University of Bremen) Fitna and Homicide in Precolonial Kabyle Customary Law **Holger-Christoph Rohne** (MPI for Foreign and International Criminal Law) Legal Prosecution and Responsibility in Darfur – Findings from a Victimological Study **Mohammed al-Haddad** (University of Kuwait) Duties, obligations and legal responsibility of individuals in Kuwait

Workshop: The Social Life of Anti-Terrorism Laws, 26-27 May 2005

Convenor: Julia Eckert (MPI for Social Anthropology)

Papers presented:

Christoph Antons (Centre for Law and Sustainable Development, University of Wollongong) Anti-Terrorism Laws and the Law Reform Process in Thailand and Indonesia **Mihir Desai** (Centre for Human Rights and Law) The History of Anti-Terrorism Measures and the Judiciary in India **Jan Simon** (MPI for Foreign and International Criminal Law) Germany The Role of Criminal Law in Post-Conflict Societies **Jan Bachmann** (University of Leipzig) Appropriating the War on Terror: Indications from East Africa and the Sahel region **Sergei Medvedev** (Higher School of Economics, Moscow) Uses of (Anti-) Terrorism in Russian Domestic and Foreign Policy **Gunhild Hoogensen** (Department of Political Science, Tromsø) Anti-Terrorism Policy: Whose security is it anyway? **Werner Schiffauer** (Viadrina European University, Frankfurt/Oder) Suspect Subjects: Muslim migrants and the state security agencies in Germany **Tobias Kelly** (School of Social and Political Studies, Edinburgh) Fighting 'Terror' in the Israeli Occupied West-Bank: Citizenship, suspicion and the impossibility of separation **Bertram Turner** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Terrorism, Anti-Terrorism Law and the Daily Troubles Resulting from the Problem of How to Live Together with Salafiyya Adherents in Morocco **Jayant Krishnan** (William Mitchell College of Law) Anti-terrorism Legislation in India: From POTA to its recent incarnations

Workshop: Conditions of Pastoral Mobility II, 9-10 June 2005

Convenors: Günther Schlee (MPI for Social Anthropology) and Anatoly Khazanov (University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA, and The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel)

Papers presented:

Thomas T. Allsen (Trenton State College, Trenton) Imperial Expansion and Nomadic Mobility: The Mongolian case **Youssouf Diallo** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Past and Present Migrations in Fulbe Societies (Western Burkina Faso) **André Bourgeot** (EHESS, Laboratoire d'Anthropologie Sociale) Mobility and Flexibility in an Agropastoralism Twareg Society in Northern Niger **Brian Donahoe** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Declining Mobility and Emerging Tenurality among South-Siberian Reindeer Herders and Hunters **Salah Abd Elgayoum** (Sennar University) The Camel Pastoral Mobility in the Arid and Semi-arid Zones of Sudan **Patty A. Gray** (University of Alaska, Fairbanks) Conditions of Pastoral Mobility for Tundra Reindeer Herders in Chukotka, Russia **Olivier LaRocque** (McGill University) Fenced-in Herds and Mobile Livestock: patterns of ranch-land use in Western Canada **Lynn Huntsinger** (University of California) Pastoral Mobility, Landscape, and Land Tenure in the Western United States **Soheila Shashahani** (Shahid Beheshti University) Continued Nomadism in Modern Iran: Top discourse analysis

Conference: Post-Soviet Islam: an anthropological perspective, 29-30 June 2005

Convenors: Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi and Johan Rasanayagam (MPI for Social Anthropology)

Papers presented:

Edmund Waite (Institute of Education, London University) Muslim Orthodoxy and Dissent amongst the Uyghurs of Xinjiang Province **Shamil Shikhaliev** (Institute of History and Ethnography, Dagestan) Sufi Practices and Muslim Identities in Naqshbandiyya and Shadhiliyya Lodges in North Dagestan **Amir Navruzov** (Institute of History and Ethnography, Dagestan) Islamic Higher Schools of Post-Soviet Dagestan in International Educational Networks **Julie McBrien** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Listening to the Wedding-Speaker: reinterpretations of religion and identity in south Kyrgyzstan **Nazif Shahrani** (Indiana University) Reclaiming Islam in Uzbekistan: Soviet legacies and post-Soviet realities **Anna Zelkina** (School of Oriental and African Studies, London) Islam in Chechen Politics: Myths and realities **Johan Rasanayagam** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Avoiding Becoming a Wahhabi in Post-Soviet Uzbekistan **Saulesh Yessenova** (University of British Columbia) Between the Cemetery and the Mosque: local shrines as local testimonies of Islamic identity in Kazakhstan's Caspian region **Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Who Owns

the Shrine? Competing meanings and authorities at a holy site in Khorezm, Uzbekistan **Maria Louw** (Aarhus University, Denmark) Pursuing 'Muslimness' in Post-Soviet Bukhara **Paweł Jessa** (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań) 'Aq jol – Soul Healers': religious pluralism on the context of the new Muslim movements in Kazakhstan **Deniz Kandiyoti** (School of Oriental and African Studies, London) Islam and the Politics of Gender: Perspectives from Uzbekistan and Afghanistan **Gusel Sabirova** (Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow) Women and Koranic Courses: Managing biography and creating moral authority in the transforming society **Habiba Fathi** (IFEAC, Tashkent) The Particularities of Women's Religious Practices in Contemporary Post-Soviet Central Asia **Richard Tapper** (School of Oriental and African Studies, London) Concluding Remarks

Workshop: The Legitimate and the Supernatural: law and religion in a complex world, 25-27 August 2005

Convenors: Bertram Turner and Fernanda Pirie (MPI for Social Anthropology)

Papers presented:

Martin A. Mills (University of Aberdeen, Department of Divinity and Religious Studies) Lived History and Legitimate Violence: religious law in Tibet and Israel **Andrew Huxley** (University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies) Dispute Settlement Burmese-Style: Judge Hpo Hlaing's ruling in Ma Hla v. Ma Wa June 1877 **David N. Gellner** (University of Oxford, Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology) Hinduism and the Contested Political Order in Nepal **Stephan Palmié** (University of Chicago, Department of Anthropology) Enchanted by Science: the Cuban republic and its wizards **Patrice Ladwig** (University of Cambridge, Wolfson College) The Disciplining of Buddhism and State Control of the Religious Field in Post-reform Laos PDR **Jacqueline Vel** (University of Amsterdam, Department of Anthropology and Sociology) Umbu Bintang is Our Star: adat and religion in democratic elections in West Sumba, Indonesia **Nina Glick Schiller** (University of New Hampshire and MPI for Social Anthropology) "...the Land which the Lord your God Giveth you": Locality, Global Christianity, and Immigrant Incorporation in a New Imperial Age **Thomas Kirsch** (Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, Institute for Social Anthropology) The Spirit of the Law: written laws in charismatic Christianity **Anindita Chakrabarti** (Delhi University, Department of Sociology) Sociological Study of Succession in Swadhyaya: the legal-bureaucratic self of a charismatic movement in India **Bertram Turner** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Mobilising Strategies and Framing the Legal Arena: Salafiyya activity in rural Morocco **Lorenzo Cañas Bottos** (University College Dublin, Institute for the Study of Social Change) Order and Dissent amongst Old Colony Mennonites **Anthony Good** (University of Edinburgh, School of Social

and Political Studies) Persecution for Reasons of Religion under the 1951 Refugee Convention **René Kuppe** (University of Vienna, Department for Legal Philosophy, Law of Religion and Culture) The Inadequacy of conventional Religious Freedom Law for the Protection of Traditional Sacred Sites **David Signer** ('Die Weltwoche', Zurich) African Witchcraft as a Normative System and its Impact on Economic Development **Michaela Pelican** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Containing Witchcraft: 'traditional', state and human rights perspectives in Cameroon **David M. Engel** (The State University of New York, University at Buffalo Law School) Globalization and the Decline of Legal Consciousness: torts, ghosts and karma in Thailand **Nahda Younis Shehada** (Institute for Social Studies, The Hague) Mothers, Fathers, and Children, Whose Rights Prevail? **Susanne Brandtstädter** (University of Manchester, Department of Social Anthropology) Religious Practice as Legal Commentary: reflections on the relation between law, spatial orders and popular religion in rural China **Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Competing for What? Changing relationships between religion, state and *adat* in Indonesia

Workshop: Eastern Christianities in Anthropological Perspective, 23-25 September 2005

Convenors: Chris Hann, Juraj Buzalka, Vlad Naumescu (MPI for Social Anthropology) and Hermann Goltz (Department for Eastern Orthodox churches, Theological Faculty, Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg)

Papers presented:

Stephen C. Headley (CNRS and Ecole Pratique des Hautes Études) An Anthropology of Society: the 'social concept' of the Russian Orthodox Church **Melissa L. Caldwell** (University of California, Santa Cruz) The Russian Orthodox Church, the Provision of Social Welfare, and Changing Ethics of Benevolence **Glenn Bowman** (University of Kent) Identification and Identity Formations around Shared Shrines in Western Macedonia and West Bank Palestine **Anna Poujeau** (Paris X Nanterre and CNRS) The Syrian Greek Orthodox Church and Arab Nationalism **Lucian Turcescu and Lavinia Stan** (Concordia University Montreal/St. Francis Xavier University Antigonish) Religious Education in Romania **Alice Forbess** (Goldsmith College, University of London) Nuns and the Nomenklatura: a Romanian Orthodox convent through two transitions **Marcin Lubaś** (Jagiellonian University, Krakow) Orthodoxy, Nationalism, and Social Unrest in Post-Socialist Macedonia **Jacek Nowak** (Jagiellonian University, Krakow) Ukraine – Greek Catholicism in nationalism projects **Gabriel Hanganu** (University of Oxford) Eastern Christianities and Religious Objects: entangling materiality with networks of relations **Sonja Luehrmann** (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor) A Dual Quarrel of Images on the Middle

Volga: icon veneration between Protestant and Pagan critiques **Renée Hirschon** (University of Oxford) Indigenous Persons and Imported Individuals: changing paradigms of personal identity in contemporary Greece **Maria Couroucli** (CNRS, Paris) Negotiating Identities in Istanbul: the festival of St. George's Greek Orthodox monastery in Princes Island **Inna Naletova** (Pastorales Forum, Wien and Boston University) Pilgrimage as a Model for Churchliness beyond the Walls of the Church **Jeanne Kormina** (European University, St. Petersburg) Moral Economy of Pilgrimage: production, consumption, and goods **Jeffers Engelhardt** (University of Chicago) The Acoustics and Geopolitics of Orthodox Practice in the Estonian-Russian Border Region **Stéphanie Mahieu** (MPI for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale) Statues and/or Icons? The Greek Catholic divine liturgy in Hungary and Romania, between renewal and purification

Workshop: Strategies of Inclusion/Exclusion and Political Representation among Pastoral Fulbe across Africa, 2-4 October 2005

Convenors: Michaela Pelican (MPI for Social Anthropology) and Andreas Dafinger (University of Manchester)

Papers presented:

Günther Schlee (MPI for Social Anthropology) Opening Keynote Address **Michaela Pelican and Andreas Dafinger** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Introduction: strategies of inclusion/exclusion and political representation among pastoral Fulbe **Andreas Dafinger** (MPI for Social Anthropology and University of Manchester, UK) Negotiating Resource Rights in an Agro-pastoral Society **Yoshihito Shimada** (Nagoya University, Japan) Nomadism and Jihad, two Strategies of Savanna 'Capitalists' **Nikolaus Schareika** (Johannes-Gutenberg University of Mainz, Germany) Subject, Leader, Chief, Commander: Wodaabe politics between clan and communal structure **Philip Burnham** (University College London) (paper read) The Changing Position of MBOSCUA within Cameroon Society **Sten Hagberg** (University of Uppsala) Organising Fulbe-ness: Ethnicity, Livelihoods and Civil Society in Burkina Faso **Mark Moritz** (University of Oregon, USA) Strategies and Organization of Pastoral FulBe in a FulBe Hegemony: cases from the Far North Province of Cameroon **Elisabeth Boesen** (Centre for Modern Oriental Studies, Berlin, Germany) Fulbe Identities and Socio-political Formation in Central Niger – with special consideration of the new Wodaabe "elites" **Verena Kremling** (University of Bayreuth, Germany) Official Development Discourse and Unofficial Politics of the Association pour la Promotion de l'Élevage au Sahel et en Savane (APESS) **Michaela Pelican** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Recent Changes in Mbororo Political Representation and Self-understanding: the impact of MBOSCUA in the Cameroon

Grassfields **Yousouf Diallo** (MPI for Social Anthropology) The Dynamics of Fulbe Identity: attribution and self-identification **Kristin Loftsdottir** (University of Iceland, Reykjavik, Iceland) (paper read) Agency and Nomadic Identities: migrant work and WoDaaBe Fulbe nomads in Niger **Mirjam de Bruijn and Han van Dijk** (African Studies Centre, Leiden, The Netherlands) Fulbe Elites Intellectuals and the Pastoral Way of Life

Workshop: Social Security in Religious Networks: changes in meanings, contents and functions, 10-11 November 2005

Convenors: Tatjana Thelen, Anja Peleikis (MPI for Social Anthropology) and Carolin Leutloff-Grandits (University of Graz)

Papers presented:

Keebet von Benda-Beckmann (MPI for Social Anthropology) Welcome **Tatjana Thelen and Anja Peleikis** (MPI for Social Anthropology) and **Carolin Leutloff-Grandits** (University of Graz) Introduction **Mirjam de Bruijn and André Leliveld** (African Studies Centre, Leiden) The Role of Religious Networks in Social Security Provision; evidence from West and Central Africa **George Mpedi** (MPI for Foreign and International Social Law, Munich) The Role of Religious Networks in Extending Social Protection: observations from a South African perspective **Rijk van Dijk** (African Studies Centre, Leiden) The Safe and Suffering Body in Transnational Ghanaian Pentecostalism; towards an anthropology of vulnerability **Stéphanie Mahieu** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Greek Catholic Charitable Organisations in Hungary: an alternative model of civility? **Tatjana Thelen** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Changing Functions of a Religious Network in a Post-socialist Environment: Protestant women in Rostock **Nadine Sieveking** (University of Bielefeld) Islam as a Resource in Negotiating Social Security: Muslim women's organisations in Senegal **Heike Drotbohm** (Albert Ludwigs University Freiburg) Religious Networks as a Family Replacing System among Migrants: bonds of love and hate, loyalty and envy, shelter and duties **Rosie Read** (Glasgow University) Nuns, Volunteers and Social Security: the gifting of care within a Czech day care centre for the elderly and infirm **Gábor Barna** (University Szeged) The Confraternity of the Living Rosary: intimacy and openness in devotions, the security of hope **Gertrud Hüwelmeier** (Humboldt University, Berlin) Women's Congregations as Transnational Networks of Social Security **Anja Peleikis** (MPI for Social Anthropology) The Lutheran Minority in Lithuania: mobilizing cultural heritage and transnational connections as new social security resources **Monika Salzbrunn** (CRIA, EHESS, Paris) Shifting Solidarities: expanding religious networks and new alliances in Harlem, New York **Carolin Leutloff-Grandits** (University Graz) "Fight against Hunger" – Functions and Meanings of a Charity Campaign by Franciscans in Knin,

Croatia **Kristin Kupfer** (Ruhr University Bochum) Aspects of Social Security in Christian Inspired, spiritual religious groups in the People's Republic of China after 1978

Workshop: Tagung anlässlich des 300. Geburtstages von Gerhard Friedrich Müller und des 250. Todestages von Johann Georg Gmelin, held at the Franckesche Stiftungen zu Halle, 10-13 November 2005

Convenors: Dr. Wieland Hintzsche, Dr. Heike Heklau, Friederike Lippold (Franckesche Stiftungen zu Halle) Dr. Joachim Otto Habeck (Max-Planck-Institut für ethnologische Forschung), Prof. Dr. Dittmar Dahlmann (Seminar für Osteuropäische Geschichte der Universität Bonn), with the support of the Kultusministerium des Landes Sachsen-Anhalt

Papers presented: **Thomas Müller-Bahlke** (Direktor der Franckeschen Stiftungen) Begrüßung **Aleksandr Ch. Elert** (Novosibirsk) Wissenschaftliche Forschungsprojekte zu Sibirien in der Nachfolge von Gerhard Friedrich Müller **Ullrich Wannhoff** (Berlin) Ein Aufenthalt bei den Rentier-Korjaken im Jahr 2005 **Lidija M. Panfilova** (Novosibirsk) Vorstellung des Wissenschaftsjournals der Sibirischen Abteilung der Russischen Akademie der Wissenschaften "Science – First Hand" **Peter Hoffmann** (Nassenheide) Vorstellung des Buches von P. Hoffmann "Gerhard Friedrich Müller (1705-1783) – Historiker, Geograph und Archivar im Dienste Rußlands" (Verlag Peter Lang, Frankfurt a. M.) **Jürgen Boden** (Hamburg) Vorstellung des Buches von Sew'jan Weinshtein "Geheimnisvolles Tuwa – Expeditionen in das Herz Asiens" (Alouette Verlag Oststeinbek) **Wieland Hintzsche** (Halle/Saale) Vorstellung (zusammen mit Bettina Citron) des Bandes "Dokumente zur 2. Kamčatkaexpedition 1730-1733" aus der Reihe "Quellen zur Geschichte Sibiriens und Alaskas aus russischen Archiven" (Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle) **Danara A. Širina** (Jakutsk) Johann Georg Gmelin in den Arbeiten russischer Wissenschaftler **Peter Hoffmann** (Nassenheide) Gerhard Friedrich Müller (1705-1783) – Zum 300. Geburtstag des deutsch-russischen Historikers und Sibirienforschers **Galina I. Smagina** (St. Petersburg) Gerhard Friedrich Müller – der Autor eines Projekts zur Schulreform Russlands in den sechziger Jahren des 18. Jahrhunderts **Vladimir S. Sobolev** (St. Petersburg) Johann Eberhard Fischer und die Erforschung Sibiriens **Kristina Küntzel-Witt** (Lübeck) Gerhard Friedrich Müllers Einfluss auf das Sibirienbild Europas im 18. Jahrhundert **Natalija N. Kopaneva** (St. Petersburg) Die 2. Kamčatkaexpedition und die Kunstkammer **Doramaría Mohr** (Bremen) Der Weg nach Čukotka – Zur kulturellen Identität der Tschuktschen **Irina V. Tunkina** (St. Petersburg) Gerhard Friedrich Müller und der Schatz des Kurgans Litoj **Tat'jana M. Moiseeva** (St. Petersburg) The Petersburg Academy of Sciences in the middle of the 18th century: crossroads of destiny

(scientific ambitions, characters, talents) **Friederike Lippold** (Halle/Saale) Führung durch das historische Waisenhaus der Franckeschen Stiftungen **Katharina Gernet** (MPI for Social Anthropology Halle/Saale) Die ethnogenetische Geschichte der Tungusen (mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Beispiels der Ewenen) im Blick von Theorien zum Kulturwandel **Aleksei Solopov** (Moskau) Probleme der Behandlung einheimischer Ortsnamen in den lateinischen Texten im 18. Jahrhundert in Russland, insbesondere innerhalb der St. Petersburger Akademie der Wissenschaften **Anna N. Šišigina** (Jakutsk) Die Materialien von Gerhard Friedrich Müller und Johann Georg Gmelin – eine Quelle zum Studium der Geschichte des Alltagslebens der Völker Jakutiens im 18. Jahrhundert **Han F. Vermeulen** (Leiden) Von der Völker-Beschreibung zur Völkerkunde – Ethnologische Ansichten von Gerhard Friedrich Müller und August Ludwig Schlözer (1732-1772) **Ilse Jahn** (Berlin) Der Botaniker Matthias Jacob Schleiden (1804-1881) in St. Petersburg **Marita Hübner** (Göttingen) Zur politischen Funktion der Forschungsreise von Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt nach Sibirien (1720-1727) **Heike Heklau** (Halle/Saale) Die Herbarien von Johann Georg Gmelin und Georg Wilhelm Steller **Martin Graef** (Tübingen) Zu zwei unbekannten Aspekten des Lebens von Johann Georg Gmelin **Joachim Otto Habeck** (MPI for Social Anthropology Halle/Saale) Das Sibirienzentrum des Max-Planck-Instituts für ethnologische Forschung in Halle Vorträge im Brockenhaus: **G. Borchert** (Wernigerode) Der Nationalpark Harz und der alpine botanische Garten auf dem Brocken **Andrej Sytin** (St. Petersburg) Das Herbarium von Abraham Ens (1713-nach 1772)

Workshop: Rethinking Morality, 15-16 December 2005

Convenors: Johan Rasanayagam (Aberdeen University) and Monica Heintz (Université ParisX-Nanterre)

Papers presented:

Thomas Hauschild (University of Tübingen) Ethos and Ethics **Jarrett Zigon** (City University of New York) What Is Morality? Moral narratives and personal experience in contemporary Moscow **Joel Robbins** (University of California, San Diego) Morality, Value, and Radical Cultural Change **Johan Rasanayagam** (Aberdeen University) The *mahalla* as a moral model in Uzbekistan **Patrick Pharo** (CNRS/CERSES, Paris) Moral Sociology and Practical Responsibility **Mark Goodale** (George Mason University, Fairfax) Between Facts and Norms: Toward an anthropology of ethical practice **Signe Howel** (University of Oslo) From Adult Focus to Child Focus. Changes in moral values about childhood as expressed in adoption legislation **Boudouin Dupret** (CNRS/IFPO, Damascus) A Praxiological Approach to Law, Justice, and Morality **Karen Sykes** (University of Manchester) Adopting an Obligation: Moral reasoning, Social Solidarity and Chil-

dren's Access to Social Services in Papua New Guinea **Thomas Widlok** (University of Heidelberg) Norm and Spontaneity **Marian Burchardt** (University of Leipzig) The Moral Orders of Sexuality: Advancing positions in contemporary social theory **Helle Rydstrom** (University of Lund) Obedience and Transgression: Morality, sexuality, and young women in rural Vietnam **Patrice Ladwig** (University of Cambridge) Rooting Ethics and Morality in Narrative: The ethics of giving in Lao Buddhism **Michael Carrithers** (University of Durham) Morality, Moralities, and Publics: The *Aufarbeitung* of the East German Past

Conference: Conflicts – Human Rights – Interventions, 4-7 October 2005

Organiser: German Anthropological Association

The Board of the German Anthropological Association (GAA/DGV) which consists of members of the MPI for Social Anthropology and the Institute for Social Anthropology at the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg was re-elected for another two-year term during the association's biennial conference, which took place in Halle/Saale from October 4th to 7th 2005. It was hosted by MPI for Social Anthropology and the Institute for Social Anthropology of the Martin Luther University, Halle-Wittenberg, in Halle/Saale. The new (and old) members are Günther Schlee (Chairman), Richard Rottenburg (Vice-Chairman) and Jacqueline Knörr (Treasurer). A new advisory board was elected as well, consisting of Peter Finke, Thomas Kirsch and Bertram Turner.

Joint Institutes' colloquia

Organisers: MPI for Social Anthropology and the Institute for Social Anthropology, Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg

13.04.04 **Dik Roth** (Wageningen University) Natural Resources, Identity, and Legal Complexity: The case of Luwu, South Sulawesi, Indonesia

27.04.04 **Jörn Thielmann** (Kompetenzzentrum Orient-Okzident, Geographisches Institut, Mainz) Towards an Euro-Islam? On the construction of religious and cultural identities in the emerging Islamic fields in Germany

17.05.04 **Thomas J. Csordas** (Western Reserve University, Cleveland) Transnational Transcendence: religion in the world system

18.05.04 **John Comaroff** (University of Chicago) Criminal Justice, Cultural Justice: The limits of liberalism and the pragmatics of difference in South Africa

25.05.04 **Jean-Claude Galey** (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris) The Question of Holism in Marcel Mauss' Approach to Societies and Civilisations

08.06.04 **Birgit Griesecke** (Internationales Forschungszentrum Kulturwissenschaften, Wien) Phantastische Genauigkeit. Essayismus als Form und Prinzip der Ethnographie

06.07.04 **Sheila Jasanoff** (Harvard University) Biotechnology and Empire: Reflections on science and political culture

13.07.04 **Gabriele Cappai** (Universität Bayreuth) Kulturdeterminismus

02.11.04 **Wolfgang Kaschuba** (Institut für Europäische Ethnologie, Humboldt Universität Berlin) Europäisierung Europas: Ethnologische Suchbewegungen

16.11.04 **Klaus-Peter Köpping** (Institut für Ethnologie, Universität Heidelberg) The Performative Turn in Anthropology

30.11.2004 **Ulf Engel** (Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität Leipzig) Governance in Africa's New Violent Social Spaces

07.12.04 **Don Handelmann** (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel) Bureaucratic Logic

18.01.05 **Martin van Bruinessen** (Department of Oriental Languages and Cultures, Utrecht University, The Netherlands) Between Salafism and Sufism: contested Muslim religious authority in Indonesia

25.01.05 **Jürgen Straub** (Institut für Medienkommunikation und Interkulturelle Kommunikation, Technische Universität Chemnitz) Personale und kollektive Identität. Zur Analyse sozialwissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe

01.02.05 **Kepa Fernandez de Larrinoa** (University of the Basque Country) From Bruxelles to Alkiza: contexts for rural identity in a Basque village

19.04.05 **Carola Lentz** (Universität Mainz, Institut für Ethnologie und Afrikastudien) First-Comer Claims and Changing Property Regimes in the West African Savannah

03.05.05 **Donald Donham** (Department of Anthropology, University of California, Davis) Staring at Suffering: violence as an anthropological subject

17.05.05 **Roland Marchal** (Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales, Paris) Darfur: missed opportunities for a global peace in Sudan

31.05.05 **Heidrun Friese** (Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universität Frankfurt/Main, Institut für Historische Ethnologie) Spaces of Transition – Spaces of Demarcation

14.06.05 **Leopold von Carlowitz** (Hessische Stiftung Friedens- und Konfliktforschung, Frankfurt/Main) Property-related Lawmaking of the International Interim Administration in Kosovo: purposes and effects

28.06.05 **Richard Tapper** (University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, London) Who do the 'nomads' think they are – and why?

12.07.05 **Eyal Ben-Ari** (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Department for Sociology and Anthropology) Israeli Snipers in the Al-Aqsa Intifada: killing, humanity and lived experience

18.10.05 **Dirk van Laak** (Lehrstuhl für Neuere und Neueste Geschichte der Universität Jena) Imperial Infrastructure or What is wrong with building railways in Africa?

01.11.05 **Kurt Beck** (Institut für Ethnologie und Afrikanistik, Ludwig-Maximilians Universität, München) LKW-Umbau im Sudan

15.11.05 **William S. Sax** (Department of Anthropology, South Asia Institute, Heidelberg) Subjectivity and Agency in a Popular Healing Cult

13.12.05 **José Casanova** (The New School for Social Research, New York, currently Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin) Multiple Western Modernities: secularization revisited

Talks 2004/2005

23.03.04 **Hale Decdeli-Holzwarth** (Free University Berlin) Der ostdeutsche Arbeitsmarkt – einige Beobachtungen und Fragen

16.04.04 **Hiroki Takakura** (Center for Northeast Asian Studies, Tohoku University, and Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge) An Overview of Siberian Anthropology through Japanese Eyes: 1990-2002

06.05.04 **Mats Utas** (PhD, Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, Sweden) Empty rice bag can't stand: youth-combatants in and out of the Liberian Civil War

07.06.04 **Jack Goody** (University of Cambridge) Europe: the wider Eurasian picture

07.07.04 **Rebecca Kay** (Glasgow University, Department of Central and East European Studies) Do men care? Gendered discourses of care in post-Soviet Russia

15.07.04 **Vesna Vucinic-Neskovic** (Department of Ethnology and Anthropology, University Belgrade) Integration by Repetition: the politics of Yule log burning in Serbia and Montenegro

27.07.04 **Mahir Saul** (University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, Department of Anthropology) Community Organisation, Individual Space and Resistance to Colonialism in the West Volta

01.09.04 **Mohamed Ali Abdirahman** (The Netherlands) The Somali Conflict and the Impact of State Collapse to the Rural Livelihood

14.09.04 **Martin Zachary Njeuma** (History Department, University of Buea) Historical Dimensions of the International Court of Justice's Verdict on the Cameroon-Nigeria Boundary Dispute 1994-2002

18.10.04 **Giorgio Blundo** (EHESS, Marseille) How Really Works the Local State? About the informal privatisation of street-level bureaucracies in West Africa

09.11.04 **Monica Heintz** (MPI for Social Anthropology) The Disorder of Change and the Disruption of Values: arguments for an anthropology of dynamics

23.11.04 **Gideon Kressel** (The Blaustein Institute for Desert Research, Ben Gurion University) Becoming Acquainted with Postsocialist Balkan Countries; a reflexive note

09.12.04 **Tadesse Berisso** (Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Abeba) The Pride of the Guji-Oromo: an essay on cultural contact and self-esteem

17.12.04 **Hans Joas** (Max-Weber-Kolleg, Universität Erfurt, currently Swedish Institute of Advanced Studies) The Origins of Human Rights

01.02.05 **Sergei V. Sokolovskii** (Russian Academy of Science, Moskau) Identity Politics and the Construction of Indigeneity in the Russian population Census of 2002

08.02.05 **Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi** (MPI für ethnologische Forschung) Shrines in Khorezm – coincidence of 'global' and 'local' Islam

08.02.05 **Julia Droeber** (Tübingen) On Being a Daughter and Sharing Substance and Space: building relatedness in a Kyrgyz home

01.03.05 **Olga Ulturgasheva** (Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge University) Future life stories of indigenous children and youth in northeastern Yakutia (Sakha)

16.03.05 **Iveta Kourilova** (Fulbright Visiting Scholar at the Middle East Institute and Georgetown University, Washington DC) Islamism in Sudan

24.03.05 **Judith Beyer** (MPI for Social Anthropology) The Politics of Customary Law: courts of elders in Kyrgyzstan

25.04.05 **Alois Hahn** (currently Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin) The Sick and the Criminal, Strangers and the "Supernumerary": the sociology of inclusion and exclusion

04.05.05 **Murray Last** (University College of London) Re-assessing the Sokoto Jihad and its Opponents: has northern Nigerian history now become too "usable" to be believed?

13.06.05 **Zeljko Jokic** (University of Sydney) Embodiment, Disembodiment and Altered States of Consciousness in Yanomami Shamanistic Initiation

27.06.05 **Douglas R. White** (University of California, Irvine) Transforming Ethnographic Data and Analytical Problems into Network Data Suitable for Complementary Analysis and Theory

04.07.05 **Joseph Opala** (James Madison University, Virginia) Sierra Leone: civil war or civil chaos?

08.07.05 **Stephen Gudeman** (Department of Anthropology, Minneapolis, USA) Economy's Tension

11.07.05 **Karsten Kumoll** (Institut für Soziologie, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg) The Death of Culture at the Shores of Hawai'i? The Sahlins-Obeyesekere-Debate reconsidered

13.07.05 **John Borneman** (Princeton) The Anthropology of Europe: questions, method, theory

14.07.05 **Nina Glick Schiller and Markus V. Höhne** (MPI for Social Anthropology) African Culture and the Zoo in the 21st Century: report on the African Village in Augsburg

23.08.05 **Christina Gabbert** (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz) "Blood Feud and Trees of Peace": Traditional warfare and mediation for peace among the Arbore of Southern Ethiopia

19.10.05 **Tobias Hagmann** (Swisspeace, Bern and Swiss Graduate School of Public Administration, Lausanne) Beyond Clannishness and Colonialism: understanding political disorder in Ethiopia's Somali Region, 1991-today

07.11.05 **Gábor Vargyas** (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Department for Social Anthropology and University of Pécs, Department of Ethnology) The Rice, the Rice Goddess and the Sick: "ritual technologies" on the move. On some religious problems connected with agricultural development among the Bru – Vietnam

17.11.05 **Musa Adam Abdul-Jalil** (Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, University of Khartoum) Environmental Degradation and Interethnic Disputes in Darfur

Lectures

Behrends, Andrea

29.04.05, Konflikt in Darfur – Akteure, Strategien und die Frage agrarischer und pastoraler Landnutzung, Seminar, Sonderforschungsbereich 586 “Differenz und Integration“, Leipzig, Germany

Benda-Beckmann, Franz von

03.02.04, Leben mit Recht, Antrittsvorlesung als Honorarprofessor in Ethnologie, Universität Leipzig, Geschichte, Kunst- und Orientalwissenschaften, Leipzig, Germany

10.02.04 to 12.02.04, Legal Pluralism: Scientific, political and pragmatic challenges, Regional Conference on Gendered legal and judicial reform in pluralistic legal Systems, Accra, Ghana

24.03.04, An anthropological perspective on legal and institutional pluralism, Centre for Development Research (ZEF), Bonn, Germany

02.06.04 to 04.06.04, Pak Dusa's law: Thoughts on law, legal knowledge and power, International Researcher Training Course, Roskilde University, International Development Studies, Nexoe, Bornholm, Denmark

02.03.05, Pemerintahan lokal, sumber daya alam dan pluralisme hukum, Guest lecture, Andalas University Padang, Faculty of Social Sciences, Padang, Indonesia

07.07.05, Übersetzung, Vergleich, Transformation: Das lästige Recht der anderen, Antrittsvorlesung als Honorarprofessor in Rechtspluralismus, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Juristische Fakultät, Halle/Saale, Germany

06.10.05, Sovereignty, Legitimacy and Law: Anthropology between studying and/or endorsing normative constructions and social practices, Plenary session “Legitimacy and Sovereignty“, Conference of the German Anthropological Association “Conflicts – Human Rights – Interventions“, Halle/Saale, Germany

Benda-Beckmann, Keebet von

20.01.04, Streit ohne Ende, Antrittsvorlesung als Honorarprofessorin in Ethnologie, Universität Leipzig, Geschichte, Kunst- und Orientalwissenschaften, Leipzig, Germany

19.11.04, Von vertikalen zu horizontalen Netzwerken: Die neue politische Konfiguration Indonesiens, Vortragsprogramm im Wintersemester am Orientalwissenschaftlichen Zentrum der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Orientalwissenschaftliches Zentrum, Halle/Saale, Germany

13.04.05, Macht, Recht und Wertvorstellungen bei der Austragung von Konflikten, „Forum Gesellschaftliche Symbolik“, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, Sonderforschungsbereich 496, Symbolische Kommunikation und gesellschaftliche Wertesysteme, Münster, Germany

07.07.05, Soziale Sicherung und ihre vielen Gesichter, Antrittsvorlesung als Honorarprofessorin in Rechtspluralismus, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Juristische Fakultät, Halle/Saale, Germany

Dafinger, Andreas

June 04, Farmers, Herders, and the State, Invited Lecture, Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, Halle/Saale, Germany

03.03.05, Market Landscape and Politics, Invited Lecture, University of Urbana Champaign, Departments of Anthropology and Geography, Champaign, Illinois, USA

Diallo, Youssouf

23.11.04, Kolonialismus und Anthropologie (Frankreich, Großbritannien): Geschichte, Konzeptionen und Begründungen, Habilitationsverteidigung, Institut für Ethnologie, Leipzig, Germany

14.12.04, Die Ökologiedebatte und die Sahelzone Westafrikas, Probevorlesung, Universität Leipzig, Institut für Ethnologie, Leipzig, Germany

06.04.05, Islam und Alltag in Westafrika, Institutskolloquium, Universität Leipzig, Institut für Ethnologie, Leipzig, Germany

Dimova, Rozita

December 05, National Phantasmagoria: Rethinking Nationalism in Macedonia, University St. Cyril and Methodius, Department of Anthropology, Skopje, Macedonia

Eidson, John

28.10.04, Historical Memory and Cultural Citizenship in a German Home Town, Colloquium of the Department of Anthropology, University of New Hampshire, Department of Anthropology, Durham, New Hampshire, USA

Finke, Peter

December 04, The Kazaks of Mongolia: Economic adaptation, social integration and ethnic identity in the 21st century, Lecture series, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey

Glick Schiller, Nina

30.06.04, Pathways of Simultaneous Incorporation, FIERI, Turin, Italy

10.07.04, Global Christianity and the New Imperialism, Institute for World Society Studies, University of Bielefeld, Germany

13.11.04, Migration Dialogues: The Transnational Perspective: A Paradigmatic Challenge in International Migration Colloquium, State University of NY, Albany, USA

04.01.05, Transnational Migration Studies and concepts of the Diaspora: Some Clarifications of Theory and Method, Colloquium: "Representations of Social Orders: Intercultural and Intertemporal Comparisons", Humboldt University Berlin, Berlin, Germany

31.01.05, The Land which the Lord your God Giveth You, Department of Religion, Bicardi Lecture Series, University of Florida, Gainesville, USA

10.02.05, Transborder Citizenship, Sociology Department Seminar, University of California, Los Angeles, Los Angeles, USA

Grätz, Tilo

24.06.04, Freundschaft unter Goldgräbern in Benin, Afrika-Kolloquium, Universität Frankfurt/Main, Institut für historische Ethnologie, Frankfurt, Germany

Habeck, Joachim Otto

26.05.04, Komi reindeer husbandry: Practice and image (Tradition as a discursive resource in indigenous policies), Colloquium, University of Leipzig, Institute of Social Anthropology, Leipzig, Germany

Hann, Chris

11.03.04, Két tudommányág összemmosodása? Néprajz és socialantropológia a szocialista és posztiszocialista, időszakokban, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Anthropology, Budapest, Hungary
20.04.04, Postsocialist civil religion, University of California, Department of Anthropology, Davis, USA

08.06.04, Volkskunde und Völkerkunde im ländlichen Ungarn: spontane Annäherung oder erzwungene?, Institutskolloquium, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Landesstelle für Berlin-Brandenburgische Volkskunde, Berlin, Germany

30.06.04, Die griechisch-katholische Kirche heute, Antrittsvorlesung als Honorarprofessor, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie, Halle/Saale, Germany

09.02.05, The Moral Economy of the Postsocialist Academy, University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, UK

10.02.05, Property and "Entsolidarisierung" Effects under Postsocialism, Goldsmiths College, London, UK

24.02.05, Property and Legitimacy: zwei verfahrenene Begriffe der Sozialwissenschaften?, Max-Planck-Institut für Gesellschaftsforschung, Köln, Germany

10.11.05, Modernity in the Perspective of Ernest Gellner, Gellner Memorial Symposium, Section of Social Anthropology of the Masaryk Czech Sociological Association and Centre of Social and Economic Strategies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic

Heady, Patrick

31.05.05, Two stories of de-collectivization – Russia and the Alps compared. Department of Anthropology, University of Cologne, Cologne, Germany

Höhne, Markus V.

07.02.05, Grenzen in Nordsomalia nach 1991: Staatsgrenzen, quasi-staatliche Grenzen und mentale Grenzen im Widerstreit, Seminar:

Grenzen, Militärgrenzen und Staat in Afrika, Freie Universität Berlin, Institut für Ethnologie, Berlin, Germany

Kaneff, Deema

02.12.04, Researching inclusion and exclusion processes in urban Plovdiv, Seminar, University of Plovdiv, Ethnology and Sociology, Plovdiv, Bulgaria

Kehl-Bodrogi, Krisztina

21.01.04, Lokale Wallfahrt in Choresm, Usbekistan, Universität Leipzig, Institut für Ethnologie, Leipzig, Germany

Mann, Bettina

15.01.04 Die Sorge ums Selbst? Zum Verhältnis von Essen und Geschlecht, Ringvorlesung zur Geschlechterforschung, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Halle/Saale, Germany

Peleikis, Anja

26.05.05, Competing Memories and the Making of Plural Places: The Case of Nida, Past and Present, Centre's Research Colloquium, Vytautas Magnus University, Centre of Social Anthropology, Kaunas, Lithuania

Pelkmans, Mathijs

03.05.05, 'Culture' as a tool and an obstacle: Missionary encounters in post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan, Public Lecture Series, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary

Pine, Frances

03.04.04, The place of kinship in contemporary anthropology, lecture course, Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, University of Warsaw, Poland

01.09.04, Teaching anthropology: Kinship and gender, Cluj Summer School University of Cluj, Interethnic Research, Cluj, Romania

01.11.04, Gender and Anthropology, lecture course, Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, University of Warsaw, Poland

01.09.05, Problems of ethics in teaching and research, Cluj Summer School University of Cluj, Interethnic Research, Cluj, Romania

Pirie, Fernanda

19.05.04, The lama, the gowa and the police: power and authority among the nomads of Amdo, Tibet Colloquium, Humboldt University Berlin, Department of Central Asian Studies, Berlin, Germany

26.05.05, Karma and torture, Tibet seminar, Oxford University, Oriental Institute, Oxford, UK

Rasanayagam, Johan

10.08.03, Economic anthropology, Seminar, Samarkand State University, Social Science Resource Centre, Samarkand, Uzbekistan

Schlee, Günther

11.06.04, Early warning in conflict prevention, TACIS programme of the European Union on "Promotion of Tolerance and Improving

Interethnic Relations in Russia", Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia

14.06.04, The ethnic factor in ethnic conflict, Russian Academy of Science, Moscow, Russia

30.06.04, Identitätspolitik und Gruppengröße, Antrittsvorlesung als Honorarprofessor an der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Ethnologie, Halle/Saale, Germany

Turner, Bertram

12.07.05, Transnationale Netzwerke und lokale Allianzen: Über den Einfluss islamischer Bewegungen im ruralen Marokko, Dienstagsvorträge des OWZ, Themenachse Allianzen, Netzwerke, Parteien, Orientwissenschaftliches Zentrum, Halle/Saale, Germany

Vaté, Virginie

17.02.04, 'Comment la réussite vient aux hommes': genre et représentations de la 'nature' chez les Tchouktches (Arctique sibérien), Midi conférences of the Centre Interuniversitaire d'Etudes et de Recherches Autochtones, University Laval-Quebec, Department of Anthropology, Quebec, Canada

05.04.04, Comment la réussite vient aux hommes?: La répartition des rôles entre hommes et femmes chez les éleveurs de rennes tchouktches (Arctique sibérien), University of Montreal, Department of Anthropology, Montreal, Canada

Presentations at external conferences and workshops

Assefa, Getinet

19.04.05 to 20.04.05, Partnership promotion and project action plans, Action Programme 2015 Experience-exchange Workshop 2005, 2005 start-up processes for promotion of partnership between civil society organisations and municipal governments in Ethiopia, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs of Ethiopia and German Technical Cooperation, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Behrends, Andrea

09.10.04, Diskussion der Präsentationen von Ilse Lenz und Judith Schlehe, Interdisziplinäre Begegnungen oder die Kunst, Diversität konstruktiv zu nutzen: Theoretische Ansätze zu Gender, Natur, Politik, Popular Culture, Gender, Freie Universität Berlin, Institut für Ethnologie, Berlin, Germany

13.11.04, Hard work, achievement and luck: Biographical narratives of a Ghanaian elite, *jointly with Carola Lentz*, African Studies Association 47th Conference Meeting, Changing elites: The negotiation of respect, rights, and the public good, African Studies Association, New Orleans, USA

29.06.05 to 02.07.05, Education, Networks and Opportunities: three generations of Dagara elite men and women from Northern, Ghana, *jointly with Carola Lentz*, African Elites in the Era of Globalisation, Africa-Europe Group for Interdisciplinary Studies, London, UK

04.10.05 to 07.10.05, Refugees on the Chad/Sudan border – reflections on representation, Workshop Embedded Violence – Focus on Darfur, *Workshop organised jointly with Kurt Beck*, Conference of the German Anthropological Association „Conflicts – Human Rights – Interventions“, Halle/Saale, Germany

30.11.05 to 04.12.05, Violence, politics and government regimes on the Chad/Sudan border, Bringing the Past into the Present, Anthropological Perspectives on Governance in the African Context: Lessons from Chad, Eritrea, Nigeria, Sudan, and Tanzania, American Anthropological Association, Washington D.C., USA

Benda-Beckmann, Franz von

17.06.04 to 19.06.04, Human rights, cultural relativism and legal pluralism: Towards a two-dimensional debate, International Conference on Developing anthropology of law in a transnational world, School of Law, Edinburgh University, Edinburgh, UK

28.07.04 to 30.07.04, The Minang way, *jointly with Keebet von Benda-Beckmann*, Decolonising post-new order scholarship on the provinces: A brainstorming workshop for researchers, Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies, Leiden, The Netherlands

26.08.04 to 29.08.04, The Minangkabau village republic and the state: Changing forms of indirect rule, legitimacy and power relations, 14th International Congress of the Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism, Traditional authorities, local governance and (shared) sovereignty, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada

02.12.04, The contribution of anthropological scholarship, Experts workshop on Land, property and conflict management: Identifying policy options for rule of law programming, International Peace Academy Security-Development Nexus Programme, New York, USA

20.12.04 to 22.12.04, Ambivalent identities: Decentralisation and Minangkabau political communities, *jointly with Keebet von Benda-Beckmann*, International Conference on Renegotiating boundaries: Local politics in post-new order Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia

29.04.05 to 30.04.05, The properties of property, *jointly with Keebet von Benda-Beckmann*, Rural Property, Humboldt University Berlin, Department of Agricultural Economics and Social Sciences, Berlin, Germany

10.06.05 to 12.06.05, Towards an Anthropological Geography of Law in Society, *jointly with Keebet von Benda-Beckmann*, International Conference on Developing the Anthropology of Law in a Transnational World: Space, Territoriality, and Time, School of Law, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, UK

22.06.05 to 24.06.05, Riding the Centaur – Reflections on the Identities of Legal Anthropology, International workshop on Polarisation and Convergence in Socio-Legal Studies, International Institute for the Sociology of Law, Onati, Spain

Benda-Beckmann, Keebet von

17.06.04 to 19.06.04, Explaining continuity: Inheritance disputes, religious courts and state courts Minangkabau and Gayo Highlands compared, International Conference on Developing anthropology of law in a transnational world, School of Law, Edinburgh University, Edinburgh, UK

28.07.04 to 30.07.04, The Minang way, *jointly with Franz von Benda-Beckmann*, Decolonising post-new order scholarship on the provinces: A brainstorming workshop for researchers, Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies, Leiden, The Netherlands

26.08.04 to 29.08.04, Inheritance and religious and civil courts: Minangkabau and the Gayo Highlands compared, 14th International Congress of the Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism on Law, plural society and social cohesion, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada

20.12.04 to 22.12.04, Ambivalent identities: Decentralisation and Minangkabau political communities, *jointly with Franz von Benda-*

Beckmann, International Conference on Renegotiating boundaries: Local politics in post-new order Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia
29.04.05 to 30.04.05, The properties of property, *jointly with Franz von Benda-Beckmann*, Rural Property, Humboldt University Berlin, Department of Agricultural Economics and Social Sciences, Berlin, Germany

10.06.05 to 12.06.05, Towards an Anthropological Geography of Law in Society, *jointly with Franz von Benda-Beckmann*, International Conference on Developing the Anthropology of Law in a Transnational World, School of Law, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, UK

22.06.05 to 24.06.05, Contexts of Law, International workshop on Polarisation and Convergence in Socio-legal Studies, International Institute for the Sociology of Law, Onati, Spain

Buzalka, Juraj

09.04.05 to 10.04.05, Religious populism? Some reflections on politics in postsocialist south-east Poland, Populism East and West: In Search for New Prospects of an Old Phenomenon, Slovak Foreign Policy Association (SFPA) and Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (SAS), Bratislava, Slovakia

08.09.04 to 12.09.04, Poster presentation: Greek Catholics East and West, *jointly with Vlad Naumescu*, 2004 Conference of the European Association of Social Anthropologists, Vienna, Austria

28.05.05 to 30.05.05, The politics of one apparition site or why the Mother of God needs three churches in one village? Popular Religiosity after Socialism, Institute for Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Czerniejewo, Poland

25.07.05 to 30.07.05, Popular and Church-supervised reconciliation: popular devotion and religious consolidation, VII World Congress of ICCEES, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde (DGO), Berlin, Germany

Dafinger, Andreas

November 04, Farmer Herder Relations: Differential Knowledge and Access to Modern Infrastructural Resources, A Case from Burkina Faso, Annual meeting African Studies Association, African Studies Association, New Orleans, USA

Darieva, Tsypylma

08.09.04 to 12.09.04, Changing Borderlines and Transnational Strategies in Central Asia, Facing Distance and Proximity, Migration, Translocalities and Nation-State, Institute for Social Anthropology, University of Vienna, Vienna, Austria

20.09.04 to 24.09.04, Inter-ethnic harmony as national idea and diaspora discourses in modern Kazakhstan, Nation State and Local Identities, Central Asia, 29th German Congress of Oriental Studies, German Society of Oriental Studies, Halle/Saale, Germany

Dea, Data

08.11.05 to 11.04.05, Religiosity and Morality: the postsocialist Ritual disquiet in Ethiopia, Conference on Religion, Ethics and Morality: Coextensive, Complementary or Conflicting? Annual Conference of the Society for the Anthropology of Religion, Vancouver, Canada

17.11.05 to 20.11.05, The Power of Land: Shifts in Land Tenure and Social Conflict in Southern Ethiopia, Paper presented at the Panel The Politics of Land: Flexibility and Change within African System of Land Tenure, 48th Annual meeting of the African Studies Association, Washington DC, USA

Diallo, Youssouf

14.02.05, Migrations et changements d'identité ethnique (Nord-ouest du Burkina Faso), Séminaire du Groupe d'Etudes comparatives des sociétés peules, Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris, France

08.04.05, Landnutzung bei den Senufo im Norden der Côte d'Ivoire, Symposium: Mensch und Umwelt in Afrika, Museum für Völkerkunde, Dresden, Germany

05.10.05, Hunters and Identity Politics in Côte d'Ivoire, Workshop: The problem of legal self-help groups in Africa, Conference of the German Anthropological Association „Conflicts – Human Rights – Interventions“, Halle/Saale, Germany

Dimova, Rozita

28.09.04 to 02.10.04, Yugoslav Migration Intricacies, XII European Conference, The Balkans: Between Peace and Conflict, Centre for European Studies, University of Havana, Havana, Cuba

15.04.05 to 17.04.05, Consuming Nationalism: Transformations of Class, Ethnicity and Space in Contemporary Macedonia, 10th Annual Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities: "Understanding Nationalism: Identity, Empire, Conflict", Nationalism in Europe, Harriman Institute, Columbia University, New York City, USA

02.05.05 to 09.05.05, Nationalism and Space in Contemporary Macedonia, Canadian Association for Social Anthropology (CASCA) Annual Meetings: Translocality Social Movements in Europe, Canadian Association for Social Anthropology and the University of Yucatan, Merida, Yucatan, Mexico

26.05.05 to 29.05.05, On Similarity and Fear: Spatial Transformations of Class and Ethnicity in contemporary Macedonia, International Association for Southeastern European Anthropology 3rd Conference: Urban Life and Culture in Southeastern Europe Social Inclusion and Exclusion, International Association for Southeastern European Anthropology and the Faculty of Philosophy at Belgrade University, Belgrade, Serbia and Montenegro

25.08.05 to 27.08.05, Duldung Trauma: Bosnian Refugees in Berlin, Workshop on Development and Patterns of Migration Processes in Central and Eastern Europe, Anthropological Aspects of Migration, Multikulturni Centrum Praha, Charles University, Prague, The Czech Republic

Donahoe, Brian

19.05.04 to 23.05.04, Trust or domination?, The Tozhu and the Tofa and their differing relationships to the reindeer they raise and the wild animals they hunt, 5th International Congress of Arctic Social Sciences (ICASS), Herding reindeer and hunting caribou: Circumpolar perspectives on people and deer, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, USA

19.05.04 to 23.05.04, Good politics, bad anthropology?, 5th International Congress of Arctic Social Sciences (ICASS), The white north, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, USA

24.06.04 to 27.06.04, Saianskii perekrestok: Istoriia i sovremennost' [The Sayan cross: Past and present], 1st International Symposium on the history, archeology, and ethnography of the nomadic peoples of the Altai-Sayan region, Plenary Session, Tyvan Institute for the Humanities, Kyzyl, Republic of Tyva

22.04.05 to 24.04.05, A Toolbox Called Institutional Analysis, 5th Nordic Conference on the Anthropology of Post-Socialism: Uncertainty and Freedom: Second Generation Change in the Postsocialist World, Deep comparison? Creating a common NECEN platform for comparative ethnographies of the postsocialist world, The Nordic and East/Central European Network for Qualitative Social Research (NECEN), Oslo, Norway

12.09.05 to 14.09.05, Crossing Borders: The Tyvan Diaspora, 9th Conference of the European Society for Central Asian Studies (ESCAS), The Altai-Sayan Region: At the Crossroads of Area Studies, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland

18.11.05 to 19.11.05. Backed into a corner: Reduced mobility and conflict over hunting grounds in southern Siberia, Conflict, religion and social order in Tibet and Inner Asia, Humboldt University, Berlin, Germany

30.11.05 to 04.12.05, Separated at birth?, The Tozhu, Tofa, and Soyot and their divergent trajectories into the ranks of Russia's "small-numbered peoples", 104th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association: at the borders of citizenship: cultural politics of identity, Washington D.C., USA

Falge, Christiane

January 2005, Nuer Registers of Violence: Mythico-history and war in Sudan, Gendering the state, gendering the body: a workshop on gendered ideologies and practices of the state, Centre for Women's and Gender Research, University of Bergen, Bergen, Norway

21.03.05 to 23.03.05, Migration and Health in Italy, Germany and Canada, University of Trento, Sociology Department, Trento, Italy

29.09.05 to 01.10.05, The Global Nuer: Transnational liberation struggle, warfare and nation-building, Displacement Global Dynamics and Gendered Patterns, Centre for Women's and Gender Research, University of Bergen, Norway

04.10.05 to 07.10.05, The silence in Nuer memory and the resistance in long-distance nationalism, Workshop: Narratives of Violence, Memory and Politics, Conference of the German Anthropological Association "Conflicts – Human Rights – Interventions", Halle/Saale, Germany

Finke, Peter

March 04, Competing legacies of statehood and leadership in Central Asia: Turkic dynasties in Transoxania & their legacy in contemporary politics, Or: Why did Timur become the national hero of Uzbekistan, Inner Asian Statecraft, Inner Asian Statecraft and Technologies of Governance, MIASU (Mongolian and Inner Asian Studies Unit), Cambridge, UK

August 04, Problems of postsocialist transformation in the pastoral regions of Central Asia: Comparative lessons from Mongolia, Kazakhstan and China, Dialog between Cultures and Civilisations: Present State and Perspectives of Nomadism in a Globalising World, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia

December 04, The Oralman: Historical Background, Migration Procedure and Social Integration, Migration to and from Kazakhstan, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Almaty, Kazakhstan

Fosztó, László

28.05.05 to 30.05.05, Taking the oath: the social significance of a ritual practice, Popular Religiosity after Socialism, Institute for Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Czarniehow, Poland

17.11.05, Kirve and Phrala: Alternative forms of ritual kinship in a Roma community, The culture and society of the Transylvanian Gypsies, Department of Hungarian Ethnography and Anthropology, Babes-Bolyai University Cluj-Napoca and the Ethnographical Society "Križa János", Cluj-Napoca, Romania

Gernet, Katharina

21.05.04, Flying reindeer: Experiences from a project for the genetic improvement of the reindeer stock in the Bystrinskyi district, Central Kamchatka, 5th International Congress of Arctic Social Sciences, International Arctic Social Sciences Association, Fairbanks, Alaska

Glick Schiller, Nina

20.03.04, Immigrant Remittances and Human Global Security, Latin American Center Immigration Conference, Albany, USA

- 10.04.04, Small-Scale Cities in Global Society, New Immigrants in Urban New England, Brown University, Providence, RI, USA
- 11.04.04, Pathways of Simultaneous Incorporation, *jointly with Thad Guldbrandsen*, New England Studies Association, Salem, MA, USA
- 10.05.04, Transnational Theory and Diasporic Thinking, Imagining Diasporas: Space, Identity, and Social Change, University of Windsor, Windsor, Canada
- 04.06.04 to 05.06.04, Global Christianity and Migrant Incorporation, Global Connection: Inaugural Conference, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary
- 09.09.04, Claiming the Land for God: Global religion as a pathway of migrant simultaneous incorporation (*presented by Ayşe Çağlar*) EASA Conference, Vienna, Austria
- 19.05.05, City Scale and Migrant Incorporation, Migration und Integration in Ostdeutschland, Forschungsworkshop am Deutschen Jugendinstitut, Außenstelle Halle/Saale, Germany
- 05.10.05 to 06.10.05, Beyond the Ethnic Lens: Transnational Pathways of Incorporation, Emerging Patterns of Transnational Migration and Organisations, Transnationalism as research programme, Ruhr-Universität Bochum, Germany
- 30.11.05 to 04.12.05, Non-Ethnic Migrant Pathways, *jointly with Ayşe Çağlar*, Annual Meeting: American Anthropological Association, New Approaches to Migration, Washington D.C., USA

Grätz, Tilo

- 27.04.04, The role of friendship among migrant gold-miners in northern Benin, Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore (SIEF), Conference Kinship and friendship, Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore, Marseille, France
- 10.09.04, The rise of vigilante groups in Africa: Political transcontinuities or signs of state devolution?, 8th Biannual Conference of the European Association of Social Anthropologists, Afrika network, European Association of Social Anthropologists, Vienna, Austria
- 06.10.04, Jugendliche Goldgräber in West Afrika: Arbeitsethik, Lebensstile und Identitätsprozesse, Kongress der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie, Zur Kulturalisierung sozialer Ungleichheiten, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie, Munich, Germany
- 30.05.05, Freundschaftsbeziehungen unter westafrikanischen Goldgräbern – Persistenz und Fragilität, Workshop „Kooperation und Betrug in Beziehungssystemen“, Universität Göttingen, Germany
- 30.06.05, Gold miners, success and failure: moralities, consumption and identity processes in an emergent social field, AEGIS conference, panel New figures of success, SOAS, London, UK
- 05.10.05, Afrika: Vigilantes and Militia: The problem of 'legal self-help groups' in Africa, Conference of the German Anthropological

Association „Conflicts – Human Rights – Interventions“, Halle/Saale, Germany

Habeck, Joachim Otto

08.09.04 to 12.09.04, Siberian studies centre (Poster Presentation), 8th Biennial Conference of the European Association of Social Anthropologists, University of Vienna, Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, Vienna, Austria

23.11.04 to 25.11.04, Tsentr issledovaniï po Sibiri, CHUM-4 International Conference, Molodezh Severa: Traditsionnye tsennosti i perspektivy razvitiia, State Polar Academy, St. Petersburg, Russian Federation

06.05.04 to 08.05.04, Unsettled social roles of indigenous and non-indigenous men in Siberian communities: Towards the formulation of a research agenda, Social security, vulnerability and resilience in central and eastern Europe: Gendered and generational perspectives, Centre for Women and Gender Research at the University of Bergen, Bergen, Norway

22.05.05 to 24.05.05, Collaboration and the Scope for Comparison: On Research Design in Interdisciplinary Projects, 5th Nordic Conference on the Anthropology of Postsocialism Uncertainty and Freedom: Second Generation Change in the Postsocialist World Methodology Nordic and East/Central European Network for Qualitative Social Research (NECEN), Tyriheim, Norway

02.06.05 to 03.06.05, Cluster Six (Social Sciences) of the International Polar Year, 2nd DFG Roundtable Workshop on the International Polar Year 2007-2008, Meteorological Institute of the University of Bonn, Bonn, Germany

28.06.05 to 02.07.05, Gender, kul'turnost', severnye prostranstva [Gender, cultivatedness and Northern spaces], VI Kongress etnografov i antropologov Rossii: Gendernyi aspekt etnografii sem'i, detstva, St. Petersburg, Russian Federation

Halemba, Agnieszka

May 2004, Who protects what from whom? Nature protection initiatives in the Republic of Altai, 5th International Congress of Arctic Social Sciences, Building sustainable worlds: Native and non-native perspectives on the management of natural resources in the Arctic, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, USA

June 2004, What does it feel like when your religion moves under your feet, Future of religions in Siberia and the Russian North, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, UK

21.04.05 to 24.04.05, Uncertain spirits, postsocialist uncertainty and the danger of earthquake – the case of the Ice Maiden in the Republic of Altai, *panel organised jointly with Virginie Vaté*, 5th Nordic Conference on the Anthropology of Postsocialism, Managing Crisis:

knowledge and strategies in coping with risk and uncertainty in the postsocialist era, University of Oslo, Tyriheim, Norway

Hann, Chris

26.04.04, Civil society and civil religion under postsocialism, Sociology, history and anthropology, Maison Française d'Oxford, Oxford, UK

01.09.04 to 05.09.04, Towards an anthropology of Eurasia, Towards an anthropology of Europe, The teaching dimension, European Science Foundation, Litomyšl, Czech Republic

08.09.04 to 12.09.04, Kultur contra culture? The shaping of a central concept by central Europeans, from Herder to Malinowski, 8th Biennial Conference of the European Association for Social Anthropologists, The benefits of culture, University of Vienna, Austria

04.11.04 to 06.11.04, Wine, sand and socialism: Some enduring effects of Hungary's flexible model of collectivisation, The role of agriculture in central and eastern European rural development: Engine of change or social buffer? Socialist heritage and the challenge of transition in agriculture, Institute of Agricultural Development in Central and Eastern Europe (IAMO), Halle/Saale, Germany

25.11.04 to 27.11.04, „Die Sváben und die Tóten sind ausgestorben!“ Über Stereotypen und ‚Kulturen‘ im ländlichen Ungarn, Historische Regionen und ethnisches Gruppenbewusstsein in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa, Abschlussvortrag, Institut für donauschwäbische Geschichte und Landeskunde, Tübingen, Germany

01.09.05, Legacies of Socialism: From Europe to Eurasia, Annual Conference 2005, Royal Geographical Society with IBG, London, UK

18.11.05, The Anthropology of Europe: a Eurasia-centric View, Conference “Where is Europa/Wo ist Europa/Ou est l'Europe. Zu den Gesichtern Europas“, Universität Tübingen, Germany

Heady, Patrick

01.09.04 to 05.09.04, Planning a comparative research project on European kinship, European Science Foundation sponsored workshop “Towards an Anthropology of Europe, the teaching dimension”, Litomyšl, Czech Republic

08.09.04 to 12.09.04, European kinship – or the many flavors of cognation, 8th Biennial Conference of the European Association of Social Anthropologists, University of Vienna, Austria

21.07.05, Researching the role of relatives in Europe: outline of a multi-disciplinary comparative project. European Population Day, XXV International Population Conference, Tours, France

30.09.05, Fertility as a process of social exchange, EAPS workshop on the anthropological demography of Europe, Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research, Rostock, Germany

Heintz, Monica

18.07.04 to 21.07.04, Moldova versus Romania: The cold war of national identities, Association for the Study of Nationalities Convention, Romania and Moldova, ASN and the University of Warsaw, Poland

08.09.04 to 12.09.04, Nothing has changed, it just turned illegal?: Discourses of justification of illegal trade and immigration in the Moldovan Republic, 8th Biennial Conference of the European Association of Social Anthropologists, Workshop: Encounters of the postsocialist kind: The movement of goods and identities within and beyond the former socialist block, Vienna, Austria

27.11.04, East European managers and western management theories: An ethnographic approach of Romanian small and medium enterprises, International Workshop on cross-cultural studies, International Workshop of the LAMETA Montpellier, Montpellier, France

25.07.05 to 30.07.05, "Don't steel our future": generational conflicts in post-Soviet Moldova, VIIth World Congress of the International Council for Central and East European Studies, Different Generation's Dynamics in Soviet and Post-soviet Countries, Humboldt University Berlin, Berlin, Germany

30.09.05 to 01.10.05, Notre bien-être contre nos droits: le choix du passé dans une communauté rurale de la République de Moldavie, International conference 'La nostalgie de l'époque communiste: émergence d'une nouvelle mémoire collective en Europe de l'Est', Centre Marc Bloch, Berlin, Germany

Hilgers, Irene

17.06.04, Non-Islamic religious movements in Uzbekistan after the independence, Religions et sociétés contemporaines dans la nouvelle Asie centrale, Round table, Institute for Oriental Studies, Tashkent, Uzbekistan

04.11.04 to 07.11.04, Why do Uzbeks have to be Muslims?, The religious marketplace and the question of Uzbek identity, Dynamics of transformation in Central Asia – Perspectives from the field, University of Rome-III, Rome, Italy

28.05.05 to 30.05.05, Modernizing local Islamic practice? Pilgrimage to the Bahhaudin Naqqshbandi Mausoleum, Bukhara, Uzbekistan, Popular Religiosity after Socialism, Institute for Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Czerniejewo, Poland

12.09.05 to 14.09.05, The first generation – Uzbek Christians in the Ferghana Valley, Central Asia: The Local, the Regional and the Global, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland

06.10.05, The regulation of religious pluralism in Uzbekistan, Workshop: Faith and Nation after Socialism, Conference of the German

Anthropological Association "Conflicts – Human Rights – Interventions", Halle/Saale, Germany

Höhne, Markus V.

03.09.04 to 05.09.04, Fragmented Identities and the State in Northern Somalia, Diaspora and State Formation in the Horn of Africa, Identity, Statehood and Territoriality, Research Centre on Development and International Relations (DIR), Aalborg, Denmark

13.09.04 to 15.09.04, Identity and conflict in Northern Somalia: local, regional and national identity in a stateless space, Debating Africa? Clans and Conflict: Somalia and Ethiopia, Goldsmiths College, University of London, UK

27.01.05 to 28.01.05, Somalia – Ein Neubeginn? Entwicklungen und Perspektiven, Afrikanische und internationale Ansätze des Krisenmanagements in Ostafrika, Landesverteidigungsakademie, Vienna, Austria

04.10.05 to 07.10.05, Tageszeitungen in Hargeysa (Somaliland): zwischen radikaler Meinungsfreiheit, politischer Propaganda und Verantwortung für Demokratie, Workshop Demokratisierung Afrikas – Konflikte, Reaktionen, Veränderungen, Tagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde „Konflikte – Menschenrechte – Interventionen“, Halle/Saale, Germany

Kaneff, Deema

08.09.04 to 12.09.04, The life and death of a western funded project in rural Ukraine, poster presentation, 8th Biennial Conference of the European Association of Social Anthropologists, Workshop: Fact to Face: Connecting Distance and Proximity, Vienna, Austria

19.05.05 to 22.05.05, Justice, inequality and the distribution of wealth and power, Conversations with Russia: the economy justice, inequality and the distribution of wealth and power, British Council, Moscow, Russia

26.05.05 to 29.05.05, Properties for sale: British migration to Bulgaria and EU integration, InASEA: Urban Life and culture in Southeast Europe, Social inclusion and exclusion, InASEA and University of Belgrade, Belgrade, Serbia and Montenegro

08.09.05 to 09.09.05, Holiday location or agricultural village? The British property boom in rural Bulgaria, Rural Property network workshop 2, rural change: re-valorisation of property objects and the institutionalisation of (new) property rights, Torun, Poland

Kehl-Bodrogi, Krisztina

20.09.04 to 24.09.04, Die Rolle von Kerbala in der (Re)Konstruktion alevitischer Gruppengeschichte, Die Vergangenheit als Ressource in der türkischsprachigen Welt, 29. Deutscher Orientalistentag, Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Halle/Saale, Germany

28.05.05 to 30.05.05, The Unforgiving Saint resurrected, Saints and Healers in Khorezm (Uzbekistan), Popular Religiosity after

Socialism, Institute for Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Czarniejewo, Poland

Knörr, Jacqueline

09.06.04, Zum Verhältnis ethnischer, urbaner und nationaler Identität in Jakarta, Ethnologisches Kolloquium, Universität Leipzig, Leipzig, Germany

26.11.04, Comparing Creole Ethnographies of Historicity in (Post)Colonial Settler Societies: The Cases of the Krio (Freetown/Sierra Leone) and the Betawi (Jakarta/Indonesia), AFSAAP Annual Conference, University of Western Australia, Perth, Australia

12.07.05 to 16.08.05, Orang Betawi: Construction and Transformation of a Creole Notion of Jakartan Identity, 4th International Symposium of Journal Antropologi Indonesia, (Re-)Constructing Collective Identities and Religious Imaginations in Democratising Indonesia, University of Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia

McBrien, Julie

13.06.04 to 15.06.04, Muslim life in post-soviet Kyrgyzstan: Education, identity and tolerance, Symposium for Researchers of the Turkic Speaking World, Issues concerning the development of international, social, and economic relations, The Jalal-Abad Commerical Institute, Jalal-Abad, Kyrgyzstan

12.09.05 to 14.09.05, Watching Clone: Brazilian Soap Operas and the question of Muslim identity in Kyrgyzstan, 9th Conference on Central Asia: The Local, the Regional and the Global, European Society for Central Asian Studies, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland

04.10.05 to 07.10.05, Missionaries, Terrorists, and "Archaic" Secularists in post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan, *jointly with Mathijs Pelkmans*, Workshop: Faith and Nation after Socialism, Conference of the German Anthropological Association "Conflicts – Human Rights – Interventions", Halle/Saale, Germany

Naumescu, Vlad

10.05.04 to 17.05.04, Anthropological perspectives on religious revival in western Ukraine, Icons, liturgy, and church renewal in eastern Europe, Scholarship on religion, art, and media in eastern Europe, Ukrainian Catholic University, L'viv, Ukraine

08.09.04 to 12.09.04, Religious revival in eastern Europe, *jointly with Juraj Buzalka, László Fosztó, Monica Heintz*, 8th Biennial Conference of the European Association of Social Anthropologists, Poster Session, Vienna, Austria

Nieswand, Boris

05.10.05, Charismatisches Christentum und „Simultaneous Incorporation“, Wege aus dem Dilemma zwischen Transnationalismus- und migrationssoziologischem Integrationsansatz? Workshop Migration, Multikulturalität und Identität: Religion und Migration im

transnationalen Kontext, Tagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde „Konflikte – Menschenrechte – Interventionen“, Halle/Saale, Germany

Peleikis, Anja

19.05.05 to 22.05.05, Understanding the Presence through the Past, Anthropological and Historical Research on the Curonian, Spit/Lithuania, Defining Region: Baltic Area Studies from Sociocultural Anthropology and Interdisciplinary Perspectives, Cultures in Space, Klaipėda University, Institute of Baltic Sea Region History and Archaeology, Klaipėda, Lithuania

Pelkmans, Mathijs

08.09.04 to 12.09.04, Repairing the Iron Curtain: Family and ethnicity along the Georgian-Turkish border, 8th Biennial Conference of the European Association of Social Anthropologists, Workshop: Living in Border Zones, Vienna, Austria

20.09.04 to 24.09.04, Religious challenges to the national ideal: Missionary encounters and the reworking of culture and ethnicity in Kyrgyzstan, Nation State and Local Identities in Central Asia, 29th German Congress of Oriental Studies, German Society of Oriental Studies, Halle/Saale, Germany

14.10.04 to 17.10.04, Missionary encounters in Kyrgyzstan: Dynamics of religious conversion and anti-conversion, 5th Annual Conference of the Central Eurasian Studies Society, Christianity in Central Asia, Indiana University, Bloomington, USA

28.05.05 to 29.05.05, Clairvoyants and healers in Kyrgyzstan: New guises and uses of an old profession, Popular religiosity after socialism, University of Poznań, Czarniejewo, Poland

04.10.05 to 07.10.05, Missionaries, Terrorists, and “Archaic” Secularists in post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan, *jointly with Julie McBrien*, Conference of the German Anthropological Association “Conflicts – Human Rights – Interventions“, Workshop: Faith and Nation after Socialism, Halle/Saale, Germany

30.11.05 to 04.12.05, Temporary conversions: The attractions of, and disappointments in, Pentecostalism in Muslim Kyrgyzstan, Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, United in the same mind and purpose? Conversion, schism, and moral transformation in and beyond the anthropology of Christianity, American Anthropological Association, Washington D.C., USA

Pilichowska, Anastazja

20.11.04 to 21.11.04, Exclusion and inclusion in postsocialist Poland, The significance of changing kinship networks? Face to face: Connecting distance and proximity, Impresje z Wiednia?, Institute of Sociology, Jagiellonian University Krakow, Zakopane, Poland

09.09.05 to 12.09.05, Count on Yourself? Did Social Networks in Rural Areas Change? A Case Study of a Commune in Eastern Poland, Rethinking Inequalities, 7th Conference of European Sociological Association, Torun, Poland

Pine, Frances

September 04, Kinship, difference and the idea of nation, 8th Biennial Conference of the European Association of Social Anthropologists, Workshop: Face to face, Kinship, distance and proximity in the anthropology of Europe, Vienna, Austria

12.12.04, Memories of movement and the stillness of place, Memory and kinship in anthropology and beyond, University of Edinburgh, Department of Anthropology, Edinburgh, Scotland, UK

22.04.05, Personal memories, family memories: kinship, gender and life stories, Annual Meetings, Nordic Association of Anthropologists of Postsocialist Countries, Oslo, Norway

Pirie, Fernanda

17.06.04 to 19.06.04, Kings, monks, bureaucrats and the police: Tibetan responses to law and authority, Developing anthropology of law in a transnational world, Edinburgh University, UK

26.08.04 to 29.08.04, Buddhism and civil society in the Himalayas, Law, plural society and social cohesion in the 21st century, Law and religion, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, Canada

September 04, Dynamics of peace in an unstable society: village harmony and urban order in Ladakh, EASA, The dynamics of peace, University of Vienna, Austria

04.04.05 to 07.04.05, Authority, individualism, and machismo, ASA, Poster session, Aberdeen University, UK

09.06.05 to 11.06.05, Narratives of continuity in unsettled times: legal practice among the nomads of Tibet, Developing anthropology of law in a transnational world: space, territoriality and time, Edinburgh University, UK

12.07.05 to 15.07.05, Hierarchy and equality: reinterpreting the dral-go, International Association of Ladakh Studies, 12th Colloquium, Kargil, India

Richardson, Tanya

14.04.05 to 16.04.05, Uncertain Subjects: Youth, History and Nation-building in Post-Soviet Odessa, Understanding Nationalism: Empire, Identity, Conflict Identity in Belarus and Ukraine, Harriman Institute, New York, USA

Sántha, István

14.09.05, Future dynamism of west of Lake Baikal, ESCAS 9th conference, Central Asia: the local, the regional and the global, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland

07.10.05, Changing of emphasis on shamanism in the borderland of steppe and taiga, Conference of the German Anthropological

Association "Conflicts–Human Rights–Interventions", Halle/Saale, Germany

15.10.05, Importance of Utkha among the Buryats, Sharakshinova memorial conference on her 90th birthday, Irkutsk University, Irkutsk, Siberia

07.11.05, Drinking in Southern Siberia, Eating through semiotic approach, Institute of Ethnology, Hungarian Academy of Science, Budapest, Hungary

Schlee, Günther

23.06.2004, Rache, Wiedergutmachung und Strafe: Ein Überblick, Sektionssymposium Panel Vergeltung und Regulation ohne Zentralgewalt, Hauptversammlung der Max-Planck-Gesellschaft, Stuttgart, Germany

05.10.05, Introductory Presentation, Panel Plenary Session – The Inner Logic of Conflict, Conference of the German Anthropological Association „Conflicts–Human Rights–Interventions“, Halle/Saale, Germany

Thelen, Tatjana

06.05.04 to 08.05.04, Caring grandfathers: Changes in support between generations in East Germany, Social security, vulnerability and resilience in central and Eastern Europe: Gendered and generational perspectives, Centre for Women's and Gender Research, University of Bergen, Bergen, Norway

22.06.04, Care for the veterans: Changes in enterprise centered care for the elderly in East Germany, Changing contexts of care, University of Manchester, Manchester, UK

08.09.04 to 12.09.04, Lunch in an East German enterprise after the Wende: New social differences at the workplace, 8th Biennial Conference of the European Association of Social Anthropologists, Workshop: Face to face connecting distance and proximity, Nutrition for the body, food for the mind, Vienna, Austria

22.05.05 to 24.05.05, Experiences of devaluation: Women in the former GDR, 5th Nordic Conference on the Anthropology of Post-socialism Uncertainty and Freedom: Second Generation Change in the Postsocialist World Methodology Nordic and East/Central European Network for Qualitative Social Research (NECEN), Tyriheim, Norway

Turaeva, Rano

08.09.05 to 10.09.05, Khorezmian network in Tashkent: Khorezmian Identity discourse and practice, The 2005 Middle East & Central Asia, Migration, Refugees, the Displaced, and Diaspora, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, USA

Turner, Bertram

23.06.04, Recht auf Vergeltung? Soziale Konfigurationen und die prägende Macht der Gewaltoption, Symposium der Geisteswissen-

schaftlichen Sektion der MPG: Vergeltung und Regulation ohne Zentralgewalt, Max-Planck-Gesellschaft, Stuttgart, Germany

01.09.04 to 09.09.04, The legal arena as a battle field: Salafiyya intervention and local response in rural Morocco, Formal and informal means to conflict prevention and resolution in the middle east, Banz Monastery, Staffelstein, Germany

29.04.05 to 30.04.05, Rural Property and the Regulation of Access to Natural Resources in South West Morocco, Rural Property Workshop 1, Property in Postcolonial Context, Humboldt University Berlin, Germany

09.06.05 to 11.06.05, Transnational Legal Standards and the Local Market as Legal Focus in the Moroccan Countryside: Readjusting legal action in time and space, Developing Anthropology of Law in a Transnational World, Session 5, Edinburgh University, School of Law, Edinburgh, UK

04.10.05 to 07.10.05, Lokale Wertkonzeptionen und die Intervention der Salafiyya als transnationaler Rechtsakteur, Workshop Ethnologie des Vorderen Orient und Nordafrikas: Ethnologische Konfliktforschung zwischen Alltagskultur, Terror und Krieg, Tagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde „Konflikte–Menschenrechte–Interventionen“, Halle/Saale, Germany

12.11.05 to 13.11.05, Between Competition and Complementarity: Nomads and Farmers in South West Morocco, Globalisation and Pastoral Livelihood Security in Morocco, Goethe Institute Rabat, Rabat, Morocco

Vaté, Virginie

29.04.04 to 01.05.04, La figure ambivalente des esprits *kêly* dans les représentations des Tchouktches (Arctique sibérien), The nature of spirits: Human and non-human beings in aboriginal cosmologies, Quebec, Canada

18.11.04 to 19.11.04, Quatre années de collaboration entre *Médecins du Monde* et *Doverie*: Histoire d'une tentative de prise en charge du problème de l'alcoolisme en Tchoukotka, Organisation de l'aide médicale aux populations isolées de Sibérie et des régions du Nord de la Russie, Nadym, Russia

22.04.05 to 24.04.05, *convenor jointly with A. Halemba*, Managing crisis: knowledge and strategies in coping with risk and uncertainty in the Post-Soviet era, 5th Nordic Conference Sundvollen, Norway

28.05.05 to 29.05.05, Reinterpreting Chukchi religiosity after conversion to Pentecostalism, Popular religiosity after Socialism, Czerniejewo, Poznań, Poland

Yalçın-Heckmann, Lale

08.09.04 to 12.09.04, Encounters of the postsocialist kind: The movement of goods and identities within and beyond the former socialist world, *Workshop organised and led jointly with Hülya*

Demirdirek, 8th Biennial Conference of the European Association of Social Anthropologists, Vienna, Austria

20.09.04 to 24.09.04, Remembering the kolkhozniki: Past and present of gendered rural life in Azerbaijan, Workshop: The past as a resource in the Turkic speaking world, 29th German Congress of Oriental Studies, German Society of Oriental Studies, Halle/Saale, Germany

29.04.05 to 30.04.05, Individualists by force? Property reforms and rural economy in postsocialist Azerbaijan, Rural Property Network, Humboldt University Berlin, Germany

24.06.05 to 26.06.05, Ethnologie im Gerichtssaal: Überlegungen zur Tätigkeit als ethnologischer Gutachter, Ethnologisches Symposium der Studierenden II, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Halle/Saale, Germany

26.09.05 to 28.09.05, Azerbaijani rural women in transition: some observations from the field, International Conference on Gender and Security, Azerbaijani Leader Women's Group and NATO Headquarters Public Diplomacy Division, Baku, Azerbaijan

29.09.05 to 01.10.05, Experiencing displacement and patriarchal norms: Women in postsocialist Armenia and Azerbaijan, *jointly with Nona Shahnazarian*, Displacement – Global Dynamics and Gendered Patterns, Institution: University of Bergen, Centre for Women's and Gender Research, Bergen, Norway

Zenker, Olaf

27.04.04, Irish identity and the Irish language in discourse and practice among Gaelgeoirí in Catholic West Belfast, Research Seminar, Department of Anthropology, Queen's University Belfast, UK

22.06.05, Fakten schaffen durch Sprache, Das ethnographische Beispiel der Revitalisierung der irischen Sprache im katholischen West Belfast, Die Konstruktion der Fakten durch die Sprache, Symposium der Geistes-, Sozial- und Humanwissenschaftlichen Sektion anlässlich der Jahresversammlung der Max-Planck-Gesellschaft 2005, Rostock-Warnemünde, Germany

05.10.05, De facto exclusion through discursive inclusion – Autochthony in discourses on Irishness and politics in Catholic West Belfast, Workshop Autochthonie, Indigenität – neue Diskurse der Exklusion? Conference of the German Anthropological Association „Conflicts – Human Rights – Interventions“, Halle/Saale, Germany

05.12.05, The Irish language and Irish identity in Catholic West Belfast: Practical experiences and representations among Gaelgeoirí, CRONEM Autumn 2005 Seminar Series, Centre for Research on Nationalism, Ethnicity and Multiculturalism (CRONEM), Roehampton University and University of Surrey, Guildford, UK

Public talks/outreach

Behrends, Andrea

20.06.05, The current situation in Darfur, Invited Lecture at the Podiumsdiskussion on current issues in Africa, organised by Afrika Vision, Halle/Saale, Germany

Dea, Data

26.06.04, An Ethiopian Iron smelter and his world, *jointly with Randi and Gunnar Haaland*, Biannual conference of Africanists and Archaeologists, University of Bergen, Norway

22.12.05, Civility and Indigenous Institutions: The case of Gutara Institution in Wolaita, southern Ethiopia, at the Annual event of 'Indigenous seeds and cultural foodways Ethiopia', organised by Yakima Ome Gutara Association, Wolaita, Ethiopia

Donahoe, Brian

26.08.05 to 28.08.05, Indigenous Peoples of Siberia: Land, Labels, Laws, and Lives, *jointly with Agnieszka Halemba*, Bedrohte Lebensräume: Indigene Rechte und Erdölgewinnung in Sibirien, Institut für Ökologie und Aktions-Ethnologie und Evangelische Akademie Iserlohn, Iserlohn, Germany

Glick Schiller, Nina

05.03.05, Transnational Migration Then and Now, Camelot Ladies Club, Del Ray Beach, Florida, USA

Grätz, Tilo

02.07.04, Radiokulturen und Wandel nationaler und lokaler Öffentlichkeiten in Benin, Westafrika, 3. Lange Nacht der Wissenschaften, MPI for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale, Germany

Habeck, Joachim Otto

02.07.04, Leben an der Trasse: Landnutzung und Umweltschutz im Hohen Norden Russlands, 3. Lange Nacht der Wissenschaften, MPI for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale, Germany

15.10.05, Zwischen Popkultur und Hochkultur: die Musikszene einer russischen Großstadt, Vortragsreihe zum Thema Alltagskultur, Kaiser-Otto-Saal, Magdeburg, Germany

Halemba, Agnieszka

26.08.05 to 28.08.05, Indigenous Peoples of Siberia: Land, Labels, Laws, and Lives, *jointly with Brian Donahoe*, Bedrohte Lebensräume: Indigene Rechte und Erdölgewinnung in Sibirien, Institut für Ökologie und Aktions-Ethnologie und Evangelische Akademie Iserlohn, Iserlohn, Germany

Heintz, Monica

10.03.05, documentary film, Tara de aici, tara de dincolo [A country here, a country there], *jointly with Alin Rus*, presented at conference "Emerging citizenship and contested identities", MPI for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale, Germany

24.04.05, documentary film, *Tara de aici, tara de dincolo* [A country here, a country there], *jointly with Alin Rus*, broadcasted at DDTV Romania

19.09.05 documentary film, *Tara de aici, tara de dincolo* [A country here, a country there], *jointly with Alin Rus*, presented at the University of Bucharest, Romania

Höhne, Markus V.

25.11.05, Politische Identitäten in Nordsomalia: Konflikt, Staat und Nation am Horn von Afrika, Staatenbildung, Integration und Konflikt am Horn von Afrika, Horn von Afrika Verein e.V., Berlin, Germany

Kehl-Bodrogi, Krisztina

01.07.05, Besessenheit und Geistervertreibung in Usbekistan, 4. Lange Nacht der Wissenschaften, Orientwissenschaftliches Zentrum, Halle/Saale, Germany

15.10.05, ‚Beerdigungskulturen‘ in der Türkei, „Gruppen-kulturen in Europa“, Veranstaltung des Kulturforums der Sozialdemokratie Sachsen-Anhalt e.V., Magdeburg, Germany

McBrien, Julie

27.04.04, Islam in Kirgizstan, *jointly with Harm van Atteveld*, Radio Broadcast, Radio 1, The Netherlands

Nieswand, Boris

12.03.04, Der unbekannte Einwanderer, Migration, Nationalstaat und transnationale Räume, Werkausstellung „Der unbekannte Einwanderer“, Kunsthochschule Burg Giebichenstein, Halle/Saale, Germany

20.10.04, Zwischen Angleichung und Exotisierung, Die Ethnologie und ihre Herausforderung durch das Fremde, Philosophischer Abend, Evangelische Studentengemeinde, Halle/Saale, Germany

30.08.05, Afrikanische Diaspora und Entwicklung: Ghanaische Migranten in Deutschland und die Stabilisierung transnationaler Felder, Afrikakreis der Society for International Development (SID), Berlin Chapter, Berlin, Germany

Peleikis, Anja

03.08.04, Von Nidden nach Nida – Kuren, Deutsche und Litauer im Grenzland am Kurischen Haff, Niddener Kulturtage 2004, Thomas-Mann-Kulturzentrum, Nida, Lithuania

06.08.04, „Gesichter der Nehrung“ – Litauische, deutsche und kurische Lebensgeschichten, *jointly with Jurgita Aniunaite*, Von Nidden nach Nida – Kulturtage 2004, Thomas-Mann-Kulturzentrum, Nida, Lithuania

21.06.05, Radio Interview concerning the research project in Nida (Curonian Spit/Lithuania), radio station: LR, „Klasica“, Programme: „Stebitojas“ (The Observer)

Pelkmans, Mathijs

20.05.04, Radio report, Zendelingen in Kirgizie (Missionaries in Kyrgyzstan), *jointly with Harm van Atteveld*, De Ochtenden – Het buitenlanduur, Radio 1 (Dutch Public Radio), The Netherlands

21.03.05, Radio talk, Onrust in Kirgizie (Turmoil in Kyrgyzstan), Met het Oog op Morgen, NOS/Radio 1 (Dutch Public Radio), The Netherlands

Schlee, Günther

15.02.05, Was ist ethnisch an ethnischen Konflikten? Rotary Club, Bielefeld, Germany

Turner, Bertram

02.07.04, Der Wald im Dickicht der Gesetze, Souss, Morokko, 3. Lange Nacht der Wissenschaften, MPI for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale, Germany

Vaté, Virginie

01.05.04 to 30.06.04, photo exhibition jointly with the members of the ACI système renne, Maison de l'archéologie et de l'ethnologie René Ginouves, Nanterre, France

November 04 to February 05, photo exhibition, organised by Franck Desplanques and *Médecins du Monde*, Museum of Nadym, Nadym (Yamal, Siberia), Russia

Index

- Ababu Minda 2
 Assefa, Getinet *see* Getinet
 Assefa
 Baerwolf, A. 3, 283
 Bakonyi, J. 3, 84-85, 88, 91, 135, 136
 Behrends, A. 2, 88, 91, 101, 103, 109, 287, 291, 317, 324, 342, 360, 365, 382
 Benda-Beckmann, F. v. 1, 5, 207, 211-212, 214-215, 226, 230, 232, 234, 247-251, 291-293, 295, 297, 308, 311, 314, 317, 322-324, 327-328, 341-342, 344, 348, 350, 360, 365-367
 Benda-Beckmann, K. v. 1, 5, 207, 211-212, 214, 219, 230, 232, 247-251, 291-293, 295, 297, 308, 311, 314, 317, 322-324, 327-328, 341-342, 344, 348, 350, 360, 365-367
 Beyer, J. 3, 211, 235, 293, 358
 Bircan, T. 3
 Bogdanova, Z. 2, 155, 159, 317
 Brandtstädter, S. 307, 348
 Buzalka, J. 2, 144-146, 164-165, 293, 323, 348, 367, 376
 Çağlar, A. 3, 90, 128, 371
 Dafinger, A. 2, 77, 85, 88, 101, 293, 307, 317, 324, 338, 349, 361, 367
 Darieva, T. 2, 90, 117, 293, 296, 298, 306, 310, 312, 367
 Data Dea 2, 23, 29, 33-34, 88, 91, 93, 106, 137, 287, 293-294, 315, 317, 359, 368, 382
 Dea, Data *see* Data Dea
 Dereje Feyissa 2, 77, 86, 88, 91, 296
 Diallo, Y. 2, 4, 60, 63, 84, 86, 90, 101, 103, 294, 298-299, 307, 314, 318, 324, 338, 340, 346, 350, 361, 368
 Dimova, R. 2, 89, 125, 294, 318, 338, 361, 368
 Donahoe, B. 2, 77, 85, 250, 253, 255, 257, 260-261, 263, 294, 300, 318, 346, 369, 382
 Eckert, J. 1, 5, 35, 47-48, 208, 211, 215, 237, 249, 251, 291, 294-295, 301, 310, 315, 318, 325, 345
 Eidson, J. 2, 141, 199, 250, 287, 291, 295, 302, 318, 338-339, 361
 Falge, C. 3, 23, 27, 85, 88, 91, 94-95, 133-134, 295, 318, 338, 369
 Fekadu, Adugna 2
 Feyissa, Dereje *see* Dereje
 Feyissa
 Finke, P. 1, 5, 81, 85, 89, 116-119, 121-122, 250, 296, 309, 318, 325, 338-340, 353, 361, 370
 Föllner, K. 4, 285
 Fosztó, L. 2, 23, 142, 144, 146-147, 166-167, 196, 293, 296, 298, 306, 310, 312, 343-344, 370, 376
 Fuest, V. 2, 89, 111, 296-297, 319
 Gambold Miller, L. 303
 Gernet, K. 2, 253, 255, 262-264, 297, 319, 352, 370
 Getinet Assefa 3, 88, 91, 96, 317, 338, 365
 Girke, F. 2, 297
 Glick Schiller, N. 3, 89, 95-96, 125, 128-129, 137, 293, 296-298, 306, 310, 312, 319, 322-323, 325, 347, 359, 361, 370, 382

- Grandits, H. 282
- Grätz, T. 2, 3, 77, 85-86, 90, 101, 104, 283, 294, 298, 299, 307, 319, 323, 325, 338, 342, 362, 371, 382
- Gray, P. 26, 34, 346
- Guichard, M. 3, 88, 101, 105, 107, 294, 298-299, 307, 319
- Guldbrandsen, T. 90, 128, 371
- Habeck, J. O. 1, 5, 35-37, 39, 48-49, 61, 253, 255-256, 258, 263-264, 267, 287, 299, 300, 319, 323, 325, 351-352, 362, 372, 382
- Halemba, A. 2, 250, 253, 255, 263-266, 294, 300, 319, 326, 372, 380, 382
- Haneke, G. 2, 88, 91, 319
- Hann, C. 1, 18, 21, 139, 142, 144-146, 151-152, 154, 164, 199, 200, 253, 300-303, 319, 322-323, 326, 328, 339, 341, 348, 362, 373
- Heady, P. 3, 6, 279, 299, 303, 320, 337, 340, 362, 373
- Heintz, M. 2, 21, 51, 144, 146-147, 152-153, 168-169, 303, 314, 320, 326, 334, 342, 352, 357, 374, 376, 382
- Hilgers, I. 2, 23, 142, 148, 150, 170-171, 287, 303, 343-344, 374
- Höhne, M. V. 2, 88, 91, 98, 137, 303, 326, 359, 362, 375, 383
- Istomin, K. 3, 253, 255, 263, 267
- Jessa, P. 3, 148, 150, 172-173, 347
- Kaneff, D. 2, 3, 6, 139, 153, 155, 199, 250, 295, 303-307, 320, 323, 342, 363, 375
- Karagiannis, E. 3, 90, 128
- Kasten, E. 258, 299, 301, 304, 309-310, 312
- Kastner, H. 3, 282
- Kehl-Bodrogi, K. 2, 9, 18, 148-149, 174, 175, 287, 304, 314, 320, 326, 346, 358, 363, 375, 383
- Khizrieva, G. 3, 148-149, 176-177, 342
- Kiepenheuer-Drechsler, B. 2, 89, 116-117, 120
- Kieser, C. 4, 283
- King, A. 303, 315
- Knörr, J. 1, 5, 84-85, 89, 111, 115, 285, 304-305, 320, 326, 353, 376
- Kohl, C. 2, 89, 111, 305
- Konstantinov, Y. 3, 253, 255, 263, 271, 314
- Langenhan, D. 335, 338
- Leutloff-Grandits, C. 2, 224, 305, 328, 336, 350
- Lu, Mei-huan 13-15, 20-21, 329
- Mahieu, S. 2, 144, 146-147, 178-179, 306, 314, 332, 349-350
- Mann, B. 3, 81, 88, 91, 141, 201, 285, 320, 337, 340, 363, 383
- McBrien, J. 2, 148-149, 180-181, 346, 376-377, 383
- Milligan, G. 2, 4, 141, 199, 283, 338-339
- Minda, Ababu *see* Ababu Minda
- Naumescu, V. 2, 144-147, 182, 306, 320, 348, 367, 376
- Neumann, A. 4, 286
- Nicolas, A. 3, 90
- Nicolas, S. 3, 9-10, 12, 88, 90-91
- Nieswand, B. 2, 23, 86, 89, 101, 125, 130-131, 293, 296, 298, 306, 310, 312, 326, 376, 383
- Osmond, T. 11, 18, 21, 329, 339
- Parkin, R. 22, 154

- Peleikis, A. 2, 211, 224, 238-240, 250, 306, 320, 327, 350, 363, 377, 383
- Pelican, M. 3, 77, 85-86, 88, 101, 107-108, 293, 298, 307, 320, 338, 348, 349
- Pelkmans, M. 2, 23, 34, 142, 148, 150, 184-185, 196, 307, 314, 320, 327, 343-344, 363, 376-377, 384
- Pilichowska, A. 2, 155-156, 159, 377
- Pine, F. 3, 6, 49, 139, 155, 199, 295, 299, 303-308, 310, 320, 322, 327-328, 363, 378
- Pippel, A. 4, 289
- Pirie, F. 2, 35, 41, 48, 50, 211, 219, 227-228, 241, 247, 249, 293, 308, 311, 314, 320, 327, 342, 347, 363, 378
- Rasanayagam, J. 2, 51, 148-149, 152, 186-187, 308, 327, 346, 352, 363
- Reyna, S. P. 3, 89, 101, 109, 309, 314, 322, 342
- Richardson, T. 2, 144-145, 188-189, 321, 378
- Riester, A. 2
- Roche, S. 2, 89, 116-117, 120
- Rohregger, B. 3
- Rottenburg, R. 1, 5, 328, 342, 353
- Sancak, M. 3, 89, 116-119, 121-122, 296, 309, 338
- Sántha, I. 2, 60, 63, 253, 255, 258, 263-264, 272-275, 309, 378
- Schlee, G. 1, 5, 9, 11, 13, 15-16, 18, 21-22, 62, 77, 81, 83, 86, 88, 91, 98, 105, 107, 109, 121-122, 125, 133-137, 175, 248, 253, 293-294, 296, 298, 306-307, 309-310, 312, 321-323, 327, 329, 337-340, 342, 346, 349, 353, 363, 379, 384
- Schroven, A. 2, 89, 111
- Shongolo, A. 86, 334
- Stammmler, F. 2, 199, 310, 328, 330, 342
- Stephan, M. 3, 148-149, 190-191, 347
- Stępień, S. 146-147, 336
- Tadesse, Wolde Gossa 90-91, 299, 332, 358
- Thelen, T. 2, 3, 211, 222, 242-243, 250, 283, 310, 315, 321, 350, 379
- Turaeva, R. 2, 89, 116-117, 120, 123, 379
- Turner, B. 225, 227-228, 244-247, 249-251, 287, 310, 321, 329, 341-342, 344-345, 347, 353, 364, 379, 384
- Vaté, V. 2, 23, 25, 34, 253, 255, 258, 263-264, 269, 270, 311-312, 321, 344, 364, 372, 380, 384
- Ventsel, A. 2, 35-36, 39, 48, 312, 328, 332-333, 342
- Vladimirova, V. 3, 253, 255, 263, 275-276
- Weihmann, O. 4, 7, 86, 154, 253
- Wolde, T. *see* Tadesse, Wolde Gossa
- Yalçın-Heckmann, L. 1, 5, 139, 141, 162, 192-193, 199, 250, 293, 296, 298, 306, 310, 312, 321, 327, 380
- Yessenova, S. 2, 89, 116-117, 120, 312, 346
- Zenker, O. 2, 90, 125, 132-133, 313, 321, 327, 381

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