

## **Challenging solidarity in empirical studies on Roma mobility**

Chair: Veronika Nagy, Utrecht University

### **The Hungarian Roma diaspora: Transnational migration and the role of bounded solidarity**

Judit Durst, University College London

The social process of recent Roma outmigration from Hungary can well be described through the term ‘transplanted networks’ (Tilly 1990). In the economically backward regions of the northern part of the country, there are segregated Gypsy colonies of small towns from where at least half of the local inhabitants moved to either a Canadian or an English metropolitan, during the past few years, by transplanting their extended familial networks. By using a case study of an extensive Roma migrant network from one of these settlements of Hungary, this paper explores how geographic and social mobility entangle with each other in different social (economic and political) context, namely in Toronto and Manchester. Special attention will be given to the role of ‘bounded solidarity’ (Portes 2005), a form of social capital, in the process of accommodation and ‘getting by’ in the studied host societies. Beyond interrogating the term of solidarity and its limit in the case of the Hungarian Roma migrants, this paper will also explore the different social forces (among others the employers’ divisive policy toward non-English speaking, Eastern-European factory workers) that have a bearing on the fragmentation of existing solidarity, trust networks and for the emergence of social boundary making process between co-ethnic migrants. The paper’s arguments will be based on the findings of the author’s ethnographic fieldwork and interviews with Roma migrants carried out both in the sending and receiving social settings.

### **Framing Roma migration**

Joanna Kostka, Lancaster University

The paper critically examines the discourse on ‘Roma exclusion’ in the context of European migration policy, presenting key findings from the case study of Romanian Roma migrants in a city of Wroclaw in Poland. The concept of ‘Roma exclusion’ has come to dominate political discussions about the marginalization of the largest European minority. Placed at the centre of the European Union political agenda it recognized that Roma poverty has multiple and interrelated causes, which require multifaceted policy responses. Nevertheless, while the concept has acquired strategic connotations, by stressing socio-economic processes, it has remained open to different interpretation influenced by political perceptions of Roma identity, migration as well as domestic policy approaches to integration. The pivotal instability in the discourse concerns the question of whether exclusion entitles an individual or a group to seek opportunities through migration and whether receiving countries are obliged to provide necessary support. Building on equality scholarship, this paper argues that portrayal of Roma as ‘welfare migrants’ who move across Europe exploiting generosity of welfare states, legitimizes hostile public interventions that negate official commitments to the Free Movement principle. The case of Wroclaw has received unprecedented political and media attention and demonstrates that anti-Gypsy discourse is used to mask unwillingness and inability of the state to design and implement coherent migration strategies, reflective of the European principles and

recommendations. It also shows that ‘migration panic’ is equally strong in the new EU members, largely unprepared to act as receiving countries.

### **Who are the strangers among us? Transmitting inter-ethnic solidarity through social media among Roma migrants**

Veronika Nagy , Utrecht University

Recent online communication patterns within transnational Roma networks are often compared to interactions in a context of physical proximity, generating a sense of ongoing belonging, while diminishing/erasing geographical and emotional discontinuities. These so called routines of ordinary co-presence on social media reflect the inherent features of the ‘everyday’, the ‘regular’ and the ‘fluidity’ of ‘doing family’ processes within migrant transnational families, which functions as any other face to face interaction. Skype and Facebook, as ‘polymedia environments’ facilitate the ‘ordinary co-presence’ routines that nourish a sense of continuously ‘doing family’ across distance within transnational families. These routines not only shape intergroup solidarity through geographic distance, but also transmit inter-ethnic references that change trust relations among different nationalities and subgroups independent from their physical space. Offline experiences with other ethnic migrants in the host society are transferred and exchanged among online family and groups members who are living home or in different migration contexts. Based on a field work study in London, this paper will present how these online references in social media conversations are generating ambivalent effects referring to inter-ethnic relations and how are these changing expectations of solidarity and trust in Roma migrant networks.

### **Children and young people’s mobilities**

Chair: Mari Korpela, University of Tampere

### **Standing still: walking interviews and spatial inquiry with four teenage girls**

Ann-Charlotte Palmgren, Åbo Akademi

In this paper the voices of four teenaged girls, a thirty-six year old feminist scholar, a shopping mall, several different bodies and scholars on place and walking interviews share space and rhythms. Drawing on data generated during interviews with four teenaged girls about their relationships to a shopping mall in Turku, Finland, the author examine (walking) interviews as a method and power structures related to movement and non-movement, interviewer and interviewee, as well as inclusion and exclusion. Utilizing Lefebvre’s rhythm analysis, this reflexive spatial inquiry shows tensions related to the place where the research is conducted, tensions between youths, and tensions between mobility and immobility.

### **Between distinction and belonging: identity policies and territorialisations of multi-local children and parents**

Tino Schlinzig, Technische Universität Dresden

Following current sociological debates to the family, due to expanding mobility requirements family is increasingly done across space – with respect to multiple local daily life management and the construction of we-ness and belonging (Schier/Schlinzig/Montanari 2015, Baldassar 2008, Beck 2000). However, family researchers still often consider family as a household unit. Taking the example of a qualitative multi-method research project on multi-local post-separation families, this paper draws attention to a space-sensitive but de-territorialised notion of family. Employing a praxeological approach (Morgan 2011, Nelson 2006, Schatzki et al. 2001) it focuses on practices of establishing and stabilising group identities and belonging within shared residence arrangements where children regularly shuttle between their parent's households. Data suggest that passive multi-locally living parents and their partners oscillate between referring to the other household on behalf of the active multi-locally living children to create a cross-spatial sense of commonness and belonging and at the same time applying territorialisation practices to promote a place-bound social order and family identity. In this they gain sovereignty over collective interpretations and practices. This includes personal, spatial, material, habitual and informational closure processes. Children however face the challenge to merge both residential places and family nucleuses into a coherent whole and simultaneously need to distinguish between different family sociotopes.

### **Transnational practices and identities of the Russian-speaking youth in London: mobile life in a global city**

Elizaveta Kukulenko, European University in St. Petersburg

The study of the second generation migrants demonstrates that transnationalism is clearly not a one-generation phenomenon as the children of migrants become active agents of a transnational social field over time. The representatives of the 2nd generation Russian-speaking migrants in London under study are socialized within a transnational context and have a wide access to their parents' symbolic and cultural capital. Growing up in such a super-diverse city as London encourages them to show their distinctiveness in certain contexts in order to build interconnections with peers of different origins and foster their social mobilities. Basing my analysis on the interviews with the Russian-speaking teenagers from 14 to 17 whose parents (or at least one of them) have migrated from the Russian-speaking countries, I intend to examine the contexts which encourage the teenagers to show their distinctiveness. The analysis will be focused on small-scale networks and connections as all my informants having graduated from one of the Russian-speaking complementary schools in London, represent a group with close-knit ties. I will discuss what ethnic-related symbols, discourses and practices derived from their transnational experience or created on the spot are favourable for them when they pursue the objective to demonstrate their distinctiveness among peers and whether such representations are embedded into some wider mobility context.

### **The role of transnational (im)mobility in shaping identities of children of Vietnamese in Saint Petersburg, Russia**

Anna Tuzova, European University at Saint Petersburg

In general, the second generation immigrants in Russia assimilate well. Children of Vietnamese, however, represent various levels of Vietnamese language proficiency, awareness of Vietnamese culture, and involvement in diasporic activity, along with embeddedness in Russian society, therefore enact hybrid and multiple identities. Drawing on in-depth interviews with members of Vietnamese and mixed Russian-Vietnamese families I analyze the way transnational (im)mobilities shape identities and life trajectories of youth with Vietnamese roots. Vietnamese parents usually place the responsibility of cultural and language transmission on Vietnamese grandparents, therefore in cases of unsuccessful “Vietnamesation” of their children parents would blame the lack of opportunity to send a child to Vietnam more frequently. However, young people of Vietnamese descent usually have more divergent views on the way their trips influenced their self-identification, life pathway, and emotional attachment to their parents’ homeland and culture. While forced to visit Vietnam on a regular basis by visa requirements one would strive to acquire Russian citizenship, the other would benefit from her transnational connections and experience. Unable to go to Vietnam, one would choose educational and career opportunities to connect to her roots. Others, in contrast, inherit their parents’ impetus for movement and migrate to other countries.

### **Moving between different social worlds and norms – how young Kurdish women navigate between expectations and social control related to their sexuality and sexual behaviour**

Anne Häkkinen, University of Jyväskylä

Migrant youth is expected to have multiple social circles in which they navigate easily. However, this is not necessarily young people’s own experience. In my presentation I will discuss how young Kurdish women move, negotiate and position themselves between different social and physical spaces, including their own family and Kurdish community (local and transnational) as well as surrounding Finnish society. I focus on examining everyday life situations in which these young women face sometimes contradicting social norms and expectations of their behaviour especially related to their sexuality, individual autonomy, spousal choice and control of sexuality. Using Floya Anthias’ (2011) concept of translocal positionality/positioning, I will scrutinize how my interviewees navigate between different social worlds, expectations and prejudices also in situations that could be defined as othering encounters as in these encounters women’s own agency is easily questioned for example by Finnish individuals. I base my discussion on empirical material (gathered in 2011–2013) which consists of in-depth thematic interviews and informal discussions with single and transnationally married young Kurdish women.

### **Searching for diaspora childhoods**

Anna Rastas, University of Tampere

The starting point of my presentation is the question of how to conceptualize diaspora childhoods. Because of migration, in many societies an increasing amount of people identify with different diasporas. In order to avoid the neglect of children - and childhood as a distinct phase in life - in research on diaspora communities and cultures and in studies on the social and cultural transformations that are taking place around the world because of the mobility of people, we have to ask what makes diaspora childhood(s) different from what we usually understand, or conceptualize, as childhood. In my presentation, I use examples from my previous and on-going research projects to discuss how diaspora childhood(s) can be approached as a particular condition shaped not only by migration, or individuals ties to the countries and cultures they identify with, but also by various other local and global forces and transnational connections.

### **“I haven’t travelled around the world a lot.” Lifestyle migrant children’s views of their transnationally mobile lives in Goa, India.**

Mari Korpela, University of Tampere

Increasing numbers of ‘Western’ families spend several months a year in Goa, India, and the rest of the time in the parents’ native countries or elsewhere. These ‘lifestyle migrants’ are motivated by a search for ‘a better quality of life.’ The transnationally mobile lifestyle is the choice of the parent(s) but this paper investigates how the children experience it. In this paper, I elaborate on the children’s agency in the lifestyle and discuss the importance of certain material objects as signs of home and stability. I argue that, on the one hand, the children learn to see the world as an open arena where people are free to move as they wish, but on the other hand, they are aware of structural constraints like visa policies. I also elaborate on the importance of certain physical locations and how they are entangled with the children’s conceptualisations of mobility. The paper is based on an extensive ethnographic research that I conducted among lifestyle migrant children in Goa.

### **Growing up amidst pellet guns, protest calendar and ‘Hartals’: Anthropological notes on children living in Kashmir**

Urfat Anjem Mir, Ambedkar University, Delhi

This paper seeks to examine the everyday experience of children living amidst ongoing political conflict in Kashmir. The aim is to focus on the everydayness in conflict zone, which is marked by the use of pellet guns, announcement of protest calendars, observance of ‘Hartals’ and is manifest in the entangled immobility of children. Kashmir, a region of the Jammu and Kashmir State in India has been facing the brunt of bloodshed due to political violence for more than two decades resulting into deaths of thousands and maiming of innumerable lives. Pellet guns, Protest Calendar, barricades and ‘Hartals’ all make life of civilians immobile and restrict movement for longer stretches in this cyclical violence. ‘Hartal’ as a non-violent weapon to counter the state and convey extreme angst, deep of sense of alienation of masses and also challenge the writ of the state, has of late resulted in a collateral damage due to severe disruptions in the social life of children in Kashmir. On the one hand, the enforced measures by the state to supposedly maintain order and create a

secure space in the name of law and order by its sheer amount of force puts extremely restrictive measures in practice that curtail the rights of citizens and make the life of civilians especially children difficult. On the other hand, ‘Hartals’ as well as the declared or undeclared curfews by the State often lead to schools closed with no alternatives of schooling for days and months together as a regular feature, venturing out of home/ house fraught with dangers and life threatening risks and thereby the mobility of children getting restricted to a smaller social and spatial area becoming ‘a normal’ in this conflict zone. The paper explores what is meant by security / insecurity for children and what is a ‘normal childhood experience’ in such conflict zones? Can the schooling of children be delinked from ways and means of struggle for right to self-determination and depoliticized by all the conflicting parties in a conflict situation?

### **Disappearances, absences and silences: Ethnographic approaches to the absent**

Chair: Laura Huttunen, University of Tampere

### **Migration, repression and agency of women: the case of a village in rural Bangladesh**

Main Uddin, Tallinn University and Runa Laila, Independent Researcher, Dhaka

This paper is an ethnographic description of various forms of sexual and psychological repressions and the practice of agency of the left behind women following the migration of their husbands abroad. In doing so, I explored what happens in personal life of women when there is prolong absence between husband and wife and how they cope with the members of their husbands’ households and the society. The study was conducted applying anthropological techniques in a village for one year in Munshigonj, Bangladesh. Data showed that through their mobility in the household and public spaces, women shape and reshape their gendered boundary and increasingly contest its meanings. But their mobility in the public sphere is carefully observed and they remain under invisible surveillance and regulation in the name of ethics, morality, norms and values of the patriarchal Muslim society. But data showed that women are not always passive victims rather they strategize to establish their position. Hence, contextualizing structure and agency, the study investigated how women are influenced by their patriarchal social structure and how they play role to transform the structure in exchange through their activities and resistance in the absence of their husbands.

### **Disappeared in mission—When absence has a voice**

Catalina Popescu and Onoriu Bradeanu

This paper follows the story of Gh. Brădeanu disappeared in mission during World War II and the attempts made to restore his memory. The study deals with mending the trauma caused by an absence. It involves communication between a branch of research called micro-history (Ginzburg), which reconstructs slices of the historical past through the eyes of apparently humble individuals, and the studies of cultural memory (J. Olick and A. Assmann). While broad social memory survives in archives and history books, private pain is rarely traceable and hides within the traumatized

minds of the survivors: trauma disconnects individuals and muffles their voices (A. Assmann). Yet, communicative memory can mend that breach. By using the testimony of war survivors and private documents, this research comprises a special "archive" that challenges the threshold of our collective forgetfulness. Once spoken, the concealed pain becomes recorded testimony bringing a final voice to a generation silenced up by death or by decades of communist censorship and indifference.

### **Experiences in asylum-seeking in Finland: trust, cultural contact and resilience**

Kaisa Nissi, University of Jyväskylä

This paper examines the experiences, feelings and expectations of asylum seekers and refugees, who have arrived in Finland in 2015-2016 mostly from Iraq and Syria. The focus of the study is in the cultural expectations, trust and in the emotional change that has happened during the waiting process at refugee centers. Previous (traumatic) experiences, communication with Finns and the bureaucracy in the process affect on the people's feelings, and are the base for the future integration. Typically attitudes at centers have changed from the joy, hope and safety towards the bitterness, anxiety and fear while the waiting process has proceeded. Cultural trust and resilience are often fragile, and the process itself may affect on how people later integrate into Finnish life. Traumas, experienced inequalities and problems of understanding are all present in told stories. Material is based on the long-lasting fieldwork and in-depth interviews at centers, at homes and in everyday life with asylum seekers. The fieldwork is done in the central Finland area, and the study is currently in the fieldwork phase so the paper is presenting first glimpses of analyses.

### **Entangled sustainabilities**

Chair: Jenni Mölkänen, University of Helsinki

Discussant: Timo Kaartinen, University of Helsinki

### **Making spaces of difference: entangled explanations for territorial conflicts and environmental destruction in Nicaragua's Bosawas Biosphere Reserve**

Nora Sylvander, Ohio State University

Throughout Latin America's resource-rich frontiers, conflicts between indigenous peoples and non-indigenous "mestizo" migrants are intensifying. Mestizo peasants, often landless and displaced from other settings, are widely blamed for invading indigenous lands and causing environmental devastation. Consequently, their political and spatial exclusion is increasingly seen as a solution to resource conflicts. Of these tactics, this paper focuses on saneamiento, the removal of mestizo migrants from indigenous territories, in Nicaragua's Bosawas reserve, where the process is envisioned to contribute to territorial justice and environmental sustainability alike. Building on literatures in political ecology and cultural politics (mestizaje and "neoliberal multiculturalism" (Hale 2002)), this ethnographic work suggests that by framing territorial confrontations as local conflicts between ethnic groups with fundamentally incompatible views of natural resources, the neoliberal state diverts attention from their complex political-economical and historical explanations. Moreover, environmental NGOs that promote saneamiento produce racialized

environmental subjects by casting territoriality and sustainability as inevitably intertwined. This manifests itself as a binary between a sustainable indigenous subject and a pathological non-indigenous migrant (see Malkki 1992), which invisibilizes highly unequal intra-ethnic power relations. Consequently, saneamiento fails to distinguish between different actors of mobility: displaced “mestizo” migrants and those “mestizos” that drive this displacement and environmental devastation.

### **Arctic entangled sustainabilities: challenging indigeneity**

Tatiana Vagramenko, Russian Academy of Sciences

The protection of indigenous peoples’ knowledge and traditional cultures are normally considered a foundation for the Arctic sustainable development. In the politico-economic context of industrial development in the post-Soviet Arctic, the increased visibility of indigenous social movements reflects the struggle of indigenous peoples to have rights for sustainable lives. Among other factors, Arctic indigenous movements base their policy on the promotion of ‘indigenous religions’ and shamanism as part of indigenous knowledge, most adapted for local environment and indigenous lifeway. The post-Soviet process of ‘unmaking and making of relations’ (Humphrey 2002), however, implied multidimensional trajectories. Siberia and the Arctic became one of the most striking spots of postsocialist changes on the Russian religious map, and became associated with an increasing presence of various Protestant missionary movements. While “traditional” indigenous knowledge and beliefs were being promoted on a public level as a foundation of indigenous survival, many natives in the Russian Arctic often eagerly embraced the Christian Evangelical message. New religious practices contradict with an orthodox view on indigenous knowledge and subsistence needs. Yet they challenge the ambiguity of indigenous traditionalism and show alternative contexts of modernity and sustainability in the Russian Arctic. The paper draws on author’s ethnographic research amongst the rural Nenets indigenous people of the Polar Urals (North-Western Siberia).

### **Notes about the temporal horizons of social work in two regions of mineral extraction**

Satu Ranta-Tyrkkö, University of Tampere

Stemming from the unsustainable use of natural resources, the on-going global environmental crisis is fundamentally a resource crisis, which also reflects the long-term wielding of political and economic power between centers and hinterlands, and between societies. My presentation focuses on mineral extraction and consumption, which is nowadays characterized by global corporate ownership and globalized production chains. The bulk of the extraction takes place in the global South and in the hinterlands of global North but the consumption concentrates on affluent countries and population groups. As a consequence, the positive and negative effects of the mineral extraction are unevenly divided in time and space. Profits and mineral wealth tend to flow outside mining regions, whereas negative consequences, such as the ecological aftermath, remain mainly at the regions of mineral extraction. Social work is a multifaceted field consisting of not only the profession but also the discipline and the broader social and political movement of social work committed to work with and



for the poor, marginalized and vulnerable. While social work concentrates mainly on supporting individuals and communities with the life challenges they confront, the principle to protect the vulnerable could cover also future generations. As mineral extraction provokes complex questions of intergenerational equity, what kind of challenges does that pose to current social work practice? What kind of ethical and practical positions does/could social work take? I will elaborate these questions drawing from interviews and participant observation conducted in two mining regions, one in Northern Finland the other in Eastern India.

**Topographies of memory and belonging in a Dong ethnic minority village, southwest China**

Suvi Rautio, University of Helsinki

In response to the Chinese Communist Party's efforts to categorise its vast ethnic minority population under the homogenous ethnic classification scheme (*minzu shibie*), today all Chinese citizens carry stamped legal documentation claiming to belong and identify with one of the 56 nationalities. Anthropologists, such as Ralph Litzinger and Nicholas Tapp, have contributed considerably to understanding the representations framed to model ethnic identities in response to the ethnic classification scheme. Whilst such research provides crucial insight on the intricate workings of the power struggles that construct ethnic identities, less is written about the representations that have existed, not only in response to modern state discourse, but through historical encounters and concealed tensions amongst ethnic populations themselves. This paper sheds light to these tensions told through the narratives embedded in the surrounding landscape of a Dong ethnic minority village in rural Guizhou province, southwest China. Combining ethnographic everyday encounters with local myths and oral histories, my paper reads the topographies of memory and belonging through mountains and forests, which act not as passive entities but transforming agents to remind us that landscapes are never vacant. In doing so, my paper refers to sustainability in the transformational and historical processes that make up life-worlds.

**Primary industries and transformational change (PITCH) project: Risks in Lapland – Reindeers and foxes in the eye of the storm?**

Mari Partanen, University of Oulu

Social and environmental change in Lapland is inevitable. Climate change affects people and arctic species as we speak. How can the values, interests and concerns of multiple land users be reconciled in a sustainable way and how do these decisions reflect to animals? In PITCH project we study how organizations, governance, norms and values precondition societal transformation when facing climate change. The department of cultural anthropology in the University of Oulu is responsible for studying the environmental governance of reindeer husbandry in the Swedish-Finnish border region. I focus on primary industries, environmental change and introduced and wild species in Lapland. I use a reindeer, a fox and an arctic fox as my indicator species. My work is built on Mary Douglas' cultural theory of risk and on the future scenarios of Lapland created for a stakeholder workshop arranged in the PITCH project. My aim is to bring environmental organizations' perspectives on discussion by interviewing their representatives. What are the risks in the future Lapland from

their standpoints and how are they assessed? How should we prepare for them and do we still have time to react?

### **Finding spaces, making places: mobilizing identity and maintaining the self**

Chair: Miia Halme-Tuomisaari

#### **“On the edge of a sandpit you’re nobody”: Remaking female identity as a Nokia wife in California**

Taina Kinnunen, University of Eastern Finland

The presentation is based on interviews with 15 Finnish women living in San Diego and Silicon Valley area in California. All women had moved there with their husbands who worked in ICT business, mostly first in Nokia, and many had lived as expats in other countries too. Later on they had received the green card and citizenship, and some of the interviewees had stayed in the US since the 1990’s. The women were highly educated themselves but for the most of them, moving to California meant leaving their own careers and adopting the position as a homemaker – often for a longer time they had been prepared for. Through the daily routines around children’s school duties, hobbies and husband’s needs, they remade their female identities. The identity was negotiated through the discourses of “Finnish gender equality” and “American gender segregation and family centeredness” which the interviewees associated with and valued in varying ways. The different sides of the identity also actualized in unpredictable ways since some of the women had gone through the divorce process and been forced to “start again from nothing”.

#### **From tents to concrete buildings: politics and practices of place making and maintaining ‘Palestinianism’ among Palestinian refugees in exile in Jordan**

Salla-Maria Korhonen, University of Helsinki

I will focus on the socio-political and material aspects of Palestinian place making, community organizing, and identity construction in exile. By introducing various material artifacts and physical arrangements through which the refugees assert the presence of Palestine in exilic spaces, I will reflect on epistemological and political issues of location and pose a series of questions about dis/emplacement and in/exclusion; communal solidarity and identity; rights and belonging. In Jordan, Palestinian refugees lack equal citizenship rights and reside in a space of nonbelonging in the national order as well as inside and outside of multiple overlapping boundaries. While the refugees struggle to deal with urban poverty and marginalization here and now in the context of state neglect and authoritarian surveillance, they are also concerned over the plight of Palestinian refugees elsewhere and prepare in various concrete and speculative ways for the future, including return to homeland. I insist that the refugees share conscious, political sense of place; Palestine continues to represent what has been denied – safe location, recognized rights, belonging to one’s homeland, and a process of justice. Palestinian refugee identity emerges as positional, strategic, and relational; it implies a relationship with others – Israelis, Jordanians, Arabs, and Palestinians elsewhere.

**Tourism and transformation of the self: From a metanarrative to an embodied experience, the case of meditative retreats in India**

Ellina Mourtazina, University of Lausanne

Tourism as a contemporary mobility is entangled in all sorts of meta-narratives which have a great deal of influence on tourist destinations, imaginaries, expectations and most of all practices. One of these “creation myths” for tourism is the promise of self-transformation. More than just a movement between geographical, cultural or social locations, travel is perceived as having the power to achieve personal inner change. This narrative has a fundamental role in the creation of particular touristic places that in turn become invested by the “power” to change the conception of self as well as of its surrounding world. This paper seeks to understand the traveller not as a static and discrete body, but as an inclusive, continuous self, which through mobility transgresses social and cultural norms and involves itself socially, corporeally, emotionally and sensorially in a renegotiation of the self as well as of the outside realities of the world. By adopting a phenomenological approach, through the specific case of spiritual retreats in India, the paper aims to explore how the myth of transformation is appropriated and negotiated by tourist and what role the specific spatial arrangement of touristic spiritual retreat places has in this appropriation of the narrative.

**Localizing the global, particularizing the universal in the Barents Sea Region**

Reetta Toivanen, University of Helsinki

The special interest of this paper is the practice of legal pluralism. It analyses the power of transnational networks influencing the local interpretations of universal human rights, especially rights of indigenous peoples pertaining to land claims. The main question of my paper is, how the vernacularization of international human rights influence the specific understanding of self, how this impacts the mobilization of resources tied to the specific understandings of indigeneity? What are the mechanisms of negotiation on maintenance of one self in comparison to the familiar “other”? The paper is based on my research project, which aims at understanding how power relationships are debated, negotiated and decided in municipalities where inhabitants belong to different majority and minority populations. In this context, three municipalities in the northern Europe, Lovozero (Russia), Inari (Finland) and Porsanger (Norway), provide interesting material for comparison: the rights of the Sámi as indigenous peoples have caused unrest among the other inhabitants of the region.

**Finnish Muslim converts: Belonging and dis-belonging**

Meri Tuovinen, University of Jyväskylä

My paper approaches mobility in the context of religion and transnational affairs. I explore how Finnish Muslim converts negotiate their identities as Muslims and Finnish citizens. I aim to illustrate how converts as agents construct a sense of belonging and dis-belonging. Agency has been a focus of a wide range of feminist scholars of religion. The basic question has been how women in patriarchal religions

gain space and agency. I argue that Finnish Muslim converts have comparably a lot of individualistic freedom in terms of negotiating between Muslim-ness and citizenship. They often adopt positions of authority in interpreting the religion. Converts tend to take the freedom to act against the rules, pleading to themselves as being “in the process” of becoming Muslims. Converts frequently distance themselves from the immigrant beliefs and highlight their role as “ordinary Finns”. On the other hand, they confront islamophobia and racialization since Islam has been seen as a non-white religion. Especially women face discrimination in their daily lives due to wearing a hijab or niqab. In the narratives of converts there is an interesting tension between emphasizing agency against common belief of repression.

**Till boarding do us part: Desires, ambitions, and intimate networks of transnational sub-Saharan African women traders in Guangzhou**

Xie Xin, Hong Kong Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences

Transnational mobility of women from the global south has been intensively studied over the past decade to examine the complex effects of global restructuring on the raced, classed, religious, national, and sexual bodies of women within diverse local particularities. However, despite the heterogeneity among those women, most studies have focused on the exploitative nature of their relationships with globalization. My paper addresses the complexity in transnational experiences of women from the global south with special attention to those who use flexible networking strategies to benefit from the constant global restructuring. Specifically, in my project, I will be looking at intimate networks established by transnational sub-Saharan African women traders during their frequent travels to international trading hubs in south China. I will discuss how transnational mobility is widely explored by those women not only to realize their social mobility but also to celebrate their desires and ambitions. I argue that rather than being heavily exploited and further restricted to the local by globalization, transnational sub-Saharan African women traders are shaping global restructuring and have been testing along the process new spaces to negotiate gender hegemonies in their home communities.

**Materialities of mobile people in everyday life**

Chairs: Friedemann Neumann and Hans Peter Hahn, Goethe-University

**Materialities of cosmopolitan mobility: Case study on Egypt**

Liina Mustonen, European University Institute

This paper analyzes the different connections between material spaces and mobilities of a rarely studied wealthy residents of Egypt. I call it the cosmopolitan milieu. It refers to a group of social actors that has access to certain material and discursive spaces defined as global (in contradistinction to what is defined as ‘local’). Among others Saskia Sassen (2007) has called these spaces homogenized structured spaces that do not know national borders but which are differentiated from other parts within the national geographies. Based on my ethnographic fieldwork in Egypt between 2011 and 2014, and referring to contemporary elite theories, in this paper I point out how these specific spaces are appropriated as mechanisms of distinction to distinguish the mobile (global) and the immobile (local). Hence, it is not only the withdrawal

from economic necessity that enables the accumulation of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1979) by the actors, but also a disposition informed by these global influences that share a certain material space. I explore the cosmopolitan milieu's global connections, gained in global institutions and schools, that result in ease in dealing with various situations. Moreover, I discuss how the actors from within the spaces under discussion here, become attached to 'globality' itself (Ahmed 2004). I illustrate how meanings derived from the 'global' co-exist in tension with other meanings and discuss how the cosmopolitan actor is able to mediate between these different meanings. Attachment to 'the global' then, as a site of differentiation from 'the local', 'functions as a mechanism of social distinction. In the contemporary era when many refugees from the Middle East region undertake difficult and lengthy journeys to arrive in safe spaces in Europe, it is also important to analyze the other segment of the Middle East who inhabit the imaginary category 'global' 'cosmopolitan' and 'mobile'. In what follows, I explore the following questions: What kind of 'cosmopolitan habitus' does it require that one can become a member of that community'? And in which relation does it stand to certain material spaces?

### **Households and the materiality of transcultural everydayness**

Friedemann Neumann, Goethe University, Frankfurt

Households are complex constellations in which people interact with materiality in everyday life. Based on ethnographic research conducted in Hamburg 2016, this contribution focuses on how people locate themselves and negotiate via materiality in various transcultural contexts. Far from abstract conceptions of identity or cosmopolitanism, here the significance of the unremarkable is a subject of discussion. I will for example focus on day by day handling of constraints, tensions perceptions, expectations, shortage, and overflow. Therefore, the attempt to grasp links between people and things in transcultural livelihoods and understand how people ›appropriate‹ and transform materiality, has to overcome the dichotomy of migratory and non-migratory housing. Domestic orders of things are not merely spheres of intentional and symbolic representations (of migration); rather they can be regarded as a tense field of more or less conflicting ›items‹, in which the symbolic is consistently subverted. It can be shown to what extent an emerging suspense is a recurring or even lasting issue, in that regard. Meant as ethnography of the everyday, this paper tries to provide an understanding of the surprising varieties of tactics to handle the ›wayward‹ traits of the material, and of the constraints of transcultural livelihoods.

### **Material culture of the Rainbow Gatherings**

Katri Ratia, University of Fribourg

Rainbow Gatherings are temporary intentional communities implementing the ideals of peace, love and unity, by creating an encampment in natural settings for a month at a time. The movement was formed in the wake of the countercultural activity of the 1960s and early 1970s in the US, and has since grown into a long-lived transnational phenomenon. The events are held in changing locations, in different countries, and the participants come from various ethnic and cultural backgrounds. The Gatherings have formed their own characteristic culture, premised on egalitarian, participatory and transformative principles, that remains distinctive despite the variable conditions. The

proposed paper looks at the material culture of both the individual participants and the Gatherings as a whole. What are the objects that either travel with the people, or are produced at the location, and what are their significances? How do they relate to the processes of identity (group and individual), everyday practices, cultural values and ideals? How is the event and its culture constructed? The work is based on an ongoing doctoral research, combining a review of scholarship, media and online sources with an extensive ethnography of the European Rainbow events, including participant observation and interviews.

**Shaped stories: Material modifications in a slum resettlement site in Ahmedabad, India**

Jelena Salmi, University of Jyväskylä

This paper examines the manipulation of materiality in the slum resettlement site of Sadbhavna Nagar in the outskirts of Ahmedabad, India. Drawing on ten months' ethnographic fieldwork in 2015–2016, the paper explores how slum-dwellers displaced in the name of development interact with the materiality of the four-story apartment blocks to which they are resettled, known colloquially as *cārmāḷiyā* (“four stories”). First, the paper describes how the morphology of the built environment, designed by the municipal corporation's city planning department, is experienced by the residents. Second, the paper looks into how resettled people creatively modify the new environment in their efforts to express personal identity, and to carve out a living (see e.g. Koster & Nuijten 2012). In Sadbhavna Nagar, hallways are turned into storage rooms, common plots into open-air kitchens, and dwelling units into animal sheds, contrary to the rules laid down by the municipal corporation. I suggest that these material modifications manifest the discrepancy between the needs of the relocatees and the interests of the authorities as producers of urban space. Illegitimate modifications can be seen as 'quiet encroachment' (Bayat 2013) through which people silently assert their right to make their own future in the city.

**Mobility and structure: individual papers**

Chair: Jukka Jouhki, University of Jyväskylä

**The system of moto-mobility: Motorbikes, consumption and everyday life in Hanoi**

Arve Hansen, University of Oslo

Motorbikes and motorcycles remain a largely forgotten part of the ‘mobilities turn’, and in the few studies available they are usually approached as a form of alternative mobility in car-dominated systems. However, motorbikes represent the main vehicles for everyday mobility for hundreds of millions of people worldwide. In Northeast and Southeast Asia motorbike ownership has reached particularly high levels, and Vietnam represents the most extreme case. Since the market reforms known as *doi moi* and the subsequent decades of rapid economic growth, motorbike consumption has increased at an astonishing pace, reaching an average of more than 2,5 motorbikes per household in the largest cities. In the process, the motorbike has replaced and displaced public and non-motorised forms of transport. The motorised two-wheelers

are now deeply embedded in everyday life, and entangled in a wide range of practices. Despite government despair and the recent decade's rapidly increasing competition from private cars, the motorbike remains the dominant form of mobility. Drawing on 'motorbike ethnography' in Hanoi, this paper argues for a systemic understanding of this motorbike society. It draws on John Urry's theory of the 'system of automobility' to analyse everyday practices within what the paper conceptualises as a 'system of moto-mobility'.

### **“Some people smoke and drink, I run”: Long-distance running as behavioural addiction in Estonia**

Toomas Gross University of Helsinki

Like many other countries, Estonia is currently experiencing a fitness boom and the growing popularity of recreational long-distance running is one of its most notable aspects. Since the turn of the millennium, the number of Estonians running at least one marathon a year has grown nearly twentyfold. Not only do more people run, but they run increasingly more and in novel ways. Although these trends are signs of generally growing health-awareness in the society, recreational runners' levels of exercise often considerably exceed those necessary for keeping fit, well, and healthy. As their running careers unfold, many runners become inspired not by health and fitness but by more mindful motivations (runner's high, flow, transcendental experiences) for running, some eventually turning their bodies into veritable “arenas of experimentation.” At its core is the search for new kinds of corporeal and emotional experiences through novel and extreme forms of physical effort, such as ultra-running or competing in particularly difficult environments. As this paper argues, such endeavours can also be understood in terms of addiction. There exists ample literature on the effects of endorphins that produce narcotic-like physical states in runners, and on running as a form of behavioural addiction. Building on these studies, this paper seeks to add a particularly anthropological angle to the study of exercise addiction, linking it to the notions of personhood, class, boredom, pain, “good life,” and self-actualisation.

### **Participatory performative approach to belonging – path to multiple spaces among the second generation Finnish immigrant youth**

Helena Oikarinen-Jabai, University of Helsinki

In my presentation I will discuss and show examples of productions done with young participants in performative participatory research project *A Finn, a Foreigner or a Transnational Hip-hopper? Participatory Performative Research on the Identification Negotiations and Belongings of the Second Generation Finnish Immigrant Youth*. The project involved organizing workshops with different groups of young people and teams of art and media professionals, and together with the participants we staged various productions, such as photo and video exhibitions, books, a radio programme and documentary films. In these productions the search for multiple homes and belonging formed a narrative that was expressed in both the audio-visual materials and in written stories. Performative approaches and audio-visual methods helped the participants deal with questions of belonging and othering. Instead of being victimised, they approached their belonging from multiple perspectives, finding imagined and real spaces on their shared diasporic horizon. Through performative methods, this horizon could be touched and expression could be given to the ideas and

images that emerged. This, in turn, made it possible to negotiate a form of cultural citizenship that combined different homes, nations and sense of belonging.

### **Populations, belonging and origin: new genetic technologies in southern China**

Jan-Eerik Leppänen, University of Amsterdam

This paper looks at identity related questions on genetically sampled populations and the entangled meanings of belonging. Furthermore, this paper examines how the diverse populations are defined and categorised at the state-of-the-art scientific laboratories by various academics and scientists. As the body (parts) are being extracted from an individual (in the form of DNA), how is the identity being conceptualised, at the individual level and at the community level? This paper also explores how the processes of new genetic technologies and its contributive knowledge can facilitate discussion of belonging and definitions of borders between population groups as the population borders are being (re)drawn. The question of origin becomes a central part of the nationality-building narrative for state-affiliated institutions concerned with populations in human diversity projects. The research on this paper is based on ethnographic fieldwork in medical and academic institutions in southern China.

### **Moving on: Bodies, relationships and change in a globalized world**

Chair: Gabriele Griffin, Uppsala University

### **Securing a healthy future? Direct-to-consumer genetic testing and the pursuit of health in Indonesia**

Sanna Poelman, University of Tampere

Bearing an anthropological perspective, this paper looks at online direct-to-consumer (DTC) genetic testing services and focuses in particular on the consumption of genetic predisposition and health tests in Indonesia. What is anthropologically interesting here is the moral assumption that one can be active in the present to enhance a good health in the future. Without the presence of a mediating medical expert, the consumer is perceived as "empowered", "proactive" and "responsible", behavioural characteristics encouraged by medical professionals and governments world-wide. With consumption taking place on the internet, genetic tests move across geographical and political boundaries to those that can afford it, (genetically) individuating as well as unifying those that partake in it. This paper sheds light on how the above mentioned DTC genetic tests are perceived, adapted and utilized by (potential) consumers, suppliers and medical experts in a country that is currently undertaking grand health reforms. By conducting ethnographic research in Indonesia, the overall aim is to contribute to the discussion on socio-cultural aspects of the 'genomic hype' era, taking place not only in the Global North, but also in the Global South.



### **Pushing the boundaries: trans and queer people & assisted reproductive technologies (ARTs)**

Doris Leibetseder, Center for Gender Research, Uppsala University

In this paper I shall present ideas for an allied queer-feminist and transgender ethics of reproduction. I look at ARTs and how they raise challenges for transgender and queer people. My focus lies on the ways in which these technologies confront queer and people with normative expectations concerning their biological sex, gender, sexuality, kinship relations and their right to procreate and how this leads to medical migration. This presentation gives an overview of current legislation and policies of LGBTIQ rights and access to Assisted Reproductive Technologies in various European countries, and therefore the challenges LGBTIQ people have to face.

### **North to south: seeking surrogates in Thailand – The surrogates' experiences**

Elina Nilsson, Centre for Gender Research, Uppsala University

Commercial surrogacy involving cross-country mobilities is today one of the fastest growing areas of assisted reproduction and a striking expression of how global service work grows increasingly personal and intimate. When wealthy would-be parents in the global North seek surrogate mothers in the global South to gestate and deliver a child at low-cost prices a cross-globe and commodified process of biotechnological intervention takes place with inherently differential power relations among the stakeholders. By drawing on interviews with Thai women enrolled in commercial surrogacy, this presentation highlights the surrogates' complicated and ambiguous relation to both the child and the clients as well as their negotiation of kinship, labour, attachment and detachment.

### **Changing bodies in migratory contexts: clitoral reconstruction among migrant women in Sweden**

Malin Jordal, Uppsala University

Continued mass migration to Europe from countries where FGC is prevalent raises new questions of bodily norms, well-being, and integration. Sweden is home to around 38 000 cut girls and women. Clitoral reconstruction, a surgical technique aiming at restoring the anatomy and function of the clitoris, is a new health care service recently introduced in Sweden as a direct effect of migratory moves. Little is known about women's motives, expectations and experiences regarding this surgery. This presentation will draw on qualitative interviews with migrant women who seek and undergo clitoral reconstructive surgery in Sweden, and discuss the meaning of surgery on their identity, bodily experiences, relationships and sexuality.

### **Trying to move on: cross-cultural boundaries in help-provision for LGBTIQ victims of violence**

Nicole Ovesen, Uppsala University

Intimate partner violence (IPV) has historically been framed as men's violence against women. This assumption has impacted on the construction of social services to protect victim-survivors of violence. New claims for visibility for LGBTIQ couples also mean the disclosure of silenced issues such as violence. Lack of resources makes

it difficult for LGBTI organizations to provide immediate and urgent help, which leaves victim-survivors in the hands of general social service institutions. Yet little is known about how these crossing encounters work in practice. This presentation will focus on how to examine help-provision through the perspectives of help seekers and providers.

### **Neoliberal employment policies**

Chair: Francisco Arqueros-Fernandez, National University of Ireland

#### **Activating “neoliberalism” through employment policies: The role of NGOs**

Francisco Arqueros-Fernandez, National University of Ireland

In the 1990s, EU governments initiated a shift towards Active Labour Market Policies to tackle the social problem of unemployment. During this process, the Welfare State was not dismantled nor did it significantly shrink; rather, it changed its character. In this presentation, I focus on one of the aspects of welfare reform: a process of privatisation of employment programmes by a progressive handing of management to the third sector, in a context of structural unemployment and labour market reform. “Neoliberalism” can only be activated through concrete policies and by the hands of concrete social actors on the ground. Therefore, I draw on ethnographic work that I carried out between January 2015 and June 2016 in the Employment Programme of a Local Assembly of the Spanish Red Cross. This organisation, “impartial, neutral and independent”, grounds its social actions on the Geneva Conventions of 1949, but it has come to assume the role of the “neoliberal state” in implementing Active Employment Policies. Despite their intention, these policies did not produce equal individuals before the market; rather, they reproduced social stereotypes between groups of immigrant and local workers at the lower end of the labour market. Different groups of workers, according to ethnicity, were categorized as fit for certain types of jobs while excluded from others. Therefore, the Employment Programme of the Red Cross contributed to the segmentation of the labour market, ultimately advancing the political economy of Capital.

#### **ALMP, neo-liberal welfare regimes and integration on the labor market**

Christian Råbergh, consultant

Sweden has had a European top position when it comes to a developed and comprehensive public welfare system, a successful Active Labor market Policy (ALMP) and a generous and inclusive migration and integration policy. Sweden has one of the highest numbers of asylum seekers/refugees received per capita in Europe. The organization, management and financing of the policy areas concerned were until the 90’s the responsibility of the public sector and underpinned by an ideological and political consensus, stressing equality and equal opportunities. The system cracked down in the 90’s, partly as a consequence of the financial and economic crisis, partly due to influences of a global neo-liberal ideological wave. Sweden started to dismantle the public sector welfare machinery by outsourcing and privatizing a number of services representing the core of the classic social democratic ideas about equality and equal opportunities. The ALMP for refugees and migrants was one of these services. The effects can now be seen: extremely high unemployment rates among refugees, the emergence of a for-profit based employment service sector, financed in many cases by venture capitalists and/or characterized by entrepreneurs

without legitimacy or competence – but also a growing informal labor market, increasing poverty rates and the appearance of parallel, informal welfare sector.

### **Chinese rural graduates on the post-reform professional labour market**

Willy Sier, Maynooth University

This chapter is part of a PhD-dissertation on the effects of increased participation of Chinese rural youth in higher education on rural-urban relations in contemporary Chinese society. It describes how global developments towards more “neoliberal” labour markets are projected onto local, historical power relations, formed along a rural-urban divide, causing “rural” youths to suffer disproportionately from flexibilisation of labour. This group mainly works in a new, white-collar segment of the Chinese informal labour market that entails flexible and unstable sales work. They get stuck in this segment of the labour market having been too heavily invested in by their families to revert to manual labour without a great sense of shame and defeat, and having neither the qualifications nor the connections to gain other white-collar employment. Their educational trajectory and rural backgrounds make them rationalise their positions on the urban labour market in a way that emphasises self-blame. The 're-regulation' of the labour market as part of the transition from the state to the market and the increased complexity of the school-to-work transition are developments that go beyond the Chinese case. Yet, a very important factor that makes the experiences of my informants different from those of youths in other parts of the world is the history of rural-urban division in China that continues to exist administratively, ideologically as well as experientially. It is exactly the combination of having been raised as very ambitious young people during the period of reform but not being able to take down the barriers that have long separated rural from urban people in China that makes this generation of Chinese rural graduates into a youth that is always striving for progress, but never arriving in the lives they grew up dreaming about.

### **New media, mobility and space making**

Chair: Sirpa Tenhunen, University of Jyväskylä

### **Digital mobility in Solomon Islands**

Jari Kupiainen, Karelia University of Applied Sciences, Media Studies

Solomon Islands have, since Independence in 1978, experienced violent conflicts and natural disasters that hinder national development but have not stopped the global influx of digital ICT. Solomon Islands have also provided a framework for innovative ICT projects connecting remote islanders with each other, and outside. The colonial and postcolonial modernization process has established a continuing pattern of national and international migration, where people move back and forth between their island homes and the urban centres, especially the capital city Honiara, and internationally. People leaving for Honiara and other urban centres will face cash economy, unemployment, ethnic differences, dwelling issues, and have to rely upon their wealthier relatives for support. Another cycle of mobility emerges, when the unemployed Honiara youth moves around from a household to another, or homeless, with mobile phones as central sources of personal empowerment and everyday survival. The presentation will analyse the situation through Rennell and Bellona

Islanders, a Polynesian minority in a predominantly Melanesian country. Digital connectivity is transforming the social practices of ethnocultural communality in national and international diaspora. In fact, the existing sociocultural orders are being compromised, while new orders are focusing on techno-savvy urban youth, who have become intra-communal resource persons.

### **Family involved or left behind in migration? Family-centered perspective towards Estonia-Finland cross-border commuting**

Keiu Telve, University of Tartu and University of Eastern Finland

The aim of my paper is to find out how active cross-border mobility of one family member changes the communication inside the family and what impact does it have on those who stay behind. Concentrating on the case study of Estonian men working in Finland, I will be talking about how families are maintaining relationships with people close to them and what kind of new practices are created to overcome geographical distance. In my paper, I am stressing the importance of both active real-life and mediated communication, media usage and social-media practices, but also new travelling practices. I will examine the perspectives of both the mobile members of family and those who stay behind and ask how all family members are involved in the migration processes. Based on my fieldwork, I found that the mobility of one member of the family can influence others and even pull them into constant travelling or at least more active position towards the international movement and other countries. My research shows that through media usage and visits to abroad the partner and children, who stay in Estonia, gain special kind of transnational lifestyle.

### **Teacher's professional identity and the ICT influence in the teacher's place making**

Liisa Näpärä, University of Eastern Finland

Technology and media are constantly transforming people's life and identity. In my dissertation, I study the social and cultural meanings of the ICT (information and communication technologies) for elementary school teachers from design anthropology perspective. Teachers have several roles; in addition to being teachers, for instance, they are also content specialists, pedagogical professionals and technical assistants. There are many social and cultural expectations connected to teacher profession and to what being a competent teacher is considered to require. Furthermore, there is a lot of pressure from above. Teachers are supposed to manage with the expected upcoming change and pressure entailed by the usage of the ICTs, and at the same time learn to use the ICTs effectively. Teachers' education to use the ICTs is inadequate, and required technologies for teaching are often outdated or absent. Teachers have to adapt very quickly to changing ICTs and balance between with expectations and reality. While being a teacher requires presence in the public sphere, teachers' personal background, including attitudes and experiences with the ICTs are quite a personalized and connected with the teacher's identity. A mobile teacher is "always online" and available even though they have their private life.

## **Opiskelijapaneeli**

Järjestäjät: Julia Granroth ja Hilja Aunela, Helsingin yliopisto

### **"They get to see it, they get to see the world": Liikkuvuus sirkuslaisten elämässä**

Riikka Juutinen, Tampereen yliopisto

Antropologinen pro gradu-tutkielmani sijoittuu liikkuvuuden tutkimuksen kentälle ja etnografisen aineistoni olen kerännyt Sirkus Finlandiassa, Suomen kansallissirkuksessa. Sirkusta on kautta sen historian romantisoitu runoudessa, kirjallisuudessa ja elokuvien maailmassa. Sirkuksen mukaan karkaaminen on toiminut vertauskuvana jollekin sankarilliselle ja vapauttavalle, ja liikkuminen on aina ollut oleellinen osa sirkuksen elämää. Tämän romantisoinnin vastapainona tässä tutkielmassa tarkastelen sirkuslaisia myös työntekijöinä, jotka matkustavat työnsä perässä ympäri maailmaa, sirkuksesta toiseen. Pyrkimyksenä tutkimuksessa on tutustua sirkukseen ja sen henkilökuntaan liikkuvan elämäntyylin edustajana, ottaen huomioon myös transnationaalit suhteet ja sirkusyhteisön kansainvälisyyden. Keskeisinä käsitteinä tutkimuksessa ovat liikkuvuus, liikkuva elämäntyyl, neomadismi, taiteilijoiden liikkuvuus ja yhteisö. Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on selvittää, millä ehdoilla sirkustaiteilijat elävät liikkuvaa elämää, miten liikkuvuus määrittyy ja miten se rytmittää heidän elämäänsä. Pyrkimyksenä on selvittää liikkuvuuden eri ulottuvuuksia käyttäen sirkusta esimerkkinä yhteisöstä, joka on kiinnostavassa risteyskohdassa perinteisen ja globaalin nomadismien sekä työperäisen liikkuvuuden ja elämäntapaliikkuvuuden rajapinnoilla. Tutkimuskysymyksenä on kuinka sirkus toimii liikkuvan elämän kontekstina? Lisäkysymyksinä teemaan liittyen voi kysyä esimerkiksi, kuinka liikkuva elämäntyyl näyttäytyy sirkustaiteilijoiden elämässä tai miten globaalin nomadismien ja elinkeinon perustuvan liikkuvuuden aspektit yhdistyvät sirkustaiteilijoiden elämässä? Tutkielmassa lähestyn liikkuvaa elämäntyyliä kolmen eri teeman kautta; sirkuslaisia koskevien byrokraattisten rajoitteiden näkökulmasta, kodin tekemisen ja ihmissuhteiden kautta, sekä tarkastellen sitä, miten sirkuslaiset kokevat liikkuvan elämäntyylin ja miten he liikkuvuutta sanoittavat.

### **Isot naiset, kapeat ihanteet: plus-koon mallien neuvottelua feminiinisistä ruumisnormeista**

Heidi Mikkonen, Itä-Suomen yliopisto

Nykyiset länsimaiset kauneusihanteet korostavat ruumiin terveyttä ja elinvoimaisuutta, joiden ajatellaan näyttäytyvän erityisesti laihtumisen ja lihaksikkuuden muodossa. Näiden ihanteiden vastakohtana lihavuus on toiseutettua, normien ja sallittujen rajojen ylittämistä. Lihavuus on medikalisoitunut ja stigmatisoitunut lääketieteelliseksi ongelmaksi ja osoitukseksi yksilön paitsi fyysisestä myös psyykkisestä ja moraalista heikkoudesta. Lihavuuden stigma on sukupuolittunut koskemaan erityisesti naisia, ja naiskauneuden representaatiot keskittyvät valtaosin tiukat laihtumisen kriteerit täyttävien naisten ympärille. Viime vuosina totuttua suurempien plus-kokoisten naismallien näkyvyys muotiteollisuudessa ja mediassa on kuitenkin lisääntynyt. Miten heidän esilläolonsa ja puheensa työstään suhteutuvat hegemoniseen lihavuusdiskurssiin ja naisia koskeviin

ruumisnormeihin? Esitelmä perustuu kandidaatintutkielmaani, jota varten tarkastelin verkossa julkaistuja plus-kokoisten mallien ja muotibloggarien haastatteluja ja heitä käsitteleviä artikkeleja diskurssianalyysin keinoin. Teoreettisesti tarkasteluni pohjaa kriittiseen lihavuustutkimukseen, joka kyseenalaistaa ongelma- ja painokeskeisen lähestymistavan lihavuuteen sekä hallitsevat, patriarkaaliset ruumisnormit, joiden mukaan naisten tulee olla pienikokoisia ja viedä mahdollisimman vähän tilaa. Suhtautuminen laihuutta korostaviin kauneusihanteisiin vaihtelee aineistossa esiintyvien naisten välillä, mutta vallitseva lihavuusdiskurssi on tavalla tai toisella läsnä jokaisen suhteessa omaan ruumiiseensa ja työhönsä. Lempeys omaa ruumista kohtaan, laihuusihanteen vastustaminen ja toisten naisten kannustaminen itsensä hyväksymiseen yhdistyvät mallien puheessa diskurssiksi, joka purkaa sekä naisiin että lihavuuteen liitettyjä ennako-oletuksia ja haastaa muotiteollisuuden hitaasti muuttuvat normit.

### **Mayan perceptions of spiritual tourism in the Highlands of Guatemala**

Maria Niemiharju, University of Gothenburg

San Marcos la Laguna on Kaqchikel-mayojen asuttama pieni vuoristokylä, joka sijaitsee Atitlán-järven rannalla Guatemalassa. Viimeisen parinkymmenen vuoden aikana kylään on virrannut suuri määrä henkistä kasvua tavoittelevia ja autenttisuutta etsiviä turisteja ja ekspatriaatteja pääasiassa länsimaista. He ovat muodostaneet kylään oman yhteisönsä ja perustaneet vaihtoehtoitoimintaklinikoita, joogakouluja, ja kasvisravintoloita. Lähes kaikki länsimaalaisille suunnatut palvelut ovat tänä päivänä muiden länsimaalaisten omistamia. Ilmiön seurauksena paikallinen väestö on joutunut muuttamaan kauemmaksi vuorille länsimaalaisten yritysten tieltä. Vaikka osa paikallisesta mayaväestöstä hyötyy ilmiöstä taloudellisesta, kokevat monet kylän väestön menettäneen kulttuurisen identiteettinsä. Espanjan kieli on myös syrjäyttämässä paikallisen väestön äidinkielen kaqchikelin, koska se on hyödyllisempi kaupankäynnissä ja länsimaalaisten kanssa kommunikoinnissa. Tutkimus pyrkii selvittämään antropologisin tutkimusmenetelmin, että millaisia vaikutuksia San Marcosin spirituaalisella turismilla on paikalliseen mayaväestöön ja miten he kokevat edellä kuvaillun ilmiön. Tutkimus on kiinnostunut myös heidän mahdollisesti kehittämistään selviytymisstrategioista ja tarkastelee dynamiikkaa paikallisen väestön ja länsimaalaisten välillä. Tutkimus pohjautuu etnografiseen aineistoon sekä haastatteluihin. Teoreettisesti tutkimus ottaa vaikutteita postkoloniaalisesta teoriasta sekä turismin tutkimuksen teoriasta

### **Heinäsiirakat ruokana, tuhoeläiminä ja osana monilajista peltomaisemaa Meksikossa**

Eemi Nordström, Helsingin yliopisto

Esitelmäni käsittelee suunnitteilla olevan pro gradu -tutkielmani aihetta, joka keskittyy ihmisten ja pelloilla elävien heinäsiirakkojen väliseen vuorovaikutukseen Meksikossa. Hyönteisten hyötykäytöllä on pitkät perinteet mesoamerikkalaisessa kulttuuripiirissä, ja varsinkin heinäsiirakat (meksikonespanjaksi chapulines) ovat suosittua ruokaa eri puolilla Meksikoa ja myös näkyvä osa paikallisidentiteettiä esimerkiksi Oaxacan osavaltiossa (Cohen et al. 2009). Lisäksi nämä pääosin Sphenarium -sukuun kuuluvat siirakat ovat haitallisia peltotuholaisia, joten niiden pyydystäminen ruoaksi toimii myös tuholaiistorjuntamenetelmänä (Ramos-Elorduy 1997; Cerritos & Cano-Santana 2008). Aikomuksenani olisi perehtyä vielä

määrittelemättömässä kenttäkohteessa paikallisten suhtautumiseen heinäsiirkoihin osana monilajista milpa -peltoympäristöä sekä siirkojen ihmistoiminnasta riippuvaista, semidomestikoitua statusta monilajisen etnografian (multispecies ethnography) näkökulmasta. Koska tutkielma on vielä suunnitteluvaiheessa ja vailla tarkempaa fokuksia, aion sivuta esitelmässäni myös laajempia teemoja muun muassa siirkoihin liittyvän elintarvikekaupan näkyvyydestä Meksikossa.

### **Tunteentäyteistä pelin seuraamista – Affektit elektronisen urheilun katsojayhteisössä**

Meri Parkkinen, Itä-Suomen yliopisto

Esittelen keväällä 2016 julkaista kandidaatin tutkielmaani Tunteita ja tunnelmia elektronisen urheilun katsomoissa – Etnografinen tutkielma affekteista Counter-Striken katsojayhteisössä, jossa tarkastelen elektronisen katsojayhteisön yhteisöllisyyden muodostumista ja yhteisön merkitystä katsomisessa. Tähän pureudun tarkastelemalla affektien tarttumista elektronisen urheilun katsomoissa. Kandidaatin tutkielmassani tein etnografisen kuvauksen elektronisen urheilun seuraamisesta viiden 22-31-vuotiaan lajia seuraavan miehen haastattelujen sekä osallistuvan havainnoinnin pohjalta. Osallistuin katsojana suomalaiseen Counter-Strike: Global Offensive -turnaukseen, jossa havainnoin turnaukseen osallistumisen tapoja. Elektroninen urheilu on 2010-luvulla nykyisen muotonsa saanut ja suureen suosioon noussut laji, jossa ammattimaisesti pelaavat ottavat toisistaan mittaan erilaisissa elektronisissa peleissä. Elektronista urheilua seurataan internetin välityksellä katsomalla suorita suoratoistettuja lähetyksiä, osallistumalla katsojana turnauksiin paikan päällä sekä seuraamalla ja osallistumalla internetkeskusteluihin. Kandidaatin tutkielmassani tutkin Counter-Strike: Global Offensive -pelin katsojayhteisöä. Vaikka elektronisen urheilun seuraamisessa löytyy paljon yhtäläisyyksiä perinteiseen urheiluun, katsoja näyttää olevan lajin vahvan internetvälitteisyyteensä ja interaktiivisuusmahdollisuuksien takia perinteisen urheilun katsojaa verrattuna lähempänä seuraamansa lajin tapahtumia. Elektronisen urheilun seuraaminen muuttaa käsitystä siitä, mitä on tuntee ja elää mukana urheilun tapahtumia: katsoja voi tuntee vahvasti seuraavansa peliä yhdessä muiden kanssa, vaikka fyysisesti istuisi tietokoneen ääressä yksin. Samalla turnaustapahtumiin osallistuminen fyysisenä katsojana saa uusia merkityksiä, sillä siihen liittyy ulottuvuus, jota arkinen tietokoneella seuraaminen ei pysty tarjoamaan: kosketus toisiin ihmisiin.

### **Moniarvoinen keinovalaistus - Rajanvetoa hyvän ja pahan valon välillä**

Eerik Rutanen, Jyväskylän yliopisto

Pro gradu –työni aiheena on ihmisten suorittama arviointi ja rajanveto hyödylliseksi ja haitalliseksi koetusta keinovalaistuksesta. Keinovalaistuksen lisääntyessä sekä ihmisten havahtuessa liiallisen ja tunkeilevan keinovalaistuksen ongelmiin, vaatii aiemmin vähän tutkittu aihe etnologista näkökulmaa. Tarkoituksena on auttaa löytämään parempia ratkaisuja valosaasteeseen. Tutkimuskysymyksiini kuului, milloin keinovalaistuksesta tulee häiritsevää ja liiallista. Lisäksi kulttuurintutkimuksen näkökulma vaatii selvittää, kuinka valo rakentuu nimenomaan kulttuurillisesti ja kuinka se tulkitaan. Pienenä ja henkilökohtaisena tutkimuskysymyksenä tarkoitukseni oli lisäksi selvittää soveltuuko etnologia tämänkaltaisen teknologiapainoitteisen ilmiön tutkimiseen. Teoreettisena lähtökohdana toimii keinovalaistuksen käsitteleminen materiaalisen kulttuurin sekä

teknologian ja ihmisen vuorovaikutuksen näkökulmasta. Alun perin suunnittelin teoreettiseksi pohjaksi Mary Douglasin lähtökohtia saasteen ja kategorioiden tutkimiseen, mutta hylkäsin sen keräämäni tutkimusaineiston pohjalta. Tutkimuksen aineiston kokosin haastatteleamalla paikallisen tähtiyhdistyksen jäseniä, jotka ilmoittautuivat haastateltaviksi sähköpostilistalle lähettämäni viestin pohjalta. Lisäksi keräsin vähäisiä määriä aineistoa mm. sanoma- ja aikakauslehdistä. Rajasin aineiston keruukentän osittain aiemmin suoritettua ei-etnologisen kyselyn pohjalta. Samoin otin huomioon aiemmin tehdyn kyselyn haastattelukysymysten valmistelussa. En ole vielä edennyt siihen vaiheeseen, jolloin voisin julkaista varsinaisia tutkimustuloksia, mutta aineiston keruun yhteydessä nousi jo eräitä itse tutkimusta määrittäviä seikkoja. Tärkeimpänä näistä on keinovalaistuksen kulttuurillisen rakentumisen moniäänisyys. Lisäksi voin jo tässä vaiheessa todeta etnologian soveltuvuuden keinovalaistuksen kaltaisten aiheiden tutkimiseen.

### **Tartuntatauteja paikallistamassa – Suomi ja maailmanlaajuiset terveysuhat** Helmi Räisänen, Helsingin yliopisto

Esitelmä perustuu pro gradu -tutkielmaani, jossa tarkastelen Suomessa tehtävää tartuntatautien vastustamistyötä kulttuurisena ja yhteiskunnallisena ilmiönä. Tavoitteenani on selvittää, millaisiin käsityksiin Suomen suhteellisesta sijainnista tämä työ perustuu, ja millaisin tilallisin ja diskursiivisin keinoin näitä käsityksiä ilmaistaan. Millaisia käsityksiä paikkojen ja ihmisten välisistä yhteyksistä, ja toisaalta eroista, näissä toimissa on siis havaittavissa? Olen kiinnostunut siitä, miten etenkin länsimaissa kansanterveyden parissa jalansijaa saanut näkemys globaalista terveydestä ja globaaleista terveysuhista vaikuttaa mahdollisesti paikallisuuden kokemiseen ja käsittelemiseen. Samalla kun tartuntatautien korostetaan uhmaavan valtioiden rajoja, niiden alkuperän katsotaan usein olevan jossain muualla, mahdollisesti kaukana täältä. Pyrin siis selvittämään, miten juuri tartuntatautien kautta määritellään ja luokitellaan suhteellista sijaintiamme ja terveysriskejämme maailmassa, jossa yksittäiset paikat määrittyvät jollakin tapaa ylipaikallisten, tässä tapauksessa mikrobiologisten, suhteidensa kautta. Mahdollinen lähestymistapani on käsitellä tartuntatautien vastustamistyötä biopoliittisena rajatekniikkana. Rajatekniikat ovat kaikki ne viralliset ja epäviralliset tekniikat, joilla erilaisia luokittelujärjestelmiä ilmentäviä rajoja rakennetaan, ylläpidetään ja kontrolloidaan. Millaista rajaa tartuntatautien vastustamistyöllä mahdollisesti tehdään? Kerään Terveiden ja hyvinvoinnin laitoksen (THL) mahdollistamana tutkimukseni etnografisen aineiston muutamassa eri kohteessa Suomessa vuoden 2017 aikana.

### **Miten koira nähdään työntekijänä?** Emilia Vuotilainen, Helsingin yliopisto

Teen tällä hetkellä pro gradu –tutkielmaa sosiaali- ja kulttuuriantropologiassa Helsingin yliopistolla Valtiotieteellisessä tiedekunnassa. Pro gradu –tutkielmani aiheena on ihmisten ja eläinten väliset suhteet ja eläimeksi olen rajannut koirat ja tarkemmin työkoirat. Tarkoitukseni on katsella työtä eläimen kautta ja tässä tapauksessa työkoiran kautta. Mitä koiran työ on ja voidaanko sitä sanoa työksi. Miten koiran omistajat näkevät koiran, onko koira lemmikkieläin, perheenjäsen, työntekijä vai esine. Tutkielmani on siinä määrin kesken, että kenttätyöni on vasta alkuvaiheessa ja tutkimuksen edetessä myös tutkimuskysymys ja työkeskeisyys



saattaa hieman muuttua. Tavoitteenani on saada pro gradu –tutkielma valmiiksi kesän 2017 aikana. Tärkein teemani on tällä hetkellä työ ja koiran työnteko. Saatan käyttää vertailuna myös niin sanotusti normaaleja perhekoiria ja katsoa voidaanko näitä koiria katsoa työntekijöiksi missään määrin. Tarkoitukseni on tehdä haastatteluja ja osallistuvaa havainnointia opaskoirien, tulli-, poliisi- ja hypokoirien omistajien kanssa. Aineisto saattaa myös hieman muuttua riippuen siitä kuinka hyvin pääsen tekemään haastatteluja tai osallistuvaa havainnointia edellä mainittujen tahojen kanssa. Mikäli tämä ei onnistu niin otan mukaan esimerkiksi metsästyskoirat ja seurakoirat. Minua kiinnostaa myös aiheena sosiaalisuus koiran kautta tai koira sosiaalisuuden välineenä. Esimerkkinä ulkona monet ihmiset lähestyvät koiranomistajia koiran kautta, eli kysymällä koirasta jotain tai puhumalla koira-aiheesta. Tätä en todennäköisesti tule kuitenkaan syvällisesti käsittelemään gradututkimuksessani.

### **Planned realities or imaginaries**

Chairs: Suvi Rautio, Sonja Trifuljesko and Agnese Bankovska, University of Helsinki  
Discussant: Sarah Green, University of Helsinki

### **Competition of state ideologies and national/post-Soviet sentiments in migrants planned future: case of Ukrainian wage-workers in Saint Petersburg**

Roman Urbanowicz, European University at St. Petersburg

The presentation is based on small-scale ethnographical exploration amongst Ukrainian wage-working immigrants in Saint Petersburg, conducted in the spring of 2016. Particularly, four biographies that represent different migration scenarios are scrutinised. The initial point of inquiry was to examine how enduring economical crisis in Russia (which has, however, lost certain part of its perceived magnitude during the time after my fieldwork) affected the migration strategies of my informants. Still, the picture appeared to be more complicated than the mere matters of pragmatic economic choices. In my presentation, I am going to examine how the interplay of power of various states (those of Russia and Ukraine), expressed through both state ideologies (including the patterns of perception of cultural difference and state politics and policy, implied by them) and post-colonial experience of ‘being subaltern’, affects migrants’ chosen strategies of planning the future in terms of their migration scenarios, regarding to their evaluation of different cultural environments, constructed by different political powers. I am also interested in matters of agency, which are constantly being shaped by their perception of cultural difference and current political state of affairs between Russia and Ukraine, as well as by entangled economy of emotional loyalties of both personal and political kind. With regard to the variables which are of importance, several factors could be named, such as degree of personal involvement of my informants in current conflict in the Eastern Ukraine, proclivity to assuming anti-Western state ideologies, and the strength of emotional connections with the cultural forms and practices, induced by the very fact of existence of independent Ukrainian state.

## **Environmental conservation plans reorganizing landscapes in Northeast Madagascar**

Jenni M\"olk\"anen, University of Helsinki

The sustainable development plans, calling for more intensified resource use, were introduced in Madagascar intensively during the 1980s along with structural adjustment programs and transnational organisations' concerns for the adequacy of natural resources. Based on modern scientific knowledge production by experts, the multi-million environmental conservation programs, that today cover 10% of Madagascar's surface, along with intensifying resource use initiatives, e.g. intensified irrigated rice cultivation methods, and practices took place. Landscapes of the Marojejy mountains was reorganized based on understandings of modern scientific knowledge production, epistemologies of nature but also according to capitalist value production. The local cultivators were puzzled about why the park was established and speculations emerged. The environmental conservation plans did not only organise nature but they placed rice and vanilla cultivators' living in the Marojejy landscapes in the 'savage' slot, those, who did not know how to use natural resources properly, or in civilized way. However, along with ICDPs and in order to make the park sustainable, these same cultivators were hired in ecotourism practices as guides, cooks and porters. However, while conservation and development plans tried to organise people to engage with capitalist practices, they, at the same time, enforced subsistence economy (Sodikoff 2009), that the state representatives had been trying to control ever since from colonialism. In addition, by paying attention to ecotourism practices, local cultivators came to the conclusion that it does not make them rich. The paper points out that plans should arise from the ethnographical evidence, not the other way around.

## **Planning time thrift in Fiji**

Matti Er\"asaari, University of Helsinki

Fiji, particularly indigenous village Fiji, is well known for a carefree attitude towards time, sometimes referred to as "Fiji Time". The phenomenon is not always frowned upon; as a matter of fact, for example Fiji's tourism advertising relies heavily on images of relaxation and leisure. At the same time, however, "Fiji Time" is also seen as a vice and an obstacle to development, and attitudes towards time-use are characterised by anxieties that are due to these coeval valuations of time. My paper looks into time as a medium of planning that is particularly dependent on place. I will discuss the way in which "time management" is conducted "against" the backdrop of a village community which is expected to be adverse to planning. Exemplary material will be drawn from the Navuso School of Agriculture near Nausori town in Fiji.

## **Planning for the sake of planning in rural ethnic China**

Suvi Rautio, University of Helsinki

My thirteen months of ethnographic research is located in a Dong ethnic minority village in a mountainous valley in southeast Guizhou province, China's most impoverished regions. Owing to its well-preserved architectural exterior, the Dong village is painted as an ethnically unique, peaceful and tranquil locality set in a timeless setting, remaining the same as before. Yet to become that which it has

always been requires infrastructural renovation and renewal. In response to global trends to preserve tradition, key actors address infrastructural renewal as a means of preserving the village ‘indigenous’ aesthetics. Local residents, who want to distance themselves from tradition to resemble urban forms of practicality and modernity, do not see preservation efforts as desired change, and hence deem government-led development plans as failed promises. In response to these conflicts and the increasing nation-wide surveillance against corruption, many government plans cannot move past planning to the actual doing. As such, the obligations of the planner are constantly relocated from one ‘expert’ to the next. Studying plans as a site where power relations are practiced, my paper discusses who is considered to carry the knowledge and responsibility to create and carry out plans, and what does this reflect about the changing role of the expert in development schemes in current day rural ethnic China.

**“This generation has already been lost”: (Still) making the new Chinese ‘quality’ citizen in the countryside though state plans for legal and moral change**  
Liisa Kohonen, London School of Economics and Political Science

Planning is an exercise in extending the mind away from the present to imagine an improved future reality. However, alongside with new roads, a better functioning legal systems and cleaner air (to name a few), the object of state planning is often the person itself that will inhabit that new spatiotemporal reality. This paper addresses aspects of the Chinese legal and other reforms that seek to put in place precisely such mobility: inducing certain Chinese citizens deemed to be of low ‘quality’ (suzhi) and possessing poor moral and legal capabilities to become modern citizens, fit to inhabit the China continuously being made and planned. Is such change of moral personhood even truly possible? How to understand the state/citizen relationship implied, and the desires of the citizens being planned upon? And: what does it mean analytically when plans of such kind fail as far as state actors are concerned, and the temporal focus gets shifted further into the future? The research for this paper was carried out during 18 months of ethnographic fieldwork in rural South-West China.

**Perspectives of Narva's development: interrelations between past and present**  
Margarita Chubukova, European University at St. Petersburg

Narva is a very special place. Nowadays it is a post-soviet Russian-speaking city on the EstoniaRussia border that could hardly be considered as ordinary EU-town. To a large extent the echo of a past dominates on this place and guides the present and future. Basing on field observations and on interviews with citizens and particularly with members of city administration I am drawing up some more or less realistic scenarios of Narva development. E.g., they imagine it (1) as a conserved soviet five-storey city, (2) as a reconstructed 'baroque pearl of the Baltic', (3) as a boundary multicultural touristic transit space or (3) as a productive postindustrial city. I do not aspire to present the whole picture, but I try to look through discovered perspectives and explain its nature. Moreover, founding on this case, I address following issues: How do different plans confront with the local history and with state agenda? With what kinds of problems do drivers of development face? Why does temporal dimension play its own role in spatial development?

### **Planning f(re)edom: university reform in contemporary Finland**

Sonja Trifuljesko, University of Helsinki

In December 2015, the Finnish Parliament decided to impose tuition fees for non-EU/EEA nationals, studying towards their bachelor's or master's degrees in languages other than Finnish and Swedish. This move could hardly be perceived as a surprise, as it came after several years of intense discussions and a four-year tuition fee trial period. Still, from the very moment since the decision had been announced, there was a sense of emergency among university managers. The proposed timetable was tight: the tuition fees were to be implemented from the autumn semester 2017, which left to university managers less than one year before the application period for the prospective tuition fee payers would open. Drawing on my long-term ethnographic fieldwork from 2014 to 2016, this paper focuses on the planning of the tuition fee introduction at the University of Helsinki. It asks: Who was involved in the process and who was left out? What types of university future(s) did those involved expressed and how did they relate to the university past(s) and present(s)? What kind of tensions did this planning reveal? How were those tensions resolved? The paper concludes that the analysis of the process of planning of the tuition fee introduction provides important contributions towards understanding of the contemporary university reform in Finland.

### **Refugee education in transit**

Chairs: George Androulakis, Ivi Daskalaki, Anna Apostolidou and Sofia Tsioli

### **Interdisciplinary (sociolinguistic and anthropological) approaches to refugee education in Greece**

Dr. Ivi Daskalaki, Hellenic Open University

Prof. George Androulakis, Hellenic Open University

The proposed paper discusses interdisciplinary –sociolinguistic and anthropological– collaborations in the study of the topic of refugee education that will inform the design and implementation of a series of educational activities and integration interventions. The presentation is based on research conducted in the framework of the project P.R.E.S.S. (Provision of Refugee Education and Support Scheme) which is funded by the Hellenic Open University. Specifically, by bringing together epistemological components and researchers of two distinct disciplines, sociolinguistics and social anthropology, the project aims at producing multi-site ethnographic material on refugee education that will feed back into educational and integration actions for refugee children, youth and adults currently residing in Greece. Backing the need for an interdisciplinary approach to refugee education, communication and linguistic practices, the presentation firstly traces historically constructed theoretical and methodological connections between sociolinguistics and social anthropology. Secondly, it discusses how such collaborations premised on ethnographic fieldwork can shed light into multiple aspects of emerging linguistic shifts and educational processes, while taking into account the views and expectations of the refugees themselves. Thirdly, it examines how the knowledge produced through research can practically inform the design of educational interventions and integration projects that aim to produce educational spaces of interest for refugees themselves.

### **Being visible through learning: Education as a hospitality order and spatial experience in liminal spaces**

Leivaditi Nadina and Dr. Ivi Daskalaki, Hellenic Open University

This paper is based on ethnographic material produced during field research, via participant observation (from October 2016 until April 2017) in the framework of the project P.R.E.S.S. (Provision of Refugee Education and Support Scheme) which is funded by the Hellenic Open University. The paper discusses non-formal educational processes taking place within a Transition Accommodation Facility for Unaccompanied Minors on the island of Lesbos in relation to the Greek notion of *filoxenia* [hospitality]. Specifically, the paper examines the different ways through which the concept of *filoxenia* is appropriated by the employees of the host agent in order to enforce the participation of young male refugees in the agent's educational activities. Additionally, it examines how the youngsters themselves reappropriate the notion of *filoxenia* in order to assert visibility inside and outside the domestic context they temporarily live in. Here, *filoxenia* is perceived as an ideology and practice that affirms and reproduces hierarchical relationships between hosts and guests, spatial asymmetries within sites of temporarily residence, as well as liminal experiences between safety and risk, the private and the public. The following questions are relevant here: a) How does the biopolitical role of hospitality affect the guests? b) How does an emphasis on the guests' incorporation within educational processes impose new standards of self-perception for youngsters and c) How do the young male guests reappropriate the notion of hospitality and renegotiate their participation within educational activities in ways that do not threaten the hosts' perceived "offer" of hospitality and without risking their invisibility in the site of residence?

### **Out in the cold in Russia: Education and non-citizen children in precarious times**

Alexia Bloch, University of British Columbia

Based on four months of non-consecutive ethnographic research conducted in Russia (2014-2016), this paper examines a key challenge faced by refugee families (predominantly Syrians, but also Africans from such countries as Cameroon and Congo) and their children: education. These two groups of refugees have arrived in Russia over the past five years and largely been denied any sort of support from the government, including access to preschool and primary school education. While the Russian state officially permits non-citizens to attend school, at the local level a myriad of impediments, including impossible requirements for proof of residency, work to effectively prevent many refugee and migrant children from pursuing even a primary school education. The paper considers the strategies families deploy to secure a modicum of educational opportunities for their children, including via NGOs, churches, and community groups, and also, when possible, drawing on transnational family ties to maintain language and cultural knowledge. Overall, the paper draws on scholarship on children and statelessness and effective statelessness (e.g., Bhabha 2012; Constable 2014; Willen 2011) in analyzing ethnographic insights on the current situation for refugee children in Russia.

### **Female subjectivities and educational conceptualizations and practices in liminal spaces**

Dr. Georgia Sarikoudi and Vily Chatziagianni, Hellenic Open University

This presentation focuses on the narratives and practices of education (in its broader sense) of women refugees who experience displacement and entrapment, while residing in liminal spaces such as camps or apartments rented by NGO's in Thessaloniki, Greece. This ethnographically-based study is grounded in material collected during ongoing field research in camps and other residencies in Thessaloniki during the period of October 2016- April 2017. The research is carried out in the framework for the PRESS research Project (Provision of Refugee Education and Support Scheme, Hellenic Open University). Taking into account refugee women's multiple and diverse identities with reference to gender, religion, ethnicity, legal status, class, space, in this presentation we seek to discuss their conceptualizations and practices of education in relation to non-formal educational processes provided inside and outside camps by NGOs, other agents and volunteers. More specifically, we seek to shed light into the following issues: a) how they respond to educational activities offered by camp agents and NGOs inside/outside camps, b) what kind of strategies they elaborate towards offered non-formal educational programs by various agents and volunteers and c) if education constitutes a means to renegotiate their "invisibility" in liminal spaces such as camps and other refugee sites?

### **Trans/forming education: a queer approach on refugee education in Greece**

Dr. Aspasia Chalkidou and Dr. Anna Apostolidou, Hellenic Open University

The paper seeks to trace the biopolitical nexus underlying the provision of 'refugee education' in the recent influx of political and economic asylum seekers in Greece. The authors utilize queer and feminist theory as an epistemological locus through which to interrogate how 'refugee education' constitutes a biopolitical mechanism in the intersections of gender, ethnicity, religion and other 'identities' that refugees occupy. Drawing from current state policies, in/formal educational practices, and teaching materials addressed to 'refugee education' along with in-depth interviews from refugees currently residing in camps in Athens, Greece, the paper adopts the feminist lens of intersectionality in order to examine how educational needs, expectations, and priorities of female subjects are related to experiences of displacement, encampment, and transition; how the ideological backdrop of 'refugee education' produces power relations that are being perpetually renegotiated through the structure, practice, and process of education as it is being implemented in Greek camps; how accessibility to education is instructed by gender, age, ethnicity, religion, legal status and other registers of vulnerability. Examples of infantilization, patronizing and oppression will be presented alongside with potential sites of empowerment and emancipation, discussed alongside the social and spatial organization of refugee camps, conforming to imposed everyday routines, receiving 'care' and 'support', and the materiality and corporeality of 'being educated'. This paper is based on ethnographic material produced in the framework of the project P.R.E.S.S. (Provision of Refugee Education and Support Scheme) which is funded by the Hellenic Open University (2016-2017).

### **Gendered spaces and educational expectations: the case of Elliniko Camp in Athens**

Arezu Rezaian, Dr. Ivi Daskalaki, and Dr. Anna Apostolidou, Hellenic Open University

The proposed presentation examines the subjectivity of the refugees living in camps in Athens, Greece in relation to their own expectations regarding education in a state of transit. Specifically, through a critical perspective on the feminist conceptualization of subjectivity it explores how gender in the context of refugees' encampment and mobility affects their participation in non-formal educational programs mainly offered by NGOs, volunteers and other agents, such as camp managers. The presentation is based on ethnographic material produced in the framework of the project P.R.E.S.S. (Provision of Refugee Education and Support Scheme) which is funded by the Hellenic Open University. Drawing on semi-formal interviews and informal discussions in tandem with participant observation conducted between October 2016 and March 2017 with Afghan refugees (women and men of 15-40) inside and outside the temporary camp of Elliniko in Athens, the presentation seeks to discuss how space inside this temporary camp is organized and gendered and how these gendered spatial arrangements within camps can possibly trigger or restrain refugees' motivations and stance towards non-formal educational processes. At the same time, the presentation looks at the ways through which and extent to which top-down educational processes might be in line with or in conflict with the educational expectations of the refugees in the context of their encampment.

### **Silence, secrets, forgetting: Untangling the flows of knowledge in ethnographic research**

Chairs: Katja Uusihakala and Henni Alava, University of Helsinki

### **Forgotten past and traditions among Afro-Turks: Methodological challenges**

Müge Akpınar, Ege University, Izmir, Turkey

Comprising descendants of African slaves in Turkey, Afro-Turk community denotes an "as if silent and absent" existence. Drawing on my one-year ethnographic fieldwork utilising participant observation in İzmir, I aim to scrutinise methodological challenges posed by forgetting among Afro-Turks. Converted to Islam and gradually lost their ties with their own languages and traditions, Africans were largely assimilated in the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, the official historiography of the Turkish Republic has strengthened assimilation through repressive erasure. Analysing patterns of forgetting, and exploring what forgetting reveals and hides, I adopt a comprehensive methodology. Therefore, I additionally conducted in-depth interviews with older people who partly remember stories and practices about their past. Besides, I have interpreted representations of Afro-Turks in public manifestations such as literary works and museum materials from a historically oriented anthropological perspective.

### **The ethics of silence in fieldwork after war**

Henni Alava, University of Helsinki

In communities emerging from war, memories of violence are often veiled in silence. In this paper, I consider the methodological and ethical questions such situations raise, namely: how should a researcher deal with silence encountered in fieldwork – when should the silence be broken, when protected? I suggest that these questions can be approached through consideration of three inter-related issues: the broader context of the research, the desires of individual informants or communities for speaking or for silence, and the scholar's own desire for impact. Although I propose a simplified conceptual tool that may assist scholars interested in silence to navigate the ethical questions pertaining to its research, I argue that the complexities of research in post-war contexts cannot be captured in standardised and mechanistic research ethics checklists. Rather, through reflections of my own fieldwork in post-war Northern Uganda, I show that a focus on embodiment and relationality can enable more nuanced methodological insight and ethical guidelines for fieldwork in contexts affected by war.

### **Displacement and return: fears and silences in the field**

Ivona Grgurinović, University of Zagreb and Jelena Marković, Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb

The research that is the basis of this presentation is situated in a specific locality, the Croatian region of Lika, which has been marked by a history of conflict and violence (Second World War, war of the 1990s). In 1995, at the end of the conflict, over 200 000 people were displaced from Croatia, many of them from Lika. In the years following the end of the conflict, a smaller part of this number returned. The post-conflict, post-displacement and post-return condition entails for the researcher an encounter with silence and fear, which can produce unexpected performatives, contingent effects, other emotions, aestheticized articulations, verbal and non-verbal narrative forms, miscommunications, constitution of different objects of emotions, etc.

Although the research took place in a specific space, its subject is not this space and its history, but its quality of being a neuralgic spot *in situ* and in relation to the big Other. This for a large part defines and shapes the circulation of emotions (especially fear, anger, sadness) and their silences, and “uspeakabilities”. This presentation hopes to contribute to methodological and ethical insights when it comes to researching emotions that generate the spaces of silence in the field, but also in everyday life. That which is held back, suppressed, covered by fear in the fieldwork encounter, is not perceived as a flaw in an “ideal” ethnographic field, the fieldwork experience is not discredited for its lack of a verbalized story. On the contrary, we acknowledge it as an experience situated in different conditions, which allow for new epistemological insights into narrating trauma, fear, anxiety, suffering, victims, violence, persecution, return, but also joy and coexistence. We will not research silence as lack of communication but as communication itself.



### **Cultural intimacy and the circulation of secrets among a migrating society**

Timo Kaartinen, University of Helsinki

This paper explores the forms of cultural intimacy that arise when talk about interpersonal conflicts and disagreements circulates across different types of social and geographic space. Cultural intimacy implies that certain interactions and engagements are recognized as a source of external embarrassment and yet assure the participants about their common sociality. The interesting question is what happens when domains of intimacy merge with public arenas and practices; what political implications does the revelation of secrets and stereotypes have in the power-plays that happen on the stages of economic, political, and administrative practice? I address this question in reference to an Eastern Indonesian ethno-linguistic minority shaped by its historical and contemporary practices of long-distance migration. While the majority of these people currently lead an urban lifestyle, they imagine their remote, rural village of origin as a sphere of intimacy that is starkly demarcated from the ethnic politics and inequalities of urban society. After explaining the discursive norms and memory practices that underlie this construct of cultural intimacy, I describe how some of the village's cultural attributes were co-opted in a discourse about the limits of legitimate political organizing in municipal and national politics.

### **'Any man who says he has seen God is a liar': Secrecy, revelation, and accountability in public representations of Ghanaian traditional religion**

Timo Kallinen, University of Helsinki

As a response to the global proliferation of Christianity and Islam, traditional religious movements have been revived and renewed all over the world. In order to reach nationwide and diasporic audiences, traditionalist movements have often sought to assume a visible role in modern mass media. In Ghana, West Africa, the traditionalists have been at pains to challenge the dominance of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity in the public sphere. Analysts have pointed out that traditional religion's public role has been constrained by its emphasis on secrecy and limited access to spiritual powers, while Christianity's public performances of revelations have been better suited for mass media (see, e.g., Birgit Meyer, Marleen De Witte). Especially the discernment of spirits, as one of the spiritual gifts endowed by the Holy Spirit, has been a major theme in the public representations of Pentecostalism. It has been used as a means of revealing the satanic influences working behind everyday appearances and oftentimes also underneath the secrecy of traditional religion. By using examples from Ghana my paper shows how the traditionalists have recently developed their own revelatory discourse, in which the dualism godly/satanic has been replaced with honest/fraudulent. By publicly exposing Christian pastors as frauds the traditionalists reemploy and redirect an age-old accusation of charlatanry previously targeted at themselves by both Christian and secularist commentators. In addition, however, this new skepticism draws on contemporary discourses of openness and accountability.

### **Public silence, active forgetting and the temporalities of political apology**

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This paper examines the public and personal silencing of a problematic past in the case of British child migrants sent to colonial Rhodesia after the Second World War. Postwar child migration has until recently been a silenced chapter in British history. As a consequence, the former child migrants have largely responded to their public non-recognition by individual silencing, in-articulatedness, and a dismissal of memory. This kind of active forgetting can be considered as a strategy of avoidance, where people choose not to think about or inquire after atrocities of the past. But it also reflects the difficulty of linking personal memory to the social silence and collective forgetting about the phenomenon, as well as to the assumed inability of others to comprehend their experiences. However, when a state-issued apology to the child migrants was made in 2010, the migrants' previous elimination from the national historical narrative was replaced by their political categorization and inclusion as the deserving victims of a misguided state policy. The paper therefore suggests that public apology, as a moral and political act, is a particularly suitable site for examining attempts to redefine and rearticulate previously silenced pasts. Further, in so doing, apologies create particular kinds of political subjectivities for the recipients of apology, and draw out distinct understandings about the relationship between past, present and future.

### **Unvoiced legacies and misrecognized ideologies in East Javanese political campaigns**

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In this paper, I compare two large-scale political rallies in Indonesia that took place in 2013. They were both part of East Java's gubernatorial election, one held by a nationalist party, PDI-P, and the other by a religious party, PKB. The object of my comparative analysis is to examine how violent events in Indonesia's political past have shaped the contemporary forms of political speaking and performativity. James Siegel (2006) has argued that violent acts of the revolution of the 1940s and of the communist purge in the 1960s are lodged in the cultural memory of Indonesians, but they remain a repressed memory and not directly addressed in contemporary culture. The genealogies of the two parties in question point to polar opposite roles, and perhaps different modes of repression regarding their ideologies, in Indonesia's violent past. These political lineages manifest in contemporary political culture in a silent, indirect manner. Given the reluctance of politicians in addressing this history, representing its legacy poses a particularly difficult dilemma for an ethnography mindful of political history. I analyse the speech and performances in these rallies from the perspective of this unvoiced history, and argue that although on the face of it, the political messages of the two rallies bear no striking difference, the performative effects (Butler 1997) of the rallies differ decidedly, partly because of these silent aspects of political history.