

On Time

Biennial Conference of the Finnish Anthropological Society 28.–30.8.2019

Time is a classic topic in anthropology: it has been viewed as a natural, linguistic, religious, economic and generational phenomenon, among other things. But it is hard to recall when time would have been as widely researched as it is right now. The theme of the 2019 conference of the Finnish Anthropological Society was chosen largely to find out “why time now?” Is it because we have become increasingly aware of the plurality of temporal regimes in our lives, for example, or because of our increased sensitivity to these due to the increased movement of ever more people? And is this why the plural “temporalities” is now often favoured over the singular “time”?

Ultimately, it must be anthropology’s versatility that makes it particularly well suited for grasping and narrating time as a combination of politics, space, materiality, language, scale, valuation, prediction, and growth – again just to name but a few themes. But what has anthropology learnt from the study of time? Has the current “temporal turn” gone far enough for us to take stock of its accomplishments?

The 2019 Finnish Anthropological Society Conference “On Time” investigates these themes in panels and films. The conference is organised in co-operation with the discipline of Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Helsinki and the Finnish Literature Society. The **keynote speaker** of the conference is **Ghassan Hage**, and the **2019 Edvard Westermarck memorial lecture** will be given by **Laura Bear** on the eve of the conference (August 28).

Panel 1. Academic Time Now

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Is academic time out of joint? There is a sense that many of the delights of research are ever harder to enjoy because institutional and economic factors have squeezed out a key condition of rewarding academic labour, time. This panel invites contributions that

explore current configurations of time and academic work.

Subtle transformations in temporal and labour regimes have attracted scholarly attention recently. How do the rhythms of audit culture connect with everyday academic lives? There have also been calls to “slow down” university work. In *Another Science is Possible: A manifesto for slow science* (2018), Isabel Stengers has even written of the need to slow down to avoid impending barbarism. She cites Alfred North Whitehead, for whom “the task of the University is the creation of the future, so far as rational thought, and civilised modes of appreciation, can affect the issue”. Indeed, future-talk of various kinds has entered intellectual discourse in the last few years, in part to do with threats to Earth systems – the Anthropocene. As universities play contradictory roles vis-à-vis such developments, scholarly, socio-economic and bodily desires increasingly clash – or do they?

Academics have personal experience of the issues. We can also think creatively about the less obvious forces shaping the connections between ways of reckoning time, doing research and hegemonic aspirations, for example for efficiency or economic growth. We may also challenge Stengers’ view. Contributions are invited from anthropologists and others, that reflect on their own practice, on the role of institutions or on student experiences, or any other aspect of the panel topic.

Student Experiences of Academic Time: Constructing Careers on Unknowable Foundations in Uncertain Times

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The British academy’s entanglement with the British economy has long been complicated. Episodes, like the creation of University College London, the nation’s first civic university, in the early 19th century in response to Oxbridge’s failure to provide a relevant university education attest to this (Whyte 2015). The Thatcher government’s 1987 white paper ‘Higher Education: Meeting the Challenge’ which argued “Meeting the needs of the economy is not the sole purpose of higher education . . . But this aim . . . must be vigorously pursued” established the current paradigm (British Government 1987). Universities were to be the midwives, wet-nurses, and governesses of the nation’s future. They were to help birth new innovations, nurture entrepreneurs, and train knowledge workers. Beginning with New Labour, this ‘vigorous pursuit’ was further encouraged by successive governments each of whom represented university attendance as an increasingly integral feature of British life. They set recruitment targets and formulated ever more complex instruments for “authoritarian governmentality” (Shore and Wright 1999).

My focus in this context are students from under-

represented backgrounds studying for professional degrees at a well-regarded British university. Specifically, I analyze their accounts of time in university and explore how it has influenced their formulation of timemaps. By timemaps, I mean narrative schemas that they employ when they envision what professional progress looks like (Zerubavel 2003). At a time of labor market uncertainty, when the very notion of a career is increasingly under attack, what, I ask, have students learned from academic timescapes about the art of prognostication?

Between a ‘task-oriented’ and a ‘clock’ doctorate in contemporary Finland

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As Tim Ingold (2000) has pointed out, much anthropological discussion on time, like on other topics, had been premised on the opposition between ‘traditional’ and industrial societies. The temporal experience in the pre-industrial world revolves around socially embedded activities of tasks. This task-orientation gets, however, subverted by the logic of capitalist production, which imposes the split between the domains of work and social life. Time becomes governed by a mechanical clock. Ingold has, however, claimed that ‘task-oriented time’ had not been erased by ‘clock time’ with the rise of capitalist industry. Rather, people ended up being caught in the constant negotiations between the two extremes. There has been much interest recently in time awareness at contemporary universities, but most of the discussion has been geared towards the concept of acceleration (e.g. Vostal 2016; Berg and Seeber 2016; Stengers 2018). Gritt B. Nielsen (2015) has been one of the rare to engage with Ingold’s argument, by focusing on the tension between the task-oriented and the clock time among Danish university students. My paper develops further this line of inquiry by extending it to include research activity. More specifically, I focus on the attempts to impose time constraints on PhD dissertation work in Finland. Drawing on my ethnographic fieldwork conducted at the University of Helsinki between 2014 and 2016, I ask what does enforcing the time-limit to a doctorate do to social relations in the Finnish academia? How does it affect people’s understanding of the academic activity and of themselves? Finally, what are epistemological implications of such move?

Academe: Suspension between Tradition and Futurity

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While academic life centres around the axes of research and teaching, these practices both solicit and reflect differing orientations toward time. In sync with neo-liberal mandates of innovation and impact, research is increasingly organized around futurity: funding applications, for example, require work to be new, timely, and ground-breaking, and include ways to track and measure its uptake. But what counts as “timely” research? Like the sciences, the social sciences and humanities invoke a certain monotheistic logic in how “new” scholarship is adjudicated. According to this logic, time is linear, as well as teleological—research projects should produce tangible products, or at least impacts, preferably lending themselves toward comparable, quantitative metrics of research “productivity.” While research attends to the future, the domain of pedagogy is more explicitly oriented toward the past: syllabi, programs, and disciplines frame teaching as a way to connect students with the continuity of given traditions. Academic instructors are often tasked, implicitly or explicitly, with familiarizing students with canonical texts and historical themes. While the time of teaching is also linear, the rhythms of temporality seem dissonant, in generative ways, with the rhythms of high-impact research. The call to become “slow professors,” for example, differs in instructive ways, from the call to do “slow science.” While we are interested in exploring the invocation of “slowness”, in this paper we query the extent to which slowness interrupts linearity of either tradition or high-impact metrics. Further, we will examine other logics of temporality in order to affirm the leaps, the abductive surprises, and the non-linear discoveries of engaged pedagogy and scholarship.

Talking Time: Latency & Academic Podcasting

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Academic podcasting is awash with temporal considerations. For some it might appear as yet another time sapping activity that scholars are required to undertake as part of neoliberal performances of success. Others might point out how it allows them to get ideas in circulation quickly rather than wait for lengthy journal review processes. I draw on my experience of running the podcast series ‘Online Gods – Digital Cultures in India and Beyond’ (which I make with Sahana Udupa), in which we interview both interlocutors and scholars, and a separate research project into academic podcasting. I argue that the temporal tension at the heart of academic knowledge production is an unease surrounding the reduction in latency within online circulations, coupled with an expectation for evermore instantaneous communication. I understand latency both as the time interval between stimulation and response (as it is usually used in digital parlance), but also as the state of

existing but not yet being developed or manifest (in its standard pre-digital understanding). I consider three aspects to latency. Firstly, how digital media fractures linear timelines. Secondly, how different forms of social/academic capital work on different (sometimes incommensurable) temporal logics. And thirdly, whether making research interviews within an academic podcast can produce coevalness between the anthropologist and their interlocuters.

Time as a Measure of Academic Work

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My ongoing study looks into the adaptation of time-allocation tools to measure academic work at Finnish universities. Originally employed primarily for accounting purposes, the monthly and annual reporting of time use has become a source of general annoyance for academics, but also the cause of a particular kind of moral outrage as academics seek to cram their work into a predetermined number of daily working hours (7.25) that in no way reflects the real time expenditure of academic work. My paper sets out to elaborate what these tools were employed for, what are they not for, but also what kinds of realities are created through the use of such tools. The underlying interest of the research has to do with value and measurement: what is accomplished by quantifying academic performances through time rather than, for example, money? Does it reflect a particular set of interests, for example, or work against those of others?

Panel 2. Anthropological Failures

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What is the room in anthropology for failure, accidents and excesses?

This panel sets up to explore how failure can be also an asset during ethnographic research, becoming an element of learning and experimentation (Birla 2016). A failure, an accident, a breakdown, even a tragedy, is not an endpoint but a new beginning and a liminal point of assessment (Rosaldo 1989). Failures make evident the possibility of breakthrough and becoming something else, telling us about accidental findings, gaps, tricksters and hackers.

Failure can be understood not simply as a crisis, but also as a terrain of interstitiality (Ssorin-Chaikov 2016), and a window of opportunity characterised by potentiality (Latour 1996; Miyazaki and Riles 2005).

Because we are impelled to avoid what is inefficient, distorted, out of the straight line (Sandage 2005; Ahmed 2006), current discourses about failure overlook how wasted time can be socially and culturally productive (Martínez 2018). Since failure provides space for thinking and self-assessment by interrupting the expected flow of things, an anthropological analysis of the contours and consequences of failure contribute to the discussions of temporality, both in research and “in the field”, presenting our experience of time as non-linear, non-cumulative, multi-dimensional. Our panel welcomes ethnographic and auto-ethnographic papers reflecting on failure as an event, failure as time wasted, with a special focus on researching failure or failure in research.

Learning From a Failure to Discuss Religion in Religious Terms

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How to discuss religion in religious terms? Studying conversion to Catholicism among Mano, Guinea, I at first disregarded the question. It was my previous linguistic research on the Mano grammar that brought me to a study, at first, of the language of the Mano New Testament translation and then the language spoken in church. My main interest was purely linguistic – I was looking at the way Mano priests and prayer leaders render, or fail to render, the word of God in their spontaneous oral translations from French. It was not until I was drawn to witness emotions arising in a ritual (during the Way of the Cross, a ritual focusing on portraying, and embodying, the suffering of Christ on his last day on Earth) and recognize these emotions as involving “both cultural meaning and bodily feeling” (Leavitt 1996: 531) that I started to pay attention to faith as a cultural phenomenon and as a force in social action. I finally acknowledged substantial variation and potential for improvisation behind what I first saw as a rigid, constantly repeating structure of a highly institutionalized religion. Accepting the possibility of a religious transformation following Christian conversion, but avoiding excessive projection of religious categories, which may be as foreign to myself as to Mano, I nevertheless failed in my attempts to discuss “faith” in religious terms. I had a lot to learn from the failure, as my forays transformed my scholarly vision.

Failure's Hauntings in and out of the Field

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If temporality is ever experienced as linearity, irruptions in the flow of time remind us otherwise. Plans changed, trajectories cut off, world orders turned

upside down, lives ended—the failures of time to manifest as the linearity it is presumed to be. In this paper, I attempt to trace the ways failures, understood as temporal ruptures, political shifts, acts of God, usurp trajectories and become determinative forces rather than catastrophic aberrations. I analyze my own process of ethnographic research in this light: from a planned project to study evidentiality in historical discourse in Turkey vis-à-vis its Ottoman heritage that suddenly became impossible, diverting me to an unplanned project in Georgia with little more in mind than an idea to look for some Ottoman ‘remains’ in Batumi.

Just as failures and ruptures disrupt and destroy, they also generate, offering opportunities for new meaning. A trajectory diverted reduces the researcher to a state of ignorance and vulnerability, allowing for a new kind of learning that was not possible before. My year of field research with Georgian Muslims in Batumi and Khulo only became possible from a starting point of a failure. This sense of failure persisted through my time in the field, haunting me in different forms: my lack of a clear driving question, elusive and evasive informants, being recruited as an English teacher, invited as a guest. I was inextricably pulled into a life, falling into temporal rhythms of work and hospitality away from what felt like active research. While of course retrospectively I am able to reanalyze and retrace the trajectory that this generative misstep allowed (after all, it is retroactively that one performs anthropology’s own myth-making operation of ethnographic writing), I am still dogged by the sense that there was never any “there” there and the field has had the last laugh.

Why Assume the Negative? Metalogues against Failure

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As an ethnographer living in a rural homestead in the Dhofar region of the Sultanate of Oman, I tried to suppress the lingering suspicion that I was failing in the act of research. I worried that this negativity would be palpable and only prove self-fulfilling. Of course, I did not always succeed. My co-residents would intervene on any negativity they sensed from me, yet not by contradicting my self-diagnosis of failure, but with lessons that often had the form of metalogues (Bateson, 1972). These lessons exposed ‘failure’ as a habit of thought that stemmed from trying to see and discover evaluations of the self and its successes in dunya (Arabic, the present, closest, and social world). As metalogues, the form of these lessons demonstrated the very tempered engagement and undecidability that their content recommended. They did not seek to soothe or reassure, nor to cut me down and reshape me, but rather to provide a template of re-orientation. They enacted and described a temporality that looked

past dunya to the eschaton, a model of causality emanating from the Divine, and goals that place the locus of evaluation and subjective investment outside the obsessional cycle of checking to see if you have already failed. This encapsulation of the lesson as metalogue is a model of disengagement that constructs ‘failure’ as subjective abandonment to the circumstances of dunya and to the social other.

Releasing failure by not assuming the negative, then, is part of a path of struggling with the necessary imbrication of ‘religious’ and ‘worldly’ that is a condition of the life that God provides. These metalogues can be lessons for anthropology more widely, insofar as they re-position knowledge of the social world, its relationships, trials, and tribulations, with respect to Divine plenitude.

Broken Data and Repair Work

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Recent research introduces the concept-metaphor of ‘broken data’, suggesting that digital data might be broken and fail to perform, or be in need of repair (Pink et al. 2018). Concept-metaphors work as partial and perspectival framing devices. Their aim is to arrange and provoke ideas and act as a domain within which facts, connections and relationships are presented and imagined. In this paper, the concept-metaphor of broken data is discussed in relation to a ‘big data’ initiative, Citizen Mindscapes, an interdisciplinary project that contextualizes and explores a Finnish-language online conversation data (‘Suomi24’, or Finland24 in English), consisting of tens of millions of messages and covering a time span of over 15 years (see, Lagus et al 2016). The role of the broken data metaphor in this discussion is to examine the implications of breakages in the data and consequent repair work. The gaps, errors and anomalies in the data speak of human and technological forces: infrastructure failures, trolling, and automated spam bots. They call for the exploration of how the discussion forum, and the data that it generates, is kept clean by filtering and sorting it manually and automatically. The goal of the presentation is to demonstrate that a focus on data breakages is an opportunity to stumble into unexpected research questions and to account for how data breakages and related uncertainties challenge linear and too confident stories about data work. Overall, the concept-metaphor sensitizes us to consider less secure and ambivalent aspects of data worlds. By focusing on how data might be broken, we can highlight misalignments between people, devices and data infrastructures, and bring to the fore the failures to align data sources and uses with the everyday.

Ways of Objecting: Working the Boundaries of Objects, Anthropology and Art Practices

FRANCISCO MARTÍNEZ

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What happens if an anthropologist invites ten artists to engage with an ordinary object and revise it into a political question? What kind of reactions and dynamics does this gesture open along? And how does anthropology relate to its own failures, limits and fieldwork accidents?

This paper sets out to demonstrate the way these three questions are interrelated by describing the making of the exhibition 'Objects of Attention' (Estonian Museum of Applied Art and Design, 2019), in which 31 people with different background took part. The ethnography describes how an anthropologist makes use of things as devices of social research, acts himself as a curator, and establishes experimental collaborations (Estalella and Sánchez Criado 2018). A key challenge of this project was to be aware of different standards, disciplinary interests and temporal regimes between the diverse practitioners involved. Another key challenge was to create its own audience across disciplinary boundaries and at the intersection of different fields of study.

By reconsidering the failures and shortcomings of the ethnographer in both, the paper engages with methodological self-assessment and disciplinary notions of fieldsite and epistemic validity. Also, it reflects on what to do when the ethnographer loses trust in the informants or they misbehave, cheat, go missing, or fail to keep the engagement: can we still consider them as informants? And does it stop fieldwork?

Panel 3.

Anthropologies, Futures, and Prediction

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The future is not what it once was. Technological, political, and infrastructural changes have all effected new ways, not only of imagining, but of predicting and realizing the future(s). This workshop seeks to locate

itself at the intersection of the multiple ways in which the future is known and imagined, taking into account the dialectics between the researcher and the field. What exactly is the future? Do we distinguish, like Derrida, between a "predictable, programmed, scheduled, foreseeable" future, and *l'avenir*—the unexpected and unanticipated? How do the temporalities of our fieldwork and our professional experience of uncertainty inform the way we produce knowledge about conceptions of future and prediction? And what of the contexts and extra-contexts in which the ethnographic emerges? Ranging from the online aggregation of predictive data to financial instruments and algorithms, state projects of governance based on prediction, to dreaming, death, and afterlives, to urban infrastructural planning, this panel, sponsored by EASA's Network of Ethnographic Theory, asks how the future is part and parcel of what constitutes the social in all its utopic and dystopic forms. As part of EASA's Network of Ethnographic Theory's sponsorship, papers of this panel will be submitted as a special issue to *Social Anthropology*.

In addition to the usual panel format, as described above, we will have an additional session in which panelists are invited to engage the thematic of their own and their own ethnographic and theoretical interventions through alternative media forms, and amidst a more broader and inclusive discussion of "Anthropologies, Futures and Predictions." Thus, we are interested in having panelists present papers in the first session, and have opportunities to show ethnographic film, audio, installation forms, and so forth, in the second.

Session I

Securing an Aymara Future: Indigenous Futurist aspiration and aesthetics in contemporary Bolivia

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Despite being the South American nation with the largest percentage of Indigenous citizens, or perhaps because of it, predictions of a future without Indians have recurred throughout Bolivia's history, often as a racist hope for their assimilation into a mestizo nation. Such predictions arrive within discourses situating the Indigenous as contemporary anti-moderns and often conflate indigeneity with the rural, typifying Indigenous cultures as incompatible with urban life and Western science. This paper examines Aymara led projects that challenge these discourses across varied spheres of life: in language, technology, and the built environment of the La Paz/El Alto metropolitan region. The cases include: a university-led, community-based project developing Aymara language neologisms for scientific and technical terms; students engaging in online language activism generating Aymara language memes; Aymara textile artisans designing medical textiles for surgical

procedures; the proliferation of a neo-andino architectural style in the city of El Alto and of transit infrastructure in greater La Paz. Those advancing these projects echo Bolivian Indianist philosopher Fausto Reinaga, whose critiques called not just for Indigenous inclusion within Western technoscience but for its very transformation and reorientation to the natural world. Where cold war fears of nuclear holocaust motivated Reinaga's thought, predictions of planetary ecological collapse lend urgency to Indigenous calls to reconsider Western technoscience. These projects may also be understood as extending an aesthetic of "Indigenous Futurism" within Bolivian society, a term Grace Dillon has used for an emergent aesthetic among Native artists elsewhere in the hemisphere that imagines the unsettling of settler colonialism. As a contribution to the second panel I will provide a poster with selections of my text with and alongside large format prints of photos of the architecture of Freddy Mamani in the city of El Alto taken in 2016 and 2019.

Waiting and the Construction of the Shi'i Self among Contemporary Iranian Messianic Discourses

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Iran, as the world's most populated Shi'i country, has nurtured the idea of Shi'i messianism, Mahdism, particularly since the time of the Safavid Empire (1501-1722) which declared Shi'ism as the official faith in Iran. The Twelfth Imam, Mahdi, known as the Hidden Imam, is believed to be disappeared and gone into major occultation by God's order and will return before the end of time to establish a just Islamic government across the world. He is meant to proclaim himself to be anonymous, although he lives a normal life among people and has a material and bodily existence. The responsibility of a good Shi'i is to practice waiting and anticipation for the Imam. In this paper, I attempt to portray the contemporary Iranian landscapes of the Shi'i messianism by considering major messianic discourses and narratives including the traditional clerical trend, the political clerical trend, the religious intellectuals, as well as the neo apocalyptic trend of the last decade. In this discourse analysis, I show how a specific understanding and conceptualization of concepts such as the ethics of waiting, occultation, messianism, appearance of the Messiah, the apocalyptic moment, and politics in each discourse shape the subjectivity of the practitioners. I attend to ways in which the practitioners in each discourse cultivate the self to become a true rigouts and ethical Shi'i individual through the act of waiting. To unpack the construction of the Shi'i self, I examine the nature of waiting in each discourse, its contours, and how the Shi'i self is constituted through the perception and practice of waiting. I also examine how waiting is mediated,

challenged, reconfigured, and contested in each discourse.

Session II

Day X: Futurity, Departure, and Forced Time

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In a small German city, activists and not-so-much-activists prepare for day X. For some, day X is when the German police will execute the next scheduled deportation flight to Kabul. For others, it is the day they will receive the news that their asylum case was rejected. Yet others anticipate day X as the night the police will knock on their door to take them to the airport. In post-2015 Germany, immigration has become the subject of contested imaginations of the future which are mobilized by competing political and societal actors. Yet, migration and activism are inherently future orientated activities. Deportation, to both, is a dystopia, the exercise of state power par excellence. Its result is considered a human and moral catastrophe.

Building on long-term ethnographic fieldwork, this paper examines how, within an atmosphere of impending danger deriving from the criminalization of immigration, on the one hand, and the criminalization of the active prevention of deportation, on the other hand, different people prepare to confront German law enforcement on day X. Emotions and affect that appear in discourses and actions with which they predict the future through dreams, political analysis, rumors, and artistic imaginaries of action, reviving the past and stimulate translocal presences at the intersection of power and time. Drawing on the anthropology of the future and studies of migrant protest, I trace how people with different perceptions of time, space and urgency struggle for at least a fragmental communication about innovation through permanence.

The Future as an Ethical Commitment

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The future is a "cultural fact" (Appadurai 2013); it is the imagined and ongoing result of actions performed in the present, and whose meanings are rooted in the past. I will discuss the politics of time with a focus on the imaginaries and predictions of the future(s) as they orient a transnational grassroots mobilization organised by social actors involved in the processes of the slow and invisible health disasters provoked by the toxic market of asbestos.

Based on data collected throughout an ongoing "multi-sited ethnography" (Marcus 1995), begun in 2009 and conducted in Italy and Brazil, I will reflect on the meanings of future(s) negotiated by social actors living with the risk of developing an asbestos-related disease

due to an occupational or environmental exposure to asbestos, and who are engaging in a health-based grassroots social movement. I will reflect on the variety of meanings and predictions of future(s) elaborated by social actors distinctly involved in the processes of asbestos-related disasters. In what extent do personal experiences of suffering, risk awareness, access to biomedical knowledge, epidemiological evidence, and public recognition mould a person's prediction of future? How do utopias and dystopias intertwine in the practices of a grassroots social movement organised by disaster survivors who are "victims" and "activists" at the same time? As an anthropologist aware of her role in the production of cultural meanings (Appadurai 1996) and future(s), I will also reflect on the imaginaries and narratives of future (s) that my own research has contributed to elaborate and disseminate inside and outside academia, together with my interlocutors in the field.

Rituals of Futurity: Anonymity, Abstraction, and Death in the Philippines

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In this paper, I take up the semiotics of futurity embedded in practices of death in the Philippines—in particular with regard to the ongoing and widespread extrajudicial killings (as part of Oplan Tokhang, an ostensible war on drugs) that has dominated discourses on governance, ethics, and death in the country since 2016. I argue that the attenuation of a normative death-ethics in the country has seen death and the dead body increasingly emerge in its anonymous and abstracted forms—unnamed, unlocated, and decoupled from its own specificity. Instead, death is often elevated to typification. Such abstraction has enabled death to be appropriated for future, utopic, and transcendent ends that reach far past the particularities of a single death. Moreover, death and its bodies have become markers and proxies for predictive modes of state and counter-state making. In the second part of this panel presentation, I am interested in bridging the gap between infamous killings in the country to the more everyday practices of death and burial in rural Philippines, emphasizing the abstracting and processual forms in Christian death rituals.

Neorural settlement in Diois, France: Utopias, l'avenir and social relationships

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In 1979, Hervieu-Léger and Hervieu used the expression *immigrants de l'utopie* or *utopian immigrants* to describe educated French urbanites that settled in the countryside with various life projects.

Such a use of the term "utopia" re-emphasised its double role - a critique of the present-day society and a proposition of an alternative – and pointed towards the existence of practical – personal and collective - utopias. In 2015, Cathetine Rouvière retrospectively observes that urban-to-rural migration in France has undergone individualisation and deradicalisation. In this paper, I will describe the latest wave of urban-to-rural migrants in Diois, a relatively isolated rural area in Eastern France that has a long history of neorural settlement, and explain the change between Hervieu-Léger & Hervieu and Rouvières observations. It shows that what has changed is not the critique that the neorurals carry, but the type of projects they construct for implementing their life projects, which risks easy slipping into simple lifestyle choices.

Panel 4.

Dialectics of History, Nostalgia and Futurabilities among China's Others

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This panel explores the dialectics of historicity and the plurality of spatiotemporal epistemologies at play in contemporary Sino-Other encounters. We locate the pragmatic, metaphorical, and material emergence of history, nostalgia, and futurability among contemporary Chinese subjects in their increasingly diverse encounters with local and foreign 'others' as well as intimate 'selves'. In doing so, we try to understand the shifting grounds of these socio-temporal resources and their social, political, and cultural meanings in the context of China today. With China experiencing a tightening grip over social remembering and forgetting, characterized by a 'historical nihilism' at its core, this panel seeks to critically explore the continuation of and construction of nostalgia and futurability through which historical narratives' relationship or contiguity to the political is motivated or elided. We invite papers that study these relationships or contiguities as they unfold in an array of ethnographic contexts and encounters among 'China's Others'.

We refer to 'China's Others' as a way highlighting the diversity of social constructions and tensions that

complicate monolithic imaginaries of China that frequently render it a culturally, ethnically, and politically homogeneous ethnographic region. In doing so, we also take seriously China's changing relationship to the worlds within and beyond it – a relationship where the stakes Chinese constructions of alterity and sameness, concerning both 'selves' and 'others', are becoming increasingly explicit.

Session I

Aspirational Histories of Third World Cosmopolitanism: Dialectical Interactions in Afro-Chinese Beijing

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This paper follows four years of ethnographic research in Beijing and investigates tropes of 'Third World Solidarity' (termed *disanshijie datuanjie* 第三世界大团结) and 'cosmopolitanism' as they are pragmatically recruited or inter-subjectively evoked in urban Afro-Chinese interactions. In it, I demonstrate how historical tensions between cosmopolitanism and 'Third Worldism' are mediated through the translation of the inter-subjective 'cultural concepts', *Guanxi* (关系) and *Ubuntu*. I ask: How do semiotic horizons of 'history' and 'culture' become pragmatically indispensable activities through which contemporary Chinese and African subjects establish historical or culturally intelligible grounds for a 'novel' interaction under current conditions of South-South educational migrancy? Drawing on a genealogy of pragmatist semiotics and symbolic interactionism (Goffman 1983, Agha 2007, Carr 2011), read through a critical theoretical lens (Fanon 1965, Lukács 2010), I reveal a dialectics of interaction at play in the mediation of historical and cultural dynamics in Afro-Chinese encounters in Beijing. In doing so, this paper explores a tension that emerges at the juxtaposition of third world solidarity and cosmopolitan aspiration, one – as I will show – that certainly informs what will come to be among the most pivotal interactions of the 21st century: that between China and Africa.

Temporalities of a forest landscape in a Chinese village

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Using an ethnographic lens to explore what lies beneath China's contemporary state-led reforestation projects, this paper poses the following question: what kind of narratives does a forest in an ethnic minority village in Southwest China carry? My paper studies forests through local myths and oral histories that illustrate the narratives that forests carry and the

temporalities these stories convey. I then juxtapose these narratives with more recent state-led conservation efforts that requires a different way of imagining human and environmental pasts and futures (Chakrabarty 2009). Focusing on these temporally differentiated narratives, my paper explores the changing conjunctures of a Chinese village in maintaining the relatedness of the woodlands whilst at the same time juxtaposing these with conversation efforts. I conclude by considering the threats of a precarious future that this local narratives and state-led conservation efforts generates and the significance this carries in local perceptions towards state-led conservation projects.

Aesthetics of Austerity and Forgery: Agency and the Acceptance of Mass Production in Amdo Tibet

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After the propagation of the Larung Gar's Ten-virtuous-rules and the 2006 pan-Tibetan pelt-burning campaign (see Yeh 2013, Gaerrang 2012), one witnesses a transformation of everyday aesthetics in Amdo Tibet manifesting in clothing decorations and lifestyles. The rejection of conspicuous animal pelts and jewels as well as drinking and smoking brings about novel forms of fashion, including austere Tibetan robes, vegetarianism, fake jewels, imitation fur, plain-color wood, and mock drinks, etc. This emergent aesthetics of austerity and forgery also entails its own connotations to an alternative Tibetan modernity, along with both a rejection of and nostalgia for the 'violent' past. Focusing on the relationship between cultural practices and historicity, this paper investigates the process as to how shifting attitudes towards antiques shape a selective narrative of Tibetan history between Warrior Kings and Buddhism. Utilizing ethnographies with a village of Nyingma-pa followers, and interviews with their surrounding antique businessmen, carpenters, tailors, and cultural conservationists, this paper asks: How would a set of relational concepts of agency, stance, and subjectivity (Koselleck 1979, Keane 2003, Kockelman 2004, Lear 2006) help us to unpack the pragmatics of a fashion transformation within a global context of indigenous dispossession and settler colonialism?

From "Utpala" (Blue Lotus) to "Meconopsis" (Blue Poppy): Naming the Other in Historical and Scientific Translation of a Tibetan Medicinal Plant

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This paper examines the modern translation, classification and fixation of the name of "utpala", a

traditional Tibetan medical plant, within the on-going process of ethnobotanical species recognition in contemporary China. Through a semiotic-informed lens, I argue in this paper that it is through the interdiscursive practices (Silverstein 2005) and performances of citational acts (Nakassis 2013) that the originally foreign word of “utpala” (Sanskrit) with heterogenous meanings in classical Tibetan medicine texts has been fixed, standardized and rendered familiar by modern botanists and biologists through multiple reiterations and entextualizing processes. In particular, this paper shows how textual analysis (Chin: kaozheng) conducted by contemporary botanists and biologists results in the identification and reclassification of “utpala”, together with other groups of traditional Tibetan medicinal plants (Tib: tsher-sngon, smug-chung-‘dan-yon, a-byg-tsher-sngon) into one unitary category of *Meconopsis* flower genus. Rather than understanding such attempts as reinvention of a scientific discourse, or a radical break from the history of Tibetan medicinal tradition, I argue that such translational practices are reflexive semiotic processes that seek to re-situate the Tibetan historical landscape of natural world into the chronotope of a global natural history with its future-oriented conservatism agenda. Through negotiating the (in)commensurabilities between different species and different epistemological systems, translation works as knowledge making practice that differentiates yet also makes continuous the spatial-temporal boundaries between past and future, the local and the global.

Session II

History and Identity: Central Asian Dungans as China's Past and Future

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The main aim of this paper is to explore the notions and understanding of time in China's notion of ethnic othering through the example of Dungan people. Dungans are Sinophone Muslims living in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. They migrated from the Qing empire during the last third of the nineteenth century in the context of the Muslim rebellions against the regime. Currently, there is a discussion on whether Dungans are a kind of “branch” of the huizu. Since Soviet times, Dungans have been portrayed as “living fossils” of Chineseness in the ethnographies written both in Russian and Chinese. At the same time, Xi Jinping has put an emphasis on the importance that “overseas Chinese” (Huaqiao) have in the PRC's current and future international relations. Over the last 15 years, Chinese politicians have been using the term minzu huaqiao (overseas Chinese ethnic minority) to designate those ethnic minorities that migrated originally from China to different parts of the world. In

2014, Dungans were officially recognized as a minzu huaqiao, meaning that to have the advantages that both local minzu and overseas Chinese have in the PRC. As can be seen in the former short description, there are several temporalities and political understanding and uses of such temporalities that come into play while talking of Dungan case. I intend to provide a deep analysis of this interplay.

From Urban Villages to Tik Tok's Hot Spots: Commercialization of Historical Imaginaries and Hui and Han Food Ways in Xi'an, China

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Tik Tok, the most popular short-video app in China, entered a commercially binding contract with the municipal government of Xi'an to co-promote contents on its platform influential among consumers, including clips of food, events, and scenes with location-enabled markings. Branded as new social-media economy, this contract broadcasts carefully chosen images of vibrant life in Xi'an with emphasis on the history of an ancient city and its revitalization in the 21st century.

In the state scheme of promoting second-tier major cities, this local strategy attempts to transform historical imaginaries into commercial development with social media, and one of the consequences is making urban villages into Tik Tok's hot spots. In this paper, I argue that the diverse historical imaginaries of these urban villages are being amplified and modified homogeneously in the universal cosmopolitanism, that is, an ancient city revitalized. I further argue that ethnic diversity and rural-urban divide persist despite the media assisted governing technologies and commercial strategies.

I rely on participant observation and interviews with food business owners, including both Hui Muslim families and rural migrants in several urban villages in Xi'an. I examine how these families negotiate ethnic and rural identities through food and through interactions with consumers in the age of new media. I conclude that the Hui families and rural migrants are revitalizing historical imaginaries by branding food as ethnic lifeway, regional flavors, family heritage, rural and bitter past (pre-Reform), and Chairman Xi's hometown specialties. They do so by literally printing hashtags and keywords on their banners so that consumers would produce Tik Tok short videos.

Sites of Nostalgia, Sites of Memory: War Memory and Commemoration in Contemporary China

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This ethnographic study sheds light on a historical redress movement in Mainland China. This movement is initiated by grassroots volunteers who portray the Republic of China (ROC) led by the Kuomintang (KMT) before 1949 as a golden era of the Chinese nation. Since 2005, civil forces endeavour to search for the living KMT veterans who fought with the Japanese during the Second World War and were left in Mainland China after the KMT fled to Taiwan in 1949. This volunteering program presents these previously marginalized veterans as “authentic national heroes” in mass and social media and romanticized the Chinese society before 1949 as the best time for the Chinese Nation. The volunteers’ nostalgic reinterpretation of the past challenges the linear historicity deployed by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Who are these activists? What factors contribute to the rise of this nostalgic movement? How ordinary people in today’s China produce an alternative nostalgic version of the past? How people’s reinterpretation of the past tell us about the regime of nostalgia? To capture the above-mentioned dynamics on the ground, the analysis in this research is built on intensive fieldwork from 2015 to 2019. By examining participants’ daily activities and cultural representations of the past, this essay illuminates lived experience of the redress activists and their interaction with the veterans who embodied the nostalgic imagination, demonstrates how ordinary people rewrite the history with nostalgic codes, and deciphers how the past, current and future intertwined in nostalgic narratives.

Panel 5.

Distemporalities: Collisions, Insurrections and Reorientations in the Worlding of Time

Panel convenors:

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As an orientational aid, time seems to be a matter par excellence of worlding: we sense time, we habituate and structure it, but it habituates and structures us just the same. Time suggests that we are in/past/against/toward something/someone/somewhere. As it worlds, time is (a referent) of positionality, subjectivity and sensation. It may make multifarious alliances with space, ideologies and bodily processes. Yet, ‘time’ is not necessarily something in and of itself. Delving into the plurality of time, anthropologists are increasingly recognising ‘time’ as a heuristic. So, if we accept that time and temporality are far from clear universals, then they can also be extrinsic to (temporal) worlds: they may come and operate from the outside of specific ontological bearings. The ‘external’ can restructure, reorient, unstructure, violate, merge with, or speak to existing

ontological temporalities. It may insist on leaps from one time to another and on the obliteration of the ‘former’ time so that the ‘new’ could truly thrive.

Ideological projects seek to be constituted in the ontological – they map themselves into, or rather onto the ‘world’. In so doing, they grapple with time. In this panel, we seek to understand what happens to time-as-worlding when ‘worlds’ are suddenly or slowly temporally reoriented. Do the structures and senses of time break, suspend, retreat, resist, merge with new temporal orders? Do different times strive to forget each other? Are they subversive of one another? Or, do they smooth out each other’s edges?

We think of distemporalisation as a project of denial of time – a denial of historicity, futurity, or change, which is a noticeable element of various constructions of Otherness. We also take distemporality to signify a refusal of, and intervention into, qualitatively-specific temporal worlds. Such projects usually include a demand for a retemporalisation into another ‘world’. Potential contributions could, for example, think revolution, statehood and nationalism, colonialism and Empire, archives and their temporal violence, distemporalisation of subjectivity, gender regimes and their alterities, or worlding of economies of time.

Session I

“It’s like that now, too”: Disjuncture and reshuffle of temporal calibration points in Hungary

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This paper looks at the ways in which calibration points of familiar temporal analogies that people employ to delineate their worldview and positionality are shuffled during a time of political upheaval. Ethnographically, I draw on fieldwork among left-liberal youth and adults in Budapest, Hungary, and concentrate on the period around the 2018 parliamentary elections when the ruling party secured the third consecutive absolute majority. Marking a consolidation of what is commonly called an “illiberal” regime, the victory was preceded by extensive propaganda campaigns, revamped electoral system, and state capture by government-affiliated oligarchs. Circular and linear understandings of time were hotly debated throughout that spring: had Hungary “returned” to its natural undemocratic state, or had it “slid back” on the road towards liberalism? As elsewhere, also in Hungary analogies between past and present are salient in everyday-talk. Although the question of exactly what of today resembles exactly what of the past has been subject to contestation between different groups of people, among my informants there have been shared normative understandings over the status of what was (fascism and socialism), what was supposed to be (liberalism), and what is (illiberalism). Explicit comparisons of what is right or wrong have been projected onto historical

moments in relation to the present and the future, temporal analogies thus standing as calibration mechanisms in delineating one's relation to the current situation. In this paper I explore how the establishment of an undemocratic regime in the late 2010s has created a disjuncture in these temporal comparisons. I investigate how some analogies have gained more pertinence than others, and how previously shared understandings of comparison points have begun to shift ground: as if not only the pins on a map would have undergone a rapid shuffle, but the very map underneath the pins would have been redrawn.

Liberalism and Fascism in Time and Space: Reflections from Hungarian Roma Refugees in Canada

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This paper draws from my ethnographic research with Hungarian Romani migrants who flee Hungary to seek refugee status in Canada. The paper deconstructs the temporalities of liberal and illiberal politics, analyzing the ways in which discourses that juxtapose East-Central Europe with Western countries such as Canada rely on the locating of politics in time and space: postsocialist East-Central European nations are perceived as “catching up” to the West and the increasing popularity of far-right politics in the region is described as “regressing” and “backsliding” to a time of authoritarianism. By contrast, Western European and North American states are described as the defenders of a liberal democratic “future” for all against a potential “reversion” to fascism. Such discourse is common within Canadian media and government rhetoric on Romani refugees who leave East-Central Europe for Canada. My paper uses my ethnographic research with Hungarian Roma seeking refugee status in Canada as an entrypoint for interrogating these temporalities and spatialities of liberalism and fascism, highlighting the ways in which Romani refugee experiences contest these dichotomies. In particular, Romani refugees in my fieldwork emphasize the dehumanizing experience of navigating the Canadian refugee processing system in a time when right-wing rhetoric about immigration and neo-nazi movements are increasing within Canadian society, thus disrupting the image of Canada as the end goal in a linear temporal progression towards democracy and human rights.

Reflecting on the narratives told by Romani refugees fleeing Hungary for Canada, the paper interrogates the ways in which ideas about freedom, human rights, and belonging become tied to the temporalities and geographies of East/West and past/future. In outlining a comparison between Hungary and Canada from the vantage point of Romani refugees - between the so-called ‘liberal’ refugee policies of the Canadian state with the ‘illiberal’ ones of Hungary - the

paper unpacks the orientalist dichotomies that structure discussions on postsocialist fascism and illiberalism. Ultimately, in the paper, I argue that countries such as Hungary do not represent a throwback to the past, but rather reveal a possible future: as my Romani informants explain, Hungary shows the most recent impacts of class dispossession and the rise of fascism in a time of pervasive global capitalism. The paper thus makes sense of the constellation of liberalism, fascism, East, and West by rooting the analysis in a political economy perspective that is attentive to the ways in which the rise of fascist illiberal politics is connected to global neoliberalism, postsocialist austerity and contemporary capitalist dynamics.

Reassembling 1915 in 2015: Post-Soviet Collapse and the Armenian Genocide Centennial

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Throughout the ‘short twentieth century’ Armenians have struggled to achieve the synchronization of temporal horizons that Benedict Anderson theorized as central to modernity’s world of nations. Its split time continues to reverberate along two lines. The trauma and subsequent denial of the 1915 Genocide set the diaspora into a repetitive pattern of remediations and recognition struggles with a virtual monopoly on representing Armenians to the world at large. In parallel, the dramatic collapse of Soviet modernity generated a radically different temporality. Expressed as regression and demodernization while occurring in relative isolation from the diaspora, its unglamorous present remains invisible on global media stages.

The inequality in symbolic power between diasporans and the actually existing homeland became highly salient during the Armenian Genocide Centennial of 2015, in which numerous diaspora celebrities traveled to the post-Soviet country to take part in state-commissioned commemorative events. Drawing on fieldwork in Yerevan at the time of these visits, I show how Armenia’s youth challenged the hegemony of the diaspora over the definition of national time. In particular, I focus on how citizens phrased their grievances to privileged diasporans by deploying resonances between 1915 and Armenia in 2015, from portraying post-Soviet oligarchs as Ottoman pashas to drawing parallels between the massacres of an estimated million Armenians during World War I and the exodus of a million citizens since the transition years. These encounters reveal a larger assemblage of temporality and affect in which non-recognition of the past serves as a resource to energize calls for redistribution in the present.

Book launch of Safet Hadži Muhamedović's (2018)
***Waiting for Elijah: Time and Encounter in a Bosnian Landscape*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books**
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Waiting for Elijah is an intimate portrait of time-reckoning, syncretism, and proximity in one of the world's most polarized landscapes, the Bosnian Field of Gacko. Centered on the shared harvest feast of Elijah's Day, the once eagerly awaited pinnacle of the annual cycle, the book shows how the fractured postwar landscape beckoned the return of communal life that entails such waiting. This seemingly paradoxical situation—waiting to wait—becomes a starting point for a broader discussion on the complexity of time set between cosmology, nationalism, and embodied memories of proximity.

The author will focus on the postwar chronotopic dissonances and the process of nationalist distemporalisation of this southeastern Bosnian landscape and its cyclical calendar.

Session II

River normalization and its Others: architectures of time in urban Indonesia

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Many Indonesian cities are delicate composites of infrastructure, social rhythms, and ecological processes. Residents, planners, and engineers have to constantly make critical assessments of their shifting interrelations (Anand 2017; Ley 2017). This paper wants to make recent conceptualizations of time in anthropology and cognate disciplines (Harms 2013; Sharma 2014) fruitful for an investigation of these interrelations. To that end, I consider “riverbank life” in Indonesian cities. Accelerated sinking of Indonesian coastal cities has seen more aggressive state attempts to protect and reclaim land from encroaching seawater. This paper zooms in on efforts of the Indonesian government and Dutch engineers to develop hydraulic formulae (so-called polders, riverbed widening, embankments, etc.) to protect land and economic assets. Cases from Semarang and Jakarta will show that these formulae reshape time in specific ways. Producing moments of distemporality, the hydraulic remaking of the city requires riverside residents to reorient their daily practices and plans for the future. Drawing on Sharma's concept of “architectures of time,” the paper describes recent interventions into residents' coexistence with rivers and the ocean. I focus on some residents' intimate experience of being made “out of time” and their strategies to resynch with dominant time structures by delaying eviction or securing appropriate spaces for relocation before governments take action. While

official attempts to normalize rivers represent clear refusals of “riverbank time,” they also tend to reproduce aspects of this mode of time. In this mode of time, formal rights (to housing, employment, and health) of urban residents remain suspended.

The Wordsmiths of Time: Gender Variance, Social Status and Distemporalities in ‘Eighteenth-Century’ Greater Senegambia

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The turbulent ‘eighteenth-century’ lifeworlds of Greater Senegambia were rife with distemporalities—whether produced by the slavers' and other invaders' violent time-reckoning in the service of early capitalist racial and gender ordering, the strife inflicted upon the existent temporal and spiritual formations by many a Fulbe-led jihād, or indeed the bodily and affective delineations associated with the long-entrenched West African status groups.

This paper is based on a critical historical ethnography of one such status unit—the endogamous specialist group that was typically made of several ranked artisan sub-groups—that is thought to have originated in amongst the Mande, Wolof and Soninke only to be gradually adopted by a variety of Fulbe, Tukolor, Arabo-Berber and other populations of Greater Senegambia. As their collective name in Mande languages (jamakalaw) suggests, members of artisanal groups were thought to possess extraordinary access to the foundational life force, pama, and be the beings with their own special temporality, access to history (understood mainly as the past to be experienced and relived through the spoken word) and bodily and gender properties. As with ‘shamanic’ groups elsewhere, the jamakalaw (Wolof: ñeeño, Fulfulde: nyeenybe) occupied a deeply ambiguous position in society and were contradictorily described as feared, loathed, desired, necessary and respected—all at the same time. This paper interrogates, in particular, the distemporal dimensions of such positionality and asks what kinds of insurrectionary remnants they have left behind in spite of the temporal and material violence of the ‘eighteenth-century’ ‘pre-colonial’ archive.

Cosmologies, Fast and Slow: Karma, Corruption, and Fortune in Mongolia's Capital

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In this talk I will explore how karmic ideas about time and causality interplay with narratives of economic success in Mongolia's capital, Ulaanbaatar. Karma contributes to a sense of personhood that is porously

interpenetrated by unseen causalities. The karmic results of a person's previous thoughts, speech and physical actions, are thought to determine their opportunities and capacities throughout and beyond their lifetime. These ephemeral and tangible potentials cause karmic reverberations which can yield either positive or negative results. When someone becomes economically successful with negative motivations, many Mongolians believe that it will come back to them, or their family members, in this lifetime or the next.

Whilst karma continuously unfolds over many lifetimes, the speed of capitalism has rapidly changed people's fortunes in the city in a few short decades. For many Mongolians, the economic changes of the current postsocialist period, have been marked by unprecedented windfalls and devastation. In the urban imagination, the radical changes in the city over the last few decades, contrast with the slower pace of time in the countryside and the morality of the nation's nomadic herders. In the rapid time-scape of city, capitalism and greed are believed by many to be the dominating impulse of the current era. Yet, money and the ways in which it is made, are subject to karmic ramifications that are themselves disconnected from the logic of capitalism. Ephemeral and immediate, these causalities are believed to determine the futures for those that act only in their own economic interests. This talk will look at the interplay between time, karma and capitalism in postsocialist Ulaanbaatar.

Infection 'out of sync': what Ebola can tell us of time MARSHA ROSENGARTEN

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In this paper, I reflect on the medically formulated problem of infection and what is presupposed as time. My focus is the catastrophic Ebola epidemic in West Africa during 2014–2016 whose scale but, also, the infection, itself, have led to calls for new modes of thought and action. Evident in such calls and, thus, remaining without reflection is the commonplace notion of time. That is, time as a linear, homogeneous passage according to which infection may be measured for action upon or, as the epidemic is now notorious for, not acting in quickly enough to prevent the scale of suffering. While a rapid response *in* time is considered paramount for containing lethal communicable infection, an array of reports and articles on Ebola infection are shown to raise the spectre that conceiving of infection as that which can be held for measure by time as a linear homogeneous series of segments is insufficient. Reading Jorge Luis Borges' short story, *The Aleph*, as a constraint with which to think on the affordances of different conceptions of time and aligned with Alfred North Whitehead's attention to modern thought and other process thinkers engaged in questions

of time, infection and novelty, I suggest that infection makes time. It is immanent to the creativity of experience and, thus, time itself. This leads to me the question of what modern medical science might become when aligned with an appreciation for time as an accomplishment of the novel-making experience of infection.

Panel 6.

Falling behind and catching up: urban (s)paces, temporal dilemmas and infrastructures in concert

Panel conveners:

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Temporalities are recognized, experienced, made and unmade through interaction with the material world. Similarly, people's moorings are anchored in the physical and affective materiality of the infrastructural, and so are their conceptions and expectations about present, past and future. Translated through idioms of 'catching up', 'falling behind' and notions of stillness and movement, spatio-temporal dissonances are, directly or indirectly, associated with infrastructural and technological apparatuses aimed at exploiting those dissonances by creating, managing or mitigating them.

The panel seeks to further debates that explore how time is shaped by the sensorial quality of urban landscapes and how it is recognised, experienced, resisted and transformed through the mundane, repeated, practised interaction with the material and infrastructural world. We thus welcome paper proposals concerned with one or more of following questions:

- How do infrastructures and technologies regiment, speed up, slow down or halt paces/spaces of change, and the experience of modernity? How does infrastructural failure underscore the unrealised promise that accompanies the experience of those rhythms?
- How do these material interactions alter established understandings of the space-time of the everyday?
- What visions and narratives of presents, pasts and futures are represented, encapsulated, solicited by the materiality of (un)changing urban landscapes? What attachments, hopes and large-scale processes do those visions of times gone and coming reveal?

- What possibilities for political engagement and participation are produced by the quotidian interaction with the material and the infrastructural?

Session I

Construction time: Rhythms, creative destruction and liminality in infrastructure projects

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This paper analyses how infrastructure projects turn upside down the rhythms and temporalities of urban life. A city can be understood to be engaged in constant gradual change, often eclipsed by the experience of the more cyclical rhythms of everyday life. In contrast, the construction of a large infrastructure marks a more abrupt, conspicuous alteration of these rhythms. In the Andean city of Cuenca, Ecuador, the progressive growth of the population and of car traffic, expressed in busy public spaces and daily peaks of congestion, is suddenly confronted with a tramway project: a new means of transport that is meant to relieve traffic, while its construction site exacerbates congestion dividing up the city. Throughout the materialisation of the tramway, the disembodied temporality of the project timeline is challenged both by the experiential time of inhabitants suffering the consequences of the construction and by the sluggish development of the construction itself. The notion of “creative destruction” helps us grasp this contradiction between a projected order and the unsettling of present conditions. It also describes the violence with which new infrastructures are introduced into the built environment, interrupting the working of existing infrastructures and even unearthing infrastructures of the past, transformed into archeological remains. Thus, temporalities collide as materials from the past, the present and the future are unleashed and require the renegotiation of their respective place, role and value in city life. Likewise, people reposition themselves and develop new practices for navigating the spatial, social and political reconfigurations. The construction of the tramway therefore creates a state of liminality, in which identities are uncertain and relations need to be redefined.

The beach - a precarity between ideal pasts and futures

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In Beirut, an extensive debate around public spaces has brought about a symbolic saturation of the notion of public space. This has included fixing idealized pasts and futures onto the notion

and to specific locations gathered under it. Building on a year of ethnographic fieldwork carried out in Beirut in 2018, my paper focuses on the public beach of Beirut as a location for a temporal precarity between nostalgia for the past and anticipation for the future. As part of a generalized urban nostalgia the beach is pictured in historical postcards and narratives by my interlocutors in its pre-civil-war state as a veritable Riviera, unburdened by the troubles of today. On the other hand, both in official imaginations and activist hopes, the beach emerges as part of a (re)surgence of public spaces in Beirut and is pictured as a symbol for good governance benefiting the citizen and the environment. Beneath the shared images lies a contestation on how the littoral, and by extension the city, ought be governed. The present beach is perceived by my civil society interlocutors responsible for maintaining the site as temporally and spatially precarious, its sufficient maintenance requiring time that is never there and characterized by an urgency absent in the fantasies. In the present, the intense rhythms of care the beach requires are only punctuated by fears of impending privatization embodied through the recent construction of a contested hotel on a part of the beach. I suggest that looking at how the tension between imaginations of past and future and a precarious present is played out on the public beach can help us understand how littoral spaces have come to play a critical role in contestations over how the city and the state should be run.

“Being from nowhere”: Water infrastructure and affective engagements of time in northern Cyprus

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This paper focuses on how material worlds and material resources that surround us offer multiple space-time configurations and alter the ways in which people find meaning in their temporal positions and imaginations. I investigate the material and infrastructural manifestations of the decades-long economic and political dependence of the de-facto northern Cypriot polity to the Turkish state, which to this day, occupy the north of the island since the 1974 military operation that resulted in the partition of the island.

Specifically, I will take the case of Turkey-northern Cyprus water supply project to the centre stage, a Turkish state funded, fully functioning pipeline infrastructure that runs underneath the Mediterranean sea, bringing clean water from

the Toros mountains of southern Turkey to the occupied territories of northern Cyprus. Based on long term ethnographic fieldwork conducted in 2016 and early 2017, I trace how the temporal trajectory of the megaproject—in its inception as a technologically innovative idea, its Turkish state-funded construction, and its subsequent privatization—has altered the ways in which northern Cypriots politically engage with the strong and ubiquitous idiom of ‘motherland’ (Turkish Republic). While the megaproject promises a long-term solution to the water scarcity and quality problems of northern Cyprus, it also reinforces certain spatio-temporal registers like temporariness, and ‘being from nowhere’, and affects like lethargy, apathy, and ‘stuckedness’ through everyday engagements with the transferred water and political contestations of its privatization. I put forth how the reproduction of juxtaposing temporal viewpoints occur and argue that people’s moral and affective engagements, when attached to material and infrastructural worlds, have the potential for giving rise to collective questions of political subjectivities, agency and spatial and temporal consciousness. In other words, through the megaproject and the transferred water, northern Cypriots do not only resist the neoliberal rationality imposed through privatization of water and its management, but also reveal their fundamentally ambivalent spatio-temporal positions as a political community ridden with past conflict, an overwhelmingly uncertain future, and a present of eternal waiting.

II Session

En Route to Unity: Community-Making through Boat Travelling in Contemporary Istanbul

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On Istanbul seas boats constitute some of the various sites to observe various interrupted, terminated and resumed processes of community-making. Based on research among the wintertime (permanent) and the summertime (temporary) residents of the famous Prince Islands located off the city proper, this paper presentation demonstrates how boat schedules, commuting, waiting, anticipation of unexpected delays, and time spent aboard create a multiplicity of temporalities

through which islanders claim particular relationships to the islands within the archipelago. In this sense the paper aims at understanding the centrality of ‘travelling’ within the wider practices of place-making and re-defining it in relation to ‘dwelling’. In the island context where the sea could function both as a separator from the mainland and a way to connect to the city, the unique climate regime of Istanbul (with winds and currents from the cooler north and the warmer south) also makes maintenance of boats and infrastructure especially important. However, boats often operate over-capacity in the high season due to influx of international tourists and large numbers of daytrippers from the city - also leading to serious competition between the passengers to find a seat. In this context of mobility in which both numerous human and non-human protagonists (including boats, winds and currents) take part, time spent travelling to and from these islands define people as particular kinds of urbanites/islanders. This is how the paper argues that time is often used by the islanders to discriminate between islanders and others. However, where time stresses difference, it also produces unity. The paper concludes by speculating on how (and when) the terms for membership to a community - whether of passengers, islanders or Istanbulites - are defined and negotiated.

“Two roads into town” – a reflection on mobility and inequality in modern

Fiji

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Getting to town and back is a daily pre-occupation for people in the villages and settlements outside Nadi town in which I work. This reliance upon transport signifies how quotidian life in village Fiji to an increasing extent becomes oriented towards urban centres in context of the modern time-space. Children need to get to school, shopping and medical appointments completed, and outside work attended to. Organizing these trips is far from simple, however, and while I often hear that there are “two roads into town”, one travelled by foot (slow) and the other by motor vehicles (fast), the reality is that many are precluded from walking by concerns about personal safety, social appropriateness or health. In this paper I take both roads and think about them heuristically to understand time and place in modern Fiji. From that starting point I analyse how these practical, everyday forms of urban

mobility in Fiji is intertwined with a number of social inequalities, cultural assumptions and local insecurities about social change. Drawing upon ethnographic vignettes, I pay particular attention to how people's relationship to technologies and modes of transport and infrastructure is underpinned by social categories of gender, race, seniority and economic status.

The Interaction between Civic Groups and Government over Urban Regeneration:

Focused on Sewoon Sangga in Seoul, Korea

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I focused on the urban regeneration project of 'Sewoon Sangga' area in the Seoul metropolitan area and analyzed the relationship of government trust to policy compliance through the mediation of citizen-government interactions. The 'Dash-Sewoon(Again Sewoon)' project was conducted in 2015

by the intermediate support organization and a variety of policy targets and interests were included in the policy business implementation process, including the merchants and engineers. I asked

participants to evaluate the level and quality of their interactions, local government trust, and policy compliance. I found that interactions between participants and government officials were mediating the path on local government trust to the policy compliance.

In addition, interviews were conducted to supplement the results of the survey.

First, local government trust has a positive effect on policy compliance in urban regeneration projects.

Second, the citizen-government interaction of urban regeneration projects, in the context of conflicts

between stake-holders, has a positive effect on policy compliance. Third, local government trust has a positive

effect on policy compliance by mediating citizen-government interactions. The findings

suggested that policy administrators should strive to raise government trust among diverse stake-

holders. I also found the need to balance all stakeholder groups in the policy process in order to

enhance policy compliance and ensure sustainable management of policies. In summary, this study

highlighted that the performance of public policy projects is ultimately closely linked to the interests

and compliances of the policy subjects, and analyzed the relationship between government trust and

citizen-government interaction.

Panel 7.

Materiality, Science, and Technology - Reflections on Time

Panel conveners:

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Temporalities, temporal orientations and time are inseparable, but often underanalysed, part of the study of materiality and matter. During the anthropocene, human impact over time on matter is undeniable, and yet but one example of the ways in which politics, ethics and matter intersect. The panel focuses on materiality, the liveliness of matter, that cannot be understood without the effects of time: how connections, infrastructures, or timescapes are shifting, and being shifted in science and technology. In the study of materiality, the knowledge that is produced about the time/matter nexus, and 'how we know what we know' is often the focal point of inquiries, which opens up intriguing possibilities for what we want to address and discuss in this panel. Recent discussions have addressed expectations, anticipations, future imaginaries, potentiality and temporalities; how these notions relate to the materialities encountered and engaged within our fieldworks will be discussed in this panel. We encourage presentations paying attention to materialities and temporalities, cycles as well as futures and pasts, in knowledge making practices, and the time and materiality that present themselves in the knowledge making we ourselves do as ethnographers. We welcome papers that present and discuss either empirical cases of material vitality (for example, but not limited to, changing views of microbes, decaying research infrastructures, politics around stem cells, loops in archeogenetic knowledge, paradigm shifts in knowledge etc) or reflect methodologically or theoretically the topic and scope of this panel.

Session I

The contested 'turn' to materiality: (dis)entangling genealogies of materialism and their methodological effects

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Taking materiality into account in the analysis of social practices and phenomena has become an increasingly trendy approach in social research. Yet, shifting the analytical eye towards materiality or matter as constitutive of human sociability remains a contested turn. This paper discusses the analytical power of the turn, also termed as 'new materialism', through two parallel dimensions.

Firstly, new materialism is studied as a gesture of ongoing theorization that opens up the disciplinary borders of sociology towards the interdisciplinary fields of science and technology

studies (STS) and feminist research. Such disciplinary porosity increases analytical sensitivity to how living and nonliving entities take part in co-constituting social worlds – but not without methodological challenges. Secondly, materiality and its theoretical-methodological stakes are explored via examples from empirical case studies that investigate how life sciences and bio- and reproductive technologies shape the society. The examples suggest that contemporary social scientists face the old question about how to relate the social to the biological without reducing each to the other either way. The paper argues that through the legacy of Marxist materialism, interest in the temporal and other dynamics of matter is immanent to the social study of society. Furthermore, the paper contends that in making sense of the methodological effects of the material turn, feminist theorization is at the forefront in addressing the political and ethical implications of the changing relations between humans and nonhumans.

Extraction/Exhaustion

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The era labelled the Anthropocene is characterised—in part—by narratives of extraction and exhaustion: the extraction of minerals that has exhausted resources, and an extraction of labour that has exhausted bodies. This paper examines a different kind of resource extraction—of the lithic and of the flesh—for the purposes of sustaining blessing and merit, the essences of which are too being exhausted in the Anthropocene. Here, I revisit my ethnography of the Indian Himalaya through the lens of ethnogeology to offer a different perspective of time and materiality in the Anthropocene. In Ladakh, North-West India, mythical histories tell of Buddhism's foundations on the Tibetan plateau, the divine methods used to preserve the blessings that sustain productive and reproductive life, and an era of demerit and decline. They tell of connections between rocks and bodies that have endured across time through the protective capacities of incarnate rulers. Now, it seems that this merit has become exhausted. Divine technologies, constructed from mineral extraction, no longer protect. Prostrations and prayers performed by bodies no longer preserve. Floods, earthquakes and a continuous threat of war intimidate. "The merit from the earlier times is finished", a Ladakhi incarnate ruler told me. Events and stories offer an alternative framing of the Anthropocene, one drawn from Himalayan Buddhist ethnography and mythical perspective that explains what happens when bodies, minerals, and

religious merit are exhausted.

On time in the context of mineral extraction and consumption

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Minerals, namely metals, non-metallic minerals, and fuels such as coal, oil and gas, are naturally occurring elements and compounds from the earth, which though forming very slowly are, from a human temporal perspective, resources non-renewable. As access to important mineral resources has been a key to political and economic power for much of the human history, also contemporary societies remain heavily dependent on minerals with their energy and material needs. Yet, notwithstanding the shortage of many important minerals already in vicinity, the mineral extraction and consumption is anything but slowing down, rather the race by governments and companies is to secure their access to the remaining deposits. At the same time, the business of mineral extraction and consumption retains a number of problems. Reflecting longer patterns of wielding of political and economic power both within and between societies, mineral extraction is nowadays a highly globalised field where ownership concentrates on large companies and consumption to the over-consuming classes, whereas the drawbacks beyond the significant climate heating impact remain largely at the regions of extraction. Likewise, as places of today are outcomes of long processes of formation and enmeshed with different temporal and political contexts (Nixon 2011), many resource conflicts are essentially about different orientations to time and place. The temporal frameworks of extraction differ from other relationships with the soil, influencing the lives of those likely to stay put once the extraction is over, and raising difficult questions about socio-ecological and intergenerational justice. My presentation discusses these issues specifically in the context of metal mining and its ramifications, drawing from the work I have done in Northern Finland and Eastern India as part of my postdoctoral research (Academy of Finland 2014-2017) on the consequences of mining industry for disadvantaged groups and more broadly on the socio-ecological ramifications of the mining industry.

Temporality of samples in biomedical knowledge production

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Biobank samples are samples of human origin with attached health-related data on the donor. The age of the samples seem to be crucial for their usability in biomedical research, sometimes even in contradictory ways. What characterises samples from different time points are on the one hand technical issues relating to their consistent and standardized quality, and on the other hand issues relating to the amount of follow-up data on the donor, which is seen to increase their value.

Whether the samples are so called old, 'legacy' samples taken for diagnostics decades ago and now transferred to biobank collections, or whether they are new prospective samples, ment to be used in the future studies, there are intriguing temporalities involved. Moreover, there is the idea of a zero sample, taken in a "healthy" state that would be especially valuable.

In this presentation, based on a qualitative phd study conducted between 2012-2019, I will discuss the temporalities related to samples of human origin that are stored in biobanks, and meant to be utilized in biomedical research and development. I bring to the fore the temporality of research materials, and the way this relates to biomedical knowledge production.

An urgent matter: materiality and temporality in liver transplants

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Lists seem like a reasonable tool to distribute resources. But what if the listed thing in question concerns a limited, scarce good that is critical for people's survival? In the context of liver transplant medicine, waiting lists are an essential part of healthcare infrastructure, shaped by politics, ethics, technologies and medicine. Inspired by Bowker and Star's (1999) work on classificatory practices and information infrastructures, my paper investigates waiting lists in liver transplant medicine – a field that is characterised by uncertainties, urgency and delay.

Based on ethnographic research in Germany, I discuss how materiality and temporalities intersect in waiting lists. Waiting lists are technological and moral tools that allow for the allocation of deceased donor livers in Germany as well as across its borders. As the central tool to organise the allocation of liver transplants in Germany, these lists are not only dependent on medical values but also on spatial, temporal and individual factors. These lists scrutinise common understandings of lists as a fixed or tangible materiality. Rather, they are created out of a digital data pool for each donor organ that becomes available. As a result, and contrary to patients' imaginaries, these lists

are multiple, without a fixed order, temporally fleeting and constantly in flux. In my paper, I show how the specific materiality of livers – failing as well as donor organs – evoke the particular temporality of these lists and discuss contingencies in a medico-technological field that is characterised by imaginaries of the future and the pushing of boundaries.

Session II

Carved in plastic: material and temporal aspects of the organ donor card

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Since the 1960s postmortem organ transplantation has kept influencing both research and practice of medicine and provides a lot of narrative material that shows how organ donation is being negotiated and established as a societal practice. Due to the opt-in solution organ transplantation in Germany is strongly linked to its acceptance by the people. Thus, organ donor cards have become part of material culture in Germany and so far, there is no digital replacement. While on the surface they mark a decision-making process, in the context of organ donation the artifact and its handling become a mirror for an existential individuality, as well as for complex social processes. The presentation explores the role of temporality and materiality in the decision-making process based on filling in a (re)movable card that has changed its materiality over time.

The research is based on artifact analysis, narrative interviews and participant observation, as well as material of the research project '*I would prefer not to*'. *Organ donation between unease and criticism* that provides data from interviews and focus groups. In the empirical data there is evidence of both temporal and material aspects closely entangled with the decision-making process and sense-making concerning organ donation as well as modifications of identification techniques over time. Moreover, important aspects of organ donation and a broad range of emotions can be associated with the card – from a positive idea of being a hero to the deepest fears and doubts regarding one's value for the health care system. The official document helps to transform attitudes towards organ donation into simple actions, while at the same time the card possesses a disconcerting sense of semi-immortality. Seemingly there is also a deepening sense of membership that is closely associated with the temporal length of the possession of the organ donor card.

Identifying the Shifting Boundaries of Mental Disorders: The Feedback Mechanisms of Abnormalcy and Normalcy

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There are two competing approaches to defining mental disorders. Naturalists claim that mental problems can be provided objective naturalistic definitions, whereas normativists argue that such definitions are always value-laden and shifting. In my talk, I side with the normativists, and I argue that although genuine mental disorders are biologically and cognitively grounded, they are nonetheless historically and culturally situated. To this end, I argue that there are two boundary feedback mechanisms that mediate the formation and manifestation of mental problems. First, I argue that human cognition is extended to physical and sociocultural environment, and hence environmental factors play an inalienable part in scaffolding and enabling mental problems. That is, all mental disorders are culturally bounded. Moreover, I argue, following Georges Canguilhem, that biology does not offer a fine-grained definition of mental problems because individual abilities to adapt to surrounding physical and sociocultural circumstances, as well as the circumstances themselves, vary. Second, following Ian Hacking, I argue that there is a feedback effect between psychiatric classifications and psychiatric kinds. According to Hacking, classifying some traits or behaviours as abnormal generates actions that influence the classified people, which turn, have to be taken into account in the classification. The interaction between the classification and mental disorder renders the disorder a volatile and temporally situated target. Finally, I argue that this doubly extended nature of mental disorders has implications to anthropological research. Since how we draw the boundary between abnormal and normal influences our health, we should ask whether our conception of normalcy is healthy. Moreover, we should study to what extent Western conceptions of abnormalcy and normalcy are conveyed by the classification manuals of mental disorders.

Microbial temporalities: narratives of time, genes and governance in two types of biological threats

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Temporal narratives play a key role in how we understand and deal with biological threats. In my work, I compare the different temporalities associated with two types of biological threats:

pandemics and antimicrobial resistance (AMR). The temporality of pandemic viruses, on one hand, is often depicted as wave-shaped: outbreaks take place recurrently and emerge unexpectedly as viruses undergo genetic mutations that increase their lethality and infectivity. As part of this ever-recurrent nature of pandemic events, they are compared with past outbreaks; defined around current knowledge about identified viruses; and prepared for based on models, calculations, and risk assessments of upcoming pandemics. The threat of AMR, on the other hand, is often defined as emerging ‘slowly but surely’, with its growth rate resembling an exponential line rather than a wave. Policies invoke a process that started with the development of the first antibiotics and has been aggravated as their use has increased and microbes genetically mutate to develop resistance. From a temporal perspective, a post-antibiotic era would very much resemble a pre-antibiotic stage where infections cannot be tackled with existing methods. In other words, the future formulated by framings of AMR is a return to the past. Despite these differences in framing, the tackling of pandemic threats and AMR shares many of their governance strategies. In my presentation, I discuss some of the key similarities and differences in terms of governance, while reflecting on the relevance of different temporal framings in understanding the scientific and political processes involved in global health. I argue that understanding the connections between the temporality, genetic processes, and biopolitics involved in tackling microbial threats is a key step to consider when theorizing the material relations that are enacted in human-microbe entanglements.

Mistrust: the history of engaging communities in HIV research in Kenya

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Today, community engagement is a ubiquitous tool in Global Health research, following a participatory turn in the early 2000s in health policy, medical research and health systems design. International ethical guidelines for medical research also mandate community engagement as a way of making research more socially relevant, collaborative, and democratic. The participatory turn has also seen a proliferation of literature on trust. Trust is seen to be crucial for bringing together various groups assembled by global health research and work towards a shared objective. Engagement is trust building par excellence.

In this paper I argue, however, that particularly in contexts of sub-Saharan Africa where Global

Health research is conducted, it would be analytically more productive to think with mistrust.

History of medical research in sub-Saharan Africa is marked by conflicts between communities and health practitioners and researchers. The ethnographic entry of this paper to the analysis of mistrust in Global Health research is through the case of HIV vaccine development in Kenya. When research is conducted on vulnerable gay and bisexual men and transwomen, issues of gender and sexuality emerge. The research group developing the vaccine was attacked in 2010 by the community living around the research centre with the accusations of converting people to homosexuality and introducing ‘unAfrican’ values among young people.

Based on ethnographic research in Kenya in 2014-2015, this paper analyses the history of the conflict as narrated by researchers, research participants and perpetrators of the conflict, and the subsequent community engagement practices put in place to rebuild trust. The case poignantly demonstrates the conditions and limits of engagement and how thinking about mistrust is relevant to understanding the evolution of science-society relations. In this context engagement tools are made to work across stark differences of race, class, education, and sexuality, with precarious results.

Panel 8.

Out of place, out of time? Rethinking liminality and stuckedness in experiences of migration

Panel conveners:

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Many scholars in anthropology and other disciplines have emphasized how migrants’ lives have increasingly shifted from experiences of mobility to conditions of immobility (Carling, 2002; Salazar & Smart, 2011). Migration policies, deportability and racial discrimination can confine migrants in an existential and temporal condition of indefinite waiting, liminality and stuckedness (Hage, 2009; Willen, 2007). Scholars have often described this liminal condition as detrimental to one’s sense of security and wellbeing, or as a failure to become ‘incorporated’ and to fully belong (Allsopp, Chase, & Mitchell, 2014; Gonzales, Suárez-Orozco, & Dedios-Sanguinetti, 2013; Sommers, 2012). In this panel, we seek to conceptualize and rethink the ways in which different temporal breaks and continuities affect migrants’ experiences of mobility and immobility, belonging and intimacy, in relation to the multiple factors and constraints shaping migrants’ possibilities of making a viable life. We particularly

seek papers that draw on ethnographic engagements exploring migrants’ experiences of time that are in contrast, or misaligned, with the linear and progressive temporality of neoliberal societies – that is, the expected trajectories towards citizenship, social incorporation, and independence. For instance, how do migrants themselves understand dissonant experiences of time and emplacement? How do these understandings shape different experiences of (im)mobility and imaginations of possible futures? What kinds of temporalities are possible, or are hindered, in migration? And how are these influenced by policies, and neoliberal imaginations of a ‘good life’?

Session I

‘The sweet memories of home have gone’: displaced people searching for home in a liminal space

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By ignoring how conflict and displacement disrupt the location of home for those who flee within national borders, studies on displacement have largely failed to fully understand the material and symbolic impacts of living without a place called home. Drawing on the experiences of internally displaced people in Colombia, this paper argues that following conflict and displacement home becomes neither an entirely fixed place those who escape conflict unequivocally want to return nor an entirely mobile space they necessarily experience on the move. Rather than ambiguously attached to the place left behind or refashioned on the move, the empirical findings reveal that home is consistently experienced by the displaced as a tension between ‘here’ and ‘there’ or ‘nowhere’.

Although many displaced people do find a physical place to live following displacement, they experience the sense of being trapped in a liminal space where they feel emotionally and existentially homeless. Analysis of detailed interviews shows that most of them continue to search for a sense, rather than a place called, home. A home which is emotional and affective rather than purely physical. The paper concludes by highlighting how sedentarist and non-sedentarist understandings of home coexist in the displaced location of home.

“Deferred return” and migration as time management: The case of Egyptian parents in Paris

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This paper posits the idea of ‘deferred return’ as the spatio-temporal structure of family life for Egyptian parents in Paris. The dream of return is always deferred because of the barrin problems of obtaining the right papers for some parents, as an example. Engaging in various practices of hope, waiting, and hesitating, Egyptian parents view their stay in Paris as temporal, provisional and transitory. Therefore, their migratory experience is not necessarily a navigation of space, but a navigation of time that is characterized by various attempts to manage it, fill it, plan it and dream about it. The Egyptians parents that are discussed in this paper are morally bound by the maxim of securing a ‘better future’ for their children, therefore resulting in their migratory experience as one which moves across temporalities: a past that is home, a present that is transitory and a future that is uncertain but hopeful nevertheless. This paper looks closely at quotidian practices of parents and proposes an idea of migration as a future-driven movement of people, animated by the prospect of a “better future”. These Egyptian parents see their current places of residence through temporal lenses: they are ephemeral, temporary: they are the site of the preparation for a certain future to come.

Space-time and affective states: narratives about Tibetan diaspora

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In this paper I seek to think about the relationship between time-space, with focus on mobility and affects, from an ethnographic study carried out with the Tibetan community in the UK. The 10th March 1959 marked the life of many Tibetans. A date which is remembered as the uprising day against the Chinese occupation. Historically interested in the region that we know as Tibet, the Chinese State, with geopolitical flows and inflows, occupied the Tibetan territory throughout the 1950s. With the 14th Dalai Lama compulsory departure to India, many Tibetans followed his footsteps and took refuge in countries like Nepal, Bhutan, India, and, more recently, in USA, Suisse, Canada, France and UK. Some anthropologists point out that there are three migratory flows over the last sixty years. Each one of them associated with a new chapter of Chinese invasion. I propose to, in the light of

this historical approach and from an ethnographic perspective, take reflexively the personal trajectories recognizing space-time categories as shapers of a becoming. In a way that a complex mix of past and future is a constant premise of being Tibetan in a foreign territory. What this means, for my hosts, to be Tibetan considering that often none of them have never been in Tibet? Which are the imaginativies process of an engaged becoming when it is necessary to sew the space-time breaks related to the possibilities of one day coming back to their homeland? What their narratives tell us about (and through) affective states, following the example of “shem shug (ཤེམ་ཤུག་)”, which could mean “power of the heart”? Seeing that this study is a multi-situated ethnography, I am using open interviews and a gradual insertion in common social spaces, as community parties.

Time and the Displaced Other: How Anthropology Makes its Humanitarian Object

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Displacement is typically approached in anthropology as an exceptional experience of liminality that is associated with refugees and forced migration. Recent representations of migration “crisis” have reinforced the exceptionality attached to displacement. Drawing on multi-sited research I have conducted with refugees who have sought asylum in Uganda and other refugees who have been resettled in Australia, in this paper I put forward a more expansive theorisation of displacement as a sense of temporal dispossession. Additionally, I describe how, by characterising refugees and other migrants as people who occupy a temporality that is distinguished by their migration status, anthropology denies coevalness with and between migrants and non-migrants and thereby reinforces the very logics of otherness that we might otherwise seek to critique. Recognising the shared temporal rhythms of displacement, and how these manifest broadly as the effects of global capitalism and neoliberal restructurings, is one way through which anthropologists can strengthen our analyses and critiques of bordering structures. We must firmly situate refugees and migrants within these shared rhythms of displacement and liminality, rather than exceptionalise them through the lens of “crisis.”

Permanent migrant temporariness

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In this paper, I put forward a temporal approach on migration experiences in terms of life planning and future making. Drawing on narratives of Moldovan migrant workers in Italy, I study how temporary labour migrants co-produce, experience and make sense of prolonged temporariness. By and large, I address the time management of those who are not always in the position to “own” time, have a clear vision of what lies ahead and make informed decisions. More specifically, I provide insights on how projected temporariness as a temporal horizon deeply affects one’s lifestyle and crucial life decisions in practical domains such as occupational career, access to social benefits, pension and health system. I show that Moldovan migrants fall under the condition of permanent temporariness due to an over focus on the extended present, while seemingly losing sight of the long-run perspective. Permanent temporariness denotes a future orientation, which is paradoxically anchored in a continuous present. Because there are many factors difficult to account for or (perceived as) outside their control, they concentrate on the current needs and aims against long term uncertain benefits. Temporariness manifests in the inertia with which they continue to enact their goal-oriented behavior at the outset of their migration project. They behave as prospective returnees on a settler’s basis, even if their behavior predicts return. However, by prolonging their stay, they decrease the likelihood of return while still maintaining their temporary behaviour.

Session II

Displaced futures and contested belonging among Zimbabwean returning migrants in Bulawayo

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This paper discusses Zimbabwean returning migrants’ particular experiences of time and senses of belonging in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. Drawing on my recent eight-month long ethnographic fieldwork with ‘empty handed’ returnees and their translocal families, the paper contributes to the literature on Zimbabwe’s ‘displacement economy’ that examines how the personal, social, political, and economic life has been reordered by the long-term deprivation and volatile circumstances in Zimbabwe (e.g., Bracking 2014, Jones 2014, Hammar 2010; 2014). By engaging with two novel Ndebele concepts that have grown out of

the crisis, *khonapho khonapho* (“now now”) and *Ukuhlanganisa* (“mixing things to make do”), I explore what has precarious life, i.e. ‘the life without the promise of stability’ (Tsing 2015:2), together with the experiences of multiple displacements and the co existing, often contradictory experiences of stuckedness and mobility, done to the returnees’ future making and sense of belonging. I argue that the long term crisis and mass-displacement have constituted fragmented families and insecure life-worlds where plans are made for today or with short-term future outlooks. This, for its parts, has shaped returnees’ imaginations of decent belonging and ways of gaining viable life, social worth, and recognition, not just materially but also socially, politically, morally, and symbolically.

Understanding the limbo in a city hit by several crises: Igniting and mapping spatial-temporal mobility of refugees in Athens, Greece

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In 2016 more than one million refugees passed through Athens. When the borders closed, hundreds became stranded in camps or provisional flats. This population, now estimated to be more than 60,000 remaining in Greece, had no future prospects or notion of what to expect for a long time. At the city of Athens, the municipality received European funding for a pilot program of refugee integration called “Curing the Limbo”. The concept is based on testing practical ways to get refugees out of this state, namely a state of being neither here nor there, un-occupied for a long time and having lost one’s sense of belonging. This notion of “Limbo” is aligned with other forms of inactivity and immobility that the city has suffered from such as the high rate of unemployment among local inhabitants and the increase of abandoned buildings in various neighborhoods during the financial crisis. The project is about actively intervening to change the fate of both city and citizens in an attempt to re-activate people and city together, by connecting refugees with active citizens and designing their integration through the city’s own efforts to stand on its feet. The recently arrived refugees become an opportunity to revive the hosting city through a transformative process

for all. To design and implement our project, we are led to closely study perceptions of time and spatial associations in the urban environment, tracking shifts in personal geographies and temporalities. Our goal is to practically improve strategies of integration, thus following a methodology of active listening and observation in the field. So even though our study is not purely academic, we would like to present the first results of this research and contribute to the wider reflection on rethinking and conceptualizing the ways in which temporal breaks affect migrants' experiences of mobility and immobility, intimacy and belonging.

Environmental Displacement, Work and Waiting in India

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This paper seeks to understand the significance of waiting for the environmental migrants who were forced to flee the Sundarbans due to the cyclone Aila on 2009, and eventually sheltered at the urban fringes of Kolkata, an Indian city. While the condition of waiting as a social experience creates social, political and economic insecurities, it also offers some opportunities of work, and creates future possibilities. Drawing on ethnographic field data collected from a village in the Sunderbans (India) and an urban slum neighbourhood in Kolkata in 2018, the paper explains how the factors like political connections, kinship and social network as well as technological and other skills shape and reshape the experience of waiting, thereby creating scopes for the migrants to find work and livelihoods. This paper engages with the way, on the one hand, the state of belongingness is affected by the condition of temporality as the environmental displacement, and on the other, the condition of temporality is influenced by the state of belonging or attachment. The paper contributes to the understanding of entanglement of nature, society and temporalities.

Temporalities and solidarities as critique on top down narratives of integration

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Strong civil society and abundance of grassroots projects are characteristics of the pluralistic

inner-city neighborhoods in Berlin, Germany. Particularly after the arrival of 80,000 asylum seekers and refugees in the city in 2015, these third sector organisations and initiatives started to spontaneously organise and provide support for the new arrivals whom the city failed to sufficiently accommodate. The neoliberal city (and its' subsequent processes of gentrification and marginalisation) is experienced as an increasingly hostile environment by locals and newcomers alike, a state that has fostered solidarities and alliances between different stakeholder groups. In my conference paper, I will address the ways in which temporalities and the state of uncertainty feature in the narratives of my interlocutors from the civil society. I will pay attention to refugees' narrations of their experiences of waiting, stuckedness and waisting time due to the conditions of forced migration. Furthermore, I look at the strategies they use to overcome such hurdles. Many of the stakeholders address the concept of integration from a critical perspective challenging top down integration policies, assumedly linear trajectories and the inherent power hierarchies in them. Using ethnographic examples and interview quotations I will illustrate the networks between different institutions, activist groups, and individuals (some of whom are categorised and/or identify as locals, migrants, refugees, asylum seekers and expatriates). I will pay attention to the experiences of time in relation to the critique on integration that my interlocutors express. In this way, I hope to render the plural community visible as resource and highlight the strategic advantage of such alliances.

Overcoming Loneliness and Boredom: Mexican Men's Post-Migration Experiences on Gay Dating Apps in the US

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This paper draws on ethnographic research conducted in Mexico City among young gay and bisexual men returning from the United States. I analyse the trajectories of these men who started to use geosocial gay dating apps in order to escape liminality and lack of sociability in US middlesized cities, after they relocated. I describe how the participants have come to use these technologies in a context where they experienced boredom and loneliness, on the one hand, and homophobia within the heteronormative Mexican diaspora, on the other hand. Their use of geolocalised dating apps in the US is therefore a means to overcome

stuckedness and (geographical and social) immobility. These tools can then be analysed as new instruments of mobility that enhance queer migrants' agency in the integration process. Thus, their original purpose (finding a sex partner) is sometimes diverted for new forms of sociability. This paper aims to grasp the extent to which geo-localised dating apps can be considered as tools to overcome stuckedness, loneliness and lack of sociability for queer migrants. I argue that the use of these apps must be understood as integral to the participants' post-migration experiences.

Panel 9.

Perhaps Another Time? The Trouble with Teleology

Panel conveners:

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A number of scholars have suggested that a worldview based on linear progressive temporality is actually best understood as a Christian worldview. Such temporality bears similarities to Christian supersessionist theology, a form of periodization that emphasizes moments of rupture between the old and new, in which the new represents improvements over the old. Such improvements might be expressed as development, forward movement, as solutions to a problem, or as approaches to a telos or ultimate truth. This kind of thinking can represent a mood of hope. But it can also create a sensation of shock when events in the world seem to be moving "backward" rather than forward. Such, for example, has been the astonishment expressed by liberal and progressive forces when political leadership around the world took a sharp turn to the right in the 1930s and again in the late 2010s. Drawing on such theorists as Gil Anidjar, Walter Benjamin, Jacques Derrida, Johannes Fabian, and, Hayden White, this panel examines alternatives to constructions of time that emphasize its flow and orientation, and consequently the possibility of disruption. It asks what other kinds of temporalities are available to us. Our ethnographic case studies highlight ritual, legal, psychological, and scholarly practices that halt, reiterate, periodize, focus, or otherwise shape experiences of time in ways that are different from the idea of progress.

The Trouble with Christian Time: Thinking in Jewish

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This paper raises questions about how linear progressive temporality, supersessionist thinking, or what we might call "Christian Time" has a tendency to leave us unprepared when events don't seem to be moving "forward." This leads me to ask what other temporalities might be available to us; in particular, what it might mean to think in "Jewish Time". Every year at the Passover Seder, we repeat the commandment that in every generation each individual is obligated to see himself as though he had been brought forth from Egypt. Commandments such as this demonstrate the nature of collective identity through time, a genealogical connection that is historical rather than biological. Beyond that, this obligation involves a kind of temporality which is different from linear progressive or supersessionist thinking. It does not point to improvement over time, to the end of enslavement, or progressive human liberation. Instead, it is a temporality that involves repetition, continuity, or recurrence. This paper asks what it might mean to live as though we ourselves had been enslaved and brought forth from Egypt. How might such temporal thinking reorient us to political realities? Would living as though we had been freed from enslavement change our expectations? Would it allow us to be prepared for the present by preventing a sense of astonishment when the past seems to intrude on the present? Would we learn to expect such occurrences and not see them as intrusions, but rather as the continuing presence of the past?

Mediated Time: Regulating "The Sabbath of the Land" and Palestinian Citizens' Agrarian Survival

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Once in seven years the Israeli state allegedly sells all its state-owned land to a non-Jew, often a "loyal Arab," to practice the biblical commandment of "The Sabbath of the Land" (In Hebrew Shmitah), which commands the land needs to lie fallow in the seventh year of the Hebrew calendar. The political regulation of shmitah has increased over the last decade. Ironically, shmitah became the most profitable year for the Palestinian citizen's (and non-citizen) agriculture, which otherwise has been dispossessed and de-developed. The state's shmitah regulation is contrasted with the official negligence of the Qur'anic tradition of inheritance, which poses significant obstacles to Palestinian agriculture. The increase in regulation and subsidy of agricultural shmitah in Israel/Palestine embody nation-making through the calendar and Zionist settler-nationhood reclamation of biblical

agricultural traditions as a way of solidifying historical claims to the land. Diverse modes of time including the biblical, the agrarian capitalist economy, the technoscientific, and the bureaucratic time do not conflict, but they are mediated by the state. Nevertheless, a bureaucratic technique of time regulation that occurs only once in seven years is difficult to manage. Finally, different modes of time are materialized in the agrarian environment highlighting how agriculture is amenable to governance through time.

The Here and the Now: Present Orientation as Panacea in Times of Securitization

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Living in the moment is a common directive in wellness discourses – spiritual, physical, economic, even political. The turn towards the self, the incessant reflexivity, and the edict to self-invent indefinitely, are marked by present orientation. It is very common for yoga, meditation, or healing sessions to begin with the instruction to focus on the moment and suspend thought about what was or will be next. We are bombarded, so the logic goes, with stimuli and demands for action. Even leisure is dominated by doing. So to counterbalance we are called to take breaks and concentrate on “just being”. Submitting to the moment will not only cure our overburdened bodies and disoriented souls; it will also enhance our economic wellbeing, because relaxing into the here and the now will help us discover what is really right for us to be doing. Consumer capitalism’s ready-to-use platforms – shared working or leisure spaces – allow us to work or rest without drowning in messy relationships that have histories and that require maintenance towards imagined futures. We enter these spaces as individuals, but they also promise us a community. Thus we seek respite in the present. And we find it, readily available, in packaged, purchasable activities that offer comfortable trust between strangers coming together for the moment. The talk will use ethnography from Israel to explore the deep paradoxes that inhere in the flowering of a temporality of the present and the liberal habitus that engulfs it, in times of surging nationalism, xenophobia, and global securitization.

Orders of Time: Supersession and the Secular

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This paper examines one of the key elements of “Christian” time: the idea of temporal rupture in the form of supersession. Using examples from medieval European and contemporary Euroamerican

discourse on religious difference, I will make two arguments. First, that supersession requires the imagination of a specific past that is not succeeded by, but encompassed by another order of time which fulfills that past by rendering it obsolete. Second, that this obsolescence is marked not by the destruction of that past, but by its active curation and maintenance. According to St. Augustine, God dispersed the Jews among every nation as living proof of an ancient scriptural tradition foretelling Christ’s mission. Their practical value lay in their contrast to the new “spiritual Israel” of the Church. Thus, during the medieval period, Europe’s Jewish communities were pressured to avoid developing new textual or ritual practices in order to maintain that illustrative appearance of antiquity. In turn, contemporary critical scholarship on our own “secular” age no longer conceives it as a replacement of religion. Instead, it is framed as a new kind of disenchanted “Protestant” worldview realized through the jurisdictional negotiation of public and private spheres. Scholars discuss the secular as a new way in which contemporary systems of power marginalize particular populations who do not fit its model of choice, identity, and expression. People who appear to be remainders of the superseded past are used as examples demonstrating the encompassing triumph of the secular.

Panel 10.

The presence of/in the past

Convener:

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This panel approaches the practices of social remembering by discussing the emplacement of time and the temporality of space – in other words, space-time. The purpose is to discuss, on the one hand, how the past is still present: lingering on or called up when relating to the passage of time. On the other hand, the papers can examine, how the people may figuratively or even (quasi-) physically dwell on the past milieus when recounting their history. What are the focal points evoked via places and landscapes? How are these related to lived space and forms of sociality? How is the past made closer to and/or more distant from the contemporary? The papers assembled in this panel are urged to discuss the ambiguities and complexities of placemaking and of being in history via narratives and the minutiae of practices by drawing from ethnographic fieldwork. The dynamics may reside in material foci, practices of placemaking, social interaction or embodied dispositions.

Session I

Enter the Clockworld – Reimagining Time through Physical Theatre

EDDA STARCK

University of Göttingen

How does time work? In which ways can we relate to it? And how does our knowledge of mortality shape our experience of time? These are questions at the heart of *Warped*, a recent circus theatre production by aerial company Paper Doll Militia. Set inside a giant clock world, the physical theatre piece explores the relationship between the flows of time, the disruptiveness of mortality and death, space, bodies, movement, and sound. I joined the production on their launch tour early 2019 in the United States, conducting ethnographic fieldwork on their creative critique of conventional meanings of time. In this proposed article I thus explore how time has been reimagined by the performers, embodied through movement, materialized through complicated props and aerial apparatus. I discuss how different coexisting and contradictory experiences and conceptualizations of time collided during the production of *Warped*, on- and off-stage. The play, intended to critically reimagine conventional assumptions about time, became itself the site of such collisions and frictions in unexpected ways for the crew and audience members. The ethnographic research I conducted while accompanying the performers through rehearsals and performances provided me with an insight into the complex ways in which the performers and crew members found themselves entangled in a multiplicity of different timelines, cycles, pasts, presents, and futures. This paper seeks out those liminal spaces, where timelessness and timedness overlap, blend, and become one, breaking with conventional knowledges of time and laws of physics.

It is my firm belief that creative explorations of time might open up new understandings of the complexity and multiplicity of time could permit us to depart from Eurocentric, universalist assumptions about the time's 'nature'. Through this paper I hope to argue for the value of such artistic reimaginings, aiming to affirm them as important sites of knowledge production.

Phantom rebellion: recruitment of the dead to align with the state in a Montenegrin village

KLĀVS SEDLENIEKS

Rīga Stradiņš University

The paper is based on the fieldwork in Njeguši, a small village in Montenegro. In 1832 Vukolaj Radonjić, a representative of one of the local families and a *guvernadur* (governor) was taken to prison, more than 30 of his relatives were driven from the village and some were killed. Houses were burned and levelled. The official historiography portrayed this event in the light of a just punishment for betrayal and consequently

virtually erased Vukolaj from history. Nevertheless, several contemporary descendants are trying to revive the memory by investing in restored buildings and churches. However, when they decide to hold an official inauguration ceremony of the chapel they have themselves restored, they are confronted with the police which is sent in under the pretence of riot prevention. The contemporary Radonjići were carving their moral position in the contemporary Montenegro by means of recruiting the might of a phantom army of Vukolaj Radonjić. For them *guvernadur* symbolises opposition to the current perceivably corrupt elite and allows to position themselves as defenders of openness, democracy, education and Western values. However, an even more powerful phantom operates on the other side – that of the prince-bishop Petar II Njegoš who once ordered the mentioned arrests and who is undeniably the most famous historic figure in Montenegro. This is then a story of a phantom clash which elucidates competing performances through which various groups of citizens forge their alliances with the (phantom) state of their choice. In describing the events, I am using the concept of phantom partly borrowing from medical science where the phantom is a realistic sense of a limb that seems not to be there. I also argue that in the case of the state such phantoms are part and parcel of the reality.

Storytelling, Performance, Memory and Place

MUSTAFA K. MIRZELER

Western Michigan University

With its hills and winding seasonal rivers, Najie, in northern Uganda, is not merely a geographical space where the social lives of the Jie people unfold, but it is the place where collective memory is located. Jie historical traditions and places are rooted epistemologically in what happened in the past in certain places. Place emanates memories saturated with nostalgia, and symbolic imaginary realms convey the order of the ancestral world. For Herzfeld (1991, p. 66), nostalgia "is a key strategy in the claims people make to cultural legitimacy." The memories of the original ancestors embodied in the landscape are nostalgically remembered during performances as they claim legitimacy to resources. This paper draws principally from the work of Herzfeld, and various others (Guimaraes, Nora 1989, Cunnison, 1950; Halbwachs, 1980; Lefebvre, 1974 [1984]; Slyomovics, 1998) in order to examine how Najie, and its history are entangled with Najie's geography as well as how these entanglements are sorted out by storytellers' representation of them. A thoughtful consideration of the interplay of memory, landscape, and history is not a matter of sorting fact from fiction but rather is one of exploring how cultural memory and history are entangled in particular places. Because memory inscribes places with meaning (Flores, 2002; Herzfeld, 1991; Nora, 1989; Slyomovics, 1998), it is necessarily involved with social and political relations, which, in

their turn, enhance historical discourse with certain evidence and interpretations.

Multivocal identity experiences and practices of people in Finnish Sápmi

UGNĖ BARBORA STARKUTĖ

Vytautas Magnus University

I am a last year master student of social anthropology from Vytautas Magnus University in Lithuania. My research for master thesis is on Sámi identity. More specifically, on multivocal identity experiences and practices of people in Finnish Sápmi. What interests me, is how the system and the structure (institutions) shape the expression of identity, in one hand, and in the other hand, how people shape these structures. Rather than seeing it as dichotomy of structure and agent, I choose to see it as infrastructure, as network(s) of influences in space and time.

The space might feel very temporal, it's shifting and changing. Sápmi is changing or is always near changing: new houses, growing tourism, growing and viable cultural life, climate change effects and threats, huge "development" projects under the discussions, Sami and indigenous rights activism. Identities are constantly moving and shifting too, but they are always current. They are rooted in the past, but negotiated at the given moment. How do people in Sápmi root themselves in the place and what questions arise in the process? How the current issues shape ethnic identities? And what aspects are negotiated in this temporal presence? These questions, I would like to cover during the presentation, based on my master thesis research material.

My fieldwork lasted for more than half a year, consisting of multiple visits between 2016 and 2018 in Inari village. While collecting ethnographic data, I was working in Sami Archives and in Sami Cultural Center as a tourist guide. I lived within families of my friends and, hopefully, got a glimpse of what it means to be Sami in Finland.

Session II

Decades of absence, mediums of presence: Relating to missing family members in the Bosnian diaspora

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In this paper, I discuss the tension between discrepant temporalities in a specific context, i.e. among the families of Bosnians whose family members went missing during the Bosnian war in mid 1990s. Some 30 000 people were reported missing when the Bosnian war ended in 1995, and the location and identification of those people has been an enormous task, lasting for more than two decades. Within this extended time frame, people relate to their violent past and to the protracted absence of their loved ones in various ways,

often across geographical distances as many Bosnian live in diaspora outside of Bosnia. Relying on my ethnographic fieldwork among the families of the missing Bosnians, my discussion of the relationship between time and place/ space will have two specific focuses: ritual time and generational time. When a missing person is located and identified, often in the mass graves found in Bosnia, the funerary rituals are necessarily affected by the unusually long time span between the death and the funeral. A different reworking of time and relationship to Bosnia takes place in the narratives of the younger generation, especially the children of those Bosnians who went missing.

Dealing with the Soviet past: Place-making of youth in industrial cities in the Russian Arctic

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Dealing with the Soviet past: Place-making of youth in industrial cities in the Russian Arctic

Many young people finishing schools in single-industry towns in the Russian Arctic express their dreams to escape from their home towns. Among their main complaints are the soviet appearance of the urban space, boredom and lack of recreational opportunities. During the soviet period these new mining cities were built by the state next to deposits of mineral resources and were populated by incomers. In the post-soviet period the town-forming enterprises got privatized and now belong to large international companies. Despite of internationalisation of these mining enterprises, the cities where they operate are still very much rooted in the soviet time, so the soviet past continues to shape lives of contemporary youth born after the USSR. The material infrastructure and the social environment of single-industry towns do not fulfil needs of modern young people that cause large-scale outmigration of youth. Still, there are reasons why some young adults decide to stay in their home towns: e.g. social networks, support of the family, not having enough resources for changes, convenient and familiar environment, etc. Drawing on long-term ethnographic fieldwork in Murmansk region, I analyse narratives and place-making practices of young inhabitants of single-industry mining towns (15-35), dealing with the soviet past while discussing and solving their contemporary problems. I also trace development of several grass-root youth initiatives, involved in discussions of future of the towns and in projects of transformation of the urban space.

Place-names saying it all: Presencing the past in a South Italian town

ANNA-MARIA TAPANINEN

University of Helsinki

This paper is based on my fieldwork in Pozzuoli, a town bordering Naples in Southern Italy. In local

conceptualizations, the relationship between the past and the present is habitually set in two loci: the ancient acropolis of Rione Toiano that was emptied in the 1970's because of a unique seismic phenomenon (bradyseism) and the housing development of Rione Toiano that predominantly houses the numerous evacuees. Hence, the spatial abyss is interwoven with a temporal chasm that sets the two eras apart. In this setting, describing the lived milieu of the present becomes a way of remembering – or imagining – the bygone world. Emplacing the past in Rione Terra, especially within the chronotopes (Bakhtin 1991) of narrow lanes and cramped abodes, anchors and substantiates the inevitable yet unfinished movement forward in time that is framed by the terms of master narratives of directional history: *civiltà* (or culture) and progress. Yet, the material details recounted are ways of visualizing dense encounters, which easily triggers other ways of orienting towards the 'casbah' of Rione Terra. It is not only the said but especially the saying that calls out ambiguous ways of presencing the past (Munn 2004) and illuminating the present (Toren 1988). In my paper, I will discuss these processes as forms of narrative and quasi- physical shifts without juxtaposing official history with the supposedly more authentic popular memory. I thereby ask: how can the fragments of memory practices be approached as shifts between a distancing orientation and a quasi-physical presence in the imagined past?

Panel 11.

Projects and Project Temporalities

Panel convener:

ANDREW GRAAN

University of Helsinki

This panel seeks papers that draw on ethnographic research to interrogate the temporal logics of projects. The project form—an integrated approach to goal-oriented planning, resource allocation, and task coordination—arguably stands as one of the most pervasive political technologies of the contemporary world. At different scales and to different degrees, social worlds are touched by: government projects, development projects, activist projects, research projects, work projects, group projects, school projects, reform projects, pilot projects, and so on. Beyond their ubiquity, however, projects are also marked by timelines. In their typical manifestation, projects are meant expire once their goal has been achieved (or the money runs out). This panel thus encourages submissions that critically examine the social effects and political consequences of project-based existence. How do projects succeed (and fail) in regimenting the temporality of social life? What happens when the time management of projects intersects with, disrupts, or comes into conflict with, other social temporalities? And, what happens to social life in the wake of projects, for instance, when “temporary” inventions produce “permanent” realities, as when a refugee camp

transforms into a slum? In considering these questions, the panel also seeks to reflect on the legacies of project logics within anthropological theory. For example, how do anthropological accounts of governmentality draw on and reproduce the logics and temporalities of projects? Thus, in contextualizing the temporal logics of projects alongside other social temporalities—those within, beside or that exceed projects—how might we expand an anthropological optics on politics in the present?

Development Projects: Unit of Measurement for Individual and Collective Memory

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International development cooperation is mainly planned and implemented with the help of projects. A project has a certain duration, a specific goal and a clearly defined, though not always clearly communicated, end. Different time levels together give a complex picture. The project character structures the individual and collective memories in different ways.

While development as an abstract concept is a vision and a continuous process, employees of development organizations plan and budget within the scope of projects and divide development into small “portions”. Therefore local development actors tell their work biography in sequence of projects. Aid recipients often structure their history, and the history of their community along the same projects. They talk about successful and failed ones and those from which they could benefit and those that did not affect them. Projects inscribe themselves in the landscape and leave behind their material traces: buildings, infrastructure, forests of sign posts testify to interventions that have already ended. They are converted, left to themselves or remain silent witnesses of completed projects. Some projects are canceled early or expire, others are extended. All of this has social effects at the level of historiography and memory. Cooperation have been successful, nations or organizations particularly cooperative or counterproductive. However, such interpretations are constantly changing and overlaid with subsequent projects as well as their absence. The legitimacy and evaluation of their impact are often negotiated long after their expiry.

This contribution will draw on field data from Burkina Faso as well as on literature and focus on the people that are most affected by development projects: NGO actors, community members and beneficiaries.

Projects and the Peasants: Industrialization, Activism, and Research in India

DAYABATI ROY

University of Helsinki

The paper seeks to understand the temporal logic of several projects and its socio-political implications for the temporality of peasantry and vice versa at the rural margin of India. The paper examines a governmental project that intended to set up a car industry through acquiring agricultural lands at Singur in West Bengal, an Indian state in 2006, and withdrew eventually because of anti-land acquisition movement on part of the peasants. However, some other projects which include the activists', both social and political, and the researchers' did intervene by way of doing activism and research, and mediate in the ensuing conflict between the government and the peasants who being otherwise always under intervention of projects. This paper looks at the way the temporal logics of several projects intersect, and thereby complicate matters for the peasants. Drawing on the evidences from ethnographic exploration for about a half-decade (2006-11), the first part of the paper discusses how various projects, both the government and non-government or anti-government, as political technologies shape and reshape the aspirations and activities of the peasantry. The second part of the paper engages the way the multilayered peasantry deals with the temporal logic of governmental project as well as the counter-temporal logic of activists and researchers, and reproduces the temporalities of respective projects. Through exploring different perspectives, contexts, and temporal logics this paper reveals that the ethnographic present is always intersected not only by multiple temporalities but also by contrast temporalities, and the consequence of the intersection of all these temporalities while creating and recreating the social temporalities hinders the projects' achievement towards their goals.

On projects in Egypt: an iterative pursuit

CARL ROMMER
University of Helsinki

In Egypt these days, 'projects' (mashari') are ever-present. On the one hand, lower and middle-class men will tell you that a business or investment project is necessary to put food on the table. On the other, the state obsesses about mega projects: a new Suez Canal, land reclamations, and a new capital in the desert. This paper examines a temporal logic underpinning many Egyptian projects, large and small. Drawing on participant observation with Cairene men who build football pitches and run football academies – both referred to as mashari' – and media discourses on mega projects, it suggests that

projects evoke dreams of prosperity in a future which everyone accepts will never fully arrive. While conjured as platforms of stability, projects often end up half-completed, abandoned and deferred. Materiality is worn out; plans are unrealistic; corruption clogs things up. Hence, as soon as one project is up and running, the promised stability at the horizon, it is time to start searching for a new one: the hunt for projects is an iterative pursuit.

The paper argues that the iterative timeline characterising small-scale football projects could tell us something pertinent about the state's insatiable dreams of mega-projects too. While Egypt's 'desert dreams' have been duly criticised for never fulfilling what they promise (Sims, 2016), less attention has been paid to why the authorities continue to plan and project, despite all (but see Ahlberg 2017). What if the pursuit itself makes projects cherished? What if an iterative temporality, connoting continuous action and always new visions, constitutes a value in its on right? If so, sober comparisons between targets and results might fail to fully capture the political purchase of Egypt's mega projects. Let us instead consider Egyptian projects a highly attractive dreamwork: avenues towards masculine ideals of provision, future making, and perpetual bold action.

After rehousing: the Portuguese Special Rehousing Programme in the eyes of former slum-dwellers

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The PER (Programa Especial de Realojamento, or Special Housing Programme) was launched by the Portuguese government to eradicate slums in metropolitan areas by the end of the 20th century. PER aimed at rehousing the almost 50,000 households registered in a survey conducted in 1993, while at the same time boosting a stagnating construction sector.

Several milestones marked the temporality of the PER. First, the programme was launched a few years after Portugal had entered the European Union. Against the background of international events (Lisbon was designated European Capital of Culture in 1994 and hosted the EXPO in 1998), the PER was launched to upgrade the country's image and to accommodate urban renewal projects. Second, in the 1990s, the PER was already considered an old-fashioned housing programme for its

inability to provide a comprehensive strategy of urban and regional development (Tulumello et al., 2018) and for the sanitary discourse adopted in regard to the rehoused population (Cachado, 2013). This paper examines the aftermath of the programme through an ethnographic investigation which is being conducted in Alta de Lisboa and Cascais, in the context of the project expERTs (www.expertsproject.org). Whilst in Alta de Lisboa an attempt was made to implement an on-site resettlement mixed with free sale promotion directed at higher socioeconomic segments, the delay in the construction of the latter led to ghettoization processes. Shack communities hastily housed in high-rise buildings contrast with the 34 neighbourhoods built in Cascais. Here other priorities were considered, and rehousing was a slower process: specialists were hired to monitor the municipal team and local offices gradually accompanied the transition to the neighbourhoods. We therefore show how PER, mostly a financial instrument, engaged former slum dwellers' housing needs (Procupez, 2015) by focusing on the residents' memories of the process and their life in the housing estates.

Clockwork discipline, imperial infinity and out-of-timeness: Dissonant temporalities within a British child migration project

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This paper examines a British child migration scheme – a project which sent and resettled select, white children from the UK to colonial Southern Rhodesia between 1946 and 1962 – as an example for analyzing diverse and complex temporalities intertwined in project forms. Patterned by future-oriented direction and movement, social projects are stretched out and launched forward in order to achieve worthy objectives. In addition, project temporality tends to include an idea of compressed timespan: once the objective is reached, the project makes itself unnecessary and dissolves. In the Fairbridge child migration scheme, the children were launched to a faraway colony with the intention that their movement would enable a better future for the children themselves, as well as for the racially segregated colonial regime. In addition to project futurity and perpetuity on the one hand, and its assumed fixed duration on the other, the Fairbridge scheme encompasses particular temporal dimensions which constitute the project's temporal order. First, the project is determined by a rupture with the past. The children's removal from their homes and transportation to Rhodesia

marks a temporal break and a new beginning. Second, the project is framed by an ideology of imperial infinity. The children were regarded as imperial investments, a means to securing the continuity and improvement of the colonial order. Yet, there is a conspicuous anachronism, an out-of-timeness about a British child migration project continuing well into the 1960s. Third, the children's own sense of time – their experiencing of the project first-hand – adds to the mixture of project temporalities. The migrant children were brought up in a boarding school, disciplined by the bell, and shaped by relative institutional seclusion and spatiotemporal standstill. Through this ethnographic case, the paper reflects on conflicting and antagonistic temporalities within projects of social engineering, as well as their long-lasting political repercussions.

On the Banality of Projects: Analyzing Transnational Governance with and without the Project Form

ANDREW GRAAN
University of Helsinki

Projects—whether conducted by international organization, governments, or NGOs—exist as a primary institutional form within neoliberal political economies and concomitant circuits of globalization. Perhaps not surprisingly, then, contemporary anthropological research too regularly analyzes projects and their socio-political effects. This is especially the case in political anthropology, where attention to historical and emergent forms of governmentality often result in research on projects, whether development projects, conservation projects, humanitarian relief projects and so on.

This paper reckons with contemporary anthropological entanglements with projects through the analysis of European and American diplomats' use of the press and publicity as a political tool in the Republic of Macedonia in the years following the country's 2001 armed conflict. While the EU, US, and allied organizations did have several projects afoot in Macedonia at this time, I argue that diplomats' public commentary on Macedonian politics formed the primary vehicle for international intervention in Macedonia. Importantly, such public commentary, although occurring alongside projects, was organized very differently from them. If projects are pre-planned, temporally delimited, and goal-defined, public commentary was extemporaneous, ongoing, heteroglot, and dialogic. The paper thus asks, what did diplomats' public commentary achieve beyond the socio-political effects of projects? And, how might a view on power beyond the project

form better highlight the strengths and limits of anthropological analyses of the ubiquitous project.

Panel 12.
Temporal inequalities

Panel conveners:

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Considering classic cases of modern time such as that of post office infrastructure and railways, Jon May and Nigel Thrift (2001) problematise its homogeneity by contrasting sheer seconds in which a telegram goes out flashing across the wires round the world with hours of walking or riding to the post office or railway station from the outlying villages of England in 1860s. They argue that coexisting speeds of movement reveal qualitatively different temporalities and relationships. What makes this difference palpable in the synchrony of these different forms of movement that are expressed in linear chronological time that contains both seconds and hours. In this panel, we propose to explore global capitalism that have generated time which once was conceptualised as 'homogeneous and empty' (Benedict Anderson) but which, as much of contemporary anthropology have demonstrated, integrates, reworks and sustains diverse and divergent temporalities. We invite paper proposals that address this temporal multiplicity from the point of view of how this multiplicity is organised and what are the relationships between different temporalities. We are particularly interested in the question if such relations are hierarchical and constitute temporal inequalities. What exactly is temporal inequality? How does it work within and between temporal regimes and coordinates? Is this inequality contested? Can we speak of temporal hegemonies? We call for ethnographic contributions that conceptualise cases of contradiction, tension and conflict between human and non-human temporalities as well as between the cultural logic of daily rhythms and meanings of work, local, indigenous, religious, and other temporalities, and global modalities of capitalism that coordinate time in different parts of the world through different technologies (including digital) and practices of banking, production and consumption.

Session I

From tourism capitalism to revolutionary politics: possibilities, the character of time and shifting temporalities in Egypt

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Who has the ability to exchange time into something else, and what is that else? And how does this (in)exchangeability affect people's experience of, and in, time? Based on fieldwork among Cairene tourist workers and media professionals in 2011-2013, this paper traces two shifting temporalities in the wake of Egypt's January 25 Revolution. From early 2011, many Egyptians felt an urge to act in the compressed time-space of today rather than later: now was the time to address past injustices and force future change. In parallel, an out-of-control 'political present' succeeded Mubarak's uneventful presidency; elections, referenda and protests followed with such a speed that no one could distinguish game-changing events from minor post-procedures. But as intense and high-speeding nation-centred temporal regimes defined the revolution's overheated politics, time had instead almost come to a standstill in Egypt's tourist sites whose rhythms are regulated mainly by global trends and perceptions. Facing a deep crisis, the previously promising and bustling tourism industry left tourist workers stranded not only in an extended wait for the return of 'stability', but in personal eventlessness as major life-events had to be suspended.

In this period of temporal re-envisioning – from tourism capitalism to revolutionary politics – I focus on how the quality of time (from sleepy to quick, from excess to scarcity or vice versa) changed in connection with the popular uprisings, partly as an effect of temporal logics underlying them. I illustrate how an analysis of my interlocutors' actual experience of and in time can provide rich insights into multifaceted fields of inequality; the quality of time not only indexes the distribution of resources and (im)possibilities to partake in political and economic life. It makes inequality viscerally and affectively tangible – and thus ethnographically perceptible – as people navigate and work through multiple and sometimes conflicting temporalities.

Circle-Events of Violence and the Double-Interminability of Conflict in Kashmir

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The Jammu and Kashmir dispute is one of the oldest political disputes in South Asia. As a researcher, one continuously oscillates between time in which Indian and Pakistani state discuss the 'Kashmir dispute' and the real time of living a life through the interminable violence in Kashmir. While the contestations over linear narration of history or debates on authenticity of

historical events to explain the contemporary Kashmir has been much discussed, not much has been theorised about how time is experienced in contemporary Kashmir. One can think about the Kashmiri movement for ‘Azadi’ (freedom) a little more intensely by complicating the idea of time— the time of the protest, the duration of the protest and how the future of time is imagined, can be a novel possibility to comprehend the disposition of life in Kashmir.

In this paper I argue that our imagination of time as linear, results in our inability to accommodate the complexities and contradictions that are essential feature of any political reality. Life in Kashmir is about navigating between this contemporaneous reality of continuous conflict and unrest on the one hand, and a constant struggle to achieve the desired goal of ‘Azadi’ (freedom) on the other. To put it simplistically, to live a life in Kashmir is to be stuck between a conflict that never ends and a definition of peace that is unacceptable to them. Thereby, placing Kashmir and its people in a landscape of what I refer as ‘the double interminability’. I draw upon anecdotes from my ethnographic encounters to discuss the complexities of the reference to the term ‘haalaat’ (literally meaning situation) as an evaluator of time in Kashmir to privilege the voices from the mundane spaces that illustrate how experience of time is felt and articulated in these spaces. Here, I explain the experience of being stranded in a loop of ‘circle-events’ of violence by people in Kashmir wherein the flow of the movement creates a unique warp of space and time continuum of the conflict. While individuals realize a sense of being stranded in a continuous rotating ‘circle of circles’, it is pertinent to deliberate upon how despite the interminability of violence they labor to craft an itinerary for their everyday life and survival.

On the Weaponization of Time

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How do governing institutions capitalize on temporal inequality to subordinate and solidify regimes of control and constraint? Based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted with people who exist in ambiguous relations with state infrastructures— primarily refugees and homeless people (in US and Australian contexts)—this paper takes as its starting point the existence of temporal inequality, describing how people in such situations come to be subordinated into temporal conflict zones: the immediate precarity of their present comes to demand all attention, whilst the potentiality of the future comes to be dictated by external forces. But such temporal inequalities are not arbitrary by-products of contemporary forms of state control. Rather, I argue that these inequalities are themselves calculated into governance regimes, in which not only the present existence—but the

projected futures—of some are understood to be incommensurable with the best interests of the general populace. These are lives whose time must be subordinated, leading to processes of state control, both formal and informal, that manifest as the weaponization of time. In exploring how time is weaponized, I specifically describe how the monitoring and control of temporal rhythms through government (and contractor) regimes is increasingly intersected with broader processes of societal militarization: technological surveillance is employed; civilians are deputized to monitor and report on how others use their time; and, finally, culminating in the physical containment (or abandonment) of those populations deemed temporally incommensurable. I argue that it is through control over time, and the solidification of unequal futures, that sovereign power is realized.

Cultivating Time: Olive Technoscience as Temporal Governance and Displacement

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Writings on settler societies predominantly focus on settlers’ invasion to native land and space as a defining structure of the power dynamic. However, the cultivation and crystallization of the settler society’s time while collapsing native time is no less a political object of settlement nations.

Forty years ago, an Israeli scientist’s quest to create a new olive breed and olive agriculture suitable for industrialized cultivation transformed the social world and social time surrounding olive farming in Israel/Palestine and beyond. Socio-technical visions, state regulation, and funding are co-produced. The new Jewish-Zionist olive agriculture fuses with a settler-nation temporality inhabiting a techno-scientific and productive agriculture future. Simultaneously, ancestral images of olive oil as a biblical and cultural heritage cultivation are pulled to reclaim Jewish-Zionist roots in the land. Palestinian citizens are assigned a ‘traditional’ temporal role as keepers of the biblical imaginary of the land even though Palestinian agronomists contest this social role and demand ‘efficiency’ for smallholders as well. Slow violence is ingrained in these technoscientific developments as they parallel a traditional knowledge de-development and Palestinian agrarian heritage erasure. Finally, these processes indicate how the agrarian environment is amenable to governing through time, producing temporal inequality and cultivating time for the state. These technoscientific effects travel across time and space and reach other settling and colonizing societies and the olive world at large.

Multiple temporalities, ruins and natures in an urban national park

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The first time I exited the pit-like urban national Park from Bucharest created out of socialist ruins and capitalist development, one of my friends said we should ask somebody what year we were in. By looking at the creation of an urban national park in Bucharest (Văcărești National Park) I intend to investigate the ways a heterotopical place embodies temporal multiplicity indexed by ruins, stories, border drawing and development promises. The various temporalities and timespaces create hierarchically distributed actors and actions but also sources for local critical discourses.

The park I am describing has been part of the socialist hydrological infrastructure of Bucharest that became half-industrial ruin, half natural wetland during the 1990s and 2000s. Around it former landowners, real estate developers, casino capitalism, displaced people, hopes, phantasies, sheep, dogs, fish, foxes, turtles, lots of birds and insects converged. All these beings constitute a differentially ordered material terrain in which past and present are unequally lived in an antagonistically articulated coexistence of “wild natures”. In many Eastern European nature protected areas, socialist times provide the background—material and symbolic—for critical commentaries on present-day delayed development, poverty, and political insignificance. Văcărești National Park developed a specific historical and social trajectory as it became, starting with the 2010s, closely related with local middle class projects and anxieties. In it socialist ruins came into direct, intimate and sensuous contact with both nature and the whole fractured history of capitalism in post-1990 Bucharest.

Session II

Narrating Socialist Times for the Indigenous Nenets

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The Socialist framework of time rested on overarching modern temporality that combined economic, social, and cultural development with dichotomies of the past, present and future. This framework was overwhelmingly realized and reproduced in Socialist Realist literature, which was also the mode and genre for the beginning writers of the indigenous Siberian peoples. Although represented to be residing in the lowest steps in the ladders of historical materialism, or even outside time, the indigenous writers did indeed place their 1930s texts in the Socialist modern temporality. In practice, they did this in various ways through different manners of using their own indigenous and Russian linguistic resources. The different manners, again, produced differing relations

between Socialist, modern temporality and the past or contemporary, northern temporality.

My paper explores the narrative and metalinguistic devices of two Nenets writers, namely Nikolaj Vylka and Anton Pyrerka, in their biographical novels written in the Soviet Union in 1930s. An orthography and literary language were developed for Tundra Nenets and 13 other northern indigenous languages in the 1930s. The literary language was in itself a representation of and a means to develop the northern peoples, and the fictional texts produced before the Second World War became a further arena of producing revolutionary and socialist identities for these peoples. The new identity was narrated mostly as a (possible) temporal leap that set a striking tension between northern and modern temporalities. The narrative and metalinguistic devices of the writers are part of the linguistic resources that were available, and I argue that their choices not only create different hierarchies between temporalities, but also aim at resolving the tension between modern state temporality and northern one in dissimilar terms.

Temporal Perspective on Nganasan Folklore Recordings in Taimyr Pidgin Govorka from 1927

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In 1926-1927 the enumerators of the First Soviet Polar Census, Alexandr Lekarenko and Boris Dolgikh, worked with Nganasans (Samoyeds) on the Taimyr Peninsula. Besides collecting statistical data, they recorded some folklore tales. Because the census takers did not know local languages, the language for communication and storytelling was some local variant of the Russian language. Later it turned out to be the specific pidgin, that was recognized and linguistically described only in 1987 by the linguist Eugene Helimsky; he named the Taimyr pidgin “Govorka”. However, in 1927 nobody recognized that this ludicrous Russian has a non-Russian grammatical structure. After the Census, one of the enumerators rewrote the field drafts in pidgin to fair-copies in the standardized Russian language. Some of them then were published in Russian, the original pidgin versions remained in the archive and were forgotten.

Combining anthropological and folkloristics temporal approaches, I want to focus on the process of rewriting and analyze how simultaneous coexistence of unequal different-scale temporalities (historical, academic, linguistic, biographical, storytelling) impacted on the transformation of the folklore recordings from the pidgin to Russian. The inequality of two languages affected the choice of the language for the rewriter; its reasons can be found in the past and the present (relatively to the time of rewriting), as well as in the future. The non-existence of the description and

recognition of the pidgin Govorka at that time affected the symbolic meaning of it widening the gap of inequality between languages during the process of rewriting.

Hidden work and inequality in temporal coordination across time zones in Russia

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The paper describes the hidden work of temporal coordination, performed by residents of two Russian cities of Vladivostok (UTC+10) and Magadan (UTC+11) to communicate with inhabitants of the western regions of the country, mostly located in the Moscow time zone (UTC+3), in conditions of a narrow “communication window” due to the time difference. We analyze communication-related time practices of the Far-Easterners such as planning of daily routines, managing availability for communication, occasional adjustment to the communication partners and counting of time of another time zone. We consider these practices to be a hidden work of temporal coordination, a by-product of the development of telecommunications. In Russia, eastern regions and hence time zones have a lower status comparing to the Moscow and western ones, and this is reflected in the cross-temporal communications. We argue that in Russia the hidden work of temporal coordination is distributed unequally between easterners and westerners due to spatiotemporal inequality of regions within the context of high centralization of decision-making and extensive geography of the state.

Procrastination, Slacking-off and Efficient Time-Management: Temporal Inequalities amongst Humanities Students in Russia

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The process of studying in a university includes several peculiar temporal phenomena, widespread amongst students and abundantly reflected in memes and jokes – procrastination, slacking-off, working before deadlines, etc. Thus the temporal dimension of studying is highly inconsistent, while the content of studying itself seems to be ‘spending time’ on a specific subject. The situation gets even more complicated when we include various ‘external’ ways of codification of studying time produced by teachers and administrators.

In my presentation, based on a short-term fieldwork on the campus of one of the leading Russian

universities (1 month with BA students in humanities; 15 in-depth interviews with students) I would like to explore different temporal dimensions present in the process of studying as a working process. My focus would be on how various temporalities overlap, and what is produced on this overlappings, for instance, between bureaucratic time measurements imposed by detailed syllabus and temporal structure of preparing an essay, or a term paper? How this codified abstract time is encapsulated in concrete student time? Key concepts that I will attempt to utilize in my research are notions presented in ‘Anti-Oedipus’ by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari – namely the distinction between processes of production, registration, and consumption. In their work D&G show how capitalism does actually produce empty abstract time, but only in order to fill it up with various concrete temporalities as a result of a process of appropriation of preceding social forms. The abstract logic of capitalism is exactly the basis for this abundance of contradictory temporalities, to which capitalism becomes second nature – a general framework within which interactions between these temporalities do occur. I would like to take this insight into relations between abstract and concrete to analyze, how the abstract reality of codified time produces the abundance of various concrete temporalities.

“A Means to an End”: Exploring the Life of Student Loan Debtors in the USA

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Student loans constitute the second largest outlay in Americans’ lives only surpassed by homeownership, and 45 million Americans owe 1.5 trillion U.S. dollars in student loan debt. Public discourse surrounding the achievement of the so-called American Dream is closely linked to the idea of a university degree, including the debt it involves, as a necessity. Whereas quantitative studies demonstrate that for most graduates the cost of attending university is a good investment over a lifetime, the lived experience of student loan debtors is under-explored (Goldrick-Rab 2016).

This paper is based on three months of ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Wisconsin and Illinois and engages with a growing body of social theory that point towards the notion of time as integral to credit and debt (Peebles 2010; James 2014; Thorup 2016; Streinzer 2016; Lazzarato 2017).

Firstly, by conceptualizing debt as a disciplinary mechanism that coordinates, constructs and punctuates debtors’ everyday life according to late capitalist virtues of debt management, this paper explores what kinds of temporal inequalities arise among those who are indebted and those with little or no debt.

Secondly, I argue that the American student loan system produces ambiguous temporal trajectories that

widen the field of possibility for debtors yet confine them to the rationality of reimbursement. Specifically, debtors' statuses as students or graduates constitute distinct temporal modalities; while the former consider their debt as anticipated wealth borrowed from their future, the latter experience a discrepancy between how their financial situation *is* and how it *ought* to be.

Panel 13.

Temporal perspectives on state formation and commodification on frontiers

Panel conveners:

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Discussant:

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The panel explores temporalities of state formation in the frontier areas where economies are growing rapidly at the expense of their natural environments. Frontiers are experiencing rapid transformations shaped by new dynamics involving investors from China and other countries. The pace of change is fast, with high-tech special economic zones, extractive mining and large-scale agro-industrial land concessions contributing to the complexities of state formation.

These processes and especially their fast pace raise questions of about time. We welcome papers that explore the temporalities and temporal trajectories of state formation and commodification of nature.

Panelists can explore the commodification of nature in relation to various "boom and bust" cycles, the temporal dynamics of frontiers that are opened, closed and often re-opened and how time figures in state formation and related corporate activity. Panelists can look at the long histories preceding current processes as well as the imaginations of and plans for the futures evoked by different actors.

Time (yet) for alterity: indigenous Williche responses to resource privatization in rural southern Chile

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Over two centuries of colonial state formation, the indigenous Mapuche-Williche subsistence farmers of the coastal mountains of Chile's 10th region have remained relatively marginal to the expansion of the commodity frontier in southern Chile. However in recent decades the

construction of paved roads has accelerated resource extraction in the territory, provoking local anxieties about future rural sustainability and incipient political resistance. Seeking to mitigate the risks to rural living posed by mining and monoculture forestry and the ongoing water privatization reform, local Williche communities have drawn on strategies such as heritage-based land claims to protect communal ownership of sites associated with vital connections to ancestral cosmology in the land. Drawing on studies of the ontological politics of environmental conflict in South America and on recent theories on formative types of "relation" in rural Mapuche ontology, in this paper I will describe how rural Williche people experience changes in their ethical and temporal orientations in relation to problems posed by accelerating resource privatization and their uncertain resolution through reconnecting with ancestral presences in the land. In combining these approaches, I will also suggest tentatively that they may occasion a comparison of various indigenous notions of "commons" that differ in ontologically diverse ways from the logic of equivalence driving commodification along expanding capitalist frontiers.

Shifting frontier dynamics in Latin America

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The concepts of resource frontier and commodity frontier are often treated interchangeably in academic research. This paper suggests that there are benefits in clarifying these concepts, as well as the related term of post-frontier, since frontiers continue to be important analytics to understand drastic land use changes and other related socio-environmental changes. Based on long-term, ethnographically-oriented field research in different regions of Brazil and Central America, we seek to provide better understanding of different frontier concepts as heuristic analytics to understand heterogeneous frontier experiences, yet be broad enough to allow for generalizations and long-term analyses. We provide synchronic and diachronic examination of frontier dynamics that helps to understand different frontier modalities, and the shifting ways of frontier expansion. The concept of 'commoditizing resource frontier'; is introduced to explain complex frontier dynamics in Brazilian Amazonia and Cerrado and in the forest-frontier of Río San Juan in Nicaragua. We argue that previous research on frontiers has not taken a long-enough time

perspective, and has thus created frontier conceptualizations that are based far too much on the modality of a particular time-period: on a frontier opening, closure, collapse, or re-opening phase as if this phase would continue for long time. In contrast, our longitudinal analysis shows how drastic changes are the hallmark of frontier dynamics.

Temporal trajectories of state formation and commodification of nature

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This paper discusses shifting temporal trajectories of nature-people relations in the making of the frontier in Central Kalimantan, Indonesia. Central Kalimantan is experiencing rapid changes in legal and administrative regimes and rules that govern access and ownership to land and nature. Large areas of the province have been licensed to oil palm and forestry industries that expand rapidly.

For a long time, local groups have engaged with both subsistence and market-based environmental activities in some of these areas. The peatland landscapes are imagined, (re)made, and wiped out as the resource futures are created. Commodity frontier dynamics transform the existing social orders as well as the landscape. The paper explores shifting temporal trajectories of the commodification of nature and state formation that feed up the transformation of social order and emergence of (new) authorities at the locality.

Shifting state and commodity frontiers: a historical perspective

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In this paper we examine how the shifting commodity frontier has been historically linked to various processes of state formation in Southeast Asia and the Pacific. State formation on many "frontier areas", places which are not under continuous state control, but where state and nonstate societies interact, have often been preceded by "commodity frontiers"---the process of opening of new markets and the commodification of new resources by various actors. For example, in many areas of Island Southeast Asian and the Pacific, commodity frontiers were opened before colonial annexation by labour recruiters and timber traders opened the commodity frontier in their search for cheap labour and natural resources. Under the colonial regimes, the

commodity and state frontier intertwined, as the colonial possessions were administered by private trading companies, and imperial regimes set up state structures to exploit labour and resources. Simultaneously, local labourers became important intermediaries between the new states and local populations. Today, boom and bust cycles of commodities close old frontiers and open new ones, as seen in the rapid expansion of oil palm plantations. In post-colonial states, the commodity frontier dynamics are also tied to questions of state formation as new commodities require legal regimes, natural resource extraction is used to consolidate state power and rural people engage in bottom-up state formation. In this paper, we examine the distinct, but interlinked, state and commodity frontiers as spatio-temporal processes by drawing on examples from Indonesia and Papua New Guinea.

Skolt Sami at the frontiers of Finland

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This presentation describes how Skolt Sami culture has adjusted to international pressures at the northern frontiers of Finland. After the First World War, the Skolt Sami have lived in three different countries: Finland, Russia, and Norway. In Tartu peace treaty 1920 Finland had gotten the Petsamo area, which consisted of three Skolt Sami village areas (sijds). Immediately thereafter, Finnish geologists begun to explore minerals in the area. They made promising findings, and in the 1930s a nickel mine was constructed on the homelands of two Skolt Sami villages in Petsamo. This changed the living conditions of the Skolt Sami in the Petsamo area. New splits occurred among them. Part of them could continue their nature linked lifestyle as before, whereas the other part was in danger of losing their culture totally. The mining project can be characterized by five factors. (1) Finland had become independent in 1917. (2) The state- supported explorations of Petsamo area. (3) Finns constructed the mine in collaboration with international industrial actors. (4) The mine has benefitted economically mostly foreign firms and states. (5) The Skolt Sami were influenced strongly by the mine industry. I describe how Skolt Sami culture changed in Petsamo. This is a case where natural resources were commodified in an area close to the national frontier. I also describe shortly how two other industrial cases have influenced Skolt Sami culture after 1995 when Finland became a member of the European Union. Some similarities can be found between the three cases. For instance, changes are rapid when the state directs them, and changes are remarkable as well.

Panel 14.
Time and the Politics of Knowledge Production in
Museum Work

Panel conveners:

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This panel discusses temporality as a fundamental dimension of museum work. The special focus is on the political aspects of the meanings of time in knowledge production in museums and exhibitions. Museums deal with objects deriving from the past and work in museums requires contextualizing information that has been collected decades or even centuries ago. Our understanding and interpretations of history create the framework through which we make sense of exhibitions as well as individual objects, texts and images displayed in them. The increasing ethnic diversity of museum audiences, discussions on decoloniality, the rise of identity politics, and other social and cultural transformations have inspired, and forced, museums to rethink their own history, collections, and working methods. We invite papers that explore, for example, the following questions: How objects that were collected in colonial settings, or originate from outside the Western cultural sphere, have been interpreted and explained in changing historical circumstances? How representations of people and cultures change, and who has the right to tell how they should change when “other cultures” and people considered as “others” become part or “our culture”? How do these changes affect museum work and the role of museums as cultural institutions? How the questions of ownership or repatriation have been dealt with in different museums? What kind of strategies of rewriting the history – or present, or future – have emerged? How to present different meanings of temporality in museological presentations of cultures and social phenomena?

Session I

The Intangible Cultural Heritage Inventorying in
Finland and the Images of the ‘National We’

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The UNESCO Convention for the safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage was ratified in Finland in 2013, and the process is put into practice by the National Heritage Agency. In Finland the inventorying will be carried out in a participatory way: the

intangible cultural heritage is identified and produced by communities on an open, wiki-based inventory platform called ‘Wiki-inventory for Living Heritage’ (2016–).

In my paper, I will examine how an image of a ‘national we’ is created in the submissions of the Wiki-inventory, both in the texts as well as in the pictures. Currently, the Finnish ‘national we’ is surrounded by the rhetoric of globalization, but ‘we’ still refers to an entity that is shaped by the borders of the Finnish nation-state. ‘We’ can point to most diverse meanings depending on its context and use, but especially in media and public speech ‘we’ can quite often be understood as referring to the nation. In the case of authoritative (and, regarding the Wiki-inventory, also vernacular) intangible heritage inventorying, ‘we’ seems to be an exclusive and formal category that mostly stems from the temporal frame of the 19th century and its discussions on national identities, traditions, folk life, ethnicity, race, and gender. This category seems to create exceedingly stereotypical images of Finnishness that still circulate in the new forms of participatory museum work as well. Additionally, I will examine how the idea of the ‘national we’ is negotiated in the Wiki-inventory submissions in relation to the constructs of ‘the other’. What kinds of socio-spatial distinctions are made? What about the temporalities – pasts and futures that are created in the constructions of the national ‘we-nesses’?

Changing Interpretations of the Gallen-Kallela
Museum’s African Collection

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Museums have historically played a central role in the formation of national imaginaries and national identity. However, as part of this national project, museums have actively participated in the (re)production of otherness through exhibiting colonial imagery and artefacts. In our paper, we scrutinize the Gallen-Kallela Museum’s African collection’s exhibition history since 1961 from a colonial perspective, and ponder, how this particular museum has exhibited the art and artefacts and communicated about the collection’s colonial entanglements to the public. Through critical analysis of the exhibition materials, we investigate what kind of a role the Gallen-Kallela Museum has played as a producer of colonial knowledge.

Gallen-Kallela Museum’s African collection is a small, but important part of the museum’s collections. It has been exhibited as part of the permanent exhibition, but also in several Africa-focused temporary exhibitions. By focusing on the manner, in which the Africa

collection was initially collected and the colonial context in which the collection have been exhibited and contextualized in different decades, we attempt to identify changes and shifts in the ways this collection has been exhibited. We argue that explicit focus on the processes of knowledge production around colonial collections can enable making the so-called intangible heritage of colonialism visible. Addressing these power hierarchies and embedded colonial ideologies is the first step in starting to overcome the colonial legacies entangled in these collections. In our paper, we present the data and invite the audience into discussion about the diverse matters museums should take into consideration when opening their contentious collections in contemporary exhibitions.

From exhibiting others to collaboration and co-curation

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Museums have always been spaces for knowledge production of “Us” and “Others”. Ethnographic museums, especially, have been forced to rethink their “raison d’être”, their exhibition policies as well as their working methods because of the new museology, the increasing ethnic diversity of museum audiences, the rise of identity politics, activist projects on decolonizing museums, and other projects aiming at including minoritised communities’ perspectives in knowledge production of their cultures and communities.

In our presentation, we will first discuss exhibitions concerning African diaspora(s). Based on preliminary findings of Rastas’ on-going research project Rethinking diasporas, redefining nations.

Representations of African diaspora formations in museums and exhibitions (2015-2020) we will discuss some of the major changes in museological representations of Africans and people of African descent. Then we will give examples of how co-curation and other collaborative methods have been applied in one ethnographic museum, Helina Rautavaara Museum in the city of Espoo, in order to move from “representing others” to “representing diversity”. The presentation also highlights the importance of studying the aspects of power relations inside the museum practice when working with various communities.

Session II

«Soviet Family of Nations»: The Quest for Coevalness in Stalinist Ethnographic Museums

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Soviet authorities declared their goal to make all peoples (“progressive” and “backward”) equal and modern by means of accelerated socio-economic development. In 1930s this objective was announced to be accomplished and ethnographic museums were to display the success of Soviet nationality policy. How the problem of representation of Soviet peoples’ coevalness within socialist modernity was solved? What new strategies of fieldwork, collecting, and exhibiting did museum curators develop? What temporal and political implications their solutions appeared to have? I’ll try to answer these questions using the example of The State Museum of the Ethnography in Leningrad (SME) in 1930–50s. A two-part exhibition was developed for every nation or group of nations: prerevolutionary section displayed oppression in Tsarist Russia, while section of Soviet contemporaneity showed socialist construction’s progress. “Leading” collective farms and prominent “new men” became proper objects of study and demonstration. These objects of fieldwork were largely chosen by local authority and cultural elite representatives. Content of “Soviet” sections thereby consisted not of ethnographic specimens, but of photographs, paintings, slogans, life groups, and Soviet folk art. SME’s attempt to exhibit the coevalness of Soviet peoples, however, reintroduced the power/knowledge hierarchy between visitors and museum in form of present/future distinction. Economic, cultural, and personal achievements on the display represented so-called “sprouts of future in the present” and served as an example to follow. Nevertheless, another well-known oppositions, such as anthropologist/informant, museum/source community, and metropolis/colony were somewhat blurred. Thus one can claim that decolonization of western ethnographic museums was also partly anticipated by SME in 1930s. Unlike European museums, SME stored collections of “colonizers” (Russians) as well as “colonized” peoples (Caucasus, Siberia, etc.). Consequently, representations of all Soviet nations were based on identical principles, highlighting their common experience of subjugation in past Imperial times and delightful socialist contemporaneity.

To start or to modify? Insights into Museum-making among the Mexican Wixaritari

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I have studied a community museum plan of the community of 'Uweni muyewe, in the Western Sierra Madre, Mexico, as a possibly new way to representing the community’s continuity. During my stay in a Wixarika community I shared, by embodied experience, the patience of my interlocutors during long meetings. Through online news I later learnt that

on February the 8th, 2019 the state agrarian court no. 7 decided to restore the land rights of 'Uweni muyewe to over 10 000 hectares of land deprived from them over 300 years of colonial history. On March the 8th, a rite of offerings inaugurated the press conference of the Wixárika community, as an expression of the community's victory, as a way of thanking the Wixarika gods, and as a start of yearly celebrations. In a similar way, a community elder invited us to join an opening ceremony of a meeting, saying: "Let us modify." By analyzing events in Wixarika communities I give insights to the plurality of temporalities applied by them. I aim at overcoming difficulties in translating local concepts, such as 'start', related to epistemological differences between European and Wixarika knowledge.

In many Mexican exhibitions on their indigenous peoples mythology is woven together with their present industries. The Wixarika, too, would fancy applying mythical narrative as the style of representation in their exhibitions, but they also consider copying the example of Sami museum Siida, whose exhibition is built in the form of cycle of seasons. The reference to myths puts the Wixarika community developers in a humble position, as followers of and co-creators with the primordial creators. I recommend, however, that outstanding moments of coincidence of official and Wixarika history are worth showing in their exhibitions, too.

Uterne – 100 Arrernte objects

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Helinä Rautavaara Museum has collaborated with creator communities for 20 years. Creator community refers to the community from which museum collections originate from, or their present day descendants. Involving creator communities in the everyday museums practices may require some changes in the present day museum institution and practices. It changes the status of Indigenous objects, it changes the museum practices, and there are implications of contact work to the curatorial role within museums.

In our latest community project, Uterne- 100 Arrernte objects, an Arrernte Aboriginal delegation from Australia was invited to Finland, for to research their collections in the Museum of Cultures. This visit was a great example of how, on the opposite of the anthropologists travelling distant lands to "study the resident natives", the native elders now increasingly travel to the world museums to do their own fieldwork, and value the ethnographic collections on their own basis.

Seeing the objects connecting again with their countrymen and hearing Arrernte language spoken to them, for the first time in 100 years, was an emotionally strong experience for all of us. Seeing

artefacts related to his Dreaming stories, evoked our Arrernte guest Lofty Katakarinja remembering and "singing the country", the places and stories related to the particular items.

In our community projects it has become very clear how artefacts and photographs have the capacity to evoke knowledge, and spark lively debates on the identity and stories of the people or makers involved. They have the ability to reveal cultural knowledge and intention encoded in them and function as links between past and present. In many Indigenous communities working with archived photographs and artefacts can also become a part of a strategy to preserve the cultural, and physical health of members through the dissemination of knowledge about identity and history.

Panel 15. Time in Touristic Areas

Panel conveners:

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Tourism is both bound up with yet a contradictory activity in terms of the concept of time. On the one hand, tourists often seek an idyllic past (or present) – unspoilt by modernity. On the other hand, contemporary tourists usually expect modern comforts and services during their trips. Tourism can be defined as a temporary liminal experience where "time stops" for the duration of one's holiday. At the same time, the host communities live their everyday lives in those same locations – for them it is not a question of liminality. This panel seeks to investigate the understandings and potential contradictions related to time in touristic areas and in tourist encounters.

This panel welcomes papers which discuss, for example, the following themes: Do tourists view time differently by being located in different spaces away from home? Is time different for different tourists? For example, does time stop, slow down or speed up during a touristic experience? Is time measured differently by tourists--that is, through sensorial/affective experiences (ie watching the sunset on a beach), and/or rituals of eating, drinking and having fun? How is time conceptualised in the context of extreme tourist experiences or among long-term tourists? How do host communities experience the peak tourist seasons and the off-peak seasons? Do they hold different understandings of time from the tourists they cater to? Are these temporal understandings in contradiction with one another? Can "tourist time" be interrupted, and by which factors (e.g. political, social, or environmental)?

Rurality/urbanity in residents' place image in terms of tourist time

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Sviyazhsk is a popular tourist village in Tatarstan that was founded in 1551 as the outpost for the conquest of the Kazan Khanate. Soon enough Sviyazhsk became an important trading town on the Volga river with a population of about 4,000 people. In the Soviet times Sviyazhsk was demoted to rural status and turned into an island (0,8×1 km) because of the flooding of the Kuybyshev Reservoir; a population was reduced to 500 people (nowadays – 250 people). For almost 70 years the locals had mostly rural way of life – they lived in uncomfortable wooden buildings and kept vegetable gardens and domestic animals. In 2010 ex-president of Tatarstan initiated the process of tourism development in this place. It led to the global reconstruction of historic buildings and emergence of modern urban infrastructure in the village. Moreover, a lot of residents were relocated to new flat buildings. During this time the number of tourists has grown to 500.000 people a year. Between May and September Sviyazhsk experiences the peak tourist season, but at the rest of the year the attendance drops violently. Due to the tourist industry the tourist image of Sviyazhsk was formed as a provincial Russian town with rich cultural heritage. However, the residents' place image differs notably from it because locals have a more complex attitude to their native environment and local way of seeing can be described as more complicated and discontinuous. During my field work with host community I noticed that the dichotomy village/town is rather significant for residents' place image. I suppose that tourist time plays an important role in local way of seeing – during peak tourist seasons and the off-peak seasons Sviyazhsk may be understood more as urban space or more as rural, that could have influence on locals' self-consciousness and their strategies of coexistence with tourist industry.

Temporal Othering: sensing poverty in the Trench Town tourism encounter

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Most tourists who venture to downtown Kingston, Jamaica, to visit the small Culture Yard museum located in Trench Town, are drawn in by the area's rich musical heritage. Yet, these travels are also an opportunity for relatively wealthier visitors to sample life in a low-income area, to get a taste of poverty. Poverty tourism is about heritage and its displays, but it is also about feeling time, about sensing a change of

pace, hearing and touching a different epoch. Looking at this tourism encounter predicated on the consumption of inequality, my work addresses how urban poverty is experienced and related to sensorial experiences of time. Through the concept of 'temporal Othering', I unpack how time and poverty are intertwined and ultimately commodified. I argue that while low-income tourism locales are often cast as belonging to a different epoch, tourism brokers – who in this case take the form of Culture Yard tour guides – attune visitors' senses and play with notions of places as belonging (or not) to a certain era. My paper therefore emphasizes that while certain places are discursively and sensorially constructed as temporally different, tour guides negotiate these time-based registers by either confirming or challenging the ways in which visitors feel and experience time.

In and out of time: conflicting time representations in a touristic village in the Swiss Alps

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This paper explores the heterogeneity of time representations (Bear 2016) in a touristic village in the German-speaking Swiss Alps. I identify clashes between different temporal imaginaries leading to a fragmented sense of time and belonging among the inhabitants.

While the tourism industry sells an extraordinary time, a fun time and even a break away from time, it relies on the mundane, every day activities delivered by "the hosts" (Edensor 2007). By following the locals', the Touristikers' (local tourism promoters) and the immigrant hospitality workers' experiences, I discuss the conflicting nature of their representations of time. The locals nostalgically dream of an ideal past when things were slower, the Touristikers promote acceleration around a future cableway project and immigrant workers are tied to the uncertainties of the present and their precarious jobs. Far from the timeless and idyllic marketing images mobilized by the industry, the village's time is deeply politicized. I show how this temporal clash not only produces inequalities and a dramatic sense of isolation for many, but also allows for an efficient distribution of tasks in the resort to work as an all-year round destination for mass tourists. These issues point to the multiple meanings of time as a reckoning and marketing tool as well as a social and ethical category.

Living fast in a slow city: Tension between the notion of slowness and speed in the slow city Halfeti

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According to Eriksen, tourism has become a prime example of overheating in our modern society (2016: 64). Overheating is “a process of accelerated but uneven change where different subsystems are chronically out of sync with each other (Eriksen 2016:484). I argue that the concept time plays a crucial role in the process of overheating since ‘overheated places’ tend to speed up, and grow, in an accelerated way (Eriksen 2016). This also accounts for the slow city Halfeti, a small town in the southeast of Turkey that is completely immersed into a tourist economy. I show how the image of the slow city that should go against the idea of overheating is actually contributing to it. The philosophy of slow living and slow cities is a reaction to the hastened, stressful lifestyles in much of the modern world. In this sense, Parkins notes that “speed created slowness” (Parkins 2004:365). I argue that in Halfeti slowness created speed. Due to its popularity as a slow city, Halfeti gets overwhelmed with visitors resulting in mass tourism, traffic jams, pollution, building of hotels and pensions and restaurants, more boats. The notion of time and the way time is experienced by the local population has changed as well. During these crowded times when the small place gets flooded with tourist ‘time is money’ and time is something to be ‘possessed’. In sum, I lay bare the tension that arises between slowness and speed based on the meaning of time in the context of the ‘overheated’ slow city Halfeti.

The time use rebound effect and its impact on energy consumption in the context of sustainable tourism

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Technology--focused solutions to save energy in tourism, particularly in tourist transport, have not reduced energy consumption to the desired level. This is partly because of the rebound effect which suggests that energy efficiency improvements can reduce energy service costs, thus increasing consumption and even offsetting expected savings. Beyond energy efficiency, time efficiency is particularly relevant to tourism because many technology--focused solutions in the industry have been designed to save time (e.g. high--speed railways). As time is perceived as a significant cost, tourists are willing to substitute travel time for time at a destination in order to maximise experience by engaging in activities. Technological changes associated with time savings can impact significantly the demand for a tourist service, leading to the increased use of time--saving technologies, where the time use rebound effect may occur. Many time--saving technologies intensify energy consumption because

they require more energy to increase the speed of service or stimulate more frequent use of this service. Studies on time use in the context of sustainable tourism relating to tourist consumption are scarce despite their significance in terms of understanding the potential to generate the time use rebound effect and negative environmental impacts. This study addresses the knowledge gap by exploring the impacts of time--saving technologies on the patterns of tourist time use and energy consumption. 13 semi--structured interviews were undertaken, followed by thematic analysis. Preliminary findings show that time savings from technological improvements can affect the choice of tourist transport, activities and the length of stay at destination, thus driving some unanticipated environmental impacts. Further, tourists tend to engage in as many activities as possible during their stay at destination, hardly considering the environmental implications of this engagement. The findings suggest that strategies to reduce the environmental footprint from tourism should be tailored around consumer behavioural changes and incorporate the time dimension, although validation through a more robust sample is required.

When time stops: tourist deaths and disappearances in India

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India is a popular travel destination especially among “Western” backpackers. For them, a trip to India is an adventure that provides memories for life. Sometimes, the adventure, however, ends up in a tragedy: several foreign tourists go missing or die every year in India. Some travelers disappear on purpose, at other times accidents, drugs or criminal activities are involved. This paper discusses tourist disappearances in India paying particular attention to the aspect of time. A missing or dead tourist is always an anomaly; what was supposed to be a fixed time of joy, play and pleasure turns into a non-fixed time of uncertainty and suffering. In this paper, I discuss how the leisure time of a tourist comes to a drastic end when s/he goes missing or dies. I also look at how the cases evolve when days, weeks and sometimes months pass by. How is the passing of time negotiated and understood in such drastic circumstances? The empirical material for the paper comes from social media sites, where people are either looking for their missing family member or friend, raising money to search for them or launching campaigns to bring justice to those who have been found dead abroad.

The Time of Voluntary Isolation: Indigenous Peoples and the Politics of Temporality

Panel conveners:

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In the world there are still over hundred indigenous groups living in so-called voluntary isolation. Most of them inhabit the Amazonian lowlands in South America. Their life ways are, however, becoming increasingly endangered and their situation creates friction and puzzlement among the groups themselves, between them and the dominant society and within different sectors of the dominant society. Time and temporality can be found to be part of these conundrums in multiple ways. The groups' extinction is considered by many to be just a matter of time. There are debates and discussion about the historical duration of their isolation; their cultural stagnation; the cyclical nature of their nomadic life style, and; their understandings of time, for example. The recent debate concerning contact that has been swirling about these groups is not only about encounter but also about how indigenous histories are in colonialist thinking considered atemporal. This panel scrutinizes voluntary isolation and the debates surrounding it from the perspective of time and temporality. We invite contributors to examine from this viewpoint the different understandings of voluntary isolation and the consequent policies and politics related to it, the inter-relatedness and conflicts between the different understandings, and the challenges faced by anthropology to talk about voluntary isolation without falling to the traps of atemporalizing and ahistoricizing it and the indigenous subjects.

Session I

Lost People and Distant Kin: Conflicting Temporalities of Isolation in Amazonian Ecuador

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In recent years, the presence of so-called "uncontacted" people living in "voluntary isolation" in the Ecuadorian Amazon has gained increasing attention in national and international debate. Having long-since been the target of adventure-seeking tourists

and documentary filmmakers, they have more recently become part of environmentalist discourse and debates about human rights in Amazonia. These people, known by their indigenous Waorani neighbours as Tagaeiri and Taromenani, are increasingly vulnerable due to the expansion of oil extraction near their homes and the escalation of violent conflicts with Waorani people - whose indigenous reserve they ostensibly share. In this paper I highlight the contrasts and intersections between conventional understandings of the Tagaeiri/Taromenani as living in "natural" or "voluntary" isolation and Waorani descriptions of these same groups in terms of past kinship relations and long-standing cycles of revenge. I contrast a seemingly promordialist temporality implicit in state policy and popular understandings of voluntary isolation to Waorani views of these same "uncontacted" groups as either distant kin or dangerous enemies. Both of these temporalities have important implications not only for state intervention, but also Waorani engagement with these groups. I conclude that, while policy-making would benefit from recognizing indigenous Amazonian ideas about kinship, memory and violence, both Waorani people and outsiders tend to present partial histories of these seemingly enigmatic groups. Both of these approaches risk obscuring the fundamentally precarious situation of people living in relative isolation in the contemporary world. On the one hand, calls for Waorani autonomy and "indigenous justice" in a cultural context where such "justice" may be inseparable from indigenous ideas of revenge. On the other, popular understandings of isolation as a "natural" state of being in continuity with an imagined utopian past similarly offer little in terms of a viable future for these groups. My paper aims to examine both of these temporal reckonings and their implications in Ecuador and similar contexts elsewhere in Amazonia.

The Sensation of "Losing One's Ayoreo": Foods, Landscape, and Transformation in Time in the Chaco Ayoreo of Paraguay

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Drawing on in-depth accounts of the Ayoreo experience "coming out" of so-called voluntary isolation in northern Paraguay, I discuss Ayoreo concepts of time and transformation from the perspective of daily life, foodscape relations, and notions of the forthcoming. Nanique, a designated past that marks a boundary between lifeways and experience in the individuals' personal timelines, is a relatively new past compared to the deep past inhabited by ancestral people of the dust. The moments of transformation across these temporal boundaries entail loss and adoption, mourning and surprise.

A invisibilização de identidades, corpos e relações: as estratégias de “isolamento” e as “etnôgeneses”, “ressurgimentos” ou “emergências” indígenas

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No Brasil há um número expressivo de coletivos indígenas que permanecem em situação de “isolamento”, estabelecendo atitudes que visam maior controle das relações com outros coletivos exógenos aos seus. O Estado brasileiro confirma a existência de 28 registros dessa presença. Esses povos encontram-se submetidos a extremas situações de vulnerabilidade: adotam (ou são obrigados a adotar) o “isolamento”, ou a invisibilidade, em reação ao sistema econômico que avança sobre seus territórios. Por isso, há uma dificuldade de ter sua existência reconhecida. Provar sua existência significa torná-los sujeitos de direitos indígenas, sobretudo os territoriais. Há casos de povos isolados que intencionalmente se passam despercebidos, invisíveis. Em outros, manifestam sua existência e rechaço a relações que não desejam por meios bastantes peculiares, através de vestígios propositalmente produzidos, armadilhas, tapagens em caminhos e até ataques violentos. Relacionados a tais contextos de invisibilidade, no Brasil há uma série de povos que vêm se afirmando enquanto coletivos indígenas, num processo conhecido pela antropologia como “etnôgênese”, “ressurgimento” ou “emergência” étnica, tal como o caso de povos indígenas do nordeste brasileiro. Esses povos, em determinados períodos históricos – sobretudo até a primeira metade do século XX – eram forçados, pelas forças hegemônicas, à condição de invisibilidade de suas identidades indígenas. Atualmente, essas coletividades lutam para provar sua existência enquanto sujeitos de direitos indígenas, notadamente os territoriais. Procura-se, portanto, relacionar o contexto de “isolamento” com os de outros povos indígenas que hoje estão vivendo o processo de “etnôgênese”, “ressurgimento” ou “emergência” étnica. Trata-se de perceber nas atitudes de esconder identidades, corpos e relações, bem como expô-las à luz dos direitos, similaridades de resistência indígena face à pressão colonial.

English digital translation of Amorim’s abstract:

The invisibilization of identities, bodies and relationships: the strategies of "isolation" and "ethnogenesis", "resurgences" or "emergencies" of indigenous people

In Brazil there is a significant number of indigenous collectives that remain in a situation of "isolation", establishing attitudes aimed at greater control of relations with other collectives exogenous to their own. The Brazilian State confirms the existence of 28 records of this presence. These peoples are subjected to extreme situations of vulnerability: they adopt (or

are obliged to adopt) "isolation", or invisibility, in reaction to the economic system that advances over their territories. For this reason, there is a difficulty in having their existence recognized. Proving their existence means making them subject to indigenous rights, especially territorial rights. There are cases of isolated peoples who intentionally go unnoticed, invisible. In others, they manifest their existence and rejection of relationships they do not wish to have through peculiar means, through purposefully produced vestiges, traps, roadblocks and even violent attacks. Related to such contexts of invisibility, in Brazil there is a series of peoples that have been asserting themselves as indigenous collectives, in a process known by anthropology as "ethnogenesis", "resurgence" or ethnic "emergence", such as the case of indigenous peoples of Northeastern Brazil. These peoples, in certain historical periods - especially until the first half of the 20th century - were forced, by hegemonic forces, to the condition of invisibility of their indigenous identities. Today, these collectivities struggle to prove their existence as subjects of indigenous rights, especially territorial rights. Therefore, it seeks to relate the context of "isolation" to that of other indigenous peoples who are currently experiencing the process of "ethnogenesis", "resurgence" or "ethnic emergency". It is a question of perceiving in the attitudes of hiding identities, bodies and relationships, as well as exposing them to the light of rights, similarities of indigenous resistance to colonial pressure.

What does it mean to ‘protect’? A *yine* approach to right protection policies for isolated indigenous peoples (Madre de Dios, Peru)

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My paper addresses the space for collaboration between indigenous peoples, government agencies and civil society organizations, towards right protection policies for isolated indigenous Amazonian peoples. In particular, I discuss what the Yine people of the community of Monte Salvado (Madre de Dios, Peru) understand about what it means to 'protect' the Mashco Piro, an isolated group on the border between Peru and Brazil. With special focus on understandings of temporality and change, their views will be analyzed in its convergences and discrepancies with the discourse of 'protection' towards the isolated natives proposed by the State and indigenous organizations, as well as with the discourse of 'salvation' promoted by religious missions.

Politics of Contact: Temporality and Historicity in Indigenous Amazonia

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The current decade has been called the last decade of contact. According to this view, after the present decade there would no longer exist people living in isolation. Although we already know that this will not be the case, the statement works well in highlighting different temporality-related assumptions and questions embedded in the issue of contact in indigenous contexts. The term contact problematically implies a division between the qualitatively different times of before and after contact. The term also is often taken to refer to a single event rather than a prolonged process. Furthermore, talk about the end of time of contacts entails a view of the termination of the lifeway of indigenous people living in isolation to which there is no longer any return, a view that undermines the fact that historically situations of isolation have mostly been produced by indigenous peoples' "contacts" with dominant societies. This paper critically examines these and other temporality-related questions connected with the idea of contact in the context of the indigenous Mascho-Piro people of the Peruvian Amazonia.

Panel 17.

Religion, Temporality, and Contemporary Ethical Self-Making

Panel conveners:

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The study of ethics has been one of the emerging trends in recent anthropology. This panel approaches the topic by focusing on the role of religion and spirituality in constituting ethical lives. Many religions affirm ethics as the pursuit of virtues, rules, and habits that are distinct from the ethical issues of (secular) everyday life. In contemporary global situation, however, religion tends to intervene in secular domains in novel ways that allow performing one's (religious) ethical values and choices in increasingly diverse contexts.

The panel brings together ethnographic case-studies of religiously/spiritually motivated ethical self-making in today's era – when the idea of distinct religious and non-religious spaces and actions has become challenged. More specifically, we invite papers that scrutinize the temporal dimensions of such ethical self-making. To what extent are different conceptualizations of time present in the self-fashioning that builds on religious practices and beliefs? How do "past," "present," and "future" figure in these discourses, and how does the religious/secular divide relate to different temporalities? If understood

as a process of "becoming," does ethical self-making happen through making a sudden break with the past or does it rather take a shape of gradual spiritual progress? What is the relationship between the two temporal dimensions of an ethical practice – its experience in the present and its orientation towards the future? The panel invites also papers with other temporal angles, such as the relationship between spiritual and secular time, as well as the differences between religious and secular time management.

Session I

Ethics in Indonesia's Islamic education

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Indonesia's Islamic schools and universities have been shaped by a confluence of religious and secular visions about education and personal development. Starting in the colonial period during the mid-19th century, state officials charged with the surveillance of the nascent, Islamic school system supported the creation of an Islamic curriculum that would be based on a canonical understanding of Islam and create colonial subjects informed by an acceptable form of legal subjectivity and ethical self-knowledge. This combination of civic and religious aims is still present in the Islamic education of contemporary Indonesia, practiced in state-funded Islamic universities and colleges as well as the religious schools supported by the country's religious organizations. This paper explores the historical formation and contemporary status of Indonesia's Islamic education as a middle ground of religious and secular public spheres, with an emphasis on State Islamic Institutes (IAIN) that train teachers, lawyers, and journalists qualified to work in Islamic institutions and Muslim areas. With an ethnographic focus on the socially and geographically mobile students of such institutions, I ask how contemporary Indonesians ground and represent their ethical self-understandings in secular and religious domains. I discuss the rhetoric of religious tolerance and the life-trajectories of educated persons in order to show that the religious is ultimately subordinate to the secular, particularly in the current moment in which civic education is responding to the tragic temporality of intolerance and conflict. Against this background, Islamic higher education is a privileged site for arguing that the secular state both enables and subsumes the practices through which its own, secular constitution can be contested.

Born-again or reincarnated? Christianity, chieftaincy and ethical self-making in Ghana

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New anthropological interest in ethics and morality is often attributed to the perceived shortcomings of the previously dominant approaches, which sought to understand social life in terms of normative structures or self-interest. Against this background, traditional chieftaincy would appear as a hopelessly old-fashioned research topic. After all, studies focusing on it have revolved around issues such as succession rules, installation rituals, or competition for positions of power and influence. However, becoming and being a chief in a predominantly Christian society, like present-day Ghana, raises new kinds of moral concerns. Many churches, particularly those that belong to the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement, reject traditional ritual life aimed at ancestors and other kinds of spirits as immoral. Since chiefs are fundamentally ritual leaders, who perform sacrifices on behalf of their communities, chieftaincy has assumed an increasingly negative character in Pentecostal discourses. Moreover, since chiefs are identified as reincarnations of their royal ancestors, they personify the spirit world that the Pentecostals demonize. In temporal terms, there is tension from two opposite pulls: Christianity calling for the abandonment of 'pagan past' and chieftaincy for commitment to dynastic continuity. Consequently, members of royal lineages who have become so-called born-again Christians waive their succession rights, while those Christians who occupy chiefly offices ponder on the acceptability of different forms of traditional culture. In such circumstances, succession to a traditional office cannot be studied solely from the point of view of social reproduction or political contention as anthropologists of the previous generations have mostly done. It must be looked also from the perspective of the ethical reasoning and decision making of those people who either assume or refuse chiefly offices. My paper explores the ethical deliberations of my field interlocutors that led to the decision that they can – or cannot – be chiefs and good Christians at the same time.

Anticipating a future in times of distrust: Muslim youth, religion, and waithood in southwestern Uganda

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The paper addresses the role of Islam as a moral idiom and an imaginary reference point for Muslim youth's struggles to build a future in Uganda. Drawing on ethnographic research in Mbarara town, southwestern Uganda, the paper investigates the ways in which young Muslim men claim and articulate an Islamic moral register to tackle their situation of postponed marriage and enforced waithood. In present-day Mbarara, many young Muslim men and women in Mbarara are highly apprehensive about the risks of marital intimacy, while simultaneously stressing the necessity of mutual reliance. To them, trust is not a fixed condition of marital unions and social intimacy. Rather, trust as a condition for and feature of marriage needs to be generated carefully and over time. Young Muslim men seek to tamper the destructive effects of distrust by appealing to "Islam" as a frame of normative reference, one that should foster accountability and predictability in their interactions with spouses and in-laws. By arguing that the "symbolic language of Islam" (Eickelman 2000) becomes essential to young Muslim men's efforts to get married and attain the status of adult masculinity, the paper sheds light on an affective dimension of waithood that young Muslim men perceive as a threat to their sense of self and existential security.

Paradigm shift in Pentecostal Fundamental Ethics and Self-making

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This paper examines two phenomena in Pentecostal Christianity in the context of neo-prophets in Ghana. First, the change of Pentecostal primary ethics once separated from the secular world and their interference with secular domains. Then, ethical self-making in Pentecostals doctrines. Today, Pentecostals render the distinction between religious and non-religious space as irrelevant. Their primary aim was to create a world governed by the divine and the mode of entrance is through 'born-again' experience. This requires the believer to break away with any past engagement in secular activities/domains: politics and traditional culture. However, Pentecostals who once imagined politics as secular and traditional culture ('pagan' aspect) as profane and forbade adherents' engagement, now, push the 'born-again' experience beyond their private spirituality to the present time. Thus, shifting the former abstract doctrinal orientation of the Kingdom of God to a down-to-earth one, here and now. This enables

Pentecostal to talk about completely new time vis-à-vis their individual lives or the life of an entire nation.

Pentecostal doctrines about ethical self-making are strongly tied with one's relationship with the divine through constant prayer and fasting. Pentecostals are taught to be ethical beings or manifest the power of the divine through cultivating a personal relationship with God. This enables supplicants to become agents of power. Claiming authority and individual relationship with God are discursive tools for managing tensions surrounding agency by allowing 'born-again' Christians to de-centre individual agency and foreground God's agency. Those who receive the born-again experience have power over the world/congregation, becoming exemplars that others look-up-to, to possess power to make personal decisions.

This paper proposes that Pentecostal ethics become hazy in the presence of recent challenges, therefore making little distinction between the sacred and profane. Their encouragement of personal and individual relationship with God heightens already existing anxieties about the individual agency and authority as moral beings.

Dancing through life in the mosque?

Spatiotemporalisation of the right action within two Muslim Mbororo trajectories in Cameroon

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In the recent decades, the Senegalese Islamic movement called Fayda Tijaniyya has gained increasing popularity in Cameroon. One distinctive feature of this global Sufi movement in its Cameroonian heartland of Adamaoua is that the majority of its followers are the pastoral Mbororo Fulani. Due to the strong ethnification of Fayda, its worship has been influenced by the traditional Mbororo culture, one concrete manifestation of which being the way in which wamarde, the Mbororo youth dance, has been transformed into zikiri, a Sufi worship form including dancing and singing religious songs. This development has generated a schismogenetic tendency dividing the Mbororo into those who dance and those who perform zikiri.

In this paper I discuss the particular spatiotemporal dimensions within the cultural construction of the wamarde/zikiri divide. My analysis revolves around two aspects. Firstly, I examine how the divide is conceptualised as two alternate trajectories, one 'replacing' the dance with zikiri, to be performed throughout one's life, and another keeping aloof from the

movement and carrying on dancing till having reached adulthood. Secondly, my paper looks at how the divide is seen in people's understanding of the spatiotemporal separation of the spiritual and tradition. While the 'traditionalists', accusing the Fayda devotees of heretically smuggling the youth dance into the mosque, underline the importance of keeping the tradition (al'aada) and religion (diina) apart, the devotees make a clear difference between their previous ungodly dance and their present-day zikiri worship, the latter being factually an outcome of the subtle spiritualisation of the former. Drawing upon the recent anthropological discussions on temporality and ethics (e.g. Bear 2016; Lambek 2010), I argue that, through manoeuvring the spatiotemporal coordinates of basically the same bodily practice, the twohold performance of wamarde/zikiri mediates the divergent Mbororo ethical conceptions of the correct action at the right moment.

Session II

A Candomblé Model of Social Harmony: Religious Hierarchy, Respect and Inclusion as the Past and Future of Brazilian Democracy

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In the early 2000s, many well-known and influential Candomblé practitioner activists in Salvador made the argument that the explosion of violence in Brazil was the product of the weakening of traditional social hierarchies involved in democratization. Candomblé, in contrast, the argument continued, with its religious valorization of hierarchy and respect for elders, had maintained a mode of organizing sociality that not only diverged from this norm, but that also provided an alternative, more productive model for organizing democratic society. These arguments were frequently conjoined with claims to Candomblé's inclusiveness and openness to all. Thus, many Candomblé activists maintained that Candomblé temples in their concern with accommodating and helping all those in need provided an example for government efforts at expanding social inclusion. From this perspective, Candomblé temples not only constituted a model for a truly harmonious democratic Brazil, but their attention to inclusion and aiding the needy also illustrated the inherently democratic character of the African diasporic religion.

In this paper, I examine Candomblé practitioner activists' critical analyses of Brazilian

democracy as a peculiar combination of a politics of nostalgia and religiously grounded ethical self-making. As I demonstrate, on one level, their arguments reflected and called upon a broader Brazilian nostalgia for the social order of pre-democratic times (see esp. Dent 2007, Matory 2007). However, on another level, they also reoriented such discussions by positioning Candomblé religion, particularly its “African” sociality and ethics at the heart of a future where this traditional social order would be reconciled with democratic concerns for social inclusion and harmony. The paper, thus explores how Candomblé practitioner activists’ nostalgic figurations of an more ethical African past worked to project a future-oriented and transformative political project for Brazil.

Changing Selves on the Edge of Times: Ethical Self-Making in the Siberian Community of Vissarion

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The collapse of the Soviet Union launched a wave of spiritual search among the Soviet peoples. In addition to imported religions, many endogenous groups took a wing. One of the most successful new religions of Russian origin, the Last Testament Church, was formed around a charismatic Russian mystic, Vissarion Christ (Sergey A. Torop). Since the turbulent 1990s, Vissarion’s followers have been building an alternative ecological, self-sufficient society in depths of the Southern Siberian taiga, ready to face the looming Apocalypse. For the Last Testament Church adherents, becoming a “real believer” is a process that goes beyond one’s lifetime and continues in new incarnations. However, Vissarion’s followers consider the present moment a critical point for the cosmic evolution. Living in the “Ark” brings about serious responsibilities. Whether the humanity will survive awaited cataclysms and collapsing societal structures and step onto a new step of evolution, depends mostly on how the “chosen ones” manage to transform ethically and spiritually. Vissarion’s followers strive to “change themselves completely” by tuning their bodies and minds according to cosmic vibrations and biospheric changes. Daily self-fashioning requires not only physical and spiritual stamina, but also hard emotional work and psychological flexibility; Vissarion’s teachings evolve, and his followers try to adopt revisions quickly – there is no time to lose. In her paper, Kulmala discusses the role of emotions, imagination and creativity in the

making of a new religious culture and ethical actors. How spiritually motivated ideals and practices of ethical self-making in the Vissarion community have developed over time? How do they reflect converts’ understanding and experiences of the past, the present and hopes for the future? What kinds of temporal representations, values and cultural images are there at play?

“The kingdom of heaven has come near”: The perceptions of time in the Russian Baptist self-making

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This paper addresses the theological perceptions of time in the Russian Baptist community. I will illustrate these perceptions with the narratives of conversion in the context of moral self-transformation. The Evangelical theology regards time in two major dimensions: the life-stories of believers are divided into periods of before and after repentance, and, on a more general scale, time is considered a worldly matter versus the eternity of the afterlife. Evangelical testimonies describe a life before repentance as vicious and oriented towards worldly values and goals, while a repentant convert has their heart and ways changed. Pious behavior and moral self do not play any role in salvation, which is by faith alone. Rather, they are a consequence and evidence of a genuine repentance. Paradoxically enough, it is exactly moral transformation and pious behavior which is required from potential converts to prepare themselves for repentance in certain settings, for instance, in rehab and prison ministries. Time as such is regarded as an earthly and worldly matter. The life on earth is temporal, has its limits, and is considered a period of preparation for the eternity. This relation may be illustrated with the narrative of family values. Russian-speaking Evangelicals are known to have more children than average. However, children are not regarded as entirely their parents’ property. Rather, they are a temporal duty given by God, for in the eternal life there will be no kinship and gender relations, rather people “will be like the angels in heaven” (Matthew 22:30). Lastly, I will address the ways the narrative of testimony constructs a response to the secular notions of time. The secular time is perceived as long and plentiful, while the Evangelical time is short, so as life on earth, and at any moment it can be too late to repent.

The one who endures to the end will be saved: Temporal aspects of the Twelve Tribes’

millennialism

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The focal concept of my study is religious millennialism and how everyday lives and perceptions of self and the world are shaped in the anticipation of the current age ending and a new age, the millennium, beginning. My research centers around a messianic religious community called the Twelve Tribes, founded in Tennessee, USA, in 1972. I conducted ethnographic fieldwork in the community of Oneonta, New York, in the spring of 2018. The Twelve Tribes aim to live their lives as the first century church, and live, work and share everything communally. As is common for millennial groups, the community disconnects itself from the surrounding world which it perceives to be unethical and corrupted by evil powers. Conversely, members of the community strive to live as ethically and purely as their Messiah did. When this is accomplished, the timing will be set for the final 50-year period that precedes the End Times and brings forth the millennial kingdom, an age of peace. Through acts of self-judgement and denial of selfishness, the members of the community develop their “selves” to achieve the world they believe God intended. Millennial communities often have distinct apocalyptic narratives, in which the community itself is seen as a spiritual solution to the problems of the world. The certainty of the impending end and their role as a chosen people give the community a sense of moral superiority. I intend to look at how this relates to the Twelve Tribes community’s ethical ideals and the symbolic and practical meanings attached to it on individual and communal levels. The relevance of temporality to the religious ethics will be considered through understanding how the pursuit of a past way of life, employed to justify an anticipated future, tie into the ethical self-making processes of the now.

The collective self reconfigured: Accommodating religious pluralism in rural Oaxaca

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For the past few decades Evangelical Protestantism in Latin America has grown with remarkable speed, also in Mexico. Converts’ new religious identities often comprise more marked individualism, strengthened emotional affiliation with one’s faith, and a novel

relationship with one’s personal past, present, and future. Since the early 1990s, numerous authors have made sweeping generalisations about the putative impact of the rise of such religious and hence also ethical pluralism on the entire Latin America. The Protestant growth has been deemed as “a vehicle of modernisation” (Martin 1990, Stoll 1990), “Latin America’s Reformation” (Garrard-Burnett 1993), a “religious revolution” (Patterson 2005), and the “conversion of the continent” (Steigenga and Cleary 2008). Underlying all these claims is the idea that just like individual conversions imply the transformation of one’s “self” and a certain form of temporal “becoming,” en masse the conversions have the same effect on the “collective self” of the whole society. This paper juxtaposes such causal and teleological approaches to the implications of religious change in Latin America with a longitudinal ethnographic scrutiny of the process in the Zapotec communities of Oaxaca. As will be argued, converts do indeed re-fashion their religious and ethical selves in opposition to the mainstream Catholic faith and rituals, they break with their personal pasts and redefine their present and future lives, but the impact of this on the secular normative and customary practices of indigenous villages is more nuanced, less straightforward and less unidirectional than the above-cited studies claim. Even though the immediate consequences of Protestant growth in rural Oaxaca have often been conflicts and fragmentation along religious lines, with time communities have “(re-)learned” to accommodate religious pluralism and the resultant diverse, often ostensibly incompatible “ethical selves” without the major transformation of the villages’ collective social, political, and cultural ways of life.

Panel 18.

“Unfinished” time and desire in reproductive mobilities and trajectories

Panel conveners:

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This panel draws on recent work in the anthropology of becoming (Biehl and Locke 2017) to consider the qualities of unfinishedness, the unknown, time, space, and desire as they relate to formations of reproduction in contemporary life. On the one hand, time is delineated in biological measurements and discourses, such as gestation, carrying babies “to term,” “timing” and “spacing” children, and fertility “cycles,” for

example. On the other hand, time is abstracted in the forward-looking-ness of reproduction, captured in the concept of reproductive futurism. Within the growing body of scholarship on reproductive cross-border care, fertility tourism, commercial surrogacy, birth tourism, abortion travel, migrant and transnational motherhood, international adoption—that is, reproductive mobilities—the emphasis has tended to be on geographical movement from point A to B, or the outcome of the reproductive pursuit. What hasn't yet been examined is the “unfinished business” of reproduction in the context of mobilities or, for that matter, immobilities, which an emphasis on time and becoming will open up. By considering an anthropology of becoming that “makes space for unfinishedness, and bodies, powers, and things [that] do not remain frozen in place” (Biehl and Locke 2017: 6), the papers in this panel will address time and trajectories of reproduction as related to subjectivity and as affective, material, and always incomplete.

Anticipating Reproducing: The Timing of Parenthood in Reproductive Futures

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Becoming a parent in the era of reproductive technologies is complex. The next generation of parents, those who grew up in the midst of the relative normalization of assisted reproductive technologies (ARTs), inhabit a nexus of tensions among long-term education, the development of careers, and potential infertility. In 2015, I conducted ethnographic fieldwork on the University of Saskatchewan campus in Saskatoon, Canada, to explore how post-graduate students negotiate these tensions in enacting “the right time” to become parents. I focus on fifteen international students who had relocated to Canada to pursue their education. In interviews and through participant observation I found that these men and women did not conceptualize “the right time” as a singular chronological point. Rather, “the right time” for those who desired to be parents was the interaction of multiple temporal models constituted by their daily actions, and informed (in part) by their move to Canada and student mobility. Drawing on the anthropology of becoming (Biehl and Locke 2017), I consider in this paper the “unfinishedness” of anticipating “the right time” to become a parent in the context of international student im/migration. Viewing time as enacted, I consider how anticipation affects students' enactments of “the right time” as mobile reproductive subjects. How is reproductive anticipation informed differentially by reproductive mobility? In what ways do reproductive mobility and anticipation come together in “the right time?”

Are the storks always on time?: representation of adoption related discourse in Russian Social media

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Using participant observation within an adoption community, as well as an analysis of four Facebook groups of current and future adoptive parents, I discuss the pursuit of adoption or guardianship (*opeka*)/foster care in Russia and distinctive features related to the concept of time, space and becoming as represented in the adoption community.

From the standpoint of a prospective parent, control over timing the adoption/guardianship is greatly influenced by the duration of decision-making and its uncertainty, caution and need for support, the process of actually searching for a child, distance and the bureaucracy of welfare services. The adoption/guardianship community argues that time is of the essence in saving children from the system. Any extra day waiting to be brought home is described as extremely detrimental to the child. Therefore, there is in a way a conflict between the needs of the child and the parent. Matching them is often difficult. The process of adaptation within the family is marked by specific milestones of changes in behavior beyond age-appropriate development, the healing power of time spent within the family and the evolution of parental attitudes. However, *becoming* a parent and a child of a parent and subsequent “kinning” [Howell 2009] is viewed and portrayed as endless in its complexity and unpredictability due to trauma suffered by the children, doubts on the part of the parents and other reasons. Still, this “unfinishedness” is seen as acceptable, inevitable and even natural in the discourse of the adoption community.

The first thousand days: Temporality, population and futurity

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Biehl and Locke propose that ‘Ethnography is not just protophilosophy, but a way of staying connected to open-ended, even mysterious, social processes (2017: 10). They note that ‘the work of becoming is inherently a creation’ (p. 9), and as such, is indeterminate. Yet as an enormous literature in the anthropology of biomedicine shows, there is little truck with indeterminacy in medical models. Biomedical recording of reproduction is highly temporalized. Foetal development is measured in terms of age; pregnancy in weeks and months; dangers are posed by gestational ages too old and too young; disparities of time in relation to different embodiments. New scientific findings press temporality still further, suggesting that development in ‘the first thousand days’, from conception to two years of age, holds

significant import for the future well-being not only of individuals but of populations yet to come. Unlike a body of anthropological literature that suggests that 'becoming' (Biehl and Locke 2017), or 'incompleteness' (Nyamnjoh 2015) is, as Francis Nyamnjoh puts it, 'the normal order of things', these bodies of knowledge move uncomfortably between finite and closed futures (framed in terms of individual well-being; perfectable population health) and the indeterminacies of everyday life.

Biehl and Locke argue that becoming 'invokes the capacities of people to endure and live on as they reckon with the overdetermined constraints and resources of the worlds into which they are thrown' (p.9). What then are the experiences of time in everyday experiences of reproduction? How do biomedical temporalities intersect with how people navigate everyday life? In what ways do biomedical measurements inflect sets of moralities relating to care and reproductive well-being? With what effects? How does the extension of foetal and infant health into a durative of 'the first thousand days' affect how we understand well-being? I address these questions by drawing on research in Cape Town, South Africa, that explores how biomedical knowledges of the pregnant body settle in people's everyday practices of making families and futures.

Panel 19.

Opiskelijapaneeli / Student Panel (in Finnish)

Panel convener;
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Opiskelijapaneeli on suunnattu kandi- tai maisterivaiheen antropologian opiskelijoille. He voivat pohjata esityksensä kandintyölleen tai tekeillä olevaan graduun. Konferenssipaneeli on tilaisuus, jossa kukin tilaisuuteen valittu osallistuja pitää n. 20 minuutin esitelmän. Paneelin keskustelukielenä on suomi. Kutakin esitelmää seuraa n. 15 minuutin tiivis keskustelu, jonka aikana myös yleisö voi esittää kysymyksiä puhujalle. Paneelin tarkoituksena on tarjota opiskelijoille mahdollisuus päästä esittelemään omaa tutkimustaan sekä tutustuttamaan heidät konferenssikäytäntöihin. Toivomme herättävämme keskustelua siitä, minkälaista antropologiaa suomalaiset opiskelijat tekevät ja minkälaisiin argumentteihin kandin- ja maisterintöillä pääsee. Konferenssin pääteemojen (aika, ajallisuus ja ajan kokemus, politiikka, kielellisyys jne.) lisäksi olemme kiinnostuneita muistakin aihepiireistä.

Mieskehot katseen ja puheen kohteina eteläkorealaisessa musiikkitelevisio-ohjelmassa ja Youtube-sivuston kommentaissa
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K-pop eli eteläkorealainen popmusiikki on muun maansa populaarikulttuurin tavoin saavuttanut kasvavaa, kulttuurirajoja ylittävää suosiota viimeisten kahden vuosikymmenen aikana. Lajityypin suosituimpia esiintyjiä ovat nuorista miehistä koostuvat lauluyhtyeet, joilla on faneja ympäri maailmaa ja joiden tähdittämät musiikkivideot, televisioesiintymiset ja sosiaalisen median julkaisut saavuttavat parhaimmillaan satoja miljoonia katselukertoja. K-pop-genressä tuotetut kulttuuriset sisällöt eivät ole kuitenkaan vain viihdettä – ne ovat samanaikaisesti myös esityksiä sukupuolista ja kehoista, siitä millaiset tavat olla olemassa ja esillä ovat oikeina pidettyjä, hyväksyttyjä ja ihannoituja. Millaisia mieskehoja k-popissa sitten nähdään? Millaisia maskuliinisuuksia ja mieheyden kuvia miespuoliset k-pop-tähdet toistavat esityksissään? Mikä on lajityyppiä seuraavien fanien suhde näihin sukupuolen ja ruumiillisuuden esityksiin? Pyrin esitelmässäni antamaan vastauksia näihin kysymyksiin tarkastelemalla kahta k-popille tärkeää sisällönjakelun kanavaa: eteläkorealaista musiikkitelevisiota sekä YouTube-videopalvelua. Lähestyn aihetta ruumiillisuuden antropologian ja sukupuolentutkimuksen teoreettiselta pohjalta. Esitelmäni perustuu tekeillä olevaan kulttuuriantropologian pro gradu -tutkielmaani, jossa tarkastelen sukupuolen ja ruumiillisuuden asemaa ja merkityksiä k-pop-kappaleiden televisioesityksissä. Multimodaalinen aineistoni koostuu eteläkorealaisessa *Inkigayo*-musiikkitelevisio-ohjelmassa lähetetyistä musiikkiesityksistä, joiden esiintyjinä ovat miespuolisista jäsenistä koostuvat k-pop-lauluyhtyeet. Itse esitysten lisäksi tarkastelen niihin kohdistuvaa puhetta YouTube-sivuston kommenttien kautta, eli työssäni on läsnä myös fanien ja yleisön näkökulma. Keskeiset tutkimuskysymykseni ovat seuraavat: Miten eteläkorealaista miesmaskuliinisuutta rakennetaan ja uusinnetaan popkappaleiden televisioesityksissä? Miten fanit kirjoittavat miesidolien kehoista televisioesityksistä julkaistujen videotallenteiden kommentaissa? Esitelmässäni käyn läpi tutkielmani teoreettisia ja metodologisia lähtökohtia sekä esittelen keräämääni aineistoa ja analyysini alustavia tuloksia. Taustoitankin k-popia musiikillisena ja populaarikulttuurisena lajityyppinä, joka liittyy vahvasti sekä eteläkorealaisiin että maailmanlaajuisiin kulttuurimuotoihin, ja jonka leviämässä ja fanikulttuurissa sosiaalisella medialla on merkittävä rooli.

Arjen algoritmeista tulevaisuusdiskursseihin
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Informaatioteknologian rooli on kasvanut ihmisten jokapäiväisessä elämässä merkittävästi sen nopean kehityksen vuoksi. Tämän vuoksi suhdetta informaatioteknologiaan muodostetaan jatkuvasti uudestaan, uusien innovaatioiden ja käyttöönottojen myötä. Pitkän historiallisen kehyksen puuttuessa myös fiktiivisistä teoksista ja scifistä otetaan mallia kuvitteluun, historian ja yhteiskuntateorioiden lisäksi, kuinka asiat ”voivat kehittyä” tai ”kehittyvät.”

Esitelmä perustuu tekeillä olevaan Pro gradu –työhön. Työssäni olen kiinnostunut tarkastelemaan, kuinka ihmiset kuvittelevat teknologian vaikuttavan yhteiskuntaan. Aiheen ollessa sellainen, jota on mahdotonta havainnoida käytännössä, hyödynnän työssäni lingvistisen antropologian analysointityökaluja, kuten intertekstuaalisuuden käsitettä sekä semioottista lähestymistapaa. Eli kuinka eri merkkejä tulkitaan prosessinomaisesti, jolloin menneisyys vaikuttaa aina nykyhetkeen ja tulkintaan siitä. Nämä tulkinnat eivät ole koskaan ympäröivästä yhteiskunnasta erillisiä tai irrallisia ja eri tulkintoja voidaan aina uudelleen tulkita sen hetken tiedosta käsin. Tulevaisuuden kuvittelua varten ihmiset muodostavat näkemyksensä niin menneisyydestä kuin nykyhetkestä. Nämä aika-aspektit tuovat keskusteluun mukaan myös eri teorat *modernista*.

Tutkimuksen alueellinen fokus on Helsingissä, Suomessa. Gradun aineisto koostuu tekemistäni kahden eri viiteryhmän semi-strukturoiduista haastatteluista, jotka ovat toteutettu kesällä 2017 ja kesällä 2018. Viiteryhvät eroavat toisistaan informaatioteknologian osaamisen perusteella.

Merimetso naapurina Suomen länsirannikolla

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Tarkastelen Pro gradu -tutkielmassani ihmisten ja merimetsojen (*Phalacrocorax carbo sinensis*) rinnakkaiseloja länsisuomalaisella rannikkoalueella. Pyrin selvittämään tutkielmassani, minkälaisia odotuksia, merkityksiä ja temporaalisuuksia liittyy merimaisemaan, jota asuttavat ihmiset, merimetsot ja muut rannikkoalueen oliot. Alustavia tutkimuskysymyksiäni ovat: 1) Minkälaisia rannikkomaisemaan sidottuja temporaalisuuksia merimetsoilmiössä on havaittavissa? 2) Minkälaisia odotuksia ja merkityksiä merimetsojen, ihmisten ja muiden olioiden jakamasta ympäristöstä kumpuaa tai siihen liitetään? 3) Miten tutkittavat näkevät itsensä suhteessa merimetsoon sekä merimetsan suhteessa muihin lajeihin?

Merimetso on Suomessa rauhoitettu merilintulaji, joka pesii suurissa yhdyskunnissa. Kotimaisessa lehdistössä merimetsaa saatetaan luonnehtia kiistanalaiseksi tai tunteita herättäväksi lajiksi, sillä merimetsoyhdyskuntien pesiminen aiheuttaa huomattavaa muutosta maisemassa. Suurien merimetsoyhdyskuntien saapumisen lähiympäristöön

huomaa helposti, minkä lisäksi lintujen ammoniakkipitoinen uloste värjää kallioita valkeaksi sekä näivettää kasvillisuutta yhdyskunnan pesimäalueella. Merimetsojen saatetaan myös kokea kilpailevan samasta saaliista kalastajien kanssa. Antropologisessa tutkimuksessa on huomioitu, että asuttamaamme maailmaa muokkaavat prosessit ovat harvoin yhden ainoan tekijän – ihmisen tai ei-inhimillisen olion – aikaansaamia, vaan pikemminkin toisiinsa kietoutuneiden elollisten ja elottomien tekijöiden yhdessä tuottamia. Tutkielmani teoreettinen näkökulma pohjautuu aiempaan antropologiseen tutkimukseen maiseman käsitteestä sekä monilajisista ja lajien välisistä vuorovaikutussuhteista. Keskeisiä teemoja tutkielmassani ovat rannikkomaisemaan sidottu ajallisuus sekä rannikkoympäristössä elävät monilajiset kollektiivit, joita ihmiset, merimetsot ja muut oliot muodostavat. Aloitan aineiston keräämisen haastatteluilla ja kenttätutkimuksella keväällä 2019 ja jatkan kenttätutkimusta loppukesästä alkusyksyyn voidakseni havainnoida, tuoko vuodenaikojen vaihtelu uusia ulottuvuuksia tutkimusaiheeseeni.

Rajat, ruoka ja heinäsiirkka Oaxacan monilajisilla pelloilla Meksikossa

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Tarkastelen esitelmässäni ihmisten ja heinäsiirkkojen välistä suhdetta eräässä sapoteekkiyhteisössä Oaxacassa, Meksikossa. Suvun *Sphenarium* heinäsiirkkoja pidetään haitallisina tuhoeläiminä Meksikon maataloudelle. Ne ovat kuitenkin myös suosittua ruokaa eri puolilla maata, varsinkin eteläisessä Oaxacan osavaltiossa. Kasvaneesta suosioistaan huolimatta syötävien heinäsiirkkojen (espanjaksi *chapulines*) ruokakäyttöön liittyy eurooppalaisperäisiä ennakkoluuloja, kuten että hyönteiset ovat pääasiassa olleet epätavallista pula-ajan ruokaa. Perinteistä *milpa*-viljelymenetelmää harjoittavissa yhteisöissä heinäsiirkkaa ei kuitenkaan kategorisoida mitenkään poikkeavaksi muista ruoka-aineista, eikä alkuperäiskielissä välttämättä tehdä eroa hyönteisten ja muiden eläinten välille. Luonteeltaan monilajisessa *milpa*-pellossa myös suvaitaan muiden elollisten läsnäoloa pellolla leimaamatta niitä suoraan rikkaruohoiksi tai tuhoeläimiksi.

Teollisen maatalouden näkökulmasta heinäsiirkat ovat moraalisesti tuomittavia tuhoeläimiä, sillä ne haastavat ihmisen dominoivan aseman luontoon nähden tunkeutumalla kulttuurin reviirille ja varastamalla ruokaa pellolta. *Milpa*-viljelyssä taas heinäsiirkkaa ei koeta negatiivisena olentona, vaikka eläimen myönnetään tekevän välillä tuhoa: ruoan varastamisen sijaan heinäsiirkkojen koetaan jakavan pellon antimia ihmisen kanssa, ja ne päätyvät itsekkin ihmisravinnoksi sadonkorjuuajkaan. Heinäsiirkkojen syötävyys perustuu juuri siihen, että ne syövät pellolta samaa ruokaa kuin ihmiset ja kotieläimet. Näin ollen *milpa*-peltojen

heinäsirkkojen voi todeta olevan hyviä syödä ja hyviä ajatella, minkä lisäksi niiden kanssa on hyvä elää. Esitelmä perustuu työn alla olevaan pro gradu -tutkielmaan, jota varten suoritin etnografisen kenttätöön Oaxacassa kesällä ja syksyllä 2018.

Film Programme

The 2019 film programme aims to feature content that engages with different ways in which imaginaries and practices of time are rendered and generated through cinema. The programme is curated by Carlo A. Cubero and Ingrid Nielsen from Tallinn University.

Wednesday

SPECIAL OPENING FILM

1500 - 1635

The Sound of Bells - 70 mnts

Marcia Mansur and Marina Thomé

Thursday

13.30-15.30 - Voices in Time

1330 - 1405

Scenes from a Transient Home - 13 mnts

Roger Horn

1405 - 1455

From the Land - 28 mnts

Jeff Silva and Ramona Badescu

1455 - 1530

In the Outskirts of Venice II - 22 mnts

Riina Sherman

1545 - 1745 - 1st Person Temporalities

15.45 - 1635

Now I am Dead - 30 mnts

Isabel Bredenbröker, Philipp Bergmann

1635 - 1745

Passager - 63 mnts

Arjang Omrani-Asef Rezaei

Friday

10.00-12.00 - Rhythms

1000 – 1025

I have a song to sing to you - 6 mnts

Eluned Zoe Aiano, Alesandra Tatic

1025 - 1120

The Mill - 34 mnts

Daniel Allen, Patrick Tubin McGinley

1120 – 1200

Guardians of the Night - 16 mnts

Alexandrine Boudreault-Fournier and Eleonora Diamanti

13.30-15.30 - Deep Time

1330 -1355

Sakatti - 6 mnts

Maija Lassila, Petri Luukkainen

1355 - 1500

Keeper of the Fire - 47 mnts

Evan Raymond Spitzer

1500 - 1530

Douro - Symphony of a river - 16 mnts

Virgilio Oliveira

15.45-17.45 - Life in Time

15.45 - 1625

PAANI: Of Women and Water - 22 mnts

Costanza Burstin

1625 - 1745

Changa Revisited - 60 mnts

Peter Biella and Leonard Kamerling

FILM SYNOPSIS

The Sound of Bells - 70 mnts

Marcia Mansur and Marina Thomé

In Minas Gerais, Brazil, bell sounds set the pace of life of the residents of the historic cities, announcing time for work, rest, pray, and celebrate. The bell ringers, characters from the top of the towers, are known to have transformed bell rings over the centuries from their colonial origins and have mixed them with the strong African heritage in Brazil.⁴² Margaret Mead Film Festival (Official Selection - USA, 2018); Best Anthropological Documentary and Best Transmedia Project at V MAAM Muestra de Antropología Audiovisual de Madrid no Museo Nacional de Antropología (Spain, 2018); 27th Biarritz Festival Latin America (Official competition - France, 2017); Special Award at 3rd Golden Tree International Documentary Film Festival (Frankfurt, 2018); Honorable Mention at 2nd Heritales - International Heritage Film Festival (Portugal, 2017); 8th International Ethnographic Film Festival of Recife (Brazil, 2017).

Scenes from a Transient Home - 13 mnts

Roger Horn

Filmed on Super 8mm, "Scenes from a Transient Home" presents a fractured portrait of life for Zimbabwean migrants when they travel back home to visit. Christmas dancing, New Years Eve celebrations,

house floods, and illegal gold panning are just a few of the events filmed by Roger Horn who bookends the film with a major life event for his family.

Visuals were filmed on multiple Super 8mm film stocks in Cape Town, South Africa and Harare, Victoria Falls, and Kadoma, Zimbabwe. The audio spans four years of casual conversations, observations, and video elicitation from Zimbabwean migrant women as part of filmmaker Roger Horn's PhD research.

From the Land - 28 mnts

Jeff Silva and Ramona Badescu

Mixing fragmented stories of people with views of a landscape in perpetual transformation we travel intimately in the footsteps of a contemporary Alice in what was once a leafy forest populated by birds and water sources and is today a modern day "concrete jungle" in the center of the infamous northern district of Marseille.

At the crossroads of societal, historical, architectural and human issues, nature seems caught in a grip, breathing only in the hollow of a memory of those who lived through it as children in the 60's and 70's. Separating image from text, "Là où la terre" paints a portrait of a contemporary neighborhood battered by perpetual violent transformation that echoes in the vulnerable voices of its habitants and the tension between presence and absence, broken down into patterns; plants, animals, humans.

In the Outskirts of Venice II - 22 mnts

Riina Sherman

In this 2nd study on Venice, I focus on women's lives in Venice and include the work of poet, humanitarian, and courtesan Veronica Franco.

When crossing the Via della Libertà causeway into Venice, especially at night, I am overcome with melancholy as I enter this world built on water that seems to have been there forever and yet on closer inspection shows distinct signs of its future disappearing. There is the ebb and flow of the water, the milky green lagoon and the opaque turquoise canals. A world of mariners, travelling to and from the islands in gondolas, water taxis and vaporetti. In Venice I stick to the outskirts and the islands, I stop here and there in the insulate corners of the city floating landscapes, where the eroding movement of time stopped seems to be eternal.

In Cities & Elsewhere, I concentrate on the immediacy of time, the here and now, the feeling of being there. I draw on the traditions of the tableaux vivants of Louis XIV, Delsartean 'Living pictures' and the later poses plastiques performance activities. My work as a

performance artist in Johannesburg early 1980s informs the live still scenes filmed here, transforming everyday scenes and duration performances, inspired by Philip Glass, the Wooster Group, Elizabeth LeCompte, Spalding Gray, Benjamin Patterson.

Now I am Dead - 30 mnts

Isabel Bredenbröker, Philipp Bergmann

Now I am Dead (2018) takes an unexpected turn which transforms the narrative from meta-critical docufiction into an immersive tale. Anthropologist Isabel Bredenbröker and director Philipp Bergmann had planned to explore the status quo of the ethnographic encounter through the lens of Isabel's research on death in a Ghanaian town. Shortly after their arrival in Ghana, in the midst of filming, Isabel's grandfather dies in Germany. Baffled by the coincidence, in between assisting an undertaker, visiting the morgue, attending funerals and inspecting cemeteries, she asks for advice. How to react to the death of a far-away family member whilst shooting a film on death in West Africa?

Help comes from friends and collaborators: an undertaker, a neighbour, a research assistant and friend, a priest. A second narrative streak in which the grandfather is commemorated in town develops alongside other death-related events, such as picking up of a soul or the dressing and treatment of dead bodies. The perspective of the foreign visitor is tragically inverted and incorporated into a local perspective. The distinction between the other culture and one's own gets blurred, just as the threshold between life and death can be experienced in a playful way.

Passager - 63 mnts

Arjang Omrani-Asef Rezaei

The collaborative project of audio-visual anthropology explores the 6 months (mobile phone) video diaries of Asef, an Afghan refugee boy, in which he shares his everyday experiences, as well as the more in-depth memories and dreams. The collection creates sensory and intimate experience and insight to his life while portraying a refugee's life with an existential and anthropological view point. The sense of duration and suspension, detachment and belonging to the space and locations he ought to stay, the emotional flux between hope, hopelessness, helplessness, the desire and the battle for a better life condition are the major significant elements that Asef diaries are sharing with its audience.

In this experiment of shared anthropology, I have been teaching and supervising Asef about filming and the ideas of sensory story-telling and montage in order him to be able to apply them in his own creative way in filming process.

The film therefore is edited (by me) based on the a.m ideas, while constantly updating him and receiving feedback.

This film project, based on the time proposal of the exhibition can be presented as multi screen sound image installation or a shorter version can be custom designed

I have a song to sing to you - 6 mnts

Eluned Zoe Aiano, Alesandra Tatic

As a child, Ivanka was chosen by fairy women for the special task of entering the realm of the dead to discover the future. As an old lady, the spirits have left her, so how does she navigate between the two worlds now?

This experimental short documentary seeks out Ivanka, a woman who lives in rural Eastern Serbia and who spent most of her life falling into trance to enter the realm of the dead and learn about the future. Ethnographic archive materials from her days as a prophet are interwoven with contemporary footage shot now that the supernatural forces have left her. As such, the film plays on dualities of time and ontology to explore how this experience has affected her relationship to the landscape that surrounds her, while engaging in a meta discourse on the digital nature of film and visualisation of memory.

The film was funded by the London Short Film Festival as part of their "With Teeth" scheme to support non-conformist independent filmmaking.

The Mill - 34 mnts

Daniel Allen, Patrick Tubin McGinley

The Mill is a non-narrative film that falls into the category of sensory ethnography. It focuses on an unmodernised paper factory in Estonia, taking in the sights and sounds that fill that space.

Significantly, although people are present, the film is not about them – it doesn't develop characters in any conventional way; rather it treats human and non-human actors equally so that machines, textures, sounds, and people all get the same billing.

The standard model of both fiction and documentary demands a beginning, middle and end: a narrative, driven forward by human action. The protagonist takes action, the action has a consequence, the plot moves on. For any of this to happen, time must pass. However, without the overriding need to follow biographies, establish characters, reach conclusions (i.e. submit to a cause-and-effect model) the events of The Mill become independent of each other. The film

joins the papermaking process at a particular point, and leaves it at another point. Those two points happen to be the beginning and end of the process, but these scenes, and all the scenes in between, are interchangeable because they are not qualified by time or the constraints of traditional human narrative. The Mill is an expression of the space of the factory and a representation of the experience of being there. Neither of which, within the world of the film, require time as a motive force.

Guardians of the Night - 16 mnts

Alexandrine Boudreault-Fournier and Eleonora Diamanti

When the night falls and it invades the streets, other forms of life emerge. Guardians of the Night sheds light on the people, activities, sites and ideas that occur after the sunset in the city of Guantánamo, Cuba.

Guardians of the night is an experimental and sensorial short-length ethnographic film about the cyclical and spontaneous life activities that emerge at nighttime in the city of Guantánamo, Cuba. The senses are at the center of the night experience along with reduction of visibility. This creates a perfect focus to reinvigorate discussion and promote an innovative approach around sensory visual ethnography. The young and talented electronic musician Zevil Strix from Guantánamo produced the original soundtrack of the film.

Sakatti - 6 mnts

Maija Lassila, Petri Luukkainen

In 2009 a British company Anglo American found an orebody, named 'Sakatti' after the nearby Sakatti ponds, under the wet Viiankiaapa mire in Sodankylä, Finland. It is speculated to be Europe's largest copper discovery in decades. The company conducts mineral exploration in the mire and a mine is expected to be built under the mire in 10-15 years. It is unsure what kinds of transformations lie in the future for the fragile environment. Sakatti is a poetic close-up journey into the mire's existence in the world of humans and more-than-humans, multiple time scales and its overlapping meanings.

Keeper of the Fire - 47 mnts

Evan Raymond Spitzer

"Keeper of the Fire" is a three-channel ethnographic exploration of Mount St. Helens investigating the question of how we humans interact and relate to the volcano and its destructive history. Through interviews with geologists, ecologists, tribal spiritual leaders, and locals, the film allows for a meditation on the powerful force and influence that volcanoes can have on a region and our ways of making sense of the world.

Douro - Symphony of a river - 16 mnts

Virgilio Oliveira

From high up in the glacier carved mountains of Northern Spain, towards the Atlantic Ocean in the cities of Porto and V.N.Gaia in Northern Portugal, Douro - symphony of a river presents a reflexive journey through one of the most important water highways in the Iberian Peninsula. From the seemingly quietness of the natural world into the noise of human presence, this sensorial experience celebrates the Douro's importance to the sustainability of life since the dawn of human history.

PAANI: Of Women and Water - 22 mnts

Costanza Burstin

An ethnographic documentary that explores the peculiar and constant relationship between women and water in Modiya, a small Muslim village of Rajasthan desert (India). This visual research sought to investigate the specific ways in which local women perceive, experience and behave towards water in a context where access to this resource is scarce and rife with complications. In particular it examines the way in which the agency of these women can be seen in their daily tasks, managing water collection and usage. They live their struggle with tenacity, determination, elegance and humor, despite the fact that water scarcity represents a serious problem for family health, sanitation and wellbeing.

Changa Revisited - 60 mnts

Peter Biella and Leonard Kamerling

Since he was a boy growing up as a herder, Maasai elder Toreto ole Koisenge dreamed of cattle. When anthropologist / filmmaker Peter Biella first visited his homestead in 1980, he had over six hundred head. Today his herd numbers only twenty. The world of the Maasai pastoralists has grown smaller since the Tanzanian government put a stop to their seasonal cattle migrations and forced them to live in permanent settlements. For elder Toreto ole Koisenge, the dream is no longer about cattle. In this new world of tumultuous change, how can he create a life that offers his children wisdom, humanity and hope?

Changa Revisited is portrait of a Maasai family seen from two points in time across a thirty year divide. The film draws on hundreds of photographs and audio recordings taken in 1980 by Peter Biella. These images, woven with contemporary video footage, create a deeply personal portrait of the unfolding of a family's life through three decades of volatile change.