

# Finnish Anthropology Conference 2011

## *Dynamic Anthropology: Tensions between Theory and Practice*

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### PAPER ABSTRACTS

#### SESSION 1: DYNAMIC UNION? THE CHALLENGES OF ANTHROPOLOGY MIGRATING ACROSS THE DISCIPLINARY DIVIDE

Of Sciences and Men. Approaching an Environmental Problem through Chemistry, Law and Anthropology

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Now, researchers are encouraged by their institutions to have an interdisciplinary approach. In fact, such an approach asks the question of what researchers are willing to risk. In this paper, we will analyse an interdisciplinary research whose main objective is to develop a close collaboration for a better understanding of a phenomena that is generally studied separately by disciplines that usually do not communicate with each other.

Our research is dealing with how chemical substances are categorized by REACH (Registration Evaluation and Authorisation of Chemicals). With this new European regulation industrials must give proof of the innocuousness of the substances they want to commercialize. This research brings together three researchers in anthropology, chemistry and law. For the anthropologist, the question is to understand how the actors make this regulation their own. For the chemistry researcher, it consists in asking what is the scientific and regulatory relevance for the characterisation of complex chemical mixtures by using methods developed for single compound recognition. For the law researcher the objective is to check that the actors are in compliance with the law.

This experience shows that interdisciplinarity means more than just combining three different questions and disciplines. For the anthropologist, it requires to return on basics and essentials of the discipline considering that the actors of the chemical industry are professionals, with specific strategies and constraints. To really contribute to the understanding of new things about complex worlds, we also have to be able to shift position and to accept the uncertainty of our points of view, while always keeping the specific character of each of our disciplinary contributions. And then, we could try to really work together on the subject as one mind. This question is as yet unsolved

and can benefit from all the empirical experiences we can get from our own research and other's.

Into the West:  
Anthropology, Critically at Home

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This paper will address a number important issues that impinge on how anthropology can successfully engage with interdisciplinarity within a Westernised context. It looks at the crisis of identity in anthropology. This involves two important and related themes. The first is the professional identity of social and cultural anthropologists. Secondly, the public imagination of anthropology and what anthropologists do.

The dominant and mostly unchallenged perception is that anthropologists deal principally with the remote and the exotic. The fairly recent trend towards 'anthropology at home' has come at some cost. Exotic anthropology is often considered 'real' or 'pure anthropology', while those who practice anthropology within the Western context are considered as somehow different. This has consequences in terms of accessing traditional research funds and grants and even job opportunities that may be closed to anthropologists who have not conducted ethnographic field research abroad.

Secondly, the issue of who we are and what we do in the public imagination is important (Sargent 2011). Many of us are engaged pragmatically in medical anthropology, in anthropology allied to health or in the more critical anthropology of health and illness. The particular approach taken is important since dominant ideological paradigms such as Western (bio)medicine, as well as *a priori* constructions, have the potential to significantly influence who we work with, and the type of research we conduct, as well as research outcomes. This needs closer inspection. This paper will argue for 'critical interdisciplinarity'. This affords a more nuanced approach offering a three-dimensional look at complex issues, situations and conditions. Anthropology importantly informs biomedicine, however, the process is two way (See Fainzang *et al* 2010). It will consider potential threats and drawbacks of interdisciplinary collegiality, including ideological, methodological and political jockeying; professional isolation; as well as the emic gaze, versus, evidence based practice.

Guiding references:

- Fainzang S H E Hem M B Risor (Eds) *The Taste for Knowledge: Medical Anthropology Facing Medical Realities*. Aarhus University Press 2010.
- Moore R. G. Book Review, *The Taste for Knowledge: Medical Anthropology Facing Medical Realities*, *Sociology of Health and Illness* Vol 33, 4, 656-657, 2011.
- Sargent C 2011 See <http://socmedanthro.wordpress.com/> (accessed 6/22/11)

### Into the World of Acronyms: on Anthropological Engagements with the Study of Biotechnologies

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In my presentation I will discuss my ongoing research that is part of the trilateral project IMMIGENE on DNA analysis used in the context of family migration in Austria, Finland and Germany. Increasing restrictions on family reunification and immigration in general make explicit the omnipresent fight against supposed frauds. This also legitimates the biotechnological verification of family ties as a standard procedure when the documents are missing or regarded as invalid. Even though my paper does not deal with medical anthropology as such, the questions are in many ways parallel. The contributions of anthropologists are notable in the study of and around the biotechnologies. The conceptual opposition between the biological and the social family ties is the background in legislation on and policing of family reunification. The ways the notion of kinship takes form in science, in laboratory practices, in the courts and in debates brings to the fore how the supposed novelty brought about by technologies can be framed and questioned by the classical questions regarding this very dichotomy.

### Engaging with Others: Patient Protection and the Secrecy of Experience

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During my on-going research project studying the experiences of kidney transplant recipients in Finland I came across a baffling example of the patient protection principle. Although kidney recipients attending rehabilitation courses organized by a national level patient organisation had signed consent forms allowing the social scientist to conduct participant observation of the course proceedings she was barred from small group discussions. The argument was that the presence of an outsider may hinder course participants from talking freely about their experiences of kidney disease. This incidence raises questions about the eth-

ics of fieldwork and the shifting notions of the autonomous self. Patient protection principles follow a specific kind of logic within biomedicine as compared with anonymity principles stressed within anthropology. The gap created between these two perspectives leads to conflictive situations. The example presented sheds light on how gatekeepers participate in a process of 'othering' vis à vis the researcher. What is this secrecy all about and who has the right to decide which experiences can be shared ones and with whom this sharing takes place? In the presentation I will present the above case and ponder what possible practical strategies could be used to solve this dilemma.

### SESSION 2: ETHNOGRAPHIC FRAGMENTS, ANARCHIST IDEAS

#### Looking for Anarchy in Northern Ghana: Hierarchy, Male Dominance and Power in Acephalous Society

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Northern Ghanaian tribes have been described as anarchist, acephalous societies because of their weak centralization of power. Influenced by colonization and later modernization processes, social, economic and political change towards the rising hegemony of modern centralized state is currently happening in Northern Ghana. At the same time, ideological markers that go with state hegemony are becoming more dominant and markers pertaining to traditional acephalous society are marginalizing. In addition to the relationship between the state and traditional society, there is also the growing network of NGOs financed mostly by the West and propagating ideas of civic society, to take into consideration. In my presentation I will look at how local traditional practices and NGOs carrying humanist values of modern societies clash in a fight for a "better society".

My fieldwork in Northern Ghana concentrates on the tradition of widowhood rites that has been seen problematic there. According to a "traditionalist" view, the ritual is a valuable and important cultural tradition. NGOs that fight against widowhood rites, refer to values not all that unfamiliar to anarchist ideology – human rights of widows, fight against (structural) gendered violence, encouraging women's emancipation. According to David Graeber among others, anarchist anthropology could view Gurunsi acephalous society at a macro level as a demonstration of the possibility of utopia. However, besides the lack of centralized political power, an anthropologist with anarchist consciousness recognizes that micro level social relationships contain hierarchy, male dominance and gerontocracy that are not compatible with the anarchist utopia.

## Freedom from What? Freedom and Anarchy in Zomia

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Freedom and anarchy are often mentioned together, however while the second is a form of social organization, the first term is a relational value. James Scott's recent book on upland Southeast Asia romantically associates both, but draws attention away from the social and cosmological constraints many upland societies are facing within their own social systems. Therefore, when analyzing anarchy as a means to avoid constraints, we have to ask: How are these constraints specifically valorized, in relation to other constraints which are considered more acceptable? This talk approaches this question by elaborating on the valorization of ritual constraints among Rmeet in upland Laos. I also shed some light on the ongoing negotiations between uplanders and the state in the context of hunting, an activity that is at once prohibited and at the same time addresses relationships with spirits of the forest.

## Anarchic Solidarity in Southeast Asia

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This paper describes the patterns of organization of a group of egalitarian societies of insular Southeast Asia – mostly hunter-gatherers and dispersed groups of shifting cultivators – which are characterized by “anarchic solidarity”. They practice a mode of sociality that maximizes personal autonomy, political egalitarianism and inclusive forms of social solidarity. Forming examples of viable and non-violent “anarchic” social formations they contest an enduring assumption of Western philosophy according to which society needs to constrain the individual through either hierarchy or regulatory democracy if a Hobbesian “war of all against all” is not to ensue. The persistence of this form of organization among these populations in a region dominated for centuries by societies based on debt-bondage, tribute extraction and social hierarchy also bears on a long tradition of theorizing on the relationship between agrarian states and “tribal” minorities. Unlike James recent contribution to this tradition, however, this paper primarily understands anarchic social formations not as responses to state domination but in terms of their internal dynamics and of what makes them attractive in their own right, with special reference to the cultural institutions and social practices that enable them to strike a balance between the values of autonomy and solidarity.

## Subsistence Economy as a Form of Anarchy in the Forest Areas in Indonesia?

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Central Kalimantan is located on the island of Borneo and it is part of Indonesian state, bordering East, South and West Kalimantan, while its northern part borders Malaysian part of Borneo. Central Kalimantan is largely formed of swamp and peat land areas, which currently wake lot of interests of the national and multinational carbon trade and climate change scheme actors.

This paper explores tensions and possibilities in maintaining subsistence economy and local social order in the rapidly changing peat swamp forest area in Central Kalimantan. Many Ngaju groups live in peat swamp forest areas in the district of Kapuas, Central Kalimantan. Many of these groups have depended on peat swamp forests collecting forest products (rattan, wild rubber, beeswax) and producing also different crops. Deforestation and peat swamp degradation has brought multiple actors to the area with new development plans and efforts, especially the climate change projects related to new climate change mechanisms (i.e. REDD+ or Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation). Deforestation rate in Indonesia is one of the highest in the world. It is widely held that illegal logging by local communities is the main reason to the deforestation, besides logging practices by the forest corporations. Tensions between the state and private corporations and local communities go back to the colonial times, but especially to the New Order regime (1966-1998), which declared all the forests state land. Consequently, practices of the local communities became, in many cases, illegal, since the forest lands were outsourced to private multinational corporations, which hold temporary power and control over forested land. Further, this paper will discuss how ethnography can reveal these tensions and possibilities of subsistence economy system that could be characterized as anarchist or utopian in the face of market-based development schemes spread by the state and private actors.

## Was/is African Chieftaincy a Form of Direct Democracy?

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In his celebrated pamphlet *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology* (2004) David Graeber asks us to look for alternative models to Western-style majority democracy, which ultimately rests on a powerful coercive apparatus that can be used on the minority in order to enforce the decisions made by the majority. For that the ethnographic corpus gathered by anthropologists offers numerous examples of societies that have a consensus based system of decision making, in which tendencies for centralization of power and monopoliza-

tion of violence are checked. In my paper I want to reassess this claim through the example of the Akan peoples of southern and central Ghana, West Africa. In Ghana there is a hundred-year-old discourse on traditional chieftaincy as a form of direct democracy. According to it, the election process of a chief and the decision making procedure of his council of elder are thoroughly democratic. The chief cannot take any action without the advice and consent of his elders, who on their parts are subject to similar restraints from their own communities. Every 'citizen' of an Akan chieftaincy is always consulted when major decisions are made and a despotic ruler can be deposed at any time by the 'citizenry'. Hence, to some the 'Akan democracy' looks more authentic or uncontaminated than the Western 'ballot box democracy', where citizens participate in the political process directly only during elections. African anti-colonial political activists, European colonial administrators, military coup makers, and, more recently, planners of neoliberal structural reforms have participated in this discourse with their own objectives in mind. Consequently, the idea of direct democracy can be, and has been, made to serve very different ends. In my paper I propose that in addition to the principles of decision making as such we should also focus on the value system that encompasses them. To put it in another way, we should look comparatively into what sort of things are considered to require collective decision making and why in each society.

### SESSION 3: DYNAMIC PERSPECTIVES IN IDENTITY POLITICS

#### What to Do with the Dance? Demarcation of a Decent Cultural Practice for Indigenous Muslim Identity in Cameroon

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In this paper I explore the debate surging around the indigenous youth dance of the pastoral Mbororo Fulani of Cameroon. The debate is related to a broader socio-religious change within which increasing pressure is put on the Mbororo to abandon their "coarse" cultural practices in order to attain a more decent Muslim identity. In this process *wamarde*, the Mbororo dance, has become a strong symbol of their ignorance and cultural backwardness and, due to its alleged un-Islamic character as well as unwanted social consequences, is nowadays largely forbidden in many regions in Cameroon. Among the Mbororo themselves the debate on *wamarde* and the measures taken to restrain it have generated different responses. On the one hand, many urban activists of the Mbororo development organization MBOSCUA (*Mbororo Social and Cultural Development Association of Cameroon*), in their campaign for polishing the indigenous self-presentation of their people by shifting it towards a

modern Muslim identity, have for long spoken for the prohibition of the dance in its current form and context. On the other hand, in my research area in the rural Adamaoua Region, the Mbororo dance has been recontextualised by transforming it into *zikiri* (Arab. *dhikr*), a religious worship practice in which men, or women, dance and sing religious songs in a circle. This transformation has taken place in step with the recent Mbororo (intra)religious mass conversion to Tijaniyya, one of the Islamic Sufi orders. Drawing from my recent fieldwork in Cameroon, the paper inquires into these processes by looking at the changes in the Mbororo conception of the *wamarde* dance, as well as in the institutional frames within which it is practiced, in connection with the wider religiopolitical climates in which the contents of the Mbororo collective self-perception are currently contested.

#### Performing Identity: the Transformation of a Tangsa festival in Assam, Northeast India

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The Tangsas are a small ethnic group (related to the Naga) who have migrated to India from Myanmar probably within the last couple of centuries and have settled in the north-east Indian states of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh. In the last few decades, rapid changes have occurred to their lifestyles and to their traditional practices as a result of their migration down from the hills to the plains and their acceptance of the 'modern' way of life in a democratic state.

Furthermore, conversion of most of the Tangsa population to Christianity has implied giving up many of their old cultural practices. The newly converted Christian Tangsa had initially believed that religion could suffice as culture, but many have understood now that it cannot help them secure their ethnic identity. On the other hand, the few non-Christian Tangsa still left have also realised that putting religious divide before ethnic unity could lead to their annihilation. Therefore, there have been intense efforts in recent years, on the part of both groups, to come together to jointly celebrate a traditional Tangsa festival, in an attempt to retrieve a common ethnic identity.

In this paper I wish to take a closer look at the Wihu-kuh festival organised jointly by all the Tangsa living in Assam last year in the light of smaller festivals organised by the non-Christian Tangsa in earlier years, to observe the compromises that have been made from both sides in order to bring the Christian Tangsa back into the fold. The factors determining the final form of the festival will also be analysed in view of the impact this representation has on the Tangsa self-image and their projected identity. In doing so, I hope to illustrate that the 'new' Tangsa identity has been consciously fashioned in a form which not only enables internal consolidation but which also bolsters the social and political position of the Tangsa in the wider world

around them. Their principal aim is to project a new multi-faceted identity which draws from both their traditional ethnic past and their modern Christian present.

### Defining "the Real Komi": Everyday Practices and Worldview

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Our paper is based on our joint fieldwork (2006-2011) among the Komi people in Russia. The presentation will be dedicated to discussion of the concept of "the real Komi" in comparison with ideas concerning the *Kydy Roch* ('the Chaff's Russian'). Our aim is to demonstrate, how these concepts are treated by contemporary Komi people through discussions concerning a variety of everyday practices and religious ideas.

### Mexico's Programa Pueblos Mágicos: Negotiating Culture and Adapting to Tourism in a Zapotec Village

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In 2001, the Ministry of Tourism of Mexico launched a successful project called the *Programa Pueblos Mágicos* ('The Program of Magical Towns') that promotes tourism to 'typical' Mexican communities. This paper focuses on a Zapotec village of Capulálpam de Méndez in the State of Oaxaca, one of the 40 communities currently involved in the program. In less than a decade, Capulálpam has transformed from a village with virtually no visitors for touristic purposes into a regional hub of cultural and ecotourism, mainly owing to its nomination as a '*pueblo mágico*' in 2007. The paper discusses the adaptation of the local population to the program and its implications, as well as the diverse local perceptions of the impact of tourism on the local culture and identity. These perceptions are reminiscent of the scholarly debates between the critics and proponents of tourism in the discipline of anthropology, central to which are the notions of 'development,' 'cultural authenticity,' and 'commodification of heritage.' Many villagers associate the tourist influx with development, material gains, and increased employment opportunities. Others perceive tourism as a threat to communal intimacy, local culture, morality and ways of life, and accuse it of creating dependency and increasing inequality in the village. The pro- and anti-tourism divide coincides – partly at least – with certain pre-existing divisions and hierarchies in the village.

### National and Religious Identities at the Borderline. Conclusions to the Research in Ujkowice and Łętownia, 2008-2009

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In my presentation and paper I would like to discuss the results of an extended research project conducted by me and a small research group of my colleagues in years 2008-09 in the villages Ujkowice and Łętownia near Przemyśl, on south-eastern border of Poland. This research took a form of observation of local ceremonies and gatherings and we also interviewed over 30 oldest inhabitants of the villages. They shared with us their life and family stories, deeply rooted in the complicated history of the region. We focused on interviewing oldest people, and then switched to their family members and if possible spouses, to get the perspective and to compare different sides of each story.

In this area to claim an identity is a difficult task for any resident. The population, due to the course of history, consisted of a great number of nationalities, including Ukrainians, Poles, Jews, Germans, Czechs and Armenians. After the invasion of Poland by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, the border between the two invaders ran through the middle of the city of Przemyśl. Themes of ghetto, forced resettlement, concentration camps and migrations are still being discussed and still reverberate, joining and parting people, even in the routine of an everyday life. Nationalities in the present day go from Polish to Ukrainian, Russian, German, Hungarian and Jew, and religious labels differ from Roman catholic, Greek catholic, Protestant and Orthodox to the traces of Judaism. Every single family is a mixture, usually by marriage, a patchwork of different traditions and ways. There are strong affinities among neighbors, confirmed by many heroic war stories told by the residents. Neighborhood is probably the strongest, an almost sacred bond between the inhabitants. But there are also stereotypes and prejudices at work and the same families and villages carry out in their memory many dark secrets-stories of hate, betrayal, murder, scape-goating, cowardice, public lynchings. Also in the modern days minorities are being cast out or stigmatized. For instance the only active orthodox monastery in the area is rumored to be formed and run by a duo of homosexual monks.

### Minority Identity and the Construction of Rights

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This presentation proposes to look at the complications and legal constraints in identity constructions with minority groups in Estonia and in northwestern Russia. Our aim is to analyse these issues from a variety of perspectives in this geo-political region. We will

discuss three case studies: the Seto, their cultural heritage construction and the question of intangible rights in the border zone between Estonia and Russia; the legal regulations for identity promotion in Estonia from the perspective of the Russian-speaking minorities; the Votians and the process of claiming the minority status in Russia in the context of recent socio-economic developments.

### Our Clock Moves at a Different Pace: the Timescapes of Identity in Estonian Rural Tourism

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In our paper we will consider some meaningful and meaning-forming, interconnected and sometimes opposite notions and ideas that are used by the tourism farmers and tour guides in Hiiumaa island and Võru county (two very popular tourism regions in Estonia) to (re)construct, narrate and perform local identity. We focus on these regions since people living there are in fact actively identifying themselves to be slightly different from the rest of the Estonians due to several unique historical and cultural characteristics (i.e. dialect, geographical location etc.) We have been to short field trips to different municipalities in Võrumaa (Kaaristo) and Hiiumaa (Järv), studying mainly identity and tourism since 2008/2009. The paper's main focus is on the concept and notion of time as we will concentrate on the tourism farmers and tour guides who act as mediators of the different temporal quality of the experiences they provide, therefore creating various *timescapes* for their guests. An altered perception of time, a distinctive temporal experience of place is offered to the guests as a specific and special characteristic (and a counterbalance to the rush of everyday life) of the often similar but in many aspects different identity of those two rural regions.

### Russian-speakers in Narva and their Management of Industrial Identities in Soviet and Post-Soviet Society

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This paper aims to explore the changing and increasingly contested collective identities in a post-industrial town Narva, Estonia. During the Soviet period, Narva developed primarily as an industrial town part of which ideological discourse were economic growth and uninterrupted development. In fact, Narvans often claim that the growth did not happen on an ideological level only but it was embodied in their own experiences. Together with industrial development and the feeling of betterment strong collective identities related to industry and work emerged. The more that the majority of the local inhabitants in Narva have arrived

to the town as Soviet migrants after 1945 and their collective place-related identities are shaped by their experience in Soviet and post-Soviet times only, whereas the pre-war population in Narva leans on earlier communal feelings on their identity-making.

The collapse of Soviet Union and emerging market economy hit strongly the industrial environment, brought along economic decline and multiple social problems. In turbulent times in the last 20 years when many factories got closed down the industry and work-based collective identities started to shake and weaken. But there was little on what new collective identities could have been built on. Renegotiations of ethnic origin, belonging, class and strikingly different experiences of various generations involved in identity-making process makes the situation even more complex and contested. In this paper my main argument goes that as a result of the lack of bases for self-definition, the collective identities in today's Narva are based on contradiction and resistance to the change. Based on my empirical material, I will present the prominent discourses of collective identity-making in Soviet and post-Soviet times.

My empirical material contains participatory observations and biographic interviews which I have conducted during August 2010 until June 2011 while doing ethnographic fieldwork in Narva. My informants are Russian-speaking first generation migrants.

### Baltic Russian Identities: Discussing Ethnicity, Language and Religion with Borderland Residents in Estonia and Latvia

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There are hundreds of thousands of ethnic Russians and Russian-speakers living permanently in the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Some of them are citizens of the Baltic States, others of Russia, still others citizens of other former republics of the Soviet Union (e.g. Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan). In addition, quite a large percentage of ethnic Russians or Russian-speakers living in the Baltic States are stateless persons. Since very large numbers of Russians and Russian-speakers moved to the Soviet Baltic republics in the Soviet period, their whole presence has often been seen as a legacy of the Soviet period only. The way the Baltic Russians are seen and discussed is further complicated and distorted by the attempts of the Russian Federation to use their status and condition as a political leverage against Estonia and Latvia (in Lithuania the number and percentage of Russians has consistently been smaller and has thus created less controversy). Moreover, in the public and political discussions, Russians in the Baltics are almost always represented as a more or less homogenous group. In my paper I wish to draw attention to some neglected aspects of the Russian presence in the Baltic states of Estonia and Latvia. First I discuss such ethnic Russian people and groups of people who have 'always' lived in the territories of today's Estonia and Latvia; and second, I

point out the great variation of identities among the different members of the Russian population. The ways in which ethnic identities intertwine and interact with linguistic, religious, citizenship and local identities of individuals are analyzed, based on research results of an anthropological research project. The paper concludes with a discussion of possible new identities of people with Russian and Soviet backgrounds living permanently in the Baltics.

## SESSION 4: INDIA WORKSHOP/INTIA-TYÖRYHMÄ

### Pyhiinvaellus-business

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Pyhiinvaellus kuuluu monen uskonnon perinteisiin ja sitä on tutkittu runsaasti uskonnollisena ilmiönä. Itse olen Intian matkoillani kiinnostunut siitä sosiaalisena ilmiönä ja liiketoiminnan kohteena. Olen käsitellyt teemaa seminaariesitelmään perustuvassa artikkelissa "Pilgrimage as Business in Traditional India", René Gothóni (ed.), *Pilgrims and Travellers in Search of the Holy*. Oxford etc.: Peter Lang 2010, 127–147, johon tämännäinen esitys on eräänlainen jatko-osa.

### Dalitit kirkkojen agendalla

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Dalitien ihmisoikeusliike nykyisessä muodossaan alkoi järjestäytyä 1970-luvulla. Kristillisten kirkkojen mukaantuloa tähän liikehdintään voidaan seurata ainakin seitsemää eri linjaa pitkin. Sellaisina voidaan nähdä a) intialaisen vapautuksen teologian muovautuminen dalit-teologiaksi ja sen tulo oppiaineeksi useimpiin intialaisiin teologisiin seminaareihin ja korkeakouluihin; b) Intian kirkkojen uusi paradigma ja identiteetti dalit-kirkkoina; c) dalit-kysymyksen esiinnousu ekumeenisessa liikkeessä; d) dalitien elinoloihin keskittyvien hankkeiden yleistymisen kirkollisten kehitysjärjestöjen työssä; e) Dalitien solidaarisuusverkoston muotoutuminen; f) maailman eri kirkkojen kannanilmaisut kastisortoon ja dalitien asemaan Intiassa ja sen naapurimaissa; g) kristillisten dalit-organisaatioiden vaatimukset erivapauksien (reservations) ulottamisesta myös dalit-kristityille.

Kaikkien edellämääntuhtujen teemojen piirissä tarvittaisiin erityistutkimuksia. Eri linjoilla on luonnollisesti runsaasti yhtymäkohtia toisiinsa. Esityksessäni kuvaan lyhyesti kunkin linjan syntyä, kehitystä ja nykyvaihetta.

### Women and Marital Breakdown in South India. Reconstructing Homes, Bonds and Persons

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"Women and Marital Breakdown in South India. Reconstructing Homes, Bonds and Persons" (Eronneet naiset Etelä-Intiassa: Koteja, suhteita ja ihmisyyttä uudelleen rakentamassa) on ensimmäinen etnografinen tutkimus, joka tarkastelee eronneiden kaupunkilaisnaisten elämää Etelä-Intiassa. Tutkimus perustuu 16 kuukauden antropologiseen kenttätöyöhön Bangaloresa, jossa osallistuvan havainnoinnin ja elämäntutkimuksen avulla tutustuttiin viidenkymmenen 23-60 -vuotiaan eri kastiin, uskontoon ja sosiaaliseen luokkaan kuuluvan eronneen naisen elämään sekä perhetuomioistuimen käytäntöihin ja naisjärjestöjen arkeen.

Tutkimus selvittää, miten eronneet intialaisnaiset rakentavat uudelleen elämäänsä kotejaan, sosiaalisia suhteitaan ja ihmisyyttään arjen vuorovaikutuksen kautta osana yhteiskuntansa kasti-, suku- ja sukupuolihierarkioita, joita he samalla myös horjuttavat ja muokkaavat. Intiassa avioero on yhä tabu ja tuomioistuimen myöntämä avioero harvinainen, joskin mahdollinen. Tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan eron aiheuttamaa kriisiä naisten ja heidän perheidensä elämässä, naisten kodittomuutta sekä naisten selviytymisstrategioita ja toimijuutta: miten eronneet intialaisnaiset rakentavat itselleen uuden kodin perhe- ja sukusiteitä uudistaen ja miten he suuntautuvat kodin ulkopuolelle työnteon, uudenlaisten ystävyys-, vaihto-, ja järjestösuhteiden avulla. Tutkimus valottaa myös Intian perhelainsäädäntöjen symbolisia ja käytännöllisiä merkityksiä sekä naisten keinoja käyttää lakia voimavaranaan, vaihtelevin lopputuloksien.

Tutkimus luo uuden näkökulman avioliiton, sukulaisuuden ja koko intialaisen ihmisyiden sosiaalisen dynamiikan tarkasteluun. Marginaalista katsottuna yhteiskunnan rakenteiden murtumat ja ideaalien rajat paljastuvat: avioero ja eronneet naiset paljastavat sukupuoleen ja sukulaisuuteen liittyviä jännitteitä ja ristiriitoja. Vaikka eronneet naiset ovat intialaisen yhteiskunnan kulttuurinen anomalia, he kuitenkin selviävät, elävät elämäänsä ja luovat vaihtoehtoja vuorovaikutuksessa muiden ihmisten kanssa. Eronneiden naisten kritiikki, neuvot ja toimintatavat voivat olla laajemmankin kulttuurisen muutoksen siemeniä.

### Kehitysapu ja kansalaistoiminta Intiassa

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Tutkin etnografisin ja diskursiivisin menetelmin intialaisten kansalaisaktivistien suhteita globaaliin kehitysapukoneistoon. Tarkastelen intialaisten kansalaistojen kokemuksia kumppanuuksista pohjoisen kansalaisjärjestöjen kanssa, sekä heidän näkemyksiään

siitä, millaisia vaikutuksia intialaisten kansalaisjärjestöjen tukemisella on ollut intialaiseen kansalaistoiminnan kenttään. Tutkimukseni keskittyy Uttarakhandin osavaltioon.

### Teatterista sosiaalityönä ja sosiaalisten ja ympäristökysymysten yhteenkietoutuneisuudesta Intiassa

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Esittelen sessiossa sosiaalityötä, antropologiaa, Etelä-Aasian, teatterin ja jälkikolonialismin tutkimusta yhdistävää väitöstutkimustani *At the Intersection of Theatre and Social Work in Orissa, India: Natya Chetana and Its Theatre*. Lisäksi kerron lyhyesti jatkotutkimushaaveistani.

### Länsimaalaiset Intiassa

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Sadat, jopa tuhannet, länsimaalaiset ihmiset oleskelevat Intiassa toistuvasti pitkiä aikoja. Useimmat heistä palaavat aina samaan paikkaan, missä he elävät arkeaan yhdessä muiden länsimaalaisten kanssa. Näitä ihmisiä ei oikein voi kutsua turisteiksi ja omassa tutkimuksessani olenkin määritellyt heidät liikkuviksi elämäntapasiirtolaisiksi. Tässä esityksessä kerron väitöstutkimuksestani länsimaalaisten yhteisössä Varanasissa. Lisäksi kerron meneillään olevasta postdoc-tutkimuksestani länsimaalaisten lasten parissa Goalla.

### The Metaspatialities of Intercultural Encounters in India

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Since early 1990s, the intercultural adaptation process of Western visitors – independent travelers – to South Asia has been studied in two locations in India and one in Sri Lanka. The first project was started in Bharatpur, Rajasthan, and the Sri Lankan highlands (Kandy, Haputale), and finished as a PhD in human geography in 1999. The grounded theory study had a double-edged focus: 1. A new theoretical model on intercultural adaptation was proposed, with novel treatment of the spatial aspect (metaspatiality) of travel culture in the process of learning (culture confusion) and the management/control of consequent stress. 2. The gender dimension of the abovementioned process was brought out by a detailed analysis of the women traveler experiences, the gender more in conflict with the local norms than the men. Western women stood out in the bodyscapes of Indian (not only Rajasthani) streets by

their race, dress and behavior, the latter two frequently code-breaking.

During a second stage, with fieldwork in Kerala (Munnar) in 2010, a closer look on the relations between the travelers and the local community/culture was taken. According to sixty 24-hour (15 minute accuracy) time-space budgeting survey with activity and human encounters included, the supposedly keen to learn and interact independent travelers (backpackers) adopted spatial and behavioral tactics very similar to package tourists. They kept the local people and their customs a comfortable arms length away, by spending most of their time either with themselves, other foreigners or local service providers. Genuine contacts with locals were rather rare and travelers spent 60% of their time (sleep excluded) in metaspatial bubbles with Western cultural dominance. The regulation and seclusion, imbedded in travel, tourism and sojourner cultures, is only human in the situation of intercultural stress. Dealing with new information and conflicting practices and values is laborious. A successful interplay between familiarity and otherness therefore requires the spatiotemporal management of rest and activity, especially in a situation with significant cultural difference, such as the present case.

### The Amazing, Bizarre and Convuluted, 'Dialogues des Sourdes' in Finland-India Conversations

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The Finland-India Economic Relations project initiated in 2005 aimed to scope the prospect of potential economic relations between Finland and India covering all aspects of mutual trade and investment by governmental and non-governmental actors. The results, published and disseminated from 2007 onwards, identified a vast arena of potential mutual advantage but also noted that there appeared to be considerable barriers-visible and invisible, tangible and intangible, that showed up in a very low conversion ratio of implemented projects and initiatives compared with the frequency and amplitude of contact.

The authors designed listening posts in Finland and India to listen and to thereby try to understand what actors in the arena desirous of collaborations in the other country thought and felt about their actual challenges and encounters with the other country nationals and institutions. The listening posts occasionally also provided an opportunity to witness the nature of conversations and dialogues between Finns and Indians. This paper is inspired by our insight because these dialogues des sourdes (dialogues of the deaf) provided very rich anthropological material to decode and interpret what could be happening.

Methodologically, the challenge was to locate these conversations and dialogues into constructs useful for



researchers, policymakers and the actors seeking business collaborations themselves. Since most of the conversations involved the exercise of delegated representative authority in the interfaces on behalf of groups, the authors used a group relations perspective alongside the prisms of social and cultural anthropology. Initial results were published in 2006-07. In "Intercultural learning from Listening Posts: Embeddedness, Diffusion and Evolution of Subnational and Supra national metacultures in Finland and India" (Mathur and Mattila, 2007), we analysed the cultural anchorage of barriers in how they are induced, produced, embedded, and diffused socially and institutionally. We also explored the unconscious dynamics illuminating issues of how stereotypes, taboos and totems form part of prejudices and passions that ignite unresolvable envy, inclusion-exclusion dynamics. The study concluded that most of the barriers in the Finland-India cross-border flows of ideas, information, goods, services, and people originated in the cross-cultural encounter.

Using action-research methodologies, more listening posts were convened during 2008-11 in Oulu, Turku, Otaniemi, Tampere, Lahti and Helsinki in Finland and in Bangalore, Chennai, Hyderabad, Kolkata, Delhi, Pune, Mumbai and Ahmedabad in India with each event drawing on a cross-section of interested constituents being studied when in contact with each other. The largest of these events was the Finland-India Technology Summit where more than 130 Finnish businesses interacted with hundreds of Indian counterparts,

Our findings reveal that the nature of conversations and dialogues between Finns and Indians seems to have patterns that are amazing, bizarre and convoluted besides manifesting several other properties. In this paper, we focus our attention only to snippets that highlight the ABC, i.e. the amazing, the bizarre and the convoluted that produce dialogues of the deaf.

### Mobile Technology, Gender and Development in India

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Tutkimus on osa laajempaa, Suomen Akatemian rahoittamaa, projektia (2010-2013), jota johtaa Jyväskylän yliopiston prof. Laura Stark ja joka käsittelee mobiiliviestintää kehitysmaissa antropologisesta näkökulmasta. Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on tarkastella mikä on mobiiliviestinnän merkitys Etelä-Intian Tamil Nadun maaseudulla, erityisesti naisten ja kastittomien keskuudessa. Tavoitteena on kerätä tietoa matkapuhelimen kulttuurisesta merkityksestä ja arvioida mobiiliviestinnän vaikutusta ja mahdollisuuksia maaseudun asukkaiden elämänlaadun parantamiseksi. Tutkimustyö alkaa syksyllä 2011 ja siihen kuuluu n. 5 kuukauden kenttätömatka Intiaan talvella 2011-2012. Alustava kenttätömatka (1,5 kk) on tehty talvella 2010-2011.

### SESSION 5: CROSSING BOUNDARIES: NEW EMERGING FIELDS OF RESEARCH IN HUMANITIES FROM THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

#### Museums and Anthropology in a Digital World

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While digital cultural projects are relatively new phenomena, there is a long history of influences and interrelation between museum studies and anthropology. Digital technologies have brought new challenges to both disciplines and have resulted in new research practices, approaches and fields of study being developed. Digital technologies have been strongly present in museums since the 1960s; however, it was the arrival of the World Wide Web in the early 1990s that brought the most radical changes to museums. The internet and new technologies became easily accessible by ordinary people; both museum professionals and museum visitors. A huge demand for new applications and technological solutions has since developed, leading to a number of questions being raised, such as: How have these new technologies been developed? How has anthropology contributed to these technologies and new digital projects? What are the newest trends in museum informatics and how do ethnographic methods and tools influence them? And, how might an anthropological background contribute to these new fields of study in a digital context?

Drawing on a number of practical examples and my own research into virtual museums, I will explore these new fields of research and approaches related to museums from the anthropological point of view. Moreover, I will demonstrate a number of methods, which are widely used in ethnology and anthropology and examine their use in the context of digital museums. Finally, ethnographic action research and its potential use in the implementation of digital projects will be discussed.

#### Anthropologist as a Double Agent

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In this anthropological research, our aim is to study the rhetoric that computer engineers in the UrBan Interactions (UBI) Programme produce as the decision makers in the design of a ubiquitous city. At the same time, we aim to produce new knowledge on citizens' ICT usage, which might guide the engineers in their future designs. Thus, the engineers are the objects of this research, but, simultaneously, we will cooperate with them by, for example, discussing and planning the methodological and theoretical frames for our

“user studies”. This cooperation has, unsurprisingly, proved to be challenging, starting from the usual difficulties in finding a common language, to institutional and temporal differences over how the research should be conducted.

In my presentation, I will discuss this double relationship between the engineers and myself as an anthropologist. Following Marilyn Strathern (2007), I ask “‘How much’ interdisciplinarity is possible?” I will also talk about multidisciplinary in the sense of loose disciplinary cooperation; and whether a transdisciplinary goal of shared theoretical understanding is totally impossible in our case? In addition to this conceptual discussion, I will reflect on the analyses we have made of the computer scientists’ powerful agency position in planning and executing the UBI Programme. The plans for constructing a new ICT infrastructure to the city centre were made by representatives of the university, the city and industry, but the original idea came from computer scientists, and their role in the execution of the plans has been crucial. I also will reflect on my own double agency, and ask whether it has affected my interpretations? Has my subject position as a researcher changed during the process, and what are the ethical considerations of this double agency? I will also discuss the potential pros and cons caused by this position.

### Anthropology, STS and the Built Environment: a Cautious Celebration

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Anthropological, ethnographic research built on a commitment to in-depth yet self-consciously partial understanding, has benefited significantly from intense theoretical engagements with the new science and technology studies (STS).

This is not surprising. STS has been an important intellectual movement in itself, significantly influenced by anthropology. Even for scholars not working on science or technology, ideas such as actor networks and heterogeneous constructions have been very fruitful. Analyses of “hybrid” or culturally diverse forces and complex causal networks that shape life have been able to proceed without presupposing fixed political and epistemological hierarchies. STS has also allowed anthropologists to flaunt familiar conceptual boundaries and to generate highly inventive analyses of, for instance law, kinship and intellectual property. Recently STS has been increasingly invoked by anthropologists to address pressing problems concerning built infrastructures. Examples include studies of third world urban growth, of architectural controversy, of the politics of European planning regimes, and of urban activism.

Anthropologists interested in the built environment have found STS’s facility to include semiotic and material processes with each other, and to analyse these together with economic and power relations, to be easily adapted to an ethnographic mode of enquiry.

Accordingly, the paper will argue that STS could and should make contemporary anthropology more robust in general. However, it should not be treated a magic formula to help overcome conundrums over epistemological privilege (e.g. its confusion with colonial history) or for drawing elements into the same analysis that appear incommensurate (e.g. the solidity of walls with the ephemeral idea(l)s of urban developers). In fact, STS can become an anti-intellectual political tool in a broader social context where it can become associated with nihilistic claims that everything is “constructed” and thus inconsequential.

### Kaliningrad’s Fragmented Landscape

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My paper will be an exploration of the fragmented landscape of Kaliningrad, Russian Federation. The city has had three distinct epochs German, when the city was called Königsberg, Soviet after World War Two and Russian from the end of the Soviet Union to the present. Each of these epochs has left a distinctive layer in the cityscape. The change from the German to the Soviet era of the city entailed a trauma, an ethno-architectural rupture, whereby the medieval city was destroyed, the German population expelled and a planned Soviet city was built. In the Russian era, the exigencies of capitalism have seen the restoration of German cultural artifacts and the construction of ‘German’ style buildings for tourism. All of this has left a profoundly unusual cityscape. Inspired by Benjamin, the phenomenological, impressionistic perspective of the *flâneur* is employed in a panoramic and historical analysis. The construction of medieval ‘kitsch’ is examined through the prism of the neo-Marxist critique of post-modern urban geography as practiced by Harvey. My methodology involves walking the city, photography and interviews.

### Crossing Swords or Shaking Hands? The Dilemmas of the International Collaborator

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The growing need for interdisciplinarity, multidisciplinary and crossdisciplinarity, are present in their most profound manifestation when researching barriers to business collaboration. This paper presents vignettes from the Finland-India Economic Relations project to show how differences in approaching a shared phenomena from which experiential learning is derivable gets coloured by institutionally embedded frames of discovery and invention in new knowledge creation. The paper argues that the differences in research practices are not merely about methods but about core values, norms, beliefs and attitudes to life

and the world. In such circumstances, knowable concepts derived from practice can remain unknown to research communities if the horizons of experience are limited by the scope of methodologies. The paper proposes an open systems framework for locating dilemmas of the international collaborator before constructing a research design and favours action research as a promising way.

## SESSION 6: SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF FOOD

### The Ethnographic Flexibility: Acquiring Local Knowledge and Conventions during Fieldwork in a Food Market

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The aim of this paper is to explore the way local knowledge and conventions are acquired through fieldwork. Carrying out my research in Catania's open-air food market, La Pescheria, I have been embarking in a journey, which led me to play different roles within the market context. Since the very first stay in Catania until my last visit in 2010, I have been exposed to the local knowledge and performance, particularly in relation to food and Sicilian cuisine. This body of knowledge is highly evaluated at the market and it is acquired through the daily interactions between vendors and buyers, the market's significant Others. It was a direct result of my participant observation and it played a fundamental role in changing the way I perceived the market and the way I was perceived at the market. I had to learn the appropriate way of speaking, moving, smiling, communicating, a whole new behavioural code, which transformed me from a foreigner into an (almost) insider. This process was not based on speculation, rather on the bodily daily experience at the market. In this perspective the knowledge about local food is seen as a grammar I felt the urge to learn to communicate with vendors and buyers within the market. This paper will engage with the acquisition of the idiom of a Sicilian market, highlighting the empirical nature of this process and the importance of the ethnographer's flexibility, in placing himself/herself in relation to the context and the importance of the discourse about food in constructing interactions among people.

### Communicating Difference, Managing Selves: Performance of Food in Turkish/Kurdish Restaurant Spaces in London

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The connection between food and identity has been studied by a number of scholars. Two opposing approaches seem to be visible in the literature: First, food is seen as a stable marker of cultural identity

when it is taken as a symbolic product. Second, almost no relationship between food and identity is claimed when food is taken as a practical product. This study tries to challenge this dual thinking imposed on food (symbolic versus practical) and aims to find a way to talk about both at the same time. This study examines Turkish/Kurdish restaurants in London and the ways in which restaurateurs define their food and space while trying to manage their businesses and identities. Therefore, in this study, I look at the ways in which economy and culture, business and identity, local and global, and nationalism and cosmopolitanism act to recreate a particular cuisine in the Turkish/Kurdish restaurant spaces in London. I explore the following questions: While commercial success is a priority in highly competitive restaurant business in London, how do Turkish/Kurdish restaurateurs manage their identities and differences in their restaurant spaces? How is the tension between traditional and modern, local and global, and nationalism and cosmopolitanism reflected onto Turkish/Kurdish food business in London? Are there new identity formations that are different from conventional nationalistic ones? Are there moments when food or space enables the creation of new belongings and political formations, which would challenge fixed categories of traditionalism and nationalism? This research is grounded in in-depth interviews conducted with sixteen Turkish/Kurdish restaurateurs, managers and chefs in London. I have also analyzed twenty-five restaurant spaces, their menus, food, interior and exterior décors and websites.

### Finland is a Strawberry: Strawberries, Nationalism and Finnish Identity

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University of Oulu

What is the place of the strawberry in Finnish national identity? To what extent does it symbolize Finnishness? To many foreigners, Finland and the strawberry do not naturally go together. However, I will draw upon fieldwork in northern Finland to examine the place of the strawberry in Finnish national identity. Looking at the extent to which the strawberry is part of European nationalist discourses more broadly, I will examine the research looking at the popularity of the strawberry as a symbol in English nationalist discourse both currently and historically. I will then summarise previous work on the anthropology of Finnish food and suggest why there is relatively little research in this area. I will argue that Finnish attitudes to strawberries are congruous with the body of research on food and national identity. I will then look – based on specific ethnographic encounters and interviews – at how strawberries are used to express and cement Finnish nationalism and specific dimensions of Finnish nationalist discourse, such as uniqueness, cultural cringe and 'sisu.' In particular, I will look at conversations surrounding selling strawberries from street stalls in the summer, attitudes to Spanish strawberries,

the representation of strawberries in the Finnish newspapers and in television programmes, Finnish sayings, as well as at specific and rather idiosyncratic ethnographic encounters.

### 'A Fine Leg of English Mutton': Marking Ethnic Boundaries with Food

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Ethnicity may be regarded an aspect of social relations between members of one internally defined group and members of other groups with whom they have regular interaction in which perceived or actual cultural differences play an agentive role (see, e.g., Barth, Eriksen). In this paper I propose to discuss food-related markers of self-identification in a long-term English merchant community in pre-Soviet St. Petersburg. Food consumption is a human universal which is performed daily and 'foodways' – choices, preparation, sharing and eating practices, associated ritual and disgust – naturally have strongly cohesive effects on in-group members: contributing to definitions of group identity, helping to define a group's boundaries and internal hierarchies, providing perceptions of other groups whose foodways differ and offering a context for the performance of group rituals. Foodways are the product of tradition but also expressions of dynamic aspects of group culture and meaning attribution, the tensions between which are very relevant to examination of migrant or sub-cultural groups within a majority culture.

Data for the discussion are drawn from the diaries and letters of English women in St. Petersburg in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, a corpus of work which makes it evident that foodways within the expatriate community rested on regular affirmation of tradition: the Christmas cakes and puddings which were made by 'a real Englishwoman' in the capital; the 'fine legs' of mutton which were discreetly brought in from England along with the coal used to cook them; the modes of commensality; the revulsion felt for the scents of cabbage soup, garlic and 'fast oil' which became Russian staples during Lent. Disgust formation tends to carve a boundary around the foodways of a group, contributing to the development of 'we' versus 'they' eating rules which reinforce group identity, particularly in the presence of other forms of perceived differentiation – cultural, political, economic. Despite this, the dynamism of group culture over time ensured that many Russian practices were gradually incorporated into Anglo-Russian foodways and even moved back to affect habits in England: the order of service at the dining table was a prominent example of this. Russian terms crept into the culinary lexicon and thence into everyday usage; local modes of preparing local produce and the foraging that was part of gathering the crayfish, berries and mushrooms also impacted on ways of life more generally.

The paper examines which areas of group food practices were most volatile in this Anglo-Russian community, which most closely guarded, and suggests reasons for this.

### Dining Culture in Late Soviet Estonia 1975-1989

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Exploration into dining culture continues to be an incredibly revealing method of research. What kinds of restaurants exist in a certain place, where the local population dines, where tourists dine and so forth, are informative approaches to understanding culture and customs. However, what can be perceived of a place where dining culture is restricted, monitored or even non-existent? The case of Soviet occupied Estonia presents an instance where food availability was sporadic, thus creating a necessity for constant consumption monitoring. This was performed through distribution of food stamps to the Estonian population, as well a strict monitoring system placed upon public eating establishments, such as restaurants and cafeterias. Availability of ingredients to restaurants was more consistent than to the general public. As a result of a steadier food supply, usage of said food was to be recorded, and standard recipes put in place. This paper examines dining culture in Estonia from 1975-1989. Using verbal accounts as well as surveys of individual perceptions of Soviet dining culture (both in and out of the kitchen) this paper will show how food is used to assert autonomy. Despite this control, however, Estonia's culinary identity emerged.

### Bring and Braai: Reconsidering Hospitality in a Social Food Event in an ex-Rhodesian Diaspora Community

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This paper examines a social food event, the bring and braai, a barbeque to which people bring along their own food – meat, side dishes and drinks – for their own consumption. In diaspora communities food is often considered a significant identity marker, capable of uniting the consumers to a shared past. Sharing food from home substantiates ties to colonial Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) as homeland, as well as to the contemporary dispersed community of ex-Rhodesians. Sharing of food is also about moral gestures. The white ex-Rhodesian community in South Africa cultivates and reproduces its idea of Rhodesianness through a nostalgic narrative of past, which has at its nucleus a caring hospitality, best expressed by food generosity. In colonial Rhodesia, hospitality rested on the fact that in due course of time, the generosity one has shown would be reciprocated. The ways of being hospitable and showing generosity have, however, been restructured in

diaspora, and it needs to be considered how the actively upheld moral act of food sharing accords with the actual practice of bringing in the braai? If food generosity is a key feature of hospitality and if the sharing of food is quintessential in feasts of communal solidarity, what can we make of the braai, which brings people together to consume their own food? In this paper, I will show that despite the compromised generosity, the bring and braai as a festive meal does make and mark social relationships, create bonds between participants and build a deep sense of togetherness. It does this by acting as an equalizer, an expression of solidarity and a tactful leveler of differences in social and economic standing, celebrating values significant for the creation of a moral community: friendship, comradeship and the lack of hierarchy.

### Food in Nordic Everyday Life: Change and Stability in Eating Patterns

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Food and eating have become, in a new way, societal problems and are now central issues in discourses about the health of populations, environmental issues, modern family life, gender equality, and the social integration of the society in general. Discussions about food and meals increasingly serve as entry to more fundamental discussions about the basics of modern living and societal problems of immediate importance.

The presentation introduces a collaborative study that investigates the everyday eating practices and meal patterns in modern everyday life in the Nordic countries and their linkages to other social practices in time and space in a comparative, quantitative design. The study is unique in offering a possibility to compare both the Nordic countries with each other and the changes that have taken place in eating patterns during the past fifteen years by involving a comparison between results from an earlier Nordic study from 1997. The study addresses how daily routines regarding eating relate to the timing and social contexts of everyday activities of Nordic populations. It seeks to identify underlying cultural conventions about good eating and the compromises that people make in an everyday setting.

In our presentation we will introduce the theoretical background and methodological considerations of the study. We bring in our working hypothesis for the new study and present the methodological problems and their solutions of our quantitative data collection due to in 2012. The manifoldness of rules and practices around eating in peoples' everyday life is identified with a model called 'the eating system'. It draws upon several theoretical discussions around food, particularly ideas of meals and their structure developed by Mary Douglas and Anne Murcott, in order to take into account The model distinguishes between three dimensions: the meal format, the social context of eating, and the eating pattern.

### The Problematic Meat: Encounters of Animal and Environmental Concerns and the Cultural Significance of Meat in Everyday Eating

MARI NIVA, JOHANNA MÄKELÄ AND TERHI LATVALA  
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In contemporary societies, meat is an apotheosis of the conflicts faced in everyday consumption. Meat as the most valued food of both traditional and modern societies is increasingly burdened with ethical problems relating to health, environment and animal welfare. This paper draws on contemporary discourses on risk society on one hand and the societal consequences of modern food consumption on the other. Meat and its consumption in Finland is used as an example of the ambiguities present in current eating patterns.

The paper is based on an Internet survey (N=1623, representative of the Finnish population) on meat consumption conducted in March 2010 in collaboration between two Finnish research institutes MTT Agrifood Research Finland and National Consumer Research Centre. The survey focuses on meat consumption patterns and views on animal welfare and the economy, safety, healthiness and environmental impacts of meat and meat production. In addition, it includes questions on meals, eating patterns and the social and cultural importance of meat.

In the paper, we analyse the current place and cultural significance of meat in Finnish eating patterns, examine the roles of environmental and animal welfare concerns in meat consumption, and explore the conditions for more sustainable meat consumption in the future. Our findings show that some consumer groups are already changing their consumption patterns for ethical reasons. In addition, we suggest that ongoing ethical discourses are already part of public understanding of meat as a societally controversial issue. However, at a larger scale, societal concerns may be difficult to reconcile with the socially and culturally high valuation of meat manifested in the commensality of both everyday and festive eating.

### Hunting Shadows to Subsist: the Existential Value of Bears and Bear Meat in Northern Quebec and Elsewhere

MARK K. WATSON  
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From time to time, I have been reminded that beyond the scope of "interesting" ethnographic studies of individual lives, the phenomenological interiority and existentialist bias of thinkers like Heidegger and Nietzsche has little to contribute to grand social (anthropological) theory. Moreover, some consider such approaches as contrary to the project to prove anthropology's public and applied political worth in today's world. In this paper, I refute such pessimism. I draw on existential-phenomenology and the case study of a traditional (non-Aboriginal) bowhunter of black bears

in northern Quebec to elaborate on the broad, existential root meaning of subsistence (*subsistentia*) as "real being". To hunt bears in order to subsist, I argue, is obviously about the meat and the local relationships with kin and community members that it helps the hunter reproduce; but it is also, and perhaps most importantly, about the deep attachment to place and the hunter's experiences of autochthonous belonging. Thus, I show how engagement with 'subsistence' and a local life lived in concert with the bush provides the grounding for discussion of one of anthropology's most pressing issues - the "global conjuncture of belonging" (Murray-Li 2000).

### Obligation to Give, Obligation to Receive and Obligation to Refuse: Social Dynamics of Food in Southern Kiribati, Central Pacific

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In the classic formulation by Marcel Mauss, acting in a socially appropriate way in the context of exchange entails an obligation give, an obligation to receive and an obligation to give again. However, as I propose to discuss in this paper, there are situations where it is socially more appropriate to refuse a gift. Drawing on my research on the island of Tabiteuea, I want to discuss how in this southern Kiribati, Pacific society, there are situations where it is appropriate to refuse food that is offered. Given that food is generally speaking a prime medium through which social relations are created and consolidated, and that Kiribati is a society placing great value on social relationships and the whole they form, refusing food is a conspicuous phenomenon.

Namely, in Tabiteuea it is considered improper to accept food from non-relatives, unless one is a formally invited guest. Indifferently accepting food from a non-relative would send out the message that one (as part of his/her kin group) cannot fend for oneself. Therefore, there is a wealth of expressions to politely say that one is not hungry, regardless of when one has eaten last. Sometimes, however, it seemed that the situation had to be negotiated, and that such verbal exchanges could become almost like power struggles, one person repeatedly offering food and the other declining - or maybe giving in.

In this paper I want to examine the social dynamics of these refusals. They touch upon the distinctions between a relative, a non-relative and a guest/stranger (*iruwa*) and the marked status of the latter, as well as gradations of social distance. Particularly, refusing a gift a food is linked to the local value of (corporative) independence or (group) autonomy, *inaomata*, which the refusals seem to assert.

### Daily Production of Ritual Food: Korean Rice Cake Makers as Manufacturers and Carriers of Tradition

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Rice cakes, or *ttök*, are an indispensable part of Korean ritual consumption of food. Different varieties of *ttök* are presented and consumed in kinship and family rituals as well as in occasions such as business openings or initiations of diverse projects. In addition to ritual or celebratory use, rice cakes are also sold as daily snacks in ready-made small packages.

For the rice cake manufacturers, who are most often married couples running small establishments, the ritual consumption of their product is financially the most important part of their enterprise, and traditional festivities are the busy seasons which carry the business over slacker periods. However, simplification and decrease of rituals as well as pressures of competition from other spheres of food manufacturing and retail have increased the importance ready-made sales of rice cakes.

This presentation examines the makers and making of rice cakes in the intersection of asserted Korean tradition and traditional food and perceived need for modernization, development, and even globalization. The ethnographic material is from my current post-doctoral research on trade associations of the self-employed in Korea, in which the main object of investigation has been the Rice Cake Producers' Association and the individual members and functionaries of the organization.

The notion of rice cakes as traditional and representative Korean food is fundamental in the identity of the persons in the trade either as manufacturers or as employees of the trade association. This traditionality is intimately related to the use of domestic rice as the main ingredient of *ttök*, which for small manufacturers is also a way of self-identification and distinction from industrial manufacturers, which use more imported rice. The association of rice cakes (and identification of the makers) with the tradition was best expressed by a rice cake maker who was also active in the functions of the association: "Ttök is a medium of love, sharing sadness and happiness, jointly. [...] I consider myself a manufacturer of love. Ttök is the symbol of love, and I deliver love. I am a conveyor of love."

## SESSION 7: GLOBAL INSECURITIES, LOCAL CONCERNS: THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE PUBLIC

### Gender, Kinship, and the Ecology of HIV/AIDS in Africa: Local Dynamics of a Global Disease

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In the 30 years since HIV/AIDS surfaced in the world, it has been dealt with broadly as a health problem and a crucial economic, social and security issue. The disease is also seen as a challenge to social behaviour and institutional or systemic inequalities. In Africa, issues of prevention and care are looked at in the context of economic and social impacts of AIDS on individuals and governments. Consequently, prevention strategies are usually directed at individual behaviour change, with calls on governments and international health institutions for more support financially. Various structural factors, from the level of the global economy to education, marriage choices, authority, and birth order in the family converge to influence women's choices, for example, which, in turn, make them more vulnerable to HIV infection. But the moral practices surrounding HIV/AIDS affliction and death give expression to families and households, and individuals' continuity within kinship and other social units where gender, hierarchical and authority roles are prominent in the communities (Dilger 2008). I call for more attention on local level dynamics in the context of political ecology, which encompasses the relationship between political, economic, and social factors with environmental issues and changes. This paper is based on my long ethnographic research on HIV/AIDS among the Akan ethnic group in Ghana.

Keywords: HIV/AIDS, kinship, Akan matrilineage, gender, political ecology, Ghana, Africa

### Sources of Security and Order in the Aftermath of Ethnic Violence: the Case of Maluku (Eastern Indonesia)

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At the turn of the 21st century, nation-states ceased to be the only agents in charge of maintaining civil order, peace and security. Even as the failure to maintain them has become an increasing global concern, there has also been a widespread interest to promote peaceful social life by intervening in community life and identifying mechanisms of conflict resolution in local institutions. The question addressed in this paper arises from the diversifying scale of society and agency invoked in conflict situations and narratives. I discuss a history of ethnic conflict in the Eastern Indonesian

islands of Maluku where the collapse of the national government was followed by a collapse of law and order at more local levels. In the first phase of this process, a network of local relations and social affinities was turned into a generalized opposition between Christians and Muslims. Efforts to resolve the conflict and violence which took place between 1999-2001 focused on defusing this global interpretation by affirming the narratives of responsibility and authority among local actors. A few years later the state government reaffirmed itself as the source of civil order and security, reaffirming a political economy centered around natural resource extraction by foreign companies and fishing fleets.

The Ambon conflict suggests that social and political relations are routinized at several scales. State, society and the global human rights discourse alternate as the sites of routinizing representation and agency. The issue for anthropology is how to handle the ideological sense of order which results from their entanglements in a particular historical situation. How is it possible to remain sensitive to local accounts of responsibility and authority and yet contribute to an understanding of political processes of global importance? We cannot ignore the local effects of state power, foreign corporations and global institutions. At the same time, these effects are far from predictable and uniform. We can understand them better by paying attention to the symbolic categories and practices which produce new, routinized order after national and global crises.

### Tradition as a Modern Strategy: Indigenous Knowledge as Local Response to Globalization in Nigeria/Africa

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Globalization is now widely perceived in Africa as a new version of earlier forms of external domination and exploitation. Its economic and welfare benefits are unevenly shared, and appear to bypass or to retard progress in many countries of the developing world. But Marshall Sahlins has rightly emphasized the need for all peoples "to indigenize the forces of global modernity, and turn them to their own ends", as the real impact of globalization depends largely on the responses developed at the local level. The challenge for Africa is, therefore, how to engage and cope with globalization and other external influences in a way that is compatible with local values and priorities; how to strike the right balance between global and local cultures in national governance and development.

For a long time African customs and traditions were misperceived as irrational and incompatible with the conventional strategies of development. But the economic crisis and policy failures of the 1980s and '90s, and the current threat of global recession have exposed flaws in the Western, neo-liberal, 'external agency' model of development and human rights im-

posed from the top by national governments and international development agencies. Because of growing concern about widespread poverty, widening inequalities and environmental deterioration, there is renewed interest in an alternative approach to development which emphasizes the cultural dimension of development, and the overlooked potential of indigenous knowledge as "the single largest knowledge resource not yet mobilized in the development enterprise". This paper considers how indigenous knowledge and practice can be put to good use in support of local governance and human welfare and sustainable development in Nigeria; how development policies and programmes can be made to reflect local priorities, and build upon and strengthen local knowledge, capacity and organization, especially in such vital areas as agriculture and natural resource management, law review and conflict resolution, education, health care and poverty alleviation. Indigenous knowledge is here used as a model for rethinking and redirecting the development process, and as a way to involve, enable and empower local actors to take part in their own development.

The paper concludes with some general reflections on the indigenous knowledge movement as an appropriate local response to globalization and Western knowledge dominance, and as a way to promote cultural identity and inter-cultural dialogue on African development. A fair and more inclusive globalization should be based on respect for cultural diversity, and should provide a new context and opportunity to overcome inequality between and within nations, and to strengthen global solidarity.

### International/Global Social Work Discussion versus Ethnographically Grounded Local Perspectives to Social Work Locally and Globally

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In academic and professional social work discussions, international, increasingly termed global social work makes a distinct layer of its own. As a prefix to social work, the terms international/global emphasize broader than national interest in social problems, their causes, and possibilities to alleviate them through social work knowhow and interventions. Earlier, international social work was mostly identified as practice adhered to the international organizations, such as the Red Cross or the United Nations, cooperation and exchange between social workers practicing in different countries, an umbrella term for anything that concerns social work in more than one country, or as comparative research on social work in different countries. Lately, 'global' has been increasingly seen as the overall context of different local practices. Several authors are concerned of interdependence of people, and people and the nature, and claim that social workers should have capacity to be aware of global issues and to conceive their own role globally. At the

same time, however, social work, as well as who is identified as a social worker, have remained highly context-dependent and often contested matters.

Therefore, different local perspectives and practice positions shed differing light also on the idea and phenomenon of international social work. In this paper, I utilize my own location as a Finnish social work researcher and teacher (with the educational qualification of a social worker) as well as my learning gained in ethnographic work with the Indian (Orissan) theatre group Natya Chetana (whose theatre work is locally seen as a form of voluntary, political social work), as vantage points to reflect upon the discussion on international/ global social work as it appears in academic journals and textbooks.

### State, Politics and "Global Interventions" in Madagascar

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According to the World Bank (2010) policy distortions are limiting Africa's agricultural potential and have reduced investment initiatives and this applies also to Madagascar. In Madagascar the rearrangement of use and ownership of the land lead to violent coup d'etat in 2009. As former president of Madagascar leased "waste land" to South Korean company for 99 years, people in the capital rose against him and NGOs were concerned of securing small scale farmers right to land and livelihood as well as Madagascar's "precious flora & fauna" in multiple national parks and reserves in the island. After the coup d'etat illegal loggings in the national parks as well as tavy, slash-and-burn farming increased making conservationists worried about the situation and calling for action from Malagasy government.

The main idea of this paper is to explore the state and politics in Madagascar that is characterized by the presence of multiple NGOs and multilateral organisations that are "developing" people and political institutions in order they could better participate in global economy. One may ask whether these outside actors recognize Madagascar's centuries-long trade across the Indian Ocean. But as James Ferguson (2007: 76) has pointed out, the problem of African nation-building is not simply underdevelopment caused by outside exploitation. The issue for him is whether political and economic regimes are justified in a language which makes moral sense to Africans, who still assert themselves as citizens of independent countries. In the same way, we can ask what people of Madagascar make of the contractual, legal authority under which foreign corporations are presently expanding their agricultural and mining operations in their island. Extractive industries and internationally funded environmental protection programs exemplify "global intervention" which is turning national territory into a selectively disordered and divided landscape. To understand this



landscape, I argue that anthropologists should understand social relations with their specific history.

## SESSION 8: MUDDLED MODELS AND UNRULY REALITIES: THE EPISTEMOLOGY OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH

### Dealing with the (Un)known, Forcing Ourselves beyond Reflection

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In the late 70's and early 80's anthropology witnessed a strong postmodernism turn which came with a reflexive twist characterized by anthropological landmarks like '*Anthropology as Cultural Critique*' and '*Writing Culture*'. Reflection turned into a new anthropological mantra with ideological characteristics that filled up methodological lacunas that had opened up as critique towards modernism and the models that came with it; 'things' now come to us through reflection and experience.

At the same time Enlightenment thinking has not disappeared totally from the anthropological curriculum; there remains a reluctance to incorporate the anthropologist into the narrative as we should continue to focus on the people we study. However, if we state that these people negotiate their own cultural models in daily life, than we at least should admit that we are embedded in similar models. What we see, sense and experience is partly shaped through our own life histories and it is here that the anthropologist becomes intertwined with the narrative. In other words, our gaze not only reveals, but also hides and it is here that reflection slowly runs aground during fieldwork, in situations where cultural concepts became naturalised and we are no longer able to fully apprehend them as the cultural constructs they are.

In an attempt to partially overcome this issue and stretch the limits of 'reflection' I want to explore the possibilities of Leibing's concept of 'lifting out', by which she refers to the process or movement in which the taken-for-granted is brought into question by bringing the observer into the analysis as a source of light, but not as the light itself. In this paper I will return to my fieldwork in Zambia to discuss some of the strongholds of this approach, the incorporated role of serendipity and how subsequent dynamics hampered me in oversimplifying the local dynamic life-worlds in all their complexity and subtleties.

### A Change of Perspective: Using Roy Wagner's Models of Meaning to Analyse Ritual Clowning

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The model of meaning developed in the work of Roy Wagner is very different from most anthropological approaches. It is a holistic model of meaning, which does not focus on the interpretation of solitary symbols or symbolic expressions, but deals with meaning as a general and unified human phenomenon that informs all acts of perception, thought and expression. In my recently completed doctoral dissertation I have applied his theories to material I collected during field work in Sonora, Mexico on clowning in the Yaqui Easter ritual. Wagner's theories seem to work very well for my study and have provided new insight to ritual clowning performance. At the same time, the perspective this model provides is so distinct that situating my work in the context of anthropology and the study of ritual becomes somewhat problematic, both in terms of relating Wagner to other theoretical models and how I use that model in my own work. In this paper I will explore some of the differences and similarities between Wagner and other approaches to ritual and ask, what exactly does the change of perspective involved in the change of theoretical model entail in the case of ritual clowning?

### Heuristic Necessities or What: Identification of Multiple Theoretical and Empirical Grounds for the Use of the North-South – Dichotomy in Ethnographic Literature Concerning Kinship and Hierarchy in India

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My doctoral thesis concerns the function of two competing theories of Indian caste system in the establishment of empirical arguments concerning particular ethnographic cases. As a part of this project, I examine in this presentation the autonomy of kinship terminology as an analytical domain in the early ethnographic literature by Louis Dumont and in two subsequent research projects by other anthropologists. While both of these projects criticize Dumont's work, they do this in different ways.

One body of work deals with structural variation of certain kinship terminologies of India in terms of structural evolution. Here, kinship terminology holds certain autonomy with regard to other dimensions of language and social life. Dumont's efforts to bridge the gap between North and South India are criticized in part by reference to this autonomy and the critique simultaneously makes positive use of the division between North and South India. Another body of work under my focus is a comparative effort dealing with

material from Tamil Nadu and Bengal. In this ethnographic project the aim is to allow indigenous categories influence the construction of kinship as an analytical domain. Dumont's dichotomy between North and South India is here deemed unhelpful. In addition, the kind of autonomy Dumont's analysis grants to kinship is questioned as other conceptual structures are deemed more capable for comparing Tamil Nadu and Bengal.

Applying literature on stability and theoretical robustness from philosophy of science to ethnographical corpus, I identify differing functions of kinship terminology *vis-à-vis* other domains of language and kinship as a phenomena of sociocultural structure.

### Deconstructing Kinship and Hierarchy in Samoa: Confusion over Genealogical Models

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The islands cultures of Polynesia with their shared migratory origins coupled with subsequent geographical isolation have long interested anthropologists seeking to create models for controlled comparison of cultural variance. In the context of these comparative schema Samoa has usually stood out as an anomaly. Fierce debates have raged over the degree of political centralization and the nature of traditional descent groups. Some scholars claimed that political power in Samoa was unusually dispersed with no overarching hierarchical organization, and that unlike in the usual Polynesian ramage systems descent groups were relatively small and not ranked according to primogeniture. Other researchers insisted that the concept of a single national authority existed in Samoa, and stressed the ramified nature of dispersed chiefly genealogies which established supra-village political authority according to descent group lines. Since the heyday of descent theory interest in the debate has somewhat subsided, while a more nuanced historical understanding of post-contact changes in Samoan society has shifted the focus away from the "arcane" issues of kinship. Still, key assumptions about Samoa left over from the debate linger in anthropological analysis.

In my paper I attempt to shed light on why anthropologists came to such differing conclusions about hierarchy and social structure in Samoa. The gap between the abstract theoretical models and the pragmatic contingencies of specific circumstances and the political maneuvering on the ground allow for great leeway for interpretations. Furthermore, a similar gap exists between the Samoan indigenous representations of tradition, the idealized *Samoan way*, and the actual practices which greatly differ from village to village.

## SESSION 9: SPATIAL PRACTICES AND BELONGING IN THE CONTEMPORARY ISLAMIC WORLD

### Moral Belonging and Shifting Values: Reproduction of Space in Contemporary Istanbul

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In my paper, I wish to explore various practices of mapping the urban space in Istanbul and the role that morality and values play in negotiating boundaries and continuities between spaces and places. I will especially concentrate on the dividing practices in the district of Beyoğlu which has for centuries provided an example of the height of Istanbul's modernity associated with freedom of expression and individual liberties. However, definitions and expressions of its attributes have never had uniform character but have been subject to intensive struggles over signification and evolved through considerable transformations.

I will discuss the contemporary conflicts over the spatial organisation of the city in the light of ethnographic examples. I will especially concentrate on how different values of egalitarian urbanity of the famous entertainment district around Istiklal Boulevard are compared to those of the poverty-stricken traditional neighbourhoods (*mahalle*) in the proximity. I will consider how people who frequently cross the symbolic boundaries between spaces associated with different moral frameworks manage to deal with complex dynamics of religious, modern and traditional sets of values. These questions will also be related to different ways of understanding spatiotemporal constructions; especially, how the dominant representations of history, heritage and spatial divisions are insufficiently narrow when compared to the complex realities of everyday movement within different urban spheres.

My theoretical aim is to offer an anthropologically grounded view to dynamics of belonging and group-formation when negotiating the ambiguous frameworks of morally appropriate values in the reproduction of urban complexity that can nevertheless remain coherent to individual subjects.

### What it Means to Act Contextually? Public Sphere and Morality in a Yemeni Town

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In my paper, I will discuss notions of morality and propriety as they have appeared in everyday life in the Southern Yemeni town of Aden during the past decades. In Middle Eastern studies, it has been suggested that most Muslims share inherited conceptions of ideas of the common good. I argue that Adeni social reality and the notion of common good are constituted in a tension between contesting representations of propriety and morality. The parallel prevalence of

competing normative representations has not, as I will show, manifested as chaos or as an anomaly, but instead in social dynamics where people have to consider the contextual nature of public propriety. In short, what is proper in one context might be improper in another. It is not a matter of 'manipulating' situations and stakes within them, but of learning to manage in diverse situations. This

learning process is a matter of making proper comportment (/adab, /arab.) an art in everyday life. I will discuss ethnographic case studies where people smoothly move from one morality framework to another thus presenting the contested nature of social reality that, as I argue, has patterned the society in Aden during the course of the dramatic state changes of the past decades. Material for the paper has been collected in anthropological field trips to Aden (from the late 1980s) and in archival studies in London.

### Empirical Background of Four Illustrative Cases on Islamic Headscarf in Turkey

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Since the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, the power struggle between the two hegemonic discourses, namely the Islamist and the Kemalist one, has dominated the historical events in the country. This polarization is represented perhaps most visibly in the form of women's dress codes (e.g. Göle 1996). The two hegemonic projects have always been defined according to roles and status of women. Therefore also the disputes between these two projects concern often the rights and responsibilities of dress codes of women (Arat 2005). Hence, while examining the polarization of Turkish society, one possibility is to limit the topic to dress codes and more precisely the veiling of women. This paper presents the background information on four illustrative cases, which show the way in which Islamic headscarf has been used as a symbol or a tool in the battle between the secularist-republican and Islamist discourses.

The first case is about Fadime Şahin, a woman who according to one newspaper article, became to be known as the symbol of the 1997 post-modern coup. Originally, she became famous because of a scandal, as a sheikh's secret mistress. Soon after the event, she removed her headscarf and dyed her hair blond. The republicans used the story to show how the Islamist headscarf was forced to be worn. They raised Fadime as a hero, fighting for her individual rights, against Islamism. The second case is the politician Merve Kavakçı. She was elected as a Virtue Party (the predecessor of the AKP) deputy for Istanbul in 1999. A month after the election, she was prevented from taking her parliamentary seat because of her headscarf, which is banned for civil servants. The third example is the case of Leyla Şahin, who brought a case against Turkey to the European Court of Human Rights in 2005. She insisted on wearing a headscarf at university, but lost her case in the court. The fourth case is the current

President's wife, Hayrünnisa Gül. She is the first headscarf wearing First Lady in Turkey, and thus she has attracted a lot of controversy. When her husband was elected president in 2007, her headscarf made more news than the president's own views on religion (Eğrikavuk 2009).

### Revolutionary Couchsurfing Front? Online Hospitality Networks, Tradition, and Everyday Resistance in Iran

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Online hospitality networks, such as Couchsurfing.org, have attracted growing numbers of members around the world. The factors both motivating and shaping (and constraining) the use of such networks are, arguably, far more complex and context-bound than suggested by an early study (Bialski 2008). My own, based on a brief fieldwork in 2009, focuses on Iran as the national context. On one hand, the state is considered to be a highly repressive in terms of individual freedoms, characterized by rigid 'Islamic/traditional values', 'moral policing' and anti-imperialist/-westernist legacy of the Revolution, manifest in peculiar kinds of xenophobia. On the other, the country boasts of world-famous tradition of hospitality, and aims to open up, too, both in international tourism and communication, however 'negotiated' by and within current social and political struggles these trends may be.

Those tensions in mind, I ponder a) in what sense, and to what extent, couchsurfing in Iran could be considered as 'everyday forms of resistance', alongside the analytical facilitator of 'hidden transcripts' (Scott 1985, 1990); and b) what kind of contrasts and continuums it may highlight between concepts like tradition and globalization, public and private, etc. While trying to avoid the most obvious pitfalls of 'ethnographic thinness' (Ortner 1994) and idealistic exaggerations in both resistance and internet studies, I explore what sort of transformative potentials or implications practices like couchsurfing may bring about on the local and (perhaps) global level.

### Negotiating Mobility – Ethnographic Examples from Upper Egypt

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Based on an ethnographic fieldwork in Upper Egypt, this paper tackles the issue of female mobility in public space. A central question in this paper is how mobile women understand spatial categorisations and discuss spatial practices. Mobility is an embodied activity that is founded on the inseparable relationship between body and space. This paper suggests that, not only the concepts of public and private, but the spatial division between familiar and unfamiliar helps to understand on what basis the mobility of women is regulated and

negotiated. In urban Egyptian surroundings, mobility of women often brings about challenges to the notions of family and gender roles. In the patriarchal framework, women have to negotiate their public presence within the community with regard to taken-for-granted principles as the avoidance of shame and respect towards familial authorities. The paper presents ethnographic examples of negotiating mobility in Upper Egypt.