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Brazil, a new Eldorado for Immigrants?: The Case of Haitians and the Brazilian Immigration Policy[1]

Sidney Antonio da Silva
sidsilva@ufam.edu.br

The presence of Haitian immigrants in the Brazilian Amazon after 2010 is a new development that challenges both researchers and governments in terms both of understanding the phenomenon and responding to their needs. Based on ethnographic material collected at the Tri-border region and in Manaus, the author raises key questions about the Haitian presence in the region and asks why Brazil came to be an emigration option for them. From this perspective, the paper asks; Is Brazil becoming a new Eldorado for skilled and unskilled immigrants? Some implications of this new phenomenon for Brazilian society are considered, with particular attention to the country's immigration policy.

Key words: Immigration policy, Haitians, Brazilian Amazon, labour market

Early in 2010 there was, in a short period of time, a significant flow of Haitian mmigrants requesting refugee status over Amazon borders. This new development in the region has challenged both civil society and the Brazilian government. The refugees have urgent needs, such as food, housing and employment, that must be cared for. A legal status is also required in order to guarantee these immigrants the possibility of staying in Brazil and exercising some citizenship rights.

Considering that Brazil had not previously been among Haitians' migration options, we should ask why they have selected Brazil as a new emigration target. Is the country truly becoming a new 'Eldorado' for immigrants, offering them better opportunities of labour, whether they are skilled or not? This study considers some implications of the presence of this new group for Brazilian society, and particularly for the country's current immigration policy.

The data analyzed here were collected through field work conducted at different times and in different contexts. In late 2011, at the Tri-Border region (of Brazil, Colombia, Peru), where the city of Tabatinga (AM) is located I observed the Haitians' long wait, from one to three months, to be received at the Federal Police offices. In Brasiléia (AC), the situation was not different, which contributed to the permanence of a large number of Haitians there. In April 2013, I visited the lodging facilities designed for the Haitians in Brasiléia, where more than one thousand waited in precarious conditions for the documents that would allow them to continue their travel in Brazil. Over the second academic term of 2011 and in the first term of 2012, a group of students and researchers who participated in an project of the Anthropology Department of the Amazonas Federal University collected data in various neighbourhoods of Manaus. A total of 254 randomly selected Haitians were interviewed. In Manaus,140 people were interviewed – 118 men and 22 women – from a total of over 1,000 Haitians who lived in the city until early 2013. In Tabatinga

[1] An earlier version of this article was presented at the International and Interdisciplinary Conference on '*Issues of Legitimacy: Entrepreneurial Culture, Corporate Responsibility and Urban Development*' held in Naples, Italy on 10-14 September 2012. The Institute Brazil Plural (IBP) supported my research.

68 people were interviewed, 64 men and 4 women. In Brasiléia, 46 were interviewed, 43 men and 3 women. The data collected, while incomplete, helped us to outline a profile of Haitians in the Amazonian context. It is important to note that in Tabatinga the Catholic Church's Pastoral for Migrants helped us to approach the Haitians. In Brasiléia we had support from the coordinator of the lodging, Mr Damião Borges, an employee of the Secretariat for Human Rights of Acre. The problem of communicating with the Haitians was partially solved by using Spanish, which most of them speak. For those who only spoke Creole, we had volunteer help from those Haitians who could translate into Spanish.

Brazil for Haitians: Building a Migratory Imagery

The Haitian presence in the Amazon began to be noted in early 2010. This phenomenon intensified soon after the January 2010 earthquake that violently shook Haiti, and particularly the capital, Port-au-Prince. Nevertheless, beyond the chaotic scenario produced by the earthquake, the emigration of Haitians to Brazil is part of a broader process of reproduction of capital on an international scale which since colonial times has made Haiti an exporter of raw materials and labour. Research findings show that Haitians have traditionally emigrated to the Dominican Republic (Perusek 1984), Cuba (Couto 2006), the United States (Stepick and Portes 1986¸ Schiller 1977) and to Canada, Venezuela, France, French Guyana and other Antilles countries. In this perspective, the search for work has been one of the fundamental elements of this phenomenon, which certainly not new in Haiti's history took new forms in the aftermath of the catastrophe that affected that country as a whole. Given that Brazil had previously not been part of Haitians' emigration route, it is important to ask why they 'chose' Brazil.

The examination of some less obvious issues involved in this new migratory flow can help us understand the inclusion of Brazil as yet another option in a range of historically established migratory flows. A key role has been played by the increased restrictions to enter countries such as the United States. Particularly after September 11th 2001, US immigration laws have become more restrictive and those who are in the US without proper authorization are more strictly prosecuted (Póvoa Neto 2010: 506). On the other hand, the economic difficulties faced by the United States and by some European countries have significantly decreased their attraction for Caribbean and South American immigrants. Another important factor is Brazil's military presence in Haiti since 2004, as leader of the U.N. peacekeeping forces, known as MINUSTAH. Such presence can be viewed from different perspectives. For example, Fernandes (2011) suggests that Brazil's military role is more related to the country's international political interests than to a concern for providing humanitarian assistance.

We also should not underestimate the importance of structural factors, such as the redirecting of relief funding, internal power disputes and corruption, environmental disasters such as hurricanes that preceded the devastating earthquake, and a general lack of basic services and facilities. The lack of hope for rapid change is due, at least in part, to the fact that Haiti is seen as

a victim of a weak or 'phantom State' (Feldmann 2013: 32). On the other hand, the strength of the Brazilian economy, with its growing demand for labour required for large construction projects, certainly contributes to develop among the Haitians an imagery of Brazil as the new 'Eldorado' which they are seeking.

However, certain obstacles must be overcome for Haitians to enter Brazil, including holding an entry visa, which must be obtained in the country of origin. People without the necessary documents would be stopped at Brazilian airports. Since most were living in the Dominican Republic they sought alternative entrance routes to the Brazilian borders. It was also believed that the request for refugee status would be an indisputable justification for remaining in the country. Since Brazil is signatory to conventions about refugees and is known for its tradition of giving them shelter, this request could not be denied.

The route initially envisaged by 'coyotes'[2] went through Central and South America countries that do not require a visa to a Brazilian border in the states of Amazonas or Acre, where it would be easier to enter. Among the countries included in this route, the Dominican Republic, Panama, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia are most frequently mentioned. For those who go to Amazonas, the passages in Ecuador are the cities of Quito and Guayquil. From there they go to Tumbes in Peru, then to Lima, from where they travel to Iquitos in the Peruvian Amazon. From there they travel by boat to Santa Rosa, where they cross the Solimões river to enter Tabatinga (AM). Those who enter through Acre have two options. The first one is to continue from Lima to Cuzco in the Andes and then go through Puerto Maldonado and continue in vans run by coyotes to reach Iñapari, where they cross the bridge to reach Assis Brasil and then go to Brasiléia by taxi. Those who go via Bolivia, after travelling through Puerto Maldonado in Peru, take a detour through the jungle to enter Boliva near Cobija, the capital of Pando, from where they reach Brasiléia by crossing the bridge that connects the two countries.

Brasiléia is a compulsory stop, because the Federal Police has its office in the neighboring city of Epitaciolandia. The Haitians must attend that office and request the refugee protocol. In early 2013, the delay in issuing this document generated an unprecedented social problem, because of the large concentration of Haitians in Brasiléia, about 1,200. The municipal government decided to use a large abandoned football arena where hundreds of Haitians had to stay, many with only a cardboard sheet to sleep on. There were no bathrooms, nor running water for drinking or bathing. Given the seriousness of the situation, the Catholic Church organization known as the Pastoral Care for Migrants from Porto Velho visited Brasileia and produced a report denouncing the violation of refugees' basic rights. The report attracted attention in the national press, leading the state government to declare a state of social emergency in Brasiléia and request help from the federal government, which sent a task force to provide various services.

[2] This is the name given to those who charge to make the border crossings from Haiti to Brazil. Kearney (1991) recalls that in the indigenous region of Mexico and the United States the term *El Coyote* refers to a *trickster* marked by ambiguity and contradiction, and who is also considered a cultural hero.

The Haitians were issued a document certifying their request for refugee status and their registration at the Ministry of Labour, and were vaccinated against tropical diseases. For the majority, however, the greater challenge continued to be the lack of funds to continue their journey, a solution to which depended on the arrival of contractors in the city who would hire them.

The routes used by Haitians to reach Brazil have changed over time, perhaps due to the costs of the trip or the to the role played by the coyotes. The Haitians in Brasiléia have denounced the greed and violence of some Peruvian police officers, who, in addition to money, usually seize personal belongings, like clothes and sneakers, and threaten them with imprisonment.

Led by coyotes, others take a longer route through Argentina and Paraguay and enter Brazil at Foz do Iguaçu (PR), or at Uruguaiana (RS), making the trip even more difficult. The cost of this journey varies from three to five thousand dollars and can take days or months, depending on how much money the emigrant has. Generally, the funds are raised with the help of locally-based family members, by selling one's property, or with the help of relatives who are based in other countries, such as the United States. Some use savings from their temporary work in the Dominican Republic or other Caribbean countries. Those who do not have these options may take loans from a bank or a friend, and then have to live with the pressure of having to repay the loan, often at high interest rates. If their money runs out in the middle of the journey, due to extortion from the coyotes, they are forced to find work or ask for more funds from family members. This shows that this migratory flow is organized as a family undertaking, where the decision to emigrate may not be solely an individual decision but a collective one. This is why emigration is part of Haiti's migratory policy; the country depends economically on remittances from emigrants, which account for about 18.2% of GNP (Corbin 2012: 48).

As in any migratory process, social networks formed by those already in Brazil and by relatives and friends who remain in Haiti play an important role in the migratory flow. This is the case of Michel, a 36-years-old originary from Gonaives, who reached Manaus in July 2012, after a 45 days journey. Interestingly, his passport had only one stamp, clearly forged, indicating that he had entered the country from Peru on January 12; that is, when the Brazilian government announced restrictive measures limiting to 1,200 the number of work visas to be issued to Haitians. Sitting on a bench at the São Sebastião square in downtown Manaus with a disoriented gaze, he was perusing his address book when I took the liberty to approach him and ask in Spanish what he was searching for. He showed me the telephone number of a friend with an 041 area code, which is in Paraná state. When I told him that his friend was very far away, he became disraught. This reveals that many immigrants leave Haiti or other places with information or references about an in-country relative or a contact. Notably, most of those interviewed did not know where Tabatinga or Manaus were. Usually, their points of reference in Brazil are the cities of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro.

If their geographic knowledge of Brazil appears to be superficial, the same cannot be said about the assistance network offered particularly by the Catholic Church, beginning in Tabatinga and extending through Manaus to other Brazilian cities. Since the start of this migratory flow, the Pastoral Care for Migrants Refugees and Travelers has been one of the main points of reference for these immigrants in Brazil. This organization not only provides for humanitarian assistance, such as shelter, learning Portuguese, legal advice; it also operates as a monitoring committee, directing workers to the local and national labour markets, and as a space for religious and cultural expression, even if most Haitian immigrants do not declare themselves to be Catholics.

Haitians in Manaus: A Profile in the Making

Data collected in Tabatinga, Brasiléia and Manaus show that the Haitians that enter Brazil through the Amazon fit the profile of labour migrants – most are young and male. In the three cities, men account for 88.5%, and women for 11.5 % of the Haitian population in Manaus itself, it is 84% and 16.0% respectively. Their average age is 28.7, while most range between 20 to 40 years old[3]. The age range has been broadening and Haitians younger than 15, as well as older than 50, have recently increased. Although most are single, some men report that they have children or have lived with a companion in Haiti. While women with children are rare, at least in the first year of the Haitian immigrant wave in Brazil, this is changing as more women and children, and even some complete families, have arrived.

As regards to schooling, nearly 60% of the Haitians had an elementary school level of education. Although there is a high degree of illiteracy in Haiti, about 38% of the population older than 15 (Godoy 2011), and only about 1% of the immigrants said they were illiterate. As far as basic education is concerned, women have lower schooling than men, reflecting social and gender inequalities in Haiti. Nevertheless, a significant portion of the immigrants, nearly 30%, said they had taken technical courses in the Dominican Republic or those offered by international support institutions in Haiti.

Approximately 5% of the immigrants interviewed had a college level education. Many had not obtained a degree and seek to continue their studies in Brazil. Concerning their relation to the labour market, in Haiti men had been working in civil construction, retail commerce, agriculture, services in the transport sector, and women in hair styling and manicuring, for example, as well as in informal activities such as food vendors.

The majority of the Haitians came from the capital, Port-au-Prince, and its surroundings, such as Croix-des-Bouquets, Carrefour, Ganthier and Cabaret. There were also immigrants from the cities of Gonaìves, Cap-Haitien and Port-de-Paix, which are outside the area struck by the earthquake. This shows that the reasons for domestic and foreign migration in Haiti goes beyond current and situational issues, like natural catastrophes. Thus, although the capital, Port-au-

[3] A survey conducted by Alex Stepick and Alejandro Portes among Haitians in Florida found an average age of 29 (Stepick & Portes 1986: 332).

Prince, appears as one of the main departure points for emigrants, accounting for 51% of those interviewed, it is soon followed by Gonaìves, with 37%. It was also observed that groups of Haitians leave together from a single location, which suggests the existence of social networks and efforts to establish a form of protection for the long journey. The fact that many of them had already emigrated to the Dominican Republic,[4] and had lived there briefly, or for a few years, indicates that some had used this country as a stop on the way to Brazil. Since 2013, Haitians coming from Venezuela have also increased, perhaps due to the encouragement of family members or compatriots already in Brazil.

In Manaus, Haitians are concentrated in the city's central and Southern neighborhoods, such as São Jorge, São Raimundo, Coroado, Aparecida, Chapada, Alvorada, Compensa, Santo Antonio and Parque Dez. In the Northern area they can be found in the neighborhoods of Manoa, Monte das Oliveiras, Zumbi I and II, as well as the João Paulo housing project. Meanwhile, in the Eastern area they are found in the Nova República housing projects, which is in the Industrial District.

Their housing conditions are usually precarious, and for those who live in small flats (kitchenettes) the situation is even worse. The same applies to those Haitians living in slum-like tenements within various neighborhoods; tiny rooms with little ventilation and high humidity, which are called 'Vilas'. When these immigrants begin working and move to a better place, they begin purchasing essential pieces of furniture for the house, like a bed, a stove, or a table. To lower the costs of rent, they frequently share a house with friends.

While housing is a difficult challenge to overcome, entering the labour market is another. In Manaus, they are offered low-skilled, low-pay jobs such as in general services, as construction assistants, guards, kitchen helps, packagers in retail stores, housecleaners and manicure assistants. Other engage in informal activities in the streets, such as selling food and carrying advertising boards. Some are able to work in factories in the Industrial District or in language schools, where the salary is about double the minimum wage (US$ 600). It is worth noting that, when interviewed, some of those who had worked in civil construction in Haiti said they would like to continue working in this sector in Brazil; perhaps due to the growing demand for labour in this area. Meanwhile, for others, when asked what work they would like to do in Brazil, the answer, for the majority of them, was: *'quel que soit'*, or, whatever they could find.

Women expressed a clear resistance to domestic service, mainly due to its low social value in Haiti and its very low pay. Most of the women were previously self-employed in small comercial enterprises, selling triffles and low cost items as pedlars, or as street stall food vendors. Even those who accept domestic service work refuse to sleep at the job. They are not only accustumed to their previous liberty, but also believe their bosses will not respect an eight-hour work day. This resistance should therefore be understood in a broader sociocultural context as, in both Haiti and Brazil, domestic service is still associated to social inferiority, as a result of the

[4] There are an estimated 1 million Haitians in the Dominican Republic (Silié 2002).

history of slavery in both societies. With the recent extension of labour rights to domestic workers in Brazil, this attitude may change, as there is a higher demand than supply of workers in this labour sector.

The lack of higher professional qualifications and the poor command of the Portuguese language are the two biggest challenges Haitians must overcome in the short term. In some cases they fail the test of their job trial period and are fired. Others, disappointed with the salaries offered, abandon their jobs as soon as they find another that pays more, thus generating a series of legal difficulties for the companies. It is important to remember that the salaries they are offered in the local labour market vary between R$ 622.00 to R$ 800.00 reais (from now on, R$; equivalent to US$ 300-400), which is contrary to the idea of a 'Brazilian Eldorado' promoted by those who brokered their trips to Brazil. Considering that most interviewees said they spend about R$ 540.00 (US$ 220) on rent and food monthly, they are left with only R$ 220.00 (US$ 100) to send to their families in Haiti. However small this amount may seem, it still is better than their previous situation in Haiti.

The initial perception that employers were willing to hire them, given the growing demand for labour, appears to have changed. This is in part due to a slowdown of the Brazilian economy as well as prejudices that spread locally as some Haitians did not fulfil their labour contracts. Some immigrants have in fact broken their contracts because work conditions and salaries did not meet their expectations. Nevertheless, statements such as 'there is a lot of work, only the ones who are picky don't work' show how Haitians are being part of the Amazonian labour market. They are seen by employers as an abundant and low cost 'labour force' suitable for the reproduction of capital (Sassen 1988).

According to the 'Catholic Church's Pastoral Care for Migrants in Manaus,' the majority of the 6,000 Haitians who entered Brazil through the Amazon border and received a humanitarian visa, have already moved to cities in South and Southeastern Brazil, like São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Curitiba, Porto Alegre and others. Those interviewed in Northern Brazil, believed it was easier to enter the labour market in these cities due to the greater availability of jobs and better salaries. These high expectations are quickly dispelled as they face higher living costs and the challenges of finding work and housing in large cities such as São Paulo. According to data from 'Pastoral Care for Migrants in São Paulo' there is a gap between the jobs available and the qualifications of those who are looking for work. Of 614 job openings offered by the market through the Pastoral services, only 84 were filled, most in the general services sector (Caffeu & Cutti 2012: 110).

In addition to not having the qualifications required by the job market another factor is the fear of isolation. Many job offers are in cities far from the large urban centers where no compatriots live and therefore are often refused. The case of Alex illustrates this problem. After having been a factory worker for ten months in the plastic industry in Manaus where he received a salary of about R$ 700.00 (US$ 350), he went to Rio Janeiro with a colleague in search of

work, which would pay them more. With no success in that city, he traveled to São Paulo and sought lodging in the shelter known as the 'Casa do Migrante'; an institution maintained by the Our Lady of Peace church in the center of the city. Since he was unable to find lodging in that institution he began to worry because, without a job, his funds would soon dry up. Given the uncertainty he decided to return to Manaus.

Those who take the route through the mediation of the 'Pastoral of the Migrant' and other NGOs, like the AMA HAITI project which is maintained by volunteers, are luckier because, in addition to receiving travel fare, they are offered housing support and other benefits. Some companies from other parts of Brazil, particularly from the Southeastern, Southern and Midwestern areas of the country, have gone to Manaus and Brasiléia to look for workers. In 2012, the demand for labour appeared to be higher, even though in the first months of 2013 it had dropped. Employers became more selective and gave Haitians some anxiety, because without money to continue travelling, their only hope was the arrival of some employer to hire them. Moreover, the situation is even worse for women because employers generally prefer males. This 'preference' is an important question. Is it only because of the scarcity of male workers in the Brazilian labour market, or does it also involve a question of productive restructuring of companies that are seeking to lower their production costs by paying low wages, particularly to women (Harvey 1992, Sassen 1988)? The latter hypothesis seems to make more sense.

The case of Haitians and the Brazilian Immigration Policy

Brazil is a country where immigration continues to have an important role in its socioeconomic and cultural formation. Throughout Brazilian history, immigrants were crucial to the economy; from those who came under force, like Africans brought as slaves beginning in the 16th century, to Europeans who, because of a lack of opportunities in their homeland, settled in the Southeastern and Southern regions of Brazil in the late 19th century. Both streams contributed to the construction of a multicultural and multiethnic nation. Considering the successes and failures of these immigrants, the idea still persists that Brazil has always received everyone with open arms, providing them opportunities for a better living.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to emphasize that this expansive attitude has waxed and waned over the history of Brazilian immigration. In the late 19th century European immigrants, mainly attracted by official State policies, were welcomed because of their economic and 'racial' contribution. In addition to being part of the national settlement project, they also served a policy designed to 'whiten' the Brazilian population to which African slaves and their descendents had massively contributed. But the situation changed during the *Estado Novo* [New State] period, from 1937 to 1945, when immigrants were forced to adopt Brazilian nationality and were persecuted for refusing assimilation if they hesitated to give up their original language, culture and customs.

Others, such as those of Semitic origins, were viewed with distrust and encountered difficulty entering Brazil. Nevertheless, they benefited from the stereotype that they were skilled in commercial activities, which led to relaxed immigration controls. From this perspective, in the period when the construction of national identity was chareged with 19th century pseudo-scientific racist and evolutionary theories, the 'ideal' immigrant was seen as one who best served the melting pot ideology, that is, one of Latin, white and Christian origin, such as the Spanish, Portuguese and Italians (Seyferth 2001: 149).

Thus, Germans and Japanese were considered to be more difficult to be assimilated. Although their immigration also relied on official support, they came to be seen by some intellectuals and social groups as 'ethnic blemishes', that is, as possible threats to Brazil's ethnic-cultural integrity. Until the 1930s, the principle of assimilation was the selective criterion for immigration to Brazil; even under the New State established by Getulio Vargas. Later, a more economic principle gave priority to the professional qualifications of immigrant workers, but with restrictions concerning their political participation.

These new preferences became normative under the military dictatorship with the approval of the Foreigners Statute in 1980. The law made explicit the profile of workers to which the country would give priority, that is, skilled labour capable of serving some sectors of the national labour market. Since then, mainly for political reasons, in addition to being selective, migratory policy also became xenophobic. Hispanic-Americans who were escaping the violence of regional dictatorships and the lack of opportunities in their countries of origin (Silva 1997, 2008b) were especially suspect. From this perspective, although 'political refugees' were also migrant labourers, they represented a possible threat to National Security.

If, on one hand, there was an influx of skilled immigrants, on the other, there was also a growing demand for less skilled labour to serve sectors of the labour market, served by subcontrators such as clothing manufacturers in São Paulo (Silva 1997). Thus, immigrants, who in principle did not meet the legal requirements, entered the country and remained after their tourist visas had expired as undocumented aliens. To alleviate this situation, and respond to pressure from non-governmental organizations, the Brazilian government has taken palliative measures such as the amnesties granted every ten years to undocumented migrants since the 1980s. During the last amnesty, in 2009, according to data from the Federal Police, of the 45 thousand requests for residency, only 18 thousand were granted by the Brazilian government. The others were refused because they could not prove their employment ties in the country.

Within Mercosur[5] the advances have been more significant, as some bilateral agreements on migratory regulation have already been signed by the member countries, including the right for citizens with formal employment contracts to freely reside anywhere within the Mercosul.

[5] Created by the Asunción Treaty in 1991, it originally included the four countries of Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay. In 1996, Bolivia and Chile gained associate status, in 2003, Peru, in 2004, Colombia and Ecuador. In 2012, Venezuela was accepted as an effective member.

Viewed in conceptual terms, Brazil's Foreigner Statute created an ambiguity by indistinctly classifying all those who enter the country as foreigners; even those who come to live and work. We have in this case a legal category that supersedes the social category of immigrant, highlighting differences between Brazilians and foreigners, despite the fact that their legal civil equality was guaranteed in article 5 of the Brazilian Constitution of 1988.[6] This distinction is not only conceptual, but has direct implications for the exercise of citizenship rights by those who were allowed to remain in Brazil. Among the rights that continue to be limited are those relating to political citizenship; immigrants cannot vote or run for office unless they are naturalized. The recognition of these rights, at least on a local level, would completely change the situation for Brazil's immigrants for they could voice and back demands concerning their social, cultural and political rights.

With the arrival of Haitians in the country some other questions arose. From the perspective of the Foreigners Statute they are entering the country illegally, given that upon crossing the border they did not present the required entrance visa. Their strategy was to request 'refugee' status, which offers various interpretations. Even if they do not fit into this category from the perspective of the Geneva Convention of 1951, because they have not suffered political, religious or racial persecution, based on Brazil's Refugee Statute, Law 9.474/97, they can be granted this right. This Law extends the possibilities for refugee status in the country by adding situations of 'grave and generalized human rights violations'.

From this viewpoint, the conditions in Haiti after the earthquake denied them several human rights, including food security, rights to housing, labour, healthcare, education and others. Another possibility could be recognition of migrants under such a situation as 'environmental refugees', a category foreseen by the United Nations Environmental Program of 1985.

Federal agents at Brazilian borders have no power to decide on the merits of these issues when refugee status is requested. Therefore, after the immigrants register at the border, requests are sent to the National Refugee Committee (CONARE) of the Ministry of Justice for analysis. While awaiting a response, the Haitians receive a protocol that allows them to get a taxpayer's ID number (CPF) and registration at the Ministry of Labour, documents that are essential to look for work in the country.

CONARE, however, stated that the 1951 Convention did not offer it the legal basis to grant these requests, and sent them to the National Immigration Council (CNIg), which, under Resolution no. 08/06, can grant foreigners permanent visas in Brazil for humanitarian reasons.

[6] It is worth recalling that the term immigrant was substituted for foreigner in the Constitution of 1937, due to the negative connotation that it had at the time, because immigrant was defined as anyone who arrived in national ports in 2nd or 3rd class, at the expenses of the federal government, the states or third parties (Seyferth 2001:145). In the case of the Haitians, this concept seems not to have changed, given that they are required to confront countless difficulties during the long journey, much of it taken by boats on the rivers of the Amazonian area, a fact that raises the ominous image of the boat people and slave ships of times past.

This decision opens a historical precedent because it is the result of pressure from various sectors of civil society. This is particularly true in the case of Amazonas; the Pastoral of the Migrant, which sheltered these immigrants at the border and in Manaus, demanded that the local government take a stand on the chaotic situation in Tabatinga.

The granting of visas for humanitarian reasons by the CNIg meant an advance in national migratory policy. In addition to being in harmony with the Brazilian government's National Human Rights Plan, it extends the possibilities for entering the country to other groups in similar conditions. This is crucial given that situations of human rights violations are increasingly frequent in the contemporary world.

Nevertheless, the new measures taken by the Brazilian government under Resolution 97 of January 13 2012, which limited the concession of work visas to 1,200 Haitians per year with the possibility of renewal after five years, fell like a 'bucket of cold water' on the expectations of the immigrants who were already in the country. That measure could prevent their family members and others who were planning to emigrate from joining them in Brazil.

Those who arrived after January 12 were barred at the Amazonian borders and created an atypical situation in the Brazilian scenario. It was the first time that there has been effective control of the entrance of foreigners at these borders, contradicting the 'humanitarian' principles that until then had guided the management of the migratory flow. Even more serious, this measure criminalized without distinction all the immigrants who tried to enter the contry expecting to obtain refugee status. Beyond the established quota, all of them would illegally trespass the borders as common criminals. This governmental stand also revealed relics of a migratory policy based on the ideology of the 'National Security Law' of the military period. Then immigration was seen as a possible threat to the State and not as a contribution to the economic and social development of people of all nationalities.

Paulo Sergio de Almeida, president of the National Immigration Council (CNIg), said that the quota was not a 'strait-jacket', because Brazil was willing to increase the number of visas if demand was greater than that stipulated by resolution 97. However, if the objective of that resolution was to eliminate illegal immigration in the Amazonian area, it appears not to have been completely successful. In fact, Haitians continued to enter over those borders during 2012 and 2013, raising questions about the difficulties in obtaining an entrance visa from the Brazilian embassy in Port-au-Prince. If the demands imposed by the Brazilian government – that they must be living in Haiti, have no criminal record, and pay a fee of US$ 200 – were not excessive, why should Haitians risk submitting themselves to the 'coyotes' and being stopped at the border?

What can be observed in this case is that there is a confusion of legal competence and conflicts between government agencies dealing with the regulation of the legal status of foreigners in the country. Each agency interprets the law differently. For example, newly arriving Haitians continue to receive the protocol for refugees on the Amazonian border, even after the enactment of resolution 97. Aiming to fight the action of coyotes and irregular immigration, the

Brazilian government, through Resolution 102 of April 26 2013, removed the limit on visas and extended the number of consulates where they could be obtained, beyond Port-au-Prince. This measure is expected to establish better control at the borders and to have those who enter irregularly be notified to leave Brazil, or they will remain undocumented. These challenges already have been experienced by other immigrant groups, like Bolivians, who in general have few skills and are ethnically differentiated from Brazilians (Silva 2008b).

It is imperative at the present moment of economic development and political stability in Brazil to implement a new migratory policy that contemplates the multi-layered nature of migration today; combining immigration, emigration, refugees status and people in transit. In this sense, it is worth highlighting the role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that have proposed governmenal policies whose central focus is the protection of the rights of migrant workers, whether skilled or not. Nevertheless, this discussion seems not to have reached the Senate committee who, in 2011, together with the national Order of Brazilian Lawyers, prepared a draft proposal for the reformulation of the Brazilian Criminal Code, which is now under discussion as Bill 236/2012. Chapter XV of this Bill, regarding crimes related to foreigners, does not go beyond the spirit of Law 6.815/80, whose main concern was the repression of 'crimes against national security', which are now 'mitigated', according to the senator responsible for drafting a report on the Bill. By maintaining the criminalization of those who hide irregular foreigners in the country, or who omit information to get them recognition for refugee status, the Bill criminalizes everyone indistinctly, lumping together the coyotes, the immigrants and their support networks.

It is worth recalling that a Bill (5.655/09), which should replace the current migratory legislation, continues to be discussed in the Brazilian Congress. Although the proposal has advanced, for example, in defining the modalities of entrance visas in Brazil, including humanitarian entrance visas, it maintains the distrust of current law in regard to foreigners by prohibiting their 'activities in political parties' and 'organizing, creating, or maintaining association with any entities of a political character' (Art.8). From this perspective, immigrants continue to be treated as foreigners, and are far from being recognized as full citizens.

Meanwhile, as the Bill proposing a new regulatory framework for migration policies was being discussed in the National Congress, in 2010, the National Immigration Council (CNIg) of the Ministry of Justice submitted for public evaluation a proposal for a 'National Immigration and Protection Policy for the Migrant Worker.' Although backed by the 1990 U.N. Convention on The Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, it has not yet been ratified by Brazil.

On one hand, these proposals illustrate contradictions on how migration is seen within the government. On the other, the resolutions and agreements already signed by Brazil on a regional and international level seek to incorporate the demands of the immigrants and of the organizations involved with these issues. According to Patarra (2012), this shows Brazil's clear

interest in establishing its regional and international leadership, and in consolidating its influence in international agencies.

The increased requests for temporary and permanent work visas in Brazil by workers from countries such as the United States, the Philippines, the United Kingdom, India, China, Portugal, Spain, Italy and others intensify the discussion on the profile of the immigrant desired by the Brazilian labour market. This is due to the increased demand for skilled labour in some sectors of the Brazilian economy, like infrastructure, gas, oil and healthcare. According to the Ministry of Labour and Employment (MTE), in 2009, 42,914 requests were granted, jumping to 73,022 in 2012, an increase of 70% in three years. These workers are mostly male (90%) with college education, including masters and doctoral degrees (60%), and with labour contracts of up to two years. However, bureaucratic delays in issuing visas pose a great challenge to those who seek temporary work and is of great concerns to the Brazilian government. Moreover, those who intend to remain in Brazil face other challenges, such as the revalidation of their diplomas, which is a slow and costly process.

If, on one hand, capital needs skilled labour for its reproduction, it also needs a labour force with fewer skills, preferably one that is poorly paid and without guaranteed rights, as is the case of the men and women workers in the clothing sector of the garnement industry in São Paulo (Silva 1997, 2008b). In this case, nationality is of little importance, because immigrants are defined by their condition as temporary and often undocumented workers (Sayad 1998), a fact which places them in a situation of total vulnerability.

In the case of the Haitians this risk was avoided, at least at first, by the humanitarian visa they were given. Nevertheless, the defense of their rights will largely depend on how they are positioned in the struggle for their citizenship in Brazil. The formation of a committee to organize their stay in Tabatinga (AM), which they called the Haitian Committee, was the first step taken to alleviate the sub-human conditions to which they were submitted at that border (Silva 2012). The rise of new organizations such as the Association of Haitian Immigrants in Brazil (AIHB), in Pelotas (RS), is an indication of how they plan to address their treatment in Brazil.

The presence of Haitians in the Amazonian States reveals the contradictions of how civil society and the Brazilian government have dealt with migratory issues in Brazil. Not only has the lack of preparation by official institutions in the face of emergency situations like this become visible, but it has also exposed the competing positions within the government about the need to reconsider migratory policy and legislation. These impasses must be overcome for Brazil to continue its economic advancement. Brazil must implement policies that respond democratically to the challenges raised by current migrations that must be understood as also making a contribution to the sociocultural development of the Brazilian people.

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'We don't need to copy anyone': César Manrique and the Creation of a Development Model for Lanzarote

Maria Giulia Pezzi
(Karl-Franzens-Universität, Graz, Austria)
giulia.pezzi@gmail.com

The article looks at the influence that the work of Lanzarote-born artist César Manrique has had on the development of tourism in Lanzarote from the 1960s on, and how his aesthetic ideals have influenced the appearance of the island today. Moreover, I have posed the question whether the peculiar tourist development which occurred in Lanzarote as a consequence of the artist's engagement can be considered as a pioneering attempt at 'place-branding' and the relative marketing strategies. I have used applications of marketing and advertising theories to the anthropological discourse on tourism. Considering the factors induced by Manrique's works and by his environmental and ecological activism, it is evident how the marketing of Lanzarote as an Island with no equals has set within certain frames the general appearance of the Island, in accordance with the image that needed to be portrayed. Tourism marketing, or place-branding, has differentiated Lanzarote from other destinations in the tourist market, but by doing so a conflict between identity, authenticity and thematization has been created.

Keywords: place branding, tourism, authenticity, staged authenticity, anthropology of tourism

Introduction

Lanzarote is one of the seven islands that form the Canary Islands Archipelago, which is one of Spain's autonomous regions and is situated in the Atlantic Ocean. Lanzarote is the northernmost island and its east coast faces Morocco, which is only approximately 150 km away.

The most important historical event that has affected the Island seems to be the series of volcanic eruptions that took place in the 18th and 19th centuries and completely changed the apperance of the Island. These eruptions left the surface of Lanzarote covered with lava and ashes, leaving little room or possibilities for farming the land. This situation led the inhabitants to experiment in new ways of farming and producing goods, such as onions, potatoes, wine and *barrilla* plants. The symbiosis between Man and Nature led to the creation of humanized landscapes with unique formations and interesting features, as for example the Vineyards of La Geria.

A series of unfavourable economic events and climatic changes caused drought and famine at the beginning of the 20th century, with the result that most of the population left the Island, emigrating mainly to South America. It was then clear that a renewal of the economy was necessary, and from the 1950s onward Lanzarote started its transformation into a tourist destination, as had been happening on other Canary Islands – that is, Tenerife and Gran Canaria – since the 1930s.

In this article, I focus on how the work of the Lanzarote-born artist César Manrique (1919-1992) influenced the development of tourism on the Island since the 1960s, and in particular on the nature of the relationship between his artistic work and aesthetic ideals and the appearance of Lanzarote today. Moreover, I also pose the question whether the peculiar tourist development which occurred in Lanzarote can be considered as more or less authentic than what happened elsewhere.

I think of tourism in Lanzarote as the result of a branding strategy, which not only deals with economic factors, but also with the necessary (re)signification of a tourist destination to position it in the tourist market and to attract certain kinds of tourists. It is evident that Manrique's work influenced the marketing of Lanzarote as an Island with no equals. There, tourists have authentic and unmediated experience with extraordinary expressions of nature that are exalted in his work. This setting ensures not only the kind of tourists who will choose the Island as their destination, but also what can be built on the Island, in accordance with the image that by local law must be maintained.

Discussing place-branding theory in anthropology, however, requires a more general definition of the concept of what John Urry defined as the 'tourist gaze' (Urry 1990). Together with the homonymous work by Urry, I have also used other sources, such as works of anthropologists who are currently involved with the study of the value that the concept of place-branding has for the study of identity processes and anthropology of tourism (See Timm Knudsen, Waade 2010, de Santa Ana 2004; Silver 1993).

Due to the character of the research itself, this article is based primarily on in-depth bibliographical research and on fieldwork undertaken between September 2011 and May 2012, in an attempt to discover and describe Lanzarotes brand image.

César Manrique

César Manrique was an artist, painter, sculptor, architect and ecologist. Born in Lanzarote in 1919, he soon left the Island to attend an Art Academy in Madrid, where he also started building a solid reputation as a talented artist. In 1964 he decided to move to New York City to gain new inspiration and to advertise his works overseas. He remained in the US for only a couple of years, but this trip had a great influence on his later works and outlook on life.

Firstly, coming from a small Island and from Franco's Spain, he was highly impressed by the modernity and architecture of the city, though not always in a positive way, since he experienced for the first time the negative potential of modernization in changing the original character of a place. Secondly, he became acquainted with Pop Art and the work of Andy Warhol, with whom he had a chance to work. Pop Art was a great inspiration for him, especially because it gave him the idea of making art production democratic, but also because it aimed at the elevation of trivial/everyday life objects to art objects, potentially turning everything into a work of art.

Once he moved back to Lanzarote in the mid-1960s Manrique started working on his installations, elaborating an aesthetic ideal which he called 'Art-Nature/Nature-Art' and presupposed the acquisition of environmental awareness through art. He dedicated the last phase of his life mainly to ecological activism, criticizing the progressive deterioration of Lanzarote landscape due to uncontrolled tourism development.

Seven of the main artworks by Manrique can be seen in Lanzarote. They are, Cueva de los Verdes, Jameos del Agua, Casa/Museo el Campesino, Restaurante el Diablo, Restaurante Mirador del Río, MIAC – Castillo de San José, Jardin de Cactus. These locations are managed by the organization 'Centres for Art, Culture and Tourism', created by the

Insular Government with the aim to use them as tools for the sustainable tourism development on the Island.

As it has been reported by a recent study (Centro de Datos de Lanzarote, 2012) the Centres have had an average of a little over two million visitors in the last two years, with an increase of +9.3% from year 2010 to 2011. The most visited attractions are Montañas del Fuego and Jameos del Agua, which are certainly the most peculiar ones. Third is Cueva de los Verdes, which may be less spectacular, but which probably benefits from its proximity to Jameos del Agua (the two tourist centres are within walking distance of each other). Fourth is Mirador del Rio, a restaurant which offers one of the most amazing panoramic views on the Island. The relative lower number of visitors could be explained by two factors. First, being situated in the northernmost part of the Island it is relatively far from other tourist areas and it is normally left out of bus tour routes. Second, Manrique's attempt to camouflage the building with the surroundings was so successful that from the outside it doesn't look very tempting, since it seems like 'just another pile of rocks' that can be seen in the cactus fields around, as a German tourist described it. As a matter of fact, during my last visit to the centre in May 2012, I noticed small groups of tourists of various nationalities reluctantly standing in front of the entrance and asking the people coming out if it was really worth paying the fee to go inside.

The Jardin de Cactus and Castillo de San José are also normally left out of bus tours and therefore receive fewer visitors than the other centres. There are no data concerning the Monumento al Campesino, which is probably due to the fact that entrance is free and so the visitors are not counted.

Through his artworks Manrique tried to convey a message to both Lanzarote's inhabitants and tourists that the Island's appearance was the result of geological processes that were still operating. He did not want to do that, though, through the institution of museums and other canonical forms of information. He embraced the principles of Pop Art, which challenged the common sense of 'fine art' by potentially turning every object into an artwork. In contrast to Pop Art, which somehow required a decontextualization of the object itself to be effective, Manrique made the context one of the most important elements of his works.

The Auditorium built in the Jameos del Agua, for example, acquires significance especially due to the fact that is was built inside a volcanic tunnel, making the most of the geological qualities to obtain incredibly fine acoustics. Jameos del Agua is also representative because it features a bar and a dance floor, two things that are usually not associated with an art piece, but that convey a playful character to the place. And this was exactly the aim of Manrique, who wanted to highlight the geological phenomenon that created the lava tunnel by offering a particular experience that would impress the visitor and thus be memorable.

Manrique also had an important role in the declaration of Lanzarote as a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve in 1993 and in the consequent development of sustainable tourism on the Island. The artist can be considered a pioneer for his time, since the theme of sustainability was not considered important either in worldwide public opinion, or in the official discourse until the mid-1980s, early 1990s. When this concept was theorized for the first time in the 'Charter for Sustainable Tourism', developed at the 1995 World Conference on Sustainable

Tourism in Lanzarote, sustainable tourism had been taking place on the Island for at least 25 years.

The *Plan Insular de Ordenación del Territorio* (PIOT)

Another aspect of the connection between Manrique's work and local tourism are the regulations that stem from his aesthetic ideals. The introduction of the Island's Development Plan (PIOT), with its many reviews, led to the selection of certain architectural and cultural elements present in Lanzarote that he believed were endangered by the increasingly faster development of tourism facilities. These elements, which had been created as an answer to the hard climatic conditions on the Island, and that were strictly linked to culture and everyday life, were extrapolated from their usual context and turned into a model for the future. It was to some extent an arbitrary choice, since Manrique in the book *Lanzarote. Arquitectura Inedita* (published in 1974) made a collection of signs that he believed to be relevant to his vision. This choice projected an homogeneous look to the Island and also 'froze' Lanzarote at a certain moment in time, that is the period between the 1950s and the 1970s. The normal and natural architectural development of the island has been regulated by the PIOT and, through it, natural evolution was impeded. The only part of the island which followed a non-regulated pattern of development was the capital Arrecife. Although it is not possible to maintain its current appearance , the capital has greater appeal for tourists than the rest of the land in that it offers a more vibrant and "real" atmosphere, which is otherwise lacking elsewhere.

The PIOT's – *Plan Insular de Ordenación del Territorio* (Development Plans) – lists the binding regulations on building in Lanzarote, what it should look like, as well as other aspects, i.e. the number of hotel accommodations to be allowed per year. More generally, they regulate the Island's architecture, as well as how town and country planners should maintain the Island's authenticity through the different phases of tourism development. The original PIOT underwent many revisions, the last of which was published in 2010, and all of them tried to comply with the aesthetic ideal created by Manrique from the 1960s on.

As Idoya Cabrera Delgado[1] stated, the book *Lanzarote. Arquitectura Inedita* constituted an ideal visual standard because people would see pictures of their houses in it and think 'Wow, my house is important! It's in a book!', leading to a positive effect on their self-esteem and on the awareness that preserving what was "real" and authentic would be a way to keep under some kind of control all the issues related to the environment and the impact that tourism was having on their lives.

Having been isolated for many years, the sudden development of tourism on the Island was perceived from the beginning as traumatizing and invasive, especially in the early phases where large discrepancies existed between what the tourists were expecting to find on the Island and what was actually there on offer, especially in terms of facilities, but also of water supplies, food and electricity.

It was not until the approval of the *Plan Insular de Ordenación del territorio* in 1991, however, that any concrete steps were taken. According to the PIOT, any new structure (either

[1] Of the Department of Territory and Environment, Fundación César Manrique, Lanzarote.

public or private) had to comply with specific guidelines and conditions. Constructions in rural areas would have to be built in line with the style of a traditional house. Colours (white), materials, textures and finishes need to be used both for private buildings and for hotels. The number of floors for each building was limited: four for hotels; three for institutional buildings; two for private houses. Private houses should be built for single families, exception made for the city of Arrecife. Some basic models of construction were defined for different municipalities. (Fernando Llorente Sagaseta de Ilurdoz M. S. 2001: 22).

Further guidelines were given on the matter of integrating constructions with the landscape and protecting the environment. Telephone and electricity cables must be as least visible as possible. No advertising boards are allowed in urban areas. No advertisement of any kind is allowed in the whole Rural Area. It is strictly forbidden to release waste and garbage in the volcanic calderas. The construction of roads should have the least environmental impact possible and roundabouts should be decorated with local vegetation. Only local plants and flowers should be used when gardening. Only volcanic stones should be used when building fencing walls. It is forbidden to practice motocross and other similar sports out of the dedicated areas. Camping is not allowed in any part of the Island. (Ibidem: 23).

A new PIOT was approved on May 20th 1998, with its main goal being limiting the uncontrolled estate building of the last decade, and due to its restrictive character is commonly known as the "Moratorium". Among other things, all the recently approved building grants were revoked and resubmitted to new commissions in all municipalities. On March 25th 2010 a revision of the PIOT was presented by the local Government. Being only a revision, this new document dealt mainly with an analysis of the current status of the Island and listed actions the Government feels that need to be undertaken to maintain or improve the situation. Although the whole paper mainly stresses the importance of the creation of new alternative markets and economic models for the Island, as well as the necessity for a sustainable development model in terms of energy needs and subsistence means, the main point of interest is the last one, namely the tourism model. The revision proposes a new balancing of the territorial model, based on the fact that at the moment in Lanzarote there is a clear-cut division between tourist areas and residential areas. The latter are somewhat underdeveloped and neglected by the municipalities, which tend rather to invest in the former, i.e. those that contribute more to the tourist image of the Island. Moreover, a reform of the tourist model is desirable, in terms of: improvement of sustainability; maintaining and enhancing the original cultural, social and architectural background so as to attract tourists; giving hotel residences priority over tourist housing in order to provide more jobs; and creating new public spaces for the benefit of both tourists and residents. (Fundación César Manrique 2010: 43-44)

Place-Branding

John Urry, taking his point from the work of Michel Foucault about the medical gaze, maintains that the tourist gaze might be just as socially organized and systematized and therefore its nature depends on the historical period, the social group, the society, etc. (Urry 1990: 1-2). A key feature of tourism and of the tourist gaze is that there must be certain

aspects of the places visited that make them different from what can be seen in everyday life, in other words it must be *out of the ordinary*.

The act itself of recognizing a view, an object, or a monument as extraordinary requires some preliminary preparation, that means that tourism always involves a certain amount of daydreaming and anticipation, processes which are also common in consumerism. Since the real experience can hardly provide a perfect replica of what is expected, each holiday trip or purchase leads to disillusion and to a consequent need for somet hing new (Urry 1990: 13). Moreover 'such daydreams are not autonomous; they involve working over advertising and other media generated sets of signs, many of which relate very clearly to complex processes of social emulation' (Ibidem: 13).

A consequence of such a discourse is that different countries have come to *specialize* in one particular gaze, to find their own spot in the very fragmented tourist market, sometimes at the expense of authenticity. When it comes to tourism, authenticity seems actually to be easy to 'stage'. In current times we can recount a series of places which are not authentic *per se* since they are copies or reproductions of something that already exists elsewhere and though they attempt to provide a real experience to the visitor, as for example theme parks. The *mise en scene* of such easily recognizable places is usually referred to as 'disneyfication' and by that it is implied that staged authentic places and experiences, and the relative sets of significances that they convey, can be commoditized, merchandized and advertised *as if* it were the real thing.

Such theoretical considerations acquire a special interest when applied to marketing and economics. In the era of globalization, where information about places and their peculiarities is potentially equally accessible by everyone, it has become vital for cities, regions and even entire countries to stress their uniqueness, and through that to find a well established place on the tourist market.

According to Anne-Bitt Gran turning places into brands has become an important trend in current marketing strategy (Timm Knudsen, Waade 2010: 26). Branding a place means creating an image of that place that can be sold and that is recognizable by the potential buyer without further information. According to P. Kotler, who first theorized the marketing of places in the early 1990s (see Kotler et al. 1993), the image of a place is 'the sum of beliefs, ideas and impressions that people have of that place. Images represent a simplification of a large number of associations and pieces of information connected with that place' (Timm Knudsen, Waade 2010: 27).

Such images, which could be also thought of as stereotypes, are somehow staged, although one cannot maintain that they have been necessarily invented, since they always need to pertain to the intrinsic characteristics of the place itself in order to be valid.

Place branding has the function of adding value to already existing features, to differentiate one place from another. Branding creates a place's visual logo, which works the same way as with any other product or goods. Gran's point is that 'it does not matter that people (tourists) behave as if authenticity exists; that they accept that authenticity is staged if it looks real; and that they think about places as they think about other brands' (Timm Knudsen, Waade 2010: 28). Place branding is made for selling, not to resemble the real thing,

therefore a quest for authenticity is pointless. Building up a positive image of a place has to do with a marketing strategy called 'reputation management'.

Arts, culture and heritage are often the easiest way to go when looking for elements that will make a certain place stand out from its competitors, for art and culture are normally local and place-specific.

Such premises raise further concerns about the problem of authenticity. How can one be sure that what is being branded – and therefore advertised – is 'real'? How can a definition of a place made up in order to attract tourists, investors and stakeholder represent the real essence of the place itself? Ooi and Stöber (Ibidem: 68-69) offer three main reasons why a coincidence between the branded place and "real" places is hard to achieve. First, a brand cannot provide an honest representation of a place simply because it was created to sell the place. That means that positive aspects of a certain place will be highlighted, while the negative ones will be voluntarily left out or made little of (Ibidem: 69). Second, branding campaigns may lead to commoditization of a certain place or social feature, destroying the original spirit of the place itself. Once certain events, activities or places are advertised and become iconic their pristine nature risks being transformed into something different from what they once were. Third, a brand is normative, in other words the image that it wants to convey can be a change factor on the actual place it is portraying, or it can restrain a certain form of art, cultural product, etc. from evolving naturally, leading to the creation of 'surrogates'.

It is evident how, dealing with the development of tourism in Lanzarote, place branding has played an important role in today's image of the Island. John Urry stated, in regard to this problem, that 'tourist gazes come to constitute a closed self-perpetuating system of illusions' (Urry 1990: 7). According to him this is a problem that arises from the interaction between local inhabitants and tourists. On one side the tourists are thought of as pilgrims who travel on a quest for authenticity in another 'time' or 'space', on the other side this intrusion caused by fascination for what is *other* is considered to be unacceptable by the local inhabitants. This leads to the creation of so-called 'back stages' as a resistance strategy and to the organization of what MacCannell defined as 'staged authenticity' (Ibidem: 9).

The 'Lanzarote-Brand' and the 'Manrique Trade-mark'

It can be maintained that Manrique's works represented an attempt at place branding *ante litteram*, since when this marketing strategy was first theorized Manrique had already been working on the Island in such terms for over thirty years.

Fernando Gómez Aguilera, Director of the Fundación César Manrique, in his preface to Manrique's *La palabra encendida* (2005),[2] states that the figure of César Marinque may be considered as controversial. César Manrique took Lanzarote as his greatest artwork. Aguilera states, 'His aesthetic programme underwent controversies, which have attracted critics from sectors that have accused him of trivializing and *thematizing* the Island, as well as domesticating and aestheticizing the landscape to the point that, following the logics of the

[2] This book is a collection of Manrique's most important writings and speeches.

leisure market, he created a sort of artificial place-object' (Ibidem: 10-11; my translation).[3] The process that led to such considerations has been partly already analyzed. Nevertheless it is important to consider how his 'programme' has influenced the current appearance of Lanzarote in the present day and how it contributed to creating some sort of recognizable 'brand', making his name and his persona into a well-established 'trade-mark'.

As I have pointed out, in an attempt to generate a durable and sustainable industry on the Island, starting in the 1950s the government engaged in some, at first timid, attempts at creating tourism facilities. They were well aware that the only goods which offered great potential for further expansion of the tourist market, and were fairly abundant on Lanzarote ,were its climate, the extraordinary landscape, and the beautiful beaches,.

Looking back at that period, in 1978 Manrique himself stated: 'Only ten years ago, Lanzarote was nothing. It was considered the Cinderella of the Canary Islands. To many it was almost a shame to be born on this Island. Lanzarote was hardly even existing on the maps' (Manrique 2005: 40; my translation). [4]

Having travelled the world and seen what the consequences of an indiscriminate development of tourism could cause, Manrique was aware of the need to develop a plan for the future creation of a tourist industry on the Island. Ahead of his time he noted: 'the first slogan that we created was: "we don't need to copy anyone"; "we must bring out the intrinsic character of the Island, so that others will come and copy us". This was our main task, and once we realized it, time proved us right.' (Manrique 2005: 40; my translation).[5]

Three important elements should be pointed out. First and most evident, the awareness of having to do with a place with huge potential, not only in terms of expected tourist capacity, but also regarding its aesthetic qualities, which make it a one-of-a-kind place on earth: 'we don't need to copy anyone, they rather should come and copy us' is a recurrent slogan in Manrique's 'propaganda'. Second, the establishment of a plan, which among its purposes should emphasize the qualities of Lanzarote and at the same time should provide directions for preserving these qualities in the future. This plan proved to be original already in its earlier stages and was undertaken with great enthusiasm. A third, less obvious, more subtle, point was the intention of Manrique and his collaborators to show the Lanzarote people (and by extension the future tourists) 'the original personality of their own landscape'.

This last implication of Manrique's discourse is, in my opinion, the most interesting, because it raises the question of what can be considered 'orginal', and therefore authentic, in

[3] The original reads: 'César Manrique assume Lanzarote como su gran obra. [...] Un programa estético el suyo sometido a controversia, que ha merecido críticas en sectores que le acusan de banalización, de tematizar la isla y de domesticar y estetizar el paisaje hasta configurar una suerte de lugar-objecto artificioso, en la lógica de la industria del mercado del ocio.'

[4] The original reads, 'Lanzarote, hace solamente diez años, era nada. Se la consideraba Cenicienta de Canarias. Para muchos constituía casi una vergüenza el haber nacido en esta isla. Lanzarote apenas existía en el mapa'

[5] The original reads, 'el primer eslogan que pusimos en marcha fue: "no tememos que copiar a nadie"; "tenemos que sacar a relucir la personalidad intrínseca de la isla, para que nos vengan a copiar a nosotros". Este fue nuestro principal cometido y, una vez realizado, el tiempo nos ha dado la razón.'

Lanzarote. The artist seemed to have a clear view of what represented the authentic on the Island: its architecture, its colours and the materials used. He collected pictures of what he considered to be the most representative elements of the Island's humanized landscape in the book *Lanzarote. Arquitectura inédita*. In his own words, in this work 'a recompilation is made of what is really interesting in this aspect [the architecture] of our Island, which is now facing a period of great danger, mostly due to the economic and tourist boom. Due to this fact, some anarchical building projects are about to begin, which don't have the least aesthetic feeling and which are going to spoil the tourist future of the Island, actually they are already doing so' (Manrique 200525-26; my translation).[6]

In a later writing Manrique explained that this 'alternative way' was showed to him by the Island and its geology themselves: his simple contribution was simply making an inventory of these peculiarities that architects, builders and farmers could use in the future as orientation for any new construction (Ibidem: 52). On the other hand, as Carlos Jiménez Martinez maintains, '[the] authenticity canons imposed by Manrique in aspects such as vernacular architecture, fit, in some occasions, more with nostalgia and spectacles patterns imposed by tourism industry at a worldwide level, and less with the real contemporary needs for the inhabitants of those places. The results […] bring serial and filed built up houses, maintaining just a surface aesthetics, an empty wrapper, so typical of Postmodernism' (Jiménez Martinez 2007: 8).

Manrique's selected some elements as original, unique and therefore authentic, thereby instantly creating a (perhaps involuntary) musealisation and crystallization of those same qualities that the artist wanted to preserve. That is, having first published a book where these vernacular features are elevated and found worthy of consideration, and inserting into the PIOT regulations as to what can be built and developed on the Island has in a way 'frozen' Lanzarote in a certain moment in time.

Architecture on the Island hasn't changed very much in the last 50 years and the feeling that the visitor gets while driving or walking through the small villages is exactly that of a staged authenticity. Everything looks maybe a bit too clean, a bit too tidy, a bit too much 'all the same' to give an impression of spontaneity. This feeling is reinforced by the striking difference of the capital Arrecife with all its surroundings. The city isn't obliged by the PIOT to follow the same regulations as other municipalities, therefore its appearance is incredibly different from that of the rest of the Island: relatively high buildings, traffic lights, groups of flats in just any colour, modern buildings with extensive use of glass, etc. It simply resembles any other coastal city, and yet while it is in the middle of the Atlantic, it has a certain Mediterranean flavour.

Although it is hard to maintain that the relatively chaotic look of Arrecife is more desirable than that of small old villages like Haría, it is also not possible to overlook the fact

[6] The original reads, 'se hace una recompilación de lo verdaderamente interesante en este aspecto de nuestra isla, que se encuentra en un momento de gran peligro, debido sobre todo a su auge económico y turístico. Por esa causa, se están comenzando una serie de construcciones anárquicas, sin el menor sentido estético, que podrían estropear, y de hecho ya lo están estropeando, el porvenir turístico de la isla'.

that the capital offers to the visitor a vibrant atmosphere which is otherwise lacking elsewhere. It is, however, worth mentioning that villages like Haría, Mancha Blanca, San Bartolomé and Yaiza perfectly portray that image of Lanzarote that has been built up through place-branding and that makes Lanzarote a desirable travel destination.

Another interesting example is that of the Marina Rubicón settlement, once a fishing community about 4 km from the bigger village of Playa Blanca, now completely renovated and turned into a marina for tourists' boats and yachts. In the surroundings of the Marina and its harbour it is possible to find mainly restaurants, bars, souvenir shops, some doctor/dentist practices, one supermarket and various designers' and duty-free shops. Hotels and resorts are also situated nearby, but what attracts attention is the almost total lack of housing facilities not dedicated to tourism. The result is a rather weird feeling: the streets are empty and quiet, many shops are for rent or just closed, just a few tourists occasionally passing by on the promenade – both by day and at night. Marina Rubicón looks just like one of those reproductions of Wild West ghost towns that can be found in theme parks. It was built following the directions given by Manrique as it displays the original and traditional architecture, and for these same reasons it is missing its target of being authentic: Marina Rubicón is not 'alive', it doesn't have inhabitants, but only workers, which come and go like cinema extras. In its aesthetic perfection it is comparable to a *non-place*.

The figure of Manrique is, then, hard to define unambiguously and he himself was against being labelled in any way: being architect, painter, sculptor, gardener, artisan and in some way a visionary, in the end he turned Lanzarote into what he called an *obra total*, a total artwork, that is the integrated product of different forms of art (Zamora Cabrera 2009: 58-59), but also to the extent that due to its particular geological conformation which influenced every aspect of the culture, each feature of the Island could virtually be perceived as a "natural work of art", thanks to its intrinsic aesthetic qualities.

Nevertheless, as Javier Durán maintains, Manrique was not the only one who had the authority to decide the fate of the rising tourist industry, but he had a more important faculty: 'the assumption of authorship and, as a consequence of that, the fusion of the progress of the Island with a name and the use of this name to promote this model. Without this overlap, nothing in Lanzarote would have been the same'(de Santa Ana 2004: 115; my translation).[7]

According to M. A. Perdomo, tourism expanded mainly thanks to the aesthetic image that was created for it, to the extent that Lanzarote started becoming popular for the great care that had been put into adapting the tourist infrastructures to the architectonic conditions and to its environment (Perdomo 1987: 442). The work of Manrique is particularly appreciated because he managed to substitute the lack of regulations in the question of building and soil usage with an aesthetic plan that avoided the realization of those *pastiches neocanarios*, which are so deplorable on other islands, as well as the unregulated expansion of tourist infrastructures, thus preserving the original character of Lanzarote.

[7] The original reads, ('La asunción de la autoría y, como consecuencia de ello, la fusión del progreso insular con un nombre y la utilisación del nombre para promover el modelo. Sin este solapamiento nada en Lanzarote hubiese sido igual.'

Perdomo asks himself whether this 'tourist aesthetic' can be considered as authentic and his point of view on the matter is definitely negative. He says, 'Much of the private sector has found a shield in the argument of plasticity in order to perform the game of speculation and town planning growth. The architectural aesthetic of tourism would then be the "tourist mask" or the "exterior façade" of the big business of tourism, which focuses on land speculation and the sale of plots' (1987. 442-443; my translation).[8] It is then clear how the conflict between identity, authenticity and thematisation is central to an analysis of the tourist impact in Lanzarote.

The way in which Manrique's aesthetic ideals are perceived both by tourists and inhabitants, is strictly linked to the considerations listed above. Nevertheless, it is important to consider three more aspects. First, the artworks of Manrique, which constitute Lanzarote's main attractions, offer a series of tourist gazes which were selected to provide a certain image of the Island coherent with his ideal. In recent years, however, many theme parks, water parks, golf courses, etc. have been built on the Island, and they have, to some extent, changed not only its general appearance but also the kinds of tourism activities which can be undertaken. Although Manrique's ideal has been somehow distorted, the presence of the artist, especially as an icon, is still dominant. Nevertheless, I have noticed during the interviews and especially during participant observation and my participation in bus tours around the Island, that the work of Manrique is usually not recognized as a reason why Lanzarote has been chosen as a travel destination. Actually, references to Manrique are, though present, always rather subtle and lacking in detail when it comes to travel magazines and brochures. The artist is very often mentioned, but little information about his work and his persona are provided. Lanzarote is normally chosen because of its landscapes and thanks to the promise of an out-of-the-ordinary experience, in a place that had not suffered as much indiscriminate tourist development as other places. Although reference to Manrique is always implied, the connection to his work is not always referred to.

The figure of Manrique becomes relevant once the tourist has arrived in Lanzarote and notices that almost everything that can be done or seen on the Island has somehow been designed, planned or influenced by the artist. Every house, building, park, promenade or highway provides a certain gaze because it has been built following Manrique's directions. This aspect is well stressed by the informative material found in hotel rooms, provided by the guides, and during meetings with people from the tour operator, with the result that what has been a subsidiary reason for travelling to Lanzarote (if it existed at all), suddenly becomes one of the focal points of the whole holiday period. A young tourist from Italy I interviewed, defined Manrique as a 'Jack of all trades', a statement that was intended to be a joke, but that definitely well describes one of the ways in which the artist is perceived by tourists.

[8] The original reads, 'Buena parte de la iniziativa privada se ha escudado en el argumento plástico para llevar a cabo el juego de la especulación y del crecimiento urbanístico. La estética arquitectónica sería la "mascara turistica" o la "fachada xterior" del gran negocio del turismo, que se centra en las parcelas de la especulación de suelo y en su venta'.

Conclusion

The study of the relationship between the artwork and aesthetic ideal of Manrique and the development of tourism in Lanzarote has proved to be complex. Thanks to his aesthetic 'programme', sustainability and environmental conservation were turned by Manrique into a 'brand', deeply interconnected with the image of Lanzarote, to the extent that it is impossible to refer to the former without implying the latter. In this sense, Manrique proved to be a pioneer in what has been later called 'place-branding'. I have taken up Urry's theorization of the tourist gaze and I have considered how this gaze becomes objectified. The tourist gaze is created through the selection of certain relevant elements and is planned prior to the tourism experience by tourism specialists. The tourist often can only conform to it because of two main factors: first, the anticipation that reading dedicated magazines, guides, brochures, etc. has created. These readings are always patchy and voluntarily full of gaps, in an attempt to hook the reader, but also to keep an aura of mystery on their subject. The tourist, therefore, must be interested in following the directions given in order to satisfy his curiosity, and must accept the validity of the information provided. The second factor, which can also be considered a consequence of the first one, is that people visiting a place for the first time cannot count on previous knowledge about the experiences that are awaiting them. Since the tourist cannot base his judgments on previous knowledge, he is more eager to adapt to the reality that tourist guides, cultural brokers and middlemen present to him.

In the case of Lanzarote, this aspect poses a further problem, that of defining whether the tourist experience can be considered as 'authentic', due to the nature of the development occurred on the Island, regulated by the ideals of Manrique and by the regulations of the Island's Council.

In an attempt to define 'authenticity' in relation to the tourist experience Reisinger and Steiner suggested that Heidegger's phenomenology would be useful because according to him 'what is cannot be other than it is.' (Reisinger, Steiner 2005:78). This affirmation accords with the fact that the tourist can often only conform to the gaze he is provided with because the travel experience cannot be replicated – including the case of recurring tourists – and a term of comparison that would help to discriminate the 'authentic' from the 'staged' doesn't exist. The tourist's experience is always authentic.

It was maintained that it is hard to achieve a coincidence between branded places and real places, since positive aspects of the place – in relation to the brand that one is trying to create – are going to be enhanced, while negative aspects will be left out. As a consequence of that, the question whether Lanzarote can be considered as more or less authentic than other places should probably be posed in different terms. If we agree that authenticity is in the eye of the beholder, and that the choice of travelling to Lanzarote is the consequence of a marketing action which is aimed to pre-select the tourists according to preferences, beliefs, etc. then worrying about what is actually authentic in Lanzarote is pointless, because the Island does nothing else than fulfill those expectations that have been promised.

Lanzarote cannot be compared to other places, such as Las Vegas, where reproductions of monuments and life styles are the norm. The difference lies in the fact that while in Las Vegas we can see copies, which could technically be compared anytime with

their original, in Lanzarote this is not possible: we can see the reiterated reproduction of an architectural model through the years, but we do not have a term of comparison with what would have been if Manrique hadn't imposed his aesthetic criteria. In Lanzarote what is cannot be other than it is.

The alienating feeling that can be perceived in some areas of the Island – as in Marina Rubicón – should probably not be reported as a case of 'staged authenticity', but rather as the result of too much success and engagement. Manrique himself often used the expression '*morir de éxito*' when talking about Lanzarote, which can be translated as 'dying from success'.[9] This aspect implies the consideration of the difference between what Manrique wanted to achieve and the effective consequences of having pursued this goal.

Therefore, it is easy to understand why the image of the Island is strongly linked to that of Manrique, and this bond cannot easily be loosened. There are three basic reasons: (1) Manrique provided an aesthetic definition for Lanzarote, (2) which turned into legislation that widely influences the lives of its inhabitants, but most importantly (3) Manrique constituted (and still constitutes) a media icon.

[9] Idoya Cabrera Delgado, personal communication.

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Under the Messina Bridge: Conflict, Governance and Participation

Enrico Sacco and Ivano Scotti
(University of Naples Federico II)
enrico.sacco@unina.it – ivano.scotti@unina.it

Governmental decisions to build any kind of infrastructure inevitably seem to trigger social conflict between the Public Administration and the local civil society. These conflicts could be considered a crisis of political legitimacy and the analysis of these social struggles might help to understand the issues of the 'governance' and the 'participation' in contemporary society. The Bridge over the Strait of Messina seems to represent a characteristic case on the Italian way of governance and its difficulties to meet local interests and social legitimacy about infrastructural policies. Using some of Habermas' key-concepts, we analyse the counter-arguments and the strategies employed by local social movements against the Bridge. The study of the dynamics of the social conflict around the Bridge suggest how the widespread social opposition that has stopped its construction has been a social reaction to the closure of the negotiations, making it impossible for the local social actors to have a say in this project. It is argued that engaging local actors through a collaborative participation on the policy agenda is conditional to avoiding hard social conflict. Also, a reformulation of Italian legislation seems to be necessary in order to achieve this goal.
Keywords: Civil Society, governance, participation, social movements.

Introduction

In this article we present the results of an exploratory research regarding the Messina Bridge project, linking Sicily to Calabria in Southern Italy.[1] Using key-concepts in the Habermasian framework, we attempt to offer an explanation of the dynamics of the social conflict around the Bridge project and to identify how and when participation of the local actors in infrastructural projects can help to avoid disruptive social conflict over Government policies and to produce more democratic policy decisions.

Often governmental decisions to build infrastructures seem to inevitably trigger conflict between the public administration and the local society, especially when grassroots participation is limited. From this viewpoint, these conflicts could be seen as a crisis of political legitimacy, and their analysis may help to understand the issue of *governance* and *participation* (Pardo and Prato 2011). Although these conflicts may delay the realization of the planned infrastructures, sometimes they lead to positive changes in the initial plans. This seems to happen because diverse *reasons* emerge from the social conflicts and literally invade the space of the policy. In short, social local movements can create an advocacy coalition that offers in the public sphere an effective alternative, infrastructural solution to the proposed governmental projects.

[1] What follows is the result of a joint effort. However paragraphs 1, 2, 3 were written by Ivano Scotti, while paragraphs 4 and 5 were written by Enrico Sacco. The conclusion was written jointly. This article is an updated version of a study carried out as part of a research project coordinated by Patrizio Di Nicola (Sapienza, University of Rome). Some results of that research were published in Fontana and Sacco (2011). We wish to thank the anonymous reviewers for *Urbanities* for their valuable comments, which helped to improve the manuscript. We are also grateful to Italo Pardo for the opportunity to present our research at the International Interdisciplinary Conference on 'Issues of Legitimacy: Entrepreneurial Culture, Corporate Responsibility and Urban Development' that was held in Naples, Italy, between 10 and 14 September 2012 and to Paola De Vivo for her encouragement through the process of writing this article.

The events regarding the Strait of Messina Bridge seem to make an exemplary case in the Italian social-political context. In spite of the fact that the Bridge was presented as a crucial element in the context of a general modernization plan of Italy and became part of a more complex road network envisaged by the EU (the Corridor 1 Berlin-Palermo), the lack of social participation in the decision-making process and the ambiguous behaviour of some local administrations triggered local actors' opposition. As a result, the Bridge is only on paper, the legitimacy of the Bridge is in doubt and the realization of the project appears far from becoming a reality.

In short, well beyond the realization of the infrastructure, we have attempted to study the effects of a unilateral governmental decision on a territory that tries to generate its own autonomous socio-economic development, on which the presence of the Bridge could have a frustrating effect. We have investigated the viewpoint of the local movement born with the aim of contrasting the Bridge project, the 'Rete No Ponte' (literally, 'Network No Bridge'; from now on, RNP). We used qualitative methods, particularly the construction of case-studies. The collection of the empirical material was organized in two main ways: in-depth interviews with ten important members of the RNP movement, and the analysis of the information given in the main national and local newspapers over the last five years. Useful material has also been collected through participation in some demonstrations against the Bridge organized in Messina between July and August 2010. The study of legislative framework (national and local) and of socio-political literature on this issue also has provided a useful database.

The first section of the discussion that follows explains the theoretical framework adopted and the key-concepts used in this research. The second section offers a short story of the Bridge. The sections from third to fifth focus on an analysis of the case study. The concluding section summarizes our findings.

Social Movements and Conflicts: A Framework

Recently, an interesting study has analysed the complex issue of the legitimacy of governance (Pardo and Prato 2011), showing how in a democracy the authority of rulers must be recognized on *moral* and *legal* grounds because the democratic process is based on a fundamental accord between the rulers and the will of the people. Consequently, social conflict about policies can be seen as an expression of a failed connection between these two aspects. It also leads us to reconsider citizenship as a 'relationship concept', for the way in which governance is experienced by different social groups tends to reflect the existence of different categories of citizens. From this viewpoint it is clear that social conflict can be considered as a redefinition and a renegotiation of political power and of the legitimacy of State actions in any context where public decision-making disregards local interests.

Some anthropological studies have also analysed how environmental movements use discursive strategies in the social conflict as a kind of 'transactional' action (Tarrow and Petrona 2006, Torsello 2011). In other words, these works have shown how, in order to reach their goals, social movements manage to change their strategies according to the different political and social actors with which they interact. These studies look at environmentalism –

intended as a social movement aimed both at promoting the protection of the environment and at politicizing citizens' claims to such protection – as a project of political interaction which makes use of local and global resources to achieve the legitimacy of its actions (Torsello 2011). Moreover, as Mollica points out (2012), in order to understand better local political conflict it is important to take into account the role and dynamics of the communication process through which the political élites legitimize issues that carry symbolic and identity meanings.

We suggest that, in this debate, the theoretical framework of Habermas (1981, 1984) can contribute to an analysis of the conflicting dynamics of local opposition to infrastructural policies. In particular, this framework appears to be useful to our research on the actions of a local movement in the public sphere against a governmental decision, and the attendant dynamics of the process of negotiation and conflict. From this standpoint, as some scholars have noted (Bedrous 2009, Brulle 2000, Withworth 2000, Edwards 2009), social conflicts that arise from the actions of collective actors, the social movements, are seen as a form of self-organization of the civil society. They are free associations of people who have something in common – interests, values, living conditions and so on – and who act in the public sphere as agents of change. In a democracy they attempt to transform their 'private standpoint' regarding work conditions, standard of living, and so on, into 'shared public issues' (Staggenborg 2007). In order to achieve their goals, these movements need to obtain a broad consensus in the social context that produces a change in the political agenda and incorporates the demands raised in the *public sphere* (Habermas 1989, 1996). The 'public sphere' is the place where the private interests of the actors clash with the main social issues; the outcomes of this struggle redefine the norms that control the economic and bureaucratic system and produce changes in the collective viewpoint about the world. In an *ideal speech situation*, where everyone can freely state their views in the public sphere, the result of the social confrontation (or conflict) is a rational solution of the problems (Habermas 1993).

Nevertheless, as various authors have stressed (Calhoun 1992; Fraser 1990, 2003; Negt and Kluge 1993), the notion of public sphere needs to be rethought. To begin with, the public sphere is not a monolithic social space, for societies are marked by internal differentiation among social groups that have different social resources and interests; consequently, social differences among these groups determinate different public spheres. According to Lolive (1999), the mobilization of movements can generate an alternative viewpoint (from particular interests) and redefine the policies first of all because they generate their own position in the public sphere close to the movements and then because they attempt to redefine 'public interest' through the dynamics of social conflict. For these reasons, some *counter-public spheres* are observed to be in collaborative or conflicting relationships with each other over the definition of the common good.

However, to understand how and if movements can promote social change, we must consider three dimensions: the political opportunity structure, the resources mobilized and the cognitive *praxis.* The first is related to the openness/closeness of the political system to the movements and their claims (Kiesi et al. 1992). The second concerns the ability of the movements to link with other social objectives, their internal organizational structure and the

way in which they manage resources – money, citizens, experts and so on (Della Porta and Diani 2006). The third aspect refers to the identity, meaning and knowledge that movements represent and are capable of conveying and producing through the social struggle (Catherin 2000). Taken together, all these elements may explain the social dynamics of conflict and of its results.

In short, we can summarize our theoretical standpoint as follows:

1. Social conflict generated by the movements against infrastructural policies could be considered as a reaction to a unilateral top-down decision that is seen as disruptive in a specific context because its realization would deeply change the socio-cultural and environmental scenario;

2. The attitude of the political system to social movements must be evaluated considering which public sphere influences the decision-making process and what factors block their ability to influence political decisions by other actors;

3. In order to achieve their goals movements must expand their counter-public sphere of action by including social issues related to their main interests. This can increase their available resources and their strength to influence political decisions; at the same time, this increases the complexity of their internal organization.

In our view, this framework helps to analyse the rise of social conflict against infrastructural policies and to understand what a movement needs in order to influence these policies. However, as Schlosberg (1995) noted, only the analysis of the practices of the movements can help to understand how a critical framework can be useful in the social analysis and, thus, to understand better the relationship between cultural representation (discursive frame) and the organizational structure of the actions of social movements (their practices).

An 'Unrealized Bridge'

The Messina Bridge project is one of the major infrastructure works which the last Berlusconi Government considered part of a modernization plan for Italy. This colossal infrastructure – 3,300 meters long and 60 meters wide supported by two gigantic piers – should be completed by 2017 at the cost of 8.5 billion Euros. The Bridge would be part of the priority mobility projects of the EU, a section of the *European Corridor N. 1* which would link Palermo to Berlin.[2]

However, the idea of connecting Sicily with the mainland is not new. In 1969, two government-owned companies, ANAS and FS,[3] launched an international competition to stimulate bids on a project regarding the construction of a motorway and a railway on the Messina Strait. After three years, the law n. 1158/1971 granted authorization to build a link

[2] See the EU COM (2007)135. However, in 2011 the EU Commission changed the initial project. Among the EU infrastructure priorities, the Corridor n. 1 will be replaced by the Corridor n. 5 'Helsinki-Valletta' which excludes the Calabria and Sicily Regions.

[3] ANAS is an Italian government-owned company responsible for the construction and maintenance of motorways and state highways. FS is a government-owned holding that manages infrastructure and services on the Italian rail network.

between Sicily and Calabria. In 1982, the 'Stretto di Messina S.p.A.' company was established, and was appointed by the Italian government to plan, build and manage the Bridge. IRI, a government-owned industrial holding, was the majority shareholder of the 'Stretto di Messina S.p.A.', while Regions accessed minor shares. From the start, the construction of the Bridge appeared to be a central Government top-down decision and what happened in the subsequent years is widely known (Angelini 2010, Bottari 2009, Marino 2010). Here, we want to address the social aspects related to this 'unrealized Bridge'; therefore, as Mollica shows (2012), it is important to consider the long and turbulent history of public communication in relation to the potential socio-economic impact of the Bridge on the local communities. In particular, the institutional communication that has been generated to justify the infrastructure continues to influence the debate among the public on a facility that was imagined and discussed but never built. The social-political events connected to the Messina Bridge have produced extensive scientific and journalistic disputes. Several aspects have been explored (environmental, economic, normative, technological, and so on.) and some questions have been asked, such as: Why has it been decided to build this major infrastructure? What are the political reasons, the economic interests and the strategies behind this action? These questions have certainly raised great interest, but most studies have addressed only a few aspects of the problem, and in a fragmented way. From a sociological viewpoint there are still many questions to be answered; for instance: What institutional method was chosen in order to mitigate the potential conflict among the stakeholders? What are the spaces created to discuss the Bridge with local citizens? Finally, if there is no room for negotiation between public decision-makers and the civil local society, what are the outcomes of these choices? The study of these issues may offer insights that go beyond the case study and contribute to the broader debate on development paths and the underlying decision-making models (Baert, Koniordos, Procacci and Ruzza 2012).

To analyse the social and institutional elements that mark the history of 'the Bridge' means to expose the idea of development stemming from modernist thought (Berger 1974, Caillé 1988, Folliet 1950, Mumford 1934). In spite of widespread criticism, this model of governance in respect to development continues to be dominant among Italian political decision-makers. Therefore, the hypothesis from which we started our investigation was that the Messina Bridge embodies a development model that relies on systemic legitimization, meaning an imposition of political decision on local social life that would be legitimized only by the economic benefits calculated by the Government.

The Different Interests at Stake

Recently, the significance of the Bridge has increased following two legislative events. First, the Berlusconi governments removed several political and financial stumbling blocks to the start of construction. Thus, an infrastructure that would connect Sicily to mainland Italy has been transformed from a utopian idea into a feasible project. In this context, the 'Stretto di Messina S.p.A.' was used as promoter in the negotiation processes regarding the planning and execution of the project, involving local Administrations and private actors, such as companies. The managing director of the 'Stretto di Messina S.p.A.' is the link between the

Government and the General Contractor for the construction of Bridge; he used his wide political and financial network in the organization of the call for tenders (2005), the stipulation of the agreement regulating the execution of the project and the management of the Bridge. However, discussion between public institutions and local citizens did not happen, nor was it contemplated.

The Infrastructure Plan of 2009, passed by the Centre-right government, re-launched both the 'Legge Obiettivo' (the target law) and the so-called 'Major Strategic Public Works'. According to the law 443/2001, Major Strategic Public Works are 'public and private infrastructures and settlements of high national interest to be realized for modernizing and developing the Nation'. In this context, the Bridge is cast as the symbol of a new modernization process led by the central government, a sort of redemption offered to the communities of Southern Italy, and as evidence of a far-sighted political class' commitment to development. The following quote is exemplary: 'The goal of the Messina Bridge is to increase significantly the provision of transportation, thus creating economic development and occupational growth not only for Sicily and Calabria, but for the whole Southern Italy and the Nation' (Ministry for Infrastructures and Transportation, January 2010).

This rhetoric caused some of the first divisions among public opinion, and refreshed widespread discussion on the concept of modernization, which for many scholars is equivalent to the concept of destruction (see, for example, Pieroni 2000). On the other hand, the supporters of the infrastructure see the protests as a nuisance. These demonstrations are considered as the expression of an attitude that prevents economic growth, or rather as the will of a fierce and blind minority. In the words of Norberto Bobbio, this is why 'It is impossible to create something new in Italy! When major public works are stopped for long periods of time Italy will not be able to advance at the same rate as other countries!' (Bobbio 2006: 126).

Officially, the building site for the biggest infrastructure connection in Europe is ready. By 2010, the first, smaller building sites had also been prepared, and in some areas big bores have been laid. In the meantime, local conflict seems to increase, which was particularly the case when, in 2001, the project was considered to be impossible to stop.[4] It should be noted that the frictions are between all the public institutions and the local citizens. The dividing lines are pretty clear in these disputes. At the central government level, both the main Right and Left political parties have claimed, on several occasions, the strategic importance of the road and rail links. The EU, despite its fluctuating opinion, has supported the construction of the Bridge. At a national level, this project is seen as a good example of the view of development formulated by the Centre-right government. Even the Centre-left parties, though using different words, have not minimized the economic and social impact of the infrastructure. Moreover, the confederate trade unions are 'in favour of the Bridge' in view of its employment impact. Finally, both the trade unions and government groups are legitimized by a large part of the scientific economic debate.

[4] In 2001, a few days before the elections won by Romano Prodi (Centre-left coalition), the contract was signed with 'Impregilo & Co.'. Impregilo is an Italian-based company headquartered in Milan and the lead partner in the consortium for the Messina Bridge project.

The starting point of many analyses is that: '[Italy] is lagging when compared with other EU member states, because of the close relationship between the industrial system and the insufficient presence of industrial infrastructure; a further expansion of the gap between the two could lead to a loss of further competitiveness [...] in the case of infrastructure, the risk is that the presence of a strong anomaly (South Italy) within an already abnormal situation (our country) will make things worse, in this situation measures must be taken without further delay in order to reverse the trend' (Nuzzi 2007: 180).

The Regions involved – mostly Sicily – have supported the project together with the Municipalities of Messina and Reggio Calabria. Yet, at local level, opinions change frequently. During the demonstration 'No TAV – No Bridge' held in Messina on January 22nd 2006,[5] Rocco Cassone (the Centre-left Mayor of Villa San Giovanni) stated, 'From this day a virtual Bridge has been erected between Southern Italy and the Susa Valley against the building of structures which do not respond to real territorial needs' (*Repubblica*, January 23rd, 2006). In 2005, also the newly elected Mayor of Messina expressed his fierce opposition. In spite of the opposition to the Bridge found among mayors, councilmen and town councils, the opponents have not managed to provoke an inter-institutional conflict strong enough to stop the attendant decision-making processes. This can be seen as testimony to the weakness that marks the lack of permanent institutional coordination among these small local administrations; it also suggests that, in this case, the key contrast is between public institutions at the central level on one side, and movements and citizen associations on the other.

It also seems clear that the weak support of local governments to the movement against the Bridge and the absence of a negotiating space, did not offer a favourable 'political opportunity structure' for the movement to put forward its position about the Bridge. This is a first level of analysis, which, as highlighted in our theoretical framework, is key to understand the context of action of the movement and its opportunities to affect Governmental decision. However, in the last few years, many early environmental movements are trying to reach a compromise with the Government. They have become complex organizations, engaged in a variety of environmental problems, and the need to protect legitimate functions within the political institutions has led to a substantial change in their opposition. Some activists of the RNP have repeatedly stressed this transformation. As an RNP activist put it, 'in the last few years we have noted a significant decrease in interest regarding the Bridge issue by WWF, Legambiente and Italia Nostra. This happened in concomitance with the election of the new Centre-right government […] they do not invest in the opposition of the Bridge any more, they only arrange some meetings, conferences and very small events […], compared with what had been sponsored in the past, such as the initiatives of scientific research and extensive local communication events.'

Today, the project of the Messina Bridge continues to pose unsolved problems and difficulties regarding its realization, such as international economic flows versus local needs,

[5] 'No TAV' is a grassroots movement born in the 1990s in Susa Valley (Northern Italy) in order to oppose the construction of the Alpine tunnel for the high-speed rail network.

local citizens' expectations versus global competitive processes. It is also important to remember that some of the associations opposed to the Bridge are local groups specifically created to stop the project for specifically local reasons. To summarize chronologically, the key points in the conflict have been: 1) the negative effects of the infrastructure in terms of environmental impact; 2) the unsustainability of the Bridge from an engineering-related standpoint; 3) the uselessness of the infrastructure in terms of local economy and employment. To support these key points, the RNP network have organized large meetings and demonstrations in order to put forward their viewpoint and mobilize citizens on the issue. This movement proposes alternative reasons, also based on local experience, on all issues related to the Bridge. A RPN activist stated, 'There is no definitive estimate of the costs and benefits of the infrastructure […] the seismic risks characterizing the area might cause a major disaster [moreover] the "Stretto di Messina S.p.A." must be closed, and the public money at the disposal of the Inter-ministerial Committee for Economic Programming must be spent on the real emergencies in Southern Italy [because] unless the whole southern mobility network is changed, the Messina Bridge will be a useless infrastructure, a white elephant!' Another activist said, 'We want proximity structures, small public works locally useful and not major public works that cause inconvenience. We want small roads and small Bridges which do not collapse because of floods or bad weather! We want the whole southern area, the whole of Sicily, to be secure; we just want many small things, which could lead to employment, as well as to a new sense of identity and growing awareness.'

The RNP published several articles and comments on its official website regarding to the action strategies of the General Contractor 'Eurolink' and the 'Stretto di Messina S.p.A.' company.[6] They focus on the relationships, sometimes described as not transparent, between the many public actors involved in the infrastructure intervention (Regions, Ministries, Municipalities) and the companies to which the contract has been awarded. The activists want to highlight the 'bribery', 'special interests', and 'waste of public resources' tainting the 'Stretto di Messina S.p.A', its managing director, and the General Contractor. In the words of an activist, 'Through the project-financing some private interests come into play [...]. They will exploit the Bridge for many years regaining the money they have spent also thanks to public intervention. Usually, it states that they will obtain more than what they have invested and a part of their profits will go back to the State and the local authorities. But this is impossible, because the number of Bridge passages will be inferior in comparison to the forecast quantity. In this way the profit of private actors is connected to the waste of public funds.

As it has been recently underlined (Della Porta and Piazza 2008), an interesting aspect of the movement against the Bridge is that its members attempt to develop a discussion capable of countering the accusation of localism, shifting frequently from a local discourse to a global one. For them, these infrastructures are a danger to the common good. A RNP

[6] The RNP's website carries the daily update of a virtual meeting place. Here, the movement publicises all its activities and collects articles about the economy and society of the Messina Strait. Obviously, particular attention is given to the political and administrative aspects connected to the construction of the Bridge.

activist's statement illustrates well this point. He said, 'We must not betray our goals, the level of close examination and the level of analysis that characterize our mission, for we might risk a regression or the NIMBY (Not-In-My-Backyard) syndrome. As far as ten years ago, we tried to spread the idea that the issue was not only the protection of the territory but, most importantly, a distorted idea of the development of an area. We reported on the uniqueness in the management of our public resources and we also tried to link the Bridge issue to the general political context' (See n. 10).

These positions go far beyond the debate on a single facility and engage important ethical issues concerning the idea of 'development'. Thus, the Bridge can be seen as a symbol of division between two different – and incompatible – development models in which growth is opposed to underdevelopment, consumption to saving and authority to participation (Pieroni and Ziparo 2012). These are contrasting orders of priorities in which the mutual encounter, the compromise or the acceptance of the others' point of view can be realistic hypotheses if there are substantial procedures allowing a dialogue between the government and the citizens on strategic decisions on development. These procedures become fundamental especially when it comes to legitimizing infrastructure choices which will have considerable impact on a territory for many years to come. These choices cannot be endorsed simply by issuing a governmental decree.

It is also interesting to note that this movement has made use of the opinions expressed by experts in several fields. Geologists, engineers, city planners, economists and social scientists have shared their knowledge with the movement, producing a higher awareness both in the movement itself and in its counter-public opinion (Pieroni 2012). Such 'alternative expertise' has given the movement a set of data, specialized studies and scientifically-oriented technical language which have proved useful in their understanding of very technical issues and in their standing when interacting with their counterparts. This demonstrates that the movement has skilfully mobilized both material and non-material resources. Specifically, it should be stressed that the conflict was based on *knowledge*, in support of different forms of legitimacy and that the movement tried to expand through counter-knowledge and experts the consensus on its position. However, it is not always easy for ordinary citizens to interpret conflicts based on scientific matters and, as in the case of the Bridge, this adds to the confusion on the implications of the dispute. Sometimes the scientific-based debate has confounded the issues related to the factual sustainability of the infrastructure with the potential negative social and cultural consequences of the Bridge. The media played a key role, as they broadcast the propaganda for and against the bridge. As pointed out by Mollica, 'Such seeds of propaganda have taken root easily in a well-watered ground, for public opinion had been made vulnerable by the offensives of official (or perceived as such) sources, including leading newspapers. Metaphors and strongarm tactics have been used in relation to all Messina Bridge-related issues. They have become a source of biased interpretations of events and a fertile ground for subtle political agendas, which has been continuously replenished by socio-economic narratives and their convenient interpretations' (2012: 65). And yet, this conflict has proved that a particular social group can manage a difficult issue. In the recent past, the most detailed critique has been generally

presented by scholars and intellectuals belonging to varied fields in the social sciences. In some cases, however, the argument was presented in highly philosophical terms.[7] It is easy to notice that some intellectuals discussed the Bridge while losing sight of the economic and social dynamics closer to the daily life and real needs of citizens. This reflects the fact that, although it has involved many lower-middle-class people, the opposition to the Bridge originated in the counter-public sphere of the local upper-middle-class.

Also because of the dramatic increase in the subjects participating in the current public debate, the institutional relationships have become intricate and for the majority of individual citizens the 'discussion room' appears to have become smaller. Due to the absence of institutional alternatives, citizens are forced to choose a collective subject that can give them a voice, technical knowledge and a political and intellectual platform, but there is the risk of poor communication between individual citizens and the various levels of representation of the local movements. In other words, there is no chance for a single, untagged individual or group without an organizational identity to express their opinions in the mainstream public sphere. This leads to a double exclusion. One is imposed from the top, in the form of the authoritarian strategy of the government. The other, results from social and cultural dynamics leading to the success of certain protest movements with a strong élitist factor. After all, the organized groups themselves have been involved in an artificial, indirect confrontation. A RNP activist graphically stated, 'Any confrontation has always been indirect; for example, through newspapers. Many times a confrontation has started at a distance, through local newspapers, which is not useful with regard to the complexity of the issue. […] The formal debate is absolutely inconclusive. We have tried to create opportunities for discussing the issue with the institutions and for participation opened to all, with no significant results. In the end, all that we have obtained as a movement was indirect communication, a scarcely fulfilling repetition of simple formulas devoid of reflection.'

The conflict has become an informal but definite space, where the most influential stakeholders (in terms of the quality and the quantity of resources which can be activated) operate in a framework devoid of rules. This absence of rules and places dedicated to interaction between the parties leads to the production of a discourse marked by ideological tones. The absence of places for interaction between politicians and civil society seems to have a huge impact on the organizational strategy adopted by the no-Bridge movements. It is interesting to note, for example, the constant search for 'impressive' communication strategies, the on-going search for striking slogans, and so on. When the institutional dialogue is blocked, when the indifference of the institutions and of the contracting companies continues to stand, when national and local newspapers do not provide space for discussion and the managing director of the 'Stretto di Messina S.p.A.' erects communication barriers between himself and the local civil society, citizens' movements look for alternative paths.[8]

[7] The case of Osvaldo Pieroni is emblematic. He is a sociologist and a member of the Committee 'Between Scilla and Cariddi', which was established in 1998, following the approval of the general project. Pieroni has made high sociological-philosophical arguments against the Bridge.

[8] The Ministry for Infrastructure and Transportation did not foster any form of dialogue in the territories discussed here. Information about the infrastructure was fragmentary and of scarce

They try to adapt to the situation and use every possible opportunity to shout out their views, which might explain why the current protests look like a 'show'. Movements search for opportunities to create an image and get ready to collect and concentrate in a single action the existing malcontent. The activists of RNP have climbed up electric transmission towers, have printed postcards depicting the Messina Bridge between the arms of the *Mafia* and of the *N'drangheta*[9] and have produced calendars depicting the natural beauties of the Strait of Messina. These actions are taken by people who do not have any alternative democratic space for discussion of the information in their possession. The views of those who have lost their trust in the traditional mechanism of a pluralist democracy are exemplified by an RNP activist, who said 'The Messina Bridge is an issue of extreme importance affecting the whole of Italy. The allocated resources are enormous, and it affects one of the most beautiful regions in the world. This is why a movement was born from the bottom, in a place where there is a subculture, where democratic spaces do not exist, where only spaces guided by the worst policy exist; and yet the movement has managed to do things like these [...] but is not given the room that it deserves. That is incredible! We should have been on the front pages of all major newspapers.'

The absence of a dialogue between institutions and local actors could be also explained considering the expertise of some significant individuals in this conflictual context. The case under study is emblematic. On the one hand, the chairman of the 'Strait of Messina S.p.A.' merely performed the role of mediator between the Government and private companies. He had high-profile managerial skills, important relationships with national representative of Centre-right parties and was a board member in some important Italian institutions (banks, the industrial association and so on). However, he did not have the necessary ability to manage local conciliation procedures. His strategy of confrontation with local actors was marked by his formal defence of the prerogatives and the responsibilities assigned to him by the Government. On the other hand, the chairman of Eurolink established relationships especially with local public actors (Town Councils, Provinces, Regions and Universities) in order to organize the construction work and collect new information on the social context. Also this chairman had top managerial skills but he, too, did not show any ability or competence to mediate between different types of local interest.[10]

Consensus and Ambiguity about the Bridge

Recently, despite the fact that members of the RNP are prepared to do anything to stop the building activities, their actions seem to have encountered difficulties that are hampering the

diffusion. Moreover, both the company 'Stretto di Messina S.p.A.' and 'Eurolink' (the General Contractor), communicated poorly with the local populations. Consequently, the latter tend to see the decisions taken at national level as 'imposed from the top', and the multilevel governance system as a system growing more complex and unclear.

[9] These are two major criminal organizations in Italy. The *N'drangheta* is mainly based in the Calabria Region.

[10] On the relationship between the outcomes of public policy and individual competences, see Cerase (2010) and De Vivo (2012).

movement's activism against the Bridge. In addition to the support of the governmental actors and the business world, the issue of the Bridge project seems to have reached a consensus among important sectors of the Sicilian and Calabrian populations. Compared with the recent past, many more citizens now foresee the possibility of getting a job through the opening of the first building sites and the awarding of building contracts. It is not coincidental that some of the movement's recent actions have been opposed and openly criticized by the local population. These difficulties appear harder to overcome for the movement, which generates conflict in Southern Italian society between who is 'for' and who is 'against' the Bridge. The new and unexpected inconveniences that these events have caused for the movement demonstrate its inability to connect to the lower middle strata of the population, which have a tendency to be in favour of the Bridge.

As it emerges from their interviews, the historical opponents of the Bridge continue to show their disapproval, claiming that the business interests of a few people – harshly criticized in the period 2002-2006 – are once again disguised by the promise of economic growth for the chronically underdeveloped local areas. At this point of the conflict, one observes that 'the promise of work' becomes a new source of legitimization and consensus in the territories around the Strait. Questions about local consensus and its social implications arise inside the movement; in the words of an activist, 'The opening of the first construction sites has certainly influenced the opinion of many citizens. Some have started thinking that the realization of the Bridge might be an economic opportunity to be taken advantage of. I am not only referring to the construction sites directly related to the Bridge, but to all supplementary infrastructures. […] I am talking about the small sites involving small local enterprises. This is an industry which achieves consensus. Many people have started thinking that the Bridge will generate employment, which is important in an area characterized by economic and employment difficulties.'

This change in ordinary people's views has led the movement to intensify its actions in the local communities in order to try to connect to the local actors. The support of the population – or of its important sections – is a crucial element for any protest movement. In this sense, from a sociological perspective, it is interesting to see the current confrontation between the representatives of the movement and the more 'disadvantaged' citizens. As a RNP activist reported to us, 'I am referring to citizens who are almost illiterate but hold an opinion on this issue. They tell me: "I see and totally understand what you (the movement) want to do. I am from Messina and I know that the Bridge cannot be built there; but let's be very clear: I am a manual labourer and, in one year, I have been unemployed for 250 days. If a construction site is opened, even only to dig a hole, and I am hired, what should I do?"'

Our informants in the movement claim that the central government has managed to achieve a broad consensus by giving erroneous information on the real economic and employment benefits connected to the building of the Bridge. For example, 4,500 workers would be expected to be involved in the construction process of the Bridge; but, the movement's activists say, the fact has been omitted that the skills required are absent in the

Sicilian and Calabrian labour market.[11] However, the Bridge appears to be the only possible way to address the local chronic economic crisis; the only action capable of generating employment opportunities, of rapidly revitalizing the economy and of attracting large investment. Furthermore, in South Italy there is a trade-off going on between the hope for a better future (economic development) and a short-term choice to survive (for example, the acceptance of potential environmental problems). As the movement's veterans claim, the representatives of the local governments are the most zealous tools in this process. As a RNP veteran put it, 'They explain the problem with the right degree of linguistic parsimony. They say, "to reject the Bridge means to lose the only available opportunity to curb the economic crisis." […] This is a situation in which the fundamental needs of the citizens come into play, and this is why the issues connected to the Bridge are numerous and complex.'

In the absence of open procedures of decision-making, it seems that a compromise has been established between consensus and personal satisfaction, instead of between consensus and improvement of quality of life and future well-being. Now many people claim that the Bridge will be, at least, an element for an economic recovery, and it does not matter if such recovery is temporary and ends when the last stone is laid. Thus, the long-term effects of a major transportation work are being treated as minor. This is far from the transparency and participation method formally employed in many parts of Northern Europe. What is happening in Southern Italy reminds us of the kind of well-known unequal exchange in the so-called developing countries of Africa and Latin America, where the classical dilemma of the relationship between the benefits of economic growth and the distribution of environmental and social costs is simply hidden (De Vivo 2005). The institutional rhetoric claims that the major public works (bridges, dams, power stations, and so on) give support to economies and societies characterized by extreme conditions of poverty. The implicit message is that even if the positive consequences connected to the infrastructure in the near or far future are scarce, its main mission is to revive, at whatever cost, a territory at risk of social disintegration.

Many activists have recently started questioning their past action strategies. Once the possibility of delaying the construction of the Bridge is accepted (occupying the building sites, blocking motorways), the obligation to produce a quick change of ideas and political proposals becomes necessary. Some state that the movement is outdated because the previous reasons and social conditions have disappeared and new modes of action should be studied in order to use the accumulated experience for a new and effective awareness campaign. Today, the issue regarding the problem of the Bridge has changed. If at the beginning the protest was labelled 'the protest of NO', from 2008 things began to change. On December 19th 2009, the movement organized a more proactive political proposal, asking for a new use of the funds for the Messina Bridge. The support is considerable: 10,000 demonstrators signed the movement's proposal in one of the most famous squares of Messina. This considerable shift from a reactive to a proactive movement was illustrated by a RNP activist, who said, 'We

[11] Recently, the RNP stated: 'the sites for geognostic surveys have employed 5 people from Messina out of 125 workers. Moreover, the potential construction of the Bridge has already caused the loss of more than 1,000 jobs in the navigation industry'.

denounce a system of interests which is not concerned with the future of Sicily and does not operate according to a long-term perspective. We want to find a planning dimension linked to the existence of the territories, to their quality of life and to the real needs of the citizens. We want a planning process capable of including the environmental, economic, social, and cultural dimension of the intervention. The movement cannot lessen itself to a simple scheme of opposition. The main issue is the search for an analysis that can involve all the people, and I am not referring only to Sicily but to all of Southern Italy.'

This change in the strategies of the activists can be also explained through the observation of the transformations in the relationships among the few actors that have openly criticized the Bridge in the past. The RNP received the most significant political support from the Radical Left. However, in the last few years the political influence of the Radical Left has been extensively reduced. On the other hand, the Democratic Party (the main Italian Centre-left party) shows little interest in radical forms of commitment and continues to maintain a 'soft' position regarding the infrastructure. As we said earlier, it is also important to remember that the amount of symbolic, economic, scientific and organizational resources held by the movement has been drastically reduced, and that the representatives of the local authorities show an indifferent attitude. Therefore, all the alliances which allowed the dissidents to express their views in an effective way have broken down.

Another issue which has been discussed many times concerns the inefficient use of the natural resources. The movement's appeals continue to portray the Strait of Messina as a common good that cannot be evaluated from an economic perspective. As we have explained, the movement tends to analyse the issue of the Bridge not only from an environmental point of view, but as part of a complex socioeconomic, infrastructure and financial framework. For example, the landslide of Giampilieri, near Messina, which caused the death of 37 people, has had a huge impact on the re-thinking of the motivations for the protest. In 2010, RNP argued that the funds for the Bridge should be used to secure the Sicilian territories from hydro-geological instability. This was the main theme of two demonstrations that took place in Messina on August 28th and October 2nd 2010. The general message that the organizers attempted to convey was that public funds for the Bridge were capital taken away from crucial services (such as health, education, and so on) and public works. This vision was defended in many articles published by the activists in 2011 and 2012. These recent actions have contributed to the construction of a new identity of the movement, and they seem to represent a new cognitive praxis which is changing the distribution of political power in Messina, as in 2013 a well-known exponent of the RNP movement became Mayor of Messina. His electoral strategy focused on ideas and results achieved by the protest movement; so, at the moment, a part of the RNP has become a government actor. Finally, we now know that the Bridge will not be built. In March of 2013 the government led by Mario Monti decided to terminate the contract with Eurolink (the General Contractor), an act that ended a long period of political tensions and social conflict in the area and that indirectly seems to support the thesis that before designing an infrastructure it is important to build a widely shared social legitimacy around the project.

A Short Conclusion

To conclude, we would like to stress two aspects that have surfaced in our study. First, the case of the Messina Bridge can be seen as the result of an instrumental reasoning (central government and corporate interests) in support of a modernist idea of development. Contrary to that, the social reactions that we have studied represent an alternative born in the local communities. As our theoretical framework suggests, this social movement established advocacy coalitions and tried to engage other social actors in the counter-public sphere in order to increase its resources (people, knowledge, money) for opposing actions. The RNP proposed a different way to manage nature and the territories; however, the political scenario in which they operated did not offer opportunities for them to influence the decision-making process. Moreover, it seems clear that pressure on the local communities was compounded by a rhetoric that offered an easy way to address what in this context is an urgent need: local employment. Because of the impossibility of influencing the decision-making process into a different development path, or because it was incapable of managing the against-the-Bridge coalition and offer an extensive and attractive development perspective, the social movement seemed destined to lose importance. However, the conflict regarding the Bridge continued in a different way. In short, the RNP managed to change its catchwords and expand its influence in the social context; also, an important part of the movement decided to enter the institutionalized political arena. This strategy has contributed to delaying the realization the Bridge and, given the decision of the Monti Government, to bring to an end the social opposition.

Of course, this case study has stressed the lack of participation by the Italian governance in infrastructural policies, which leads us to the second aspect that we want to underline; that is, the Italian regulations regarding 'great infrastructures'. In 2009, the Italian government adopted a special plan for the construction of great infrastructures linked to the previous 'Legge Obiettivo' (literally, 'Target Law'). This law defines a list of specific public works (such as national roads, Bridges, energy plants, and so on) that are considered to be of crucial importance for the development and the competitiveness of the country. In order to promote the execution of these important works, this law establishes a special authorization path, outside of the law regulating public contracts and procurements. In spite of the fact that each of these infrastructures potentially involves many different stakeholders, this law does not provide a specific form of involvement of those potentially affected and, in contradiction with EU recommendations on public participation, it does not include any mandatory debates. On the contrary, the legislation has cut down both the time for decision-making and the mandatory assessment of the environmental impact of big facilities. It is not a coincidence that the Ministry for Infrastructures and Transportation has played a leading role in this story, while the Regional authorities have only submitted proposals without being capable of exercising any right of veto over the government's decisions.

The analysis that we have offered has, once again, revealed that the actors potentially interested in a specific policy can be different from, and more numerous than, those identified ex-ante. Some of them may emerge during the governance process and, in lacking a legitimate

place in the policy arena to safeguard their interests, they may disrupt considerably the progress of the governance process itself. The case study that we have discussed brings to light the complex web of social movements, regulatory framework and the environment and suggests that reinforcing participatory space in the decision-making process could be important in order not only to prevent or reduce social conflict but also to strengthen the democratic process by allowing a positive evolution of social organization in terms of cooperative action.

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Lithuanians in Norway: Between 'Here' and 'There'[1]

Darius Daukšas
(Vilnius University)
dariud@yahoo.com

This article draws on findings from fieldwork on Lithuanian immigrants in Oslo. The main focus is on the construction of identity of immigrants from Lithuania in Norway using transnationalism as a theoretical approach. It is argued that immigrants' sense of belonging to Norway is influenced by the *Norwegian context* where the concept of *we* (Norwegians) is defined using ethnic categories, meanwhile *others* are seen as different in terms of their ethnicity. This context creates difficulties for Lithuanian migrants regarding integration in the Norwegian society. However, despite the fact they come from the Eastern Europe, the '*white race*' of Lithuanian migrants allows them to be less identifiable as immigrants, and think that their position in the hierarchical structure of migrants is superior compared to others. The fact that immigrants retain their Lithuanian citizenship illustrates the relationship of *transnational* nation with the state (although the migrants from Lithuania permanently reside in Norway, they remain part of Lithuania through maintaining their citizenship and continuous participation in the political life of Lithuania).
Key words: immigration, Norway, Lithuania, ethnicity, citizenship

'Yes Sir we are legal we are,
though we are not as legal as you.
No Sir we're not equal no,
though we are both from the EU.
We build your homes and wash your dishes.
Keep you your hands all soft and clean.
But one of these days you'll realise
Eastern Europe is in your genes'

(Excerpt from Lithuania's song for the 2010 Eurovision Song Contest in Oslo**)**

Lithuanian immigrants are a relatively new group in Norway. Research suggests that sporadic immigration of Lithuanians to Norway began and gradually gained momentum in the 1990s, with only a few isolated cases observed before that date (in sharp contrast with such historically popular destinations as the US and UK). [2] Norway is now Eastern European migrants' favourite Scandinavian destination (IMDi-rapport 2008: 77).

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[2] This discussion is based on two fieldworks conducted in 2008 (in Oslo and Halden) and 2012 (in Oslo). The survey from 16 March–13 April 2008 was conducted as part of a project called 'Retention of Lithuanian Identity under Conditions of Europeanisation and Globalisation: Patterns of Lithuanian-ness in Response to Identity Politics in Ireland, Norway, Spain, the UK and the US' (Scientific supervisor: Vytis Čiubrinskas; project funded by the Lithuanian National Science and Studies Foundation). A total of 25 Lithuanian immigrants living in Norway were surveyed during the research. The survey from 4 June–3

According to Norway's official statistics, 28,600 Lithuanians are currently based permanently in the country.[3] This is the second-largest immigrant population from the new EU states after the Polish (77,000);[4] third after the Swedes (35,600).[5]

In 2008, IMDi (*Integrerings- og mangfoldsdirektoratet*, the Directorate of Integration and Diversity) published a research report on immigrants from Poland and the Baltic states called 'Vi Blir' (We're Staying). This qualitative research was based on a sample of 1,013 respondents, 69% from Poland, 20% from Lithuania, 5% from Latvia and 6% from Estonia. This distribution reflected the immigrant proportions according to official statistics at the time. As the title suggests, one of the survey's key findings was that immigrants from these countries were planning a longer stay in Norway than was initially expected. The survey also identified problems with integration into Norwegian society, highlighting the existing divide between the dominant majority on the one hand and new immigrants on the other.

Using the above research as a starting point, this paper discusses issues involving Lithuanian integration into Norwegian society. There is a particular emphasis on Lithuanian immigrants' attitudes towards and relationships with the dominant Norwegian majority and other migrant groups. The present article also aims to provide a brief overview of immigrants' transnational practices, accentuating citizenship as a bond between the country of origin and the host country.

The problem: Integration and subsequent assimilation are (or used to be) understood as unavoidable stages of absorbing immigrants into a new society. In today's world we speak of immigrants' multi-stranded ties that encompass several countries, thus rejecting full integration and assimilation into the new society and remaining part of their country of origin. The discussion therefore addresses the question of how or whether immigrants integrate[6] into a new society and at the same time remain part of their country of origin.

As an immigrant-receiving country, Norway is made interesting by the fact that, in contrast with other countries such as France, its nationals tend to construct their image of 'self' and 'other' via innate ethnic categories. This partly explains why immigrants struggle to integrate

July 2012 was conducted as part of a postdoctoral research project (the postdoctoral fellowship is being funded by the European Union Structural Funds project 'Postdoctoral Fellowship Implementation in Lithuania'). A total of 15 interviews were conducted. A criterion of a minimum 3 years' stay was set for survey participants, in order to eliminate seasonal immigrants and ensure that respondents had considerable experience of living abroad. These surveys sought to identify patterns that form migrant identity and the relationships of migrants to Norway and Lithuania.

[3] Statistics Norway. Available at: http://www.ssb.no/en/befolkning/statistikker/innvbef, accessed 15 August 2013.

[4] See n. 3

[5] See n. 3

[6] The notion of 'integration' is employed in this paper in order to understand how immigrants are perceived by the dominant majority and other ethnic groups and how they themselves perceive their relationships with these groups.

into Norwegian society and why a fairly clear divide remains between the dominant majority and ethnically- and racially-defined minorities (immigrants). On the other hand, alongside integration processes within society, present-day migration is viewed in theoretical literature as a quantitatively and qualitatively new phenomenon. Multi-stranded ties created by contemporary migrants exceed the boundaries of a single state. Transnationalism holds that the aim of contemporary (im)migrants is not to integrate themselves into a new society, but to do the opposite by preserving and maintaining ties with their country of origin.

Immigrants, Migrants, Transmigrants and Deterritorialised Belonging.

Contemporary transnationalism[7] studies are based on research which stresses that present-day migrants traverse the boundaries of one national state and simultaneously participate in several national realities (Coutin 2006: 326). The notion of immigrants previously embraced in social science circles was criticised by the transnationalism camp because it primarily referred to people who arrive in another country after abandoning ties with their country of origin, create a home in the new country and adapt to the society (Basch et al. 1994: 3-4). On the other hand, the migrant notion primarily refers to people who temporarily stay in a new country to earn money and then return home after a certain period of time (Basch et al. 1994: 4). In reality, however, both these notions proved ineffective for addressing contemporary migration processes. Present-day (im)migrants maintain ties, patterns of life and ideologies that traverse the boundaries of one or several states. The concept of the transmigrant entered the scene to describe (im)migrants who become part of a new society without abandoning ties with the previous one. This concept seeks to show that existing theories on migration, usually based on an evolutionary model that sees migrants as integrating into the new society and eventually becoming fully assimilated (see Brettell 2000, Eriksen 2007: 179), fail to explain how present-day (im)migrants are able to retain multi-stranded ties with several societies simultaneously against a backdrop of globalisation. This transmigrant concept stands in sharp contrast with the diaspora notion, which has hitherto been popular in the social science arena for describing 'a permanent state of emergency, an unfulfilled need for rootedness, insularity […] in an alien context and severed links' (Eriksen 2007: 177-178). The concept of transnationalism refers, in contrast, to dynamic and changing identities, and, let me reiterate, to creative and selective integration in a host country while

[7] This article does not endeavour to present an exhaustive analysis of the transnationalism paradigm and its evolution. In its broadest sense, here transnationalism is understood along the lines of the definition given by Basch *et al*: 'We define "transnationalism" as the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We call these processes transnationalism to emphasise that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders [...]. An essential element of transnationalism is the multiplicity of involvements that transmigrants' sustain in both home and host societies' (Basch et al. 1994: 7).

maintaining ties with the country of origin (Eriksen 2007: 178). In this context, transnationalism should be understood as the process by which migrants create social relations that link together their countries of origin and of settlement (Glick Schiller et al. 1992: 1) According to Eriksen, contemporary (im)migrants to Europe have four options for joining or remaining outside the dominant society: (1) diasporic identification, whereby people consider themselves to be living in a foreign country and know very clearly what their own country is; 2) assimilation; 3) transnationalism, whereby the country is less important and loyalty to any particular country is uncertain and subject to change depending on the situation; and (4) creole or individualistic identification, whereby migrants forge their identities by mixing certain cultural aspects of their own with elements from the new environment (Eriksen 2007: 183).

The literature on transnationalism attaches considerable importance to various aspects of *deterritorialization.* More precisely, it considers the ways in which people, politics and identities are *uprooted* from their local origins and embedded in new contexts affected by globalisation. It may seem that emigrants should be able to free themselves from their country of origin's hegemony after leaving because they are then outside the boundaries of the territorial state where they were born and grew up. However, the situation is rather different from the perspective of transnationalism theory. Despite staying in a new country, emigrants continue to feel as if they still live in their nation-state. It is doubtful whether such individuals identify themselves as transnationals, with their identities more likely to remain bound to their nation-state (Basch et al. 1994: 8). The concept of the transnational state enables us to talk about citizens who socially, politically and economically remain part of their country of origin despite living outside it or, more precisely, within another country's territory (Basch et al. 1994: 8). For this reason, the institution of citizenship is said to be undergoing all kinds of transformations and losing the certainty it once had. Although lack of space prevents a detailed discussion of this institution, it should be emphasised that the question of citizenship is of central importance in transnationalism theory (Castles and Davidson 2000; Vertovec 2009). The notion of post-national citizenship has recently gained widespread popularity (Soysal 1994). This concept is largely based on universal human rights rather than the rights ensured by a single nation-state and the attendant responsibilities. Other authors have discussed civil rights in the absence of formal citizenship in the host country (denizenship), which highlights the situation of transmigrants who retain citizenship in their country of origin but also enjoy most of their host country's social and economic rights and some political rights. Various theories also underscore the changed nature of citizenship, which transcends the territory of a single nation (Faist 2007, Baubök 2006, Kaplan 1999). A number of authors have recently suggested viewing citizenship not as a collection of formal rights and duties, but in a perspective that emphasises its social and cultural aspects (Sharma and Gupta 2006, Glick Schiller 2009, Glick Schiller and Caglar 2008). Rainer Baubök (2006: 27) defines transnational citizenship as presence and participation in several political systems. Nina Glick Schiller (2005) views citizenship from the perspective of being in or belonging to a transnational social field, which she defines as transborder citizenship. Such

citizenship is understood more broadly than a separation between citizens and non-citizens, with a grounding instead in the idea of cultural and social citizenship.[8]

Why Norway?

Why do Lithuanian emigrants choose Norway as a destination? At first glance, the answer might appear simple and straightforward, for Norway is one of the richest countries in the world. However, Lithuanian migrants paint a much more nuanced picture of their decisions which broad generalisations fail to explain. Although one Lithuanian interviewee simply picked a random spot on the map and bought a one-way ticket, for most the choice is much more complicated. For example, networks of migrant friends often influence migration decisions. The following excerpt from an interview of a 26-years-old female emigrant demonstrates the multifaceted nature of migration decisions:

> 'I like it here. Before coming, I thought about culture, language and many other things. Take, for example, Norwegian and British culture: Norwegian culture is the much closer of the two to the Lithuanian culture'.
> *In what way?*
> 'For me personally, I mean. Norwegians eat potatoes and live in wooden cabins – in a word, they are farmers who all of a sudden turned rich after finding oil. Brits have a very deep culture, etc., and are different people in a way. Theirs is an ancient culture, a culture of stonework, and this is something very different. I just thought that I would feel better here because we would have more in common. And in general Scandinavians have more in common with the Baltic States than the British do. That's what I think'.
> *And did this turn out to be the case?*
> 'Yes, absolutely. I mean when you talk to Brits, you feel the divide between yourself and them because they look at things differently, especially if you're talking to those who were born there and received a good education. Someone whose past is rich in all respects simply looks differently at himself and others'.

This woman based her decision to migrate to Norway not so much on economic factors as on perceived cultural similarities between Norway and Lithuania. Many informants emphasised the 'rustic aspects' of Norwegian culture as something that the country shares with Lithuania. Another important reason is, of course, Norway's image as one of the world's richest countries, especially after the economic crisis reverberated across Europe. In 2012, I met people who came to Norway from countries, like Spain and the UK, that were more harshly affected by the crisis. They believed that Norway had suffered much less than other countries, as indicated in the

[8] Cultural and social citizenship attempts to explain participation in a social field not by referring to formal citizenship rights and responsibilities, but rather by emphasising its non-formal aspects (see Glick Schiller 2005, Glick Schiller and Caglar 2008)

media. However, it is still hard to identify a rational explanation as to why so many Lithuanians have chosen Norway as their new home. In order to begin to answer this question, we must first consider the importance of social networks (one newcomer invites his or her friends, relatives, and so on) and the influence of the media on public opinion, particularly regarding information on the countries where most people go and the problems they encounter. Notably, in this respect, Norway became a destination for Lithuanian emigrants fairly recently. The country was not a major attraction for Lithuanians until a few years ago, with people usually choosing the UK and Spain.

Imagined Sameness: Norwegians and 'Others'

Immigration trends and attitudes to immigrants are a little different in Norway from those in other Western European countries (Campbell 2007: 108). Norway has no history of colonialism and was not directly involved in the slave trade. The country was fairly isolated and homogenous over the last few centuries (Campbell 2007, Howell and Melhus 2007, Gullestad 2004). It was only in the 1960s that Norway, which now has a population of 4.5 million, began to see a significant rise in immigration from non-European countries. By 1980 immigrants accounted for 2 per cent of the country's population and the proportion rose to 5 per cent by 1998, with almost half staying in Oslo (Gullestad 2002: 47). The number of immigrants increased to 12 per cent in 2013. Oslo still attracts many immigrants – 30.4 per cent of Oslo's inhabitants are immigrants or have immigrant parents (189,400 out of a total population of 624,000).[9]

When considering ethnicity and nationality in the context of migration, Norwegian anthropologists conclude that holding a Norwegian passport (citizenship) is not sufficient to treat immigrants as belonging to Norway (Howell and Melhus 2007: 54). The question of what makes a Norwegian Norwegian is much broader than a formal condition of citizenship and encompasses 'imagined sameness' (Gullestad 2002), which refers to 'the interaction style in which commonalties are emphasised, while differences are played down' (Gullestad 2002: 47). This notion is based on ideas about locality, origin, belonging, language and identity, on which the 'imagined moral community' is constructed (Howell and Melhus 2007: 54). One can hardly speak of voluntarily belonging to the 'imagined moral community'; this should rather be understood as the 'unchosen' (Khefif 2007: 2). This cannot be changed even by the fact that immigrants (in addition to having the country's citizenship) adapt to social and cultural patterns during the many years they spend in Norway and feel part of its society. The attitude of those around them prevents immigrants from feeling part of the 'imagined moral community'. The well-known Norwegian anthropologist Marianne Gullestad offers a vivid illustration of this attitude towards 'the other'. In her article (Gullestad 2002), she described a situation in which a university professor was contacted by a woman whom he did not know and who asked him to

[9] See *Statistics Norway*. Available at: http://www.ssb.no/en/befolkning/statistikker/innvbef - Accessed 15 August 2013.

explain the meaning of the notion 'innvandrer' (immigrant): She told him that she 'had been born and brought up in India but had lived in Norway for many years'. According to the professor, 'she spoke Norwegian well, but not perfectly'. 'Now I have lived in Norway for a long time', she told him, 'I know Norway and have become a Norwegian citizen. Therefore I want to know if am I still an immigrant (innvandrer)'. 'Yes', answered the professor, on the basis of his lexical understanding of the problem, 'You were born and bred in India, and this makes you an immigrant to Norway.' The woman, who had apparently hoped to throw off this label, voiced her disappointment and posed a further question. 'But for how long will I then continue to be an immigrant?' 'All your life,' answered the professor. The conversation then reached its peak, as he later explained, in that the woman became angry. The professor, who is an amiable person, was sorry to disappoint her, but found that the meaning of this word in Norwegian did not allow him to do otherwise. In order both to explain his view and to comfort her, he therefore added: 'This is the way it was for Norwegians who emigrated to America too. You just have to accept it.' (Gullestad 2002: 49-50).

This example illustrates very well that 'imagined sameness' is based not on becoming, but on origin. This means that one is born Norwegian, that being Norwegian is not something that one becomes. The foreigner or immigrant category in Norway also has a racist guise. As Norway was relatively homogenous until the mid-20th century and intensive migration from non-European countries is a relatively new phenomenon, the appearance of people that look different was initially met with distrust (Howell and Melhus 2007: 54). On the other hand, the 'foreigner' category in Norway is understood not only through race. People from neighbouring Scandinavian countries are understood as being more 'like us [Norwegians]', just like people from Western Europe and North America; however, the question of the physical similarities with foreigners from Eastern European countries – their looks being, for example, much closer to Norwegians' than those of African migrants – casts doubt on attempts to explain similarities and differences solely via categories of racial and sociocultural differences (Howell and Melhus 2007: 57).

'The White Race' and Belonging to the 'Imagined Norwegian Community'

The new wave of migration from Central and Eastern Europe has engendered a debate on race. New immigrants are subject to discrimination and are not seen as equals in host societies, following the segregation model in place for immigrants with a different skin colour. But skin colour is of course not the decisive factor here because, as noted above, the immigrants under discussion here are generally white. Theoretical literature defines 'whiteness' as a culturally-constructed and privileged social position and as a power mechanism that is represented as 'natural' and 'normal' (Herbert 2008: 34). On the other hand, it is usually clarified that this is not a universal resource in the hands of the whole white population, that it is processual and socially constructed (Herbert 2008: 34, McDowell 2007: 86). This means that although 'whiteness' is understood as a hegemonic characteristic in Europe, some 'whites', especially immigrants, may

be treated differently and assigned to, or segregated under a diferent category of 'whiteness' (McDowell 2007: 86).

It may seem that being white (as Lithuanian immigrants are) should facilitate integration into a new society or work as a power resource that leads to privileged positions in the economic and social sphere. Field research suggests, however, that the picture is far more complicated. On the one hand, whiteness is indeed used as a 'natural' and 'normal' power resource; on the other, further mechanisms are in place, suh as segregation via culture.

Lithuanian immigrants have a more or less positive attitude towards the multicultural environment around them. This is especially true of the younger generation. Most people describe their experience of moving from a relatively homogenous environment to an environment with considerably greater cultural and racial variety as rewarding because it teaches tolerance. At the same time, however, they use being white as a resource that enables them to blend in with the dominant society and, thus, expect to be better positioned in the labour market. A 35-years-old female informant described her experience as follows:

> *Do you meet any obstacles solely due to being an immigrant?*
> 'No, not really. Personally, I have never felt that it was harder for me to, say, get a job, nor was I discriminated against in any way at school. As Norwegians themselves say, whenever the topic crops up, 'you [Lithuanians] look like Norwegians; if your looks were different, perhaps matters would be different as well.'
> *What do they mean by 'looks'?*
> 'Well, that our skin is white and no one suspects at first glance that we're not Norwegians. Due to my accent – as a matter of fact, both my accent and my surname – I'm often taken for a Finn. So it's not like 'oh, you must be from that second-rate country' – they don't suspect my origin until I tell them.

This example illustrates that whiteness is understood as a chance to avoid being socially identified as 'different' and be perceived as more of 'one's own kind' than migrants with a different skin colour. At the same time, cultural elements such as language and accent or a Lithuanian surname are not easily identifiable as 'distinctly Lithuanian' by the dominant majority, which allows our immigrants to blend in with other, more privileged, white migrants. On the other hand, 'whiteness' is not the only category involved in constructing social relations in a host country. A number of infrmants mentioned a European mentality or being European in general as important factors in drawing a line between the perception of 'own kind' and 'alien', or 'more of our own kind' and 'more alien'. The excerpt from an interview with 48-years-old man given below illustrates such a way of drawing boundaries, based on presumed differences between European and non-European mentalities.

With whom do you mostly interact? Among your neighbours, for example…
'I get on with my Norwegian neighbours. There are many Pakistanis here – I don't spend time with them. Yes, with Norwegian neighbours. Most of my friends are also Norwegians. Some are British, some Americans'.
Why are Pakistanis excluded?
'No one really talks about it here, but everyone feels that there is a gap between mentalities – what is European is European. People talk to them as much as is necessary; no one talks about this divide because this would mean admitting racial discrimination. But the boundary exists'.

The European/non-European category is usually employed when talking about relationships between Lithuanian immigrants and other immigrants, usually from Asian or African countries. Several informants said that their preference for living further from these latter immigrants and closer to 'true' Norwegians was decisive in choosing the area of the city in which to rent or buy a house.[10] During an interview with a 34-years-old male informant, I learned that he and his family live in a 'Norwegian' neighbourhood in Oslo and asked him to explain his choice: 'Take juvenile delinquency, for example. It isn't as low in this country as one might expect. You wouldn't want your children to mix with them. They seem to me to be more of … I wouldn't say criminals, but that culture of theirs … I wouldn't like my children to be influenced by that culture. I want them to be Europeans'.

As the field research material show, Lithuanian immigrants participate in public discourse on migrants in Norway, which is marked by the aforementioned negativity towards immigrants. Although Lithuanian informants see themselves as immigrants, they look at themselves in a more positive light and as belonging more to the 'Norwegian part of society'. At the same time, 'other' immigrants are viewed as a separate segment of society whose impact on the country is largely negative. The interview excerpt given below is indicative:

How do you see the society you live in?
'Norway is mostly inhabited by Norwegians; there aren't many foreigners here. There are more of them in Oslo, but here they are are mostly Norwegians [...]. My private life is dominated by Norwegians and Lithuanians. So when it comes to the Chinese or Arabs, I practically don't know them at all'.
Do you think of them as separate segments of society?
'Yes. They are separate segments and their influence is huge in Norway – and that influence is negative, I think'.

[10] Despite their willing to live in the 'Norwegian' areas of Oslo, immigrants from Lithuania don't occupy any specific parts of the city, that is in a strong contrast from Lithuanians living in London where they have clear priorities in settling in the Eastern part of the city.

What do you mean by negative? Lithuanians are surely part of the same segment, aren't they?

'No no, Lithuanians are not. Lithuanians work; they are a labour force, whereas those others are refugees. Speaking of Pakistanis as a group, they were admitted into Norway in 1970s when the country needed labourers. There are lots of them now, and when you read about their lifestyle, about the ghettos they have created here, their unwillingness to integrate, the fact that forced marriage still exists among them and that they bring many Pakistanis into the country on the basis of family union… There has been research which showed that, in one way or another, on average one Pakistani brings into the country about a hundred more. They do that by means of family ties, etc. You also hear about them defrauding the country, evading taxes and denying equal rights to women; they keep them wrapped in burkas or whatever they're called' (Female, 49).

The supposed Europeanness and diligence of Lithuanians and their willingness more or less to integrate themselves into Norwegian society is contrasted with the unwillingness of 'other' immigrants to become an integral part of their new society. However, although Lithuanian immigrants understand themselves as Europeans, the idea of Europe is itself complex. As one informant pointed out, much depends on where one comes from in Europe:

'[...] the beginning was very tough here. When I talk to other Lithuanians and we share our experiences, it is clear that life is hard here. When I first came here, for example, Norwegians said very plainly to me that I was simply from the wrong part of Europe'.

What did they mean by that?

'Eastern Europe. If I were from Western Europe, things would be different. [...] if I were from Western Europe, all my exams would count and everything would be different. But as an Eastern European, I practically have no rights' (Female, 50).

An even more important obstacle that prevents Lithuanian immigrants from seeing themselves as equals with Norwegians is that being Norwegian is seen as an ethnic category. In other words, immigrants tend to differentiate between Norwegians and 'others' on the basis of ethnicity rather than citizenship:

Who do you consider to be Norwegians?

A Norwegian is a Norwegian – a true Norwegian, of Norwegian origin. When I talk about Norwegian men, I mean true Norwegians, not some Arabs.

But they have citizenship of the country.

So what? To me, citizenship is not nationality.

What exactly is the difference, in your opinion?
Arabs are simply different. This is plain immediately: I don't even ask about their citizenship – I see straightaway that they are not Norwegians, while Norwegians are usually true, pure Norwegians – those I refer to when I say they are Norwegians. (Female 49)

As the research findings show and as anthropologists who research Norwegian society suggest (see, for example, Gullestad 2002, 2004, 2005), the dominant nation (Norwegian nationals themselves) also differentiate between 'people of their own kind' and 'aliens' on the basis of ethnicity. Being white and European does not therefore eliminate the migrant tag, which is perceived as an obstacle to further integration into society.

(Trans)national Citizenship?

Most informants said they currently have Lithuanian citizenship and see no reason to change it to Norwegian, adding that they would do that if this were necessary on practical grounds. I also spoke with respondents who had claimed Norwegian citizenship. One argued that Norwegian citizenship is a must, otherwise you are much less likely to be treated equally. She said:

'I no longer felt second-rate, like some kind of alien entrant. I now feel I have just the same rights as you [Norwegians] do, even though I had them in the past as well; after all, everything that this new passport brings is, in effect, a right to participate in elections – that's the only difference. At least that's how things should be in theory. But to me personally this was something, you know… now I can demand things and now they cannot refuse me for any good reason. They cannot simply say 'oh, I am sorry; unfortunately this is for Norwegian citizens only'. In fourteen or fifteen years you receive more than enough shocks like this'. (Female, 32)

This woman also described the emotions she went through before receiving Norwegian citizenship and just after claiming it. Se said. 'Well, I've always wanted it [a Norwegian passport], and I waited and waited… and perhaps I never really thought about what would happen when I got it. When I finally got it, I thought "I'll throw a huge party", just like the Norwegians do [laughs] – oh, for everybody!' Then, she described her feelings on the day she was granted citizenship:

'This was one the saddest days I've ever had, actually [...]. I don't know, at first it seemed like… like everything is just wrong about Norwegians [...] how did this happen?… I've always wanted to be a European. There is the EU, with Lithuania in it, and now I'm not really considered a European in that respect. And those Norwegians around here are drunkards and not very cultured at all. I was very angry. A wave of emotions came rushing over me and I couldn't help it. But then one of my friends, not a true Norwegian herself, told me to take it easy; "You'll gradually feel

better", she said. "This is only a piece of paper". And when she said that to me, I calmed down quite a bit. "That's right", I thought, "this is really only a piece of paper"'.

Calling Norwegian citizenship (passport) a 'piece of paper' often contrasts with the emotional ties which informants attach to Lithuanian citizenship. A 40-years-old man remarked:

'I for one will never waive my Lithuanian citizenship. If the Seimas legalises dual citizenship, then I'll think again, but not in other circumstances. [...] When you change your passport, you just cut all those ancestral ties, as they say; all your bonds with Lithuania. This happens when you change your passport to a red Norwegian one'.

And you'd rather not do that?

'No. No, stop kidding me. My mother is there and my sisters, all three of them; and everything else. [...] you dream at night, certain images appear and you remember something and feel shivers inside you. I can't say anything like that about Norway yet'.

However, respondents indicated that Lithuanian and Norwegian citizenship can easily be swapped. A 40-years-old woman, for example, gave the following explanation for her decision to change from Lithuanian to Norwegian citizenship: 'From a practical point of view, I'm much better off having this passport in every respect. [...] My only comfort is the fact that, as I found out, we can always reclaim our Lithuanian citizenship if we want or need it, or if change our minds. That's because we meet all the relevant criteria'. She means that she will be able to reclaim Lithuanian citizenship under the criterion of Lithuanian origin (see Daukšas 2007), should she ever decide to waive Norwegian citizenship. In this respect, one can manipulate citizenship: it is not irreversible and can be strategically and rationally changed if deemed necessary. At the same time, citizenship is seen as a bond linking one with Lithuania and migrants do not hasten to waive it.

The picture becomes a little more complicated when we turn to the matter of children who grew up in Norway and identify themselves as Norwegians.[11] One such informant said that she is Norwegian, without a shadow of a doubt. She claimed Norwegian citizenship two years ago and when asked why, she said:

'Because I wanted it. I don't know – it just felt like a natural thing to do'.

[11] During the research, we spoke to three adults who grew up in Norway after leaving Lithuania at pre-school age and spending all their subsequent lives in Norway. One of the respondents clearly identified herself as a Norwegian, while the other two strongly consider themselves Lithuanians despite intending to claim Norwegian citizenship.

Was it just a wish or a necessity?
'No, there was no necessity. Only a wish. I intend to live in Norway, so I saw no need to have a Lithuanian passport. I live here' (Female, 20).

Migrants who grew up in Lithuania feel much more emotionally attached, not to citizenship as such but to their origin and nationality or other 'innate' elements. More precisely, they feel attached to something which, unlike citizenship, is irreplaceable. As a 29-years-old male informant said, 'Born Lithuanian, you will never be a Brazilian. For example, I first came here when I was 25, and by the time I turned 25 I had surely become who I am. What I'm saying is that nobody is forsaking or abandoning anything – that's not the point. The point is that life is stable and quiet here and therefore I live here. But this is not to say that you're going to become a Norwegian'.

Only a very small proportion of immigrants with whom I talked have changed or plan to change their citizenship to Norwegian, even though most have the opportunity to do so (for example, they meet the formal criteria). This is probably explained by the fact that Lithuanians feel economically and socially secure in Norway and are satisfied with the rights they are granted there, which are close to the rights of citizens. At the same time, Lithuanian citizenship is perceived as an emotional bond linking migrants to Lithuania and they do not hasten to sever it, despite it being easily changeable. This is also confirmed by Norway's official statistics: only 1 per cent of Lithuanian immigrants have Norwegian citizenship. According to *Statistics Norway*, this is the lowest figure among European states.[12]

Participation in (Trans)national Politics

As I we have seen, most Lithuanian immigrants in Norway have Lithuanian citizenship. This means that they have a right to participate in Lithuania's elections; for example, by voting in the Embassy of the Republic of Lithuania in Oslo. Lithuanians who legally work and live in Norway also have a right to participate in Norway's municipal elections, the only restriction being that immigrants without Norwegian citizenship cannot vote in the national elections.

Field research indicates that Lithuanian immigrants are to some extent involved in transnational politics, participating in both Lithuanian and Norwegian elections. The following excerpt is indicative:

Do you vote?
'Yes, I do'.

[12] Compare with 6.3 per cent for Polish, 8.3 per cent for Swedish and 12 per cent for German immigrants. (*Statistics Norway*: http://www.ssb.no/en/innvbef/tab-2012-04-26-07-en.html; accessed: 15.10.2012).

Where?
'We vote in both countries. We vote in Lithuanian elections in the embassy and we also have a right to vote in local elections here in Norway, so we vote here as well'. (Female, 55)

We can therefore apply the notion of social citizenship when referring to Lithuanian migrants. This means that migrants can actively participate in elections in both their country of origin and their host country, due to formal citizenship (of Lithuania in this case) and rights granted by the host country (Norway). A situation in which someone can participate in politics in two countries is described by migrants as dual citizenship, although formally they only have Lithuanian citizenship. A 49-years-old woman said:

'Every morning I browse through the main Lithuanian news sites, such as *Delfi* and *Lietuvos Rytas*, you know. I'm just interested in what is going on there and what has happened. I feel like a citizen in both countries'.
You're really burning to know what is going on in Lithuania?
'Yes, I want to know what's happening in Lithuania. I care about everything that is taking place there and I often see, by the way, that I'm even better informed about its situation than people who live in Lithuania. When I'm in Lithuania, sometimes people start telling me that this and that happened and I reply that I already know everything!'

Migrants not only follow political events in Lithuania, but say that they also care about Norway's political situation. As a 55-years-old female informant remarked, 'The political situation also encompasses laws that have been passed, such as the pension law for example. This is important to us. Developments such as new and changed tax laws and changes to working arrangements directly affect us and our daily lives. So in effect we're more interested in what's happening here. But of course we also want things to improve in Lithuania too'.

Events in Norway are followed more often because migrants' daily lives and future are affected by them, while news from Lithuania is only an area of interest that does not have a direct effect on their wellbeing. Migrants sometimes point out that Lithuania's news matters to them because of relatives living there. On the other hand, an interest in news does not necessarily imply active participation in decision-making such as participation in elections. The following exchange with a 29-yers-old man is exemplary:

Whose news matters more to you - Norway's or Lithuania's?
'Lithuania's'.
But you mentioned that you're not going to return there?
'No, I'm definitely not going back. But I'm curious'.

But shouldn't you be concerned more about what's happening here in Norway?
'Well, the truth is that nothing much happens here. Events take their calm course and that's all. There is no commotion here, while Lithuania is always a stormy sea'.
Do you go to vote?
'In Lithuania? No, not for many years now'.
What about local elections here?
'No, neither'.

Most respondents said they are not interested in political events in Lithuania because they believe changes are too rapid there and they find it difficult to stay up to date. 'I'll be honest with you', a 45-years-old female informant said, 'I'm not very interested in politics because it makes me sad to see what has recently been happening there. I'm trying not to think too much about it and not to burden my mind with it all. Things change very quickly there, as well as the people in power, and quarrels are very frequent'. She added that she does not follow Norwegian politics or participate in elections there either, as she does not think she knows enough or understands the country's political situation. 'Hell', she said, 'they should be able to elect their governments themselves without me, without my one vote'.

Calling Norwegians 'them' and saying that they can 'elect their governments themselves' says quite a lot about Lithuanian immigrants' attitudes towards actively participating in Norwegian political life: participation is reserved for 'them' because migrants feel they do not know enough about the country's political situation and are therefore reluctant to vote. Similar reasons are given for abstaining from politics in either country:

Do you ever vote at all?
No, I don't vote. I don't see anyone to give my vote to. If I use my vote in Lithuania, it may turn out for the worse: I may [unwittingly] vote for somebody like those in power now… (Male, 34)

This interview excerpt suggests that physical absence from the country of origin (Lithuania) and residence in the host country (Norway) creates a situation in which participation in the two countries' politics becomes a difficult task. This is primarily conditioned by migrants' physical absence from their country of origin; people perhaps feel that they are out of touch with the country's political situation and are therefore reluctant to participate in elections. Moreover, immigrants may not have managed completely to fathom the country's way of life. Therefore, they may not all feel they have a right to make decisions by voting, often leaving this to 'them' (local Norwegians).

Conclusions

Lithuanian immigrants are a relatively new group in Norway, though now one of the largest among migrants from new EU countries. There has been no historical tradition of migrating to this country in the past, in contrast with countries such as the US and UK. The immigration-

related attitudes of residents of the host country (Norwegians) that I have discussed in this article, – more precisely, the 'imagined sameness' between 'people of their kind' and 'others' – point to an ethnically-determined notion of 'belonging' among Norwegians. 'Others' are perceived as ethnically 'different'. Such an ethnically-determined concept of Norwegian society results in integration difficulties for immigrants. However, being 'white' is used as a resource to blend in and thus be less easily identifiable as an immigrant or at least imagine being higher up on the social ladder, even if coming from Eastern Europe.

However, despite their desire to be treated and seen as equals in Norway, Lithuanian immigrants are reluctant to waive Lithuanian citizenship. There are some exceptions especially among children who grew up in Norway. However, as at the moment there are few such people, it is too early to draw any conclusions about this matter. Lithuanian citizenship is not seen as a practical necessity, but more as an emotional tie with Lithuania. As the examples that I have given suggest, a decision to change to Norwegian citizenship is often experienced as a personal drama. Alternatively, the whole notion of citizenship is rethought; citizenship is called 'a piece of paper' and bonds with Lithuania are constructed through 'innate' categories.

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The Exhibition of Communist Objects and Symbols in Berlin's Urban Landscape as Alternative Narratives of the Communist Past

Marie Hocquet
(Centre Max Weber, Université Jean Monnet - Saint-Étienne)
hocquet.marie@gmail.com

The objective of this article is to investigate the different approaches at play in the material and symbolic production of the urban space through the study of the transformations of the East-Berlin urban landscape since the German reunification. I will show how the official accounts of the ex-GDR have crystallised in the Berlin urban space through the construction of a negative heritage. I will then focus on how the increase in historic tourism in the capital has contributed to the emergence of legible micro-accounts related to the local communist past in the urban space that compete with the official interpretations of this past.
Key words: Berlin, symbolism, communism, heritage

Introduction

Urban space can be considered as a privileged place where one can observe the work of self-definition undertaken by societies. This is because human beings take their place in a physical environment by materialising their being-in-the-world. The urban landscape is defined by Mariusz Czepczyński as a 'visible and communicative media through which thoughts, ideas and feelings, as well as powers and social constructions are represented in a space' (Czepczyński 2010: 67).

In the process outlined above, the narrativisation of the past and its inscription in the urban space is a phenomenon of primary importance. Our cities' landscapes are linked to memory in a dynamic process which constantly urges societies to visualise themselves, to imagine the future and to represent themselves in it. Memory proceeds by simplification, mixing or reinterpreting history, and can be considered as a sort of symbolic common fund which supplies the materials needed to give meaning to urban landscapes. The past inscribed in stone (the material traces referring to past times and activities) is thus reinvested according to the issues of the present, and is ultimately used to support the construction of local, regional or national cultural and political identities. The social practices of spatialisation of memory – the heritagisation, the musealisation and the memorial marking of territory – actively contribute to the semioticisation of the past (Assmann 2010). This allows us to communicate values and visions both of the world and of the self.

The inscription of the past in the urban space can also be analysed in terms of tourism development. Taking over old places, symbols and icons for promotional purposes contributes to create and legitimise an image of self-identity, and is partly determined by the tourist market. For many countries, and cities, tourism is a set of 'highly significant means of self-promotion to the wider international community' (Light 2001: 1053-1054).

The exploitation of the past for political and economic reasons requires a process of semioticisation which develops according to different approaches and on several levels. On the level of urban government, it is carried out through the construction and care of public spaces and buildings as well as through the creation of an image of the city. On the micro local level, the traces and icons of the past are exploited by the city inhabitants, artists and

entrepreneurs who mark their presence by transforming the urban landscape, thus making their identity perceivable. Finally, through their daily practices in the urban space, users take part in the interpretation of the landscape. This results in a palimpsestic city – a sedimentation of meanings, signs, legends and facts linked to the urban landscape – which contributes to mould our imagination and our urban practices. Moreover, this contributes to determine our 'mentalities' and 'collective behaviour' (Baczko 1984).

Considering the transformations that it has undergone since reunification, the East-Berlin urban landscape is particularly interesting for us to understand how the approaches that I have just mentioned interweave to produce the urban space, concretely and symbolically. The end of the German Democratic Republic (from now on, GDR), the fall of the Wall and the disintegration of the Soviet Union meant the victory of the 'free world' and the failure of the communist ideological model. In this sense, the German reunification was an unprecedented opportunity to make the Western 'free world' victorious in history, as well as to demonstrate the political and economic viability of the democratic order and the capitalist system. The political, economic, social and cultural changes that took place after the fall of the Wall became tangible through the condemnation of the model of popular democracies. It was necessary to convert the populations socialised under the GDR to democratic and liberal ways. This conversion consisted, among other things, in making legible the changes that were in progress, which was accomplished by exploiting some vestiges of the dictatorial past, of the border regime and of the social control of the GDR State security system. Thus, public memory policies tended to highlight a topography of 'places of remembrance and learning' which enabled the diffusion of educational messages on distinct aspects of the communist past, each of these messages being clearly identifiable in the city space.

However, the fascination aroused by the history of communism among tourists in search of exoticism has generated forms of exploitation of an imaginary vision of the East. This is visible in the 're-use' of old symbols, icons and objects specific to communist societies, which involves a whole process of reinterpretation, diversion and aestheticisation. On the individual level, consumption – including tourism – is a way of distinguishing oneself, of displaying the values to which one adheres and of marking one's social and cultural belonging (Bourdieu 1979). On a collective level, it seems that tourism has been more and more closely linked to the creation and promotion of identities in order to arouse the interest of potential visitors. We can therefore say that the aforementioned process –which takes place through the creation of alternative accounts of the communist past – can establish new relations with the past which in themselves are bearers of new forms of identification.

In this article, I will show how official accounts of the ex-GDR have become visible in the Berlin urban space through the construction of a negative heritage and through the condemnation of the GDR system. I will also explore how the increase in historical tourism in the capital has led to the emergence of tangible micro-accounts in the urban space which, in a certain way, compete with the official interpretations of the communist past.

The Construction of a Negative Heritage and the Condemnation of the GDR System in the Berlin Landscape

After reunification, the local and federal authorities, anxious to cancel the GDR irrevocably, sought to confine this recent past in certain appropriate spaces. The majority of these spaces are memorials, museums and record and documentation centres established by citizen initiatives and encouraged by public funds. These establishments focus on themes of repression such as the Ministry for State Security,[1] the dictatorship of the SED[2] and the border regime that was set up after the construction of the Berlin Wall. Here, in order to shed light on this recent past, I shall mention several significant places which are part of the Berlin topography of the places of remembrance and learning linked to the past of the ex-GDR

First, let us consider the *Erinnerungsstätte Notaufnahmelager Marienfelde* (Marienfelde Refugee Centre Memorial), which traces the history of the Germans fleeing from the east to the west. This former refugee transit camp for East Germans has been turned into a memorial thanks to the action of a citizen initiative. Since 2009, it has been placed under the responsibility of the *Stiftung Berliner Mauer* (Berlin Wall Foundation), whose creation was voted in September 2008 by the Berlin Senate and which also encompasses the *Gedenkstättenensemble Berliner Mauer* (Berlin Wall Memorial on Bernauerstrasse). The Berlin Wall Memorial recently received the support of the Senate for the reconstitution of the part of the Wall located between Eberswalderstrasse and Nordbahnhof. This reconstitution consists in a series of illustrated stations that link the history of the site to that of the partition. The traces of the Wall are shown and explained along this itinerary. A commemorative panel called *Fenster des Gedenkens* (Window of Remembrance) shows photographs of people who were trying to flee to the west. This large information and commemorative network is completed by an exhibition at the rail station Nordbahnhof on the 'absurdity of the separation', evoking the effects of separation on the underground, tram and railway lines.

A second example is given by the *Museum Haus am Checkpoint Charlie,* established by Rainer Hildebrandt shortly after the erection of the Wall (the museum officially opened to the public in June 1963). This museum is located near the border post (from which it takes its name), between the former Soviet and American zones. The exhibits mainly concern the Wall, the inter-German frontier and the different methods used by some East German citizens to go over to the West clandestinely.

Another establishment which should be taken into account is the *Gedenstätte Berlin Hohenschönhausen* (Berlin-Hohenschönhausen Memorial of the MfS prison)[3] which focuses on the theme of oppression and social control in the former GDR. Established in 1992 by former prisoners of the State security services, this initiative led to the establishment of the *Gedenkstätte Berlin-Hohenschönhausen* (Memorial Berlin-Hohenschönhausen Foundation), which was partly financed by the Land and by the Bund following a vote by the Berlin Senate in June 2000.

[1] *Ministerium für Staatsicherheit*, also known as Stasi.
[2] *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands* – the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.
[3] *Ministerium für Staatssicherheit* – Ministry for State security.

The Research and Memorial Centre on Normannenstrasse – located on the premises of the former headquarters of the East German Ministry for State Security in Berlin-Lichtenberg – offers a contrasting reading of the past. On the one hand, it condemns the system of domination and social control; on the other hand, it praises the opposition and resistance in the GDR. This memorial project was proposed in 1990 by the interim government of the GDR and was subsequently run by the ASTAK association,[4] a group of opponents and defenders of civil rights who participated in the process of dissolution of the Stasi services in Berlin.

Lastly, I shall mention the Information and Documentation centre (IDZ) set up by the BStU,[5] which also describes the Stasi as an instrument of power and social control by the SED.

Many of the museums and memorials described above embody an *in situ* memory. They evoke memory by putting visitors in places that, by virtue of their authenticity, call on the visitors' emotional world. 'This concern for contact with the thing' comes, according to Daniel Fabre, 'from a pedagogical formula' which consists in 'making the presence of the past truly felt' (Fabre 2001: 31). In other words, 'the feelings of the past' are recreated in order 'to be shared' (Fabre 2001: 31). The real places, still imbued with memories of the executioners (*Täter*), physically confront visitors with the 'hard and repressive side of the East German dictatorship' (Lindenberger 2003: 33). Admittedly, visiting these places 'directly involves the visitor's body', and the media that are employed in this process – artefacts as well as witnesses – 'do not address only the rationality of language, but [...] also call on emotion' (Wahnich 2005: 30). Horror and indignation are precisely the feelings on which the transmission of the educational messages delivered by these commemorative places is based.

As shown by the examples that I have given, the readings of the GDR in the Berlin urban landscape are mainly formed through the evocation of the repressive and iniquitous nature of the regime. The musealisation of the GDR, which occurred at the same time as the process of reunification,[6] tends to represent East Germany as a negative model against which the national model of the new Germany gains full meaning and strength. The memorial image of the GDR – both controlled and sanctioned by past public policies from the Land and the Bund – is thus seen as a negative national heritage.

All this points to the links between social memory and material persistence in space. When a change occurs, a spatial modification supports the historical rupture (Connerton, 2000: 65). In the recent history of Germany the reunification was a serious symbolic and factual rupture which gave rise to new readings of the national past. In this context, the

[4] This is the *Antistalinistische Aktion Berlin Normannenstrasse* – Normannenstrasse Berlin Anti-Stalinist Action.

[5] This acronym stands for *Bundesbeauftragten für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik* – Federal Commissioner for the Records of the Ministry of State Security in the former German Democratic Republic.

[6] The first exhibitions were organised when the East German state was still in the process of disappearing. The very first exhibit focused on the demonstrators' placards of the autumn of 1989. In this way, the very recent past was immediately documented and 'cooled down'.

representations of East Germany as a negative model offer an exclusive dimension. The listed features of this negative heritage 'are interesting markers of the rulers' pedagogical drive, as they contribute to put across their rhetoric about the "right things to do", and the attendant criteria of inclusion and exclusion' (Pardo 2012: 68). I shall not discuss here the legitimacy and the merits of the confrontation with the communist past introduced after the fall of the Wall. This process proved to be salutary in numerous of its aspects.[7] However, the history of the GDR is a period of the recent history which refers to the construction of a Manichean past's representation. This Manichaeism was occasionally exploited by the public authorities and the media, causing the resentment of those who did not recognise themselves in these 'dark' visions of the communist period. Thus, it could be said that the brutality that marked the beginning of the confrontation with the communist past in the reunified Germany probably contributed – in some spheres of the East German society – to a tendency to give a nostalgic look to the past.

Historic Tourism and the Increase in the Musealisation of the Communist Past

It would appear that the musealisation of the GDR was also determined by the development of the local tourist economy. Even though the memorial institutions dedicated to the local communist past are intended for groups of schoolchildren of all ages, students and apprentices, they nonetheless attract crowds of tourists. Many of them – foreigners and former Länder citizens alike – travel to Berlin to learn more about the history of the division, to find themselves among authentic traces of the past and to relive the great events that marked the Cold War era in their imagination.

The Karl-Marx-Allee (formerly Stalinallee) and the Frankfurter Tor are interesting examples of how the preservation and promotion of certain traces of the communist past are exploited by tourism. Designed in the post-war urban development schemes according to the principles of Socialist Realism – socialist in content and national in form – this former prestigious avenue of East Berlin is included in the local heritage because of its touristic attraction. The growing number of companies offering thematic guided visits by bicycle or by bus that focus on themes concerning the communist past of the city attests to the importance of the historic tourism market in Berlin. Most Berlin souvenir shops located in prestigious spots in the centre of Mitte (on Unter den Linden or around the Gendarmenmarkt), whose dimensions are sometimes impressive, have at least one section selling different kind of GDR-merchandising.[8]

The inauguration of the DDR Museum in 2006 right in the centre of Mitte also clearly testifies to this set-up. Located just opposite the Berliner Dom, this institution is far from

[7] First of all it allowed to break the taboo on this part of the recent history. Further, it contributed to guarantee the victims' rehabilitation.

[8] These products include several types of souvenirs as well as books (collections of photographs about the daily life in East Germany, design and cookbooks, but also works on the Wall or the SED dictatorship).

irrelevant when one considers the wave of *Ostalgie*[9] that has hit Berlin over the last several years. This project was aimed at making up for the under-representation of daily life in East Germany in the local communist memorial landscape. Thus, the museum offers an experience of daily East German life by welcoming the visitor in a reconstructed typical GDR space. The whole experience is animated with numerous theatrical and interactive devices.

The memorial institutions devoted to the communist past are now trying to satisfy tourists' need for leisure and culture, their interest in looking for 'the red Berlin'. Cities have long become valued destinations for tourists. Indeed, long stays at sea or mountain resorts have been partly replaced by short trips to the city or to the countryside. '[These] new tourist flows [become] a major resource in the development of areas, particularly urban ones' (Bonard, Felli 2008: 2). The German capital thus aims at intensifying a specific type of tourism: the historic one. Thanks to its tourist appeal the city has more chances to be seen as dynamic setting boasting an interesting past, and thus it attracts the attention of investors and potential new residents (Harvey 2004). From this point of view, the musealisation of the GDR is an instrument in the promotion of the city and in the enhancement of its global territory.

Does the Re-use of Communist Objects and Icons Lead to New Forms of Identification?

It appears that the local authorities have become gradually aware of the fact that the past of East Berlin represents an element of the whole city's identity, as well as a potential for its tourist appeal. In other words, they have realised the profitability of certain aspects of the GDR – undeniably, a card to play from a commercial viewpoint. Next, I shall explore how the interest in Berlin's communist past has led to a process of commodification of the past.

Many people have started to exploit an imaginary vision of the East in the broad sense by opening thematic bars, which sometimes go well beyond the simple evocation of the GDR. An example is the CCCP club in Mitte, a club resembling a kitsch saloon bar, which was originally established on the site of a former office issuing visas to people who wished to travel to Western Europe and to Soviet Union nationals.[10] Another example is *Die Tagung* in the Friedrichshain district. This is a bar decorated with portraits of great figures in the history of the Soviet and East German communism. Indeed, it is not uncommon to find such cafés in big east European cities (think, for example, of the *Propaganda bar* in Krakow).

The Café Sybille, which opened on the Karl-Marx-Allee in the 1960s, was taken over in the late 1990s by an association helping people suffering from psychological disorders to integrate into the labour market. This café sits next to the saloon bar. The latter is decorated with East German furniture and includes a little museum on the history of the Karl-Marx-Allee. The exhibition mostly includes photographs and texts, but also displays East German objects and toys dating from the 1950s. The visitor can make a virtual visit of the former

[9] This is a German term referring to nostalgia for aspects of life in East Germany. It derives from the words Ost (east) and Nostalgie (nostalgia). The concept of Ostalgia designates 'a positive retrospective judgment on the former GDR which partly refers to a rational comparison between the skills of the GDR and the skills of the FRG […], and partly refers to an emotional idealisation hiding the well-known negative aspects of the GDR regime'. (Neller and Thaidigsmann, 2002: 425).

[10] Since a couple of years the CCCP is located on the corner of Linienstrasse and Rosenthaler Strasse.

Stalinallee whilst listening to accounts of the stages of its construction and of the neighbourhood's history during the GDR period with an audio-guide.

Equally interesting is the *DDR Design Hostel* (or *Ostel*) designed and opened by a former tightrope walker of the GDR State Circus. This establishment, near the east train station (Ostbahnhof) is decorated like an East German hotel, giving prominence to the furniture and furnishings of the 1970s design in the GDR. Tourists can book a room and enjoy the pleasures of Socialist Realism in an entirely reconstructed environment, which is truly extraordinary considering that the *Berolina* and *Unter-den-Linden* East German hotels were demolished in 1996 and 2006 respectively.

Apart from individuals who exploited an imaginary vision of the East with the aim of promoting their establishments, other individuals started to buy a large number of East German pieces of furniture, books, decorative and everyday objects, and opened shops in the 'fashionable parts' of the city (the central-eastern quarters). Thus the *Vorwende-Laden* (the Shop From Before the Turn) located in Thaerstrasse in Friedrichshain sells civic books, comic strips, crockery and souvenirs manufactured in East Germany. The *VEB Orange* (*Volkseigene Betrieb* – The People's Business) in Oderbergerstrasse (a street of Prenzlauer Berg very popular among Berliners and tourists) sells a large number of pieces of furniture, retro objects, postcards and clothes 'made in the GDR'. These antique dealers of the East flourish in the Prenzlauer Berg, Mitte and Friedrichschain districts and are part of the very peculiar Berlin atmosphere of which Western tourists are so fond.

An ever-growing number of individuals from the east and west of Berlin, but also foreigners, have understood how to surf on the wave of Ostalgie. Through their enterprises, they offer the Berlin population and visitors visions of the communist past which are out of line with the official discourse. These visions are ironic, inventive or protesting. Entrepreneurs offer glamorous, fashionable or bad-taste communism; they create micro-accounts that penetrate the city and propose alternative visions of the past and of local identities. The meeting of the tourist demand with the Ostalgie generates unpredictable reinterpretations of the past that can open the way to new forms of identification. This happens mainly for three reasons.

Firstly, it appears that the objects and icons in use during communism today embody values and practices proper to a society that has disappeared and which is sometimes idealised. Moreover, these objects and icons seem to fulfil a role in the collective memory of certain eastern Berliners. According to Dietrich Mühlberg, these artefacts are refuges that enable former GDR citizens to establish the 'conditions for a positive relation with [their own] history' (Mühlberg 2005: 11).

Secondly, it appears that the semantic reinvestment in old communist objects and icons contributes to the projection of 'new images, new stories' (Rautenberg, 2009) and, ultimately, to the production of identity. In an article about the treatment of communist objects and icons in Central and Eastern Europe, Mariusz Czepczyński emphasises the way in which communist thematic bars target 'both local clientele and the tourists, searching for something familiar and funky' (Czepczyński 2010: 76). According to Czepczyński, 'Many of those places are not only full of tourists, but usually also local students, for whom looking for

post-socialist past is the way to self-identify in a globalising and amalgamated world' (2010: 76). Indeed, some Berlin communist-theme bars could be compared with places 'where people engage in modes of expressivity that are alternatives to those imposed from above by the dominant culture' (Krase, quoting Joseph Sciorra 2012: 39).

Finally, if the urban space is a medium that enables the diffusion of ideals and visions of the world, it is also the place in which the specificities of certain groups sharing an identity, a history and cultural features can be observed. The interactionist perspective has shown 'how all sorts of people communicate through the built environment […]. Individuals and groups interact with each other in the city through visual images that effect what people see on the streets' (Krase 2012, 5). This is also true of the objects and icons in use during the communist period, as they are invested with new meaning while exerting a peculiar fascination over tourists and certain categories of inhabitants. It seems that many entrepreneurs suggest other readings of the city's past, on which alternative visions of the local identity are based. Moreover, it appears that some of them have gone beyond a simple evocation of the Berlin communist past. They convey locally an imaginary vision of the East in its broadest sense, thus constructing Berlin as a point of convergence between Central and Eastern Europe.

Conclusion

Berlin is a place where the effects of the revision of national imagination can be observed. By looking at the changes in the capital, one is indeed able to examine the simultaneous creation of official and alternative accounts about the same period in history. In the discussion given here I have shown that the process of de-legitimisation of the East German past implemented since the reunification have little by little contributed to the construction of the GDR as the 'second German dictatorship'[11] and as the counter-model for a unified, free and democratic Germany. These new readings of the past crystallised through the conversion of traces of the GDR dictatorship into places which offer an emotional confrontation to these aspects of the local communist past. According to Jürgen Habermas, the aim of these places of memory consists in 'fostering the diffusion of a political culture which stabilises the legitimate democratic State' (Habermas 2005: 93). Such an exploitation of the traces of the communist past helps to transform the urban space into a 'vast framework of reference, organising […] beliefs [and] knowledge' (Lynch 1999: 5). The same can be said, on a micro level, of the games of reinterpretation, deviation or aestheticisation of objects and icons from the communist period. These phenomena produce 'a mosaic of images and meanings' that tells us about the 'usages of the places in the city' and the 'values' that are closely linked to the 'aesthetic dimensions of the city' (Rautenberg 2009: 21-22). In this plethora of confused images, each individual makes up his or her own representation of the city by selecting and reinterpreting patterns taken from the local past.

[11] In the years after the reunification the similarities between the SED and the national socialist regimes, as well as between the Stasi and the Gestapo, start to be pointed out repeatedly in public discourses. This led to the condemnation of the East German regime as well as to the acceptance of its title of 'second German dictatorship'.

The observation of the processes of semanticisation occurring with the production of places, such as the treatment of the different layers of our urban landscapes, is important for two reasons. Firstly, it allows us fully to understand the way in which 'societies cope, symbolically manipulating their space, with change and tradition' (Micoud 1991: 7-8). Secondly, it can help us better to approach the complexity of the polymorphic, progressive and sometimes discordant processes related to the construction and the production of identities in an urban setting.

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DISCUSSIONS AND COMMENTS

Forum on *'Urban Anthropology'*

Anthropological research in urban settings – often referred to as 'urban anthropology', for short – and its attendant ethnographically-based findings are increasingly attracting attention from anthropologists and non-anthropologists alike, including other professionals and decision-makers. In view of its growing importance, this Issue of *Urbanities* carries a Forum on the topic, which we hope will be of interest to our readers. This Forum opens with the reproduction of an essay by Giuliana B. Prato and Italo Pardo recently published in the UNESCO Encyclopaedia EOLSS, which forms the basis for the discussion that follows in the form of comments and reflections by a number of scholars, in alphabetical order. This special section of *Urbanities* closes with a brief Report on a round-table Conference on 'Placing Urban Anthropology: Synchronic and Diachronic Reflections' held last September at the University of Fribourg and the transcript of the Address given by the Rector of that University during the Conference.

'Urban Anthropology'[1]

Giuliana B. Prato and Italo Pardo
(University of Kent, U.K.)
g.b.prato@kent.ac.uk – i.pardo@kent.ac.uk

Established academic disciplinary distinctions led early anthropologists to study tribal societies, or village communities, while ignoring the city as a field of research. Thus, urban research became established in some academic disciplines, particularly sociology, but struggled to achieve such a status in anthropology. Over the years, historical events and geo-political changes have stimulated anthropologists to address processes of urbanization in developing countries; yet, urban research in western industrial societies continued to be left out of the mainstream disciplinary agenda. In this chapter we examine major debates in the development of this sub-discipline and discuss the complex methodological and theoretical challenges posed by field-research in urban settings, clearly identifying the significance of the anthropological paradigm in urban research and its centrality both to mainstream academic debates and to the broader society. Today an increasing number of anthropologists carry out research in cities. With half of humanity already living in towns and cities, growing to two-thirds in the next 50 years, there is no denying that research in urban settings is topical and needed as western and non-western society is fast becoming urban or mega-urban. Having outlined the background to current trends in this field of research, the discussion builds towards an assessment of the contribution that empirically-based anthropological analysis can make to our understanding of our increasingly urban world.

Keywords: cities' diversity, ethnographic methodology, human mobility, regional diversity, space and place, urban research, urbanism, urbanization.

Introduction: Urban Anthropology in the Disciplinary Tradition

Since the 1990s an increasing number of academic events have focused on urban issues and publications have flourished in this field, its world-wide critical importance unmistakably testified by the establishment of the permanent UN-World Urban Forum. In part due to the rapid growth of cities in the twentieth century, such interest in urban research has included significant contributions from anthropologists and yet, for a long time, mainstream anthropologists, especially in the British tradition of social anthropology, had been reluctant to recognize urban settings, particularly in industrialized countries, as legitimate fields of enquiry.

Urban anthropology is a relatively recent new field of study within socio-cultural anthropology. While twentieth-century sociologists paid great attention to the study of cities and urban phenomena, social and cultural anthropologists stayed largely away from this important field of research. One reason for such a choice was rooted in late-nineteenth century disciplinary divisions, identifying social and cultural anthropology as principally concerned with the comparative study on non-Western societies and cultures. To simplify, until relatively recently, following academic classification, anthropology focused on so-called 'primitive' societies (otherwise described as 'tribal', 'exotic', or 'folk'), whereas Western industrial societies were the

[1] This essay was originally published in 2012 in the *Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems* (EOLSS). Eds UNESCO-EOLSS Joint Committee. It is reproduced here with permission from Eolss Publishers Co Ltd (© UNESCO-EOLSS).

designated realm of sociological enquiry. Thus, until the 1970s, urban research remained associated mainly with sociology.

Although for many years anthropologists had conducted research in urban areas, especially in African and Latin American countries, only in the late 1960s did the anthropological establishment cautiously begin to acknowledge the relevance of such research. The 1970s saw the publication of several books and articles, as anthropologists became engaged in debating the conceptual and theoretical definition of 'urban' and the extent to which 'urban' anthropology differed from 'traditional' anthropology. Such a debate never ceased. Both the definition of urban and the very definition of urban anthropology are thorny issues that continue to be the objects of academic dispute. For some, urban anthropology is 'simply' (more or less classical) anthropological research carried out *in* urban areas; others endeavor to define the city as a specific 'social institution' with its dynamics and social, economic and political relations, thus maintaining that urban anthropology is anthropology *of* the city.

However defined, the emergence of urban anthropology, and its growing strength, can reasonably be seen as a consequence of historical events, for its development has been intrinsically linked to worldwide geo-political changes and to their impact on the discipline as a whole. Today more than ever, this is unmistakably the case. Over several decades, varying, though more often than not fast processes of urbanization in so-called tribal societies and the crisis of European colonialism have posed new challenges to anthropologists who began to turn their attention to Western industrial societies, the (improperly) so-called 'complex societies'. In brief, for us to understand what it exactly is and what it studies, this sub-field must be contextualized within the tradition of socio-cultural anthropology, taking appropriately into account the disciplinary and paradigmatic changes that have occurred at key historical junctures.

In order to clarify such a context and the attendant changes, the following sections offer brief examinations of significant cross-disciplinary theoretical influences; of the early anthropological interest in processes of urbanization and of the consequent development of 'urban anthropology', including influences from cognate disciplines. Then, the discussion moves on to outlining key methodological issues and new developments in the field of anthropological urban research.

Cross-disciplinary Influences

Before looking at the development of urban anthropology, we need to address the underlying theoretical, mainly sociological, influences. Early anthropological theorizations on the specificity of urban life, institutions and social relations reflected the classical sociological framework developed in the industrial society of the nineteenth century. Most of such analyses were based on the assumption that there was a sociologically significant distinction between urban and rural (and, more generally, non-urban) life. Notable among the sociological classics is Ferdinand Tönnies's work on Community (*Gemeinschaft*) and Society (*Gesellschaft*), published in 1887 (Tönnies 2002 [1887]), which established a distinction between the feudal community,

characterized by intimate relations and collective activities, and the capitalist society, characterized by impersonal relations and contractual bonds. On a similar line, in his work on *Suicide* (1951 [1897]), Emile Durkheim introduced the concept of *anomie* to argue that anomic suicide occurred among those who lived in impersonal settings, such as modern cities. More generally, anthropologists appear to have been influenced by the nineteenth century sociologists' view of the city as a fragmenting, rather than unifying place; that is, a place of greater freedom and opportunities for the individual but also a place of isolation, conflict and bureaucratization of all aspects of life (see, for example, Simmel 1990 and Weber 1958). Most interestingly, especially in view of North American anthropologists' interest in urban research, de Tocqueville's analysis of *Democracy in America* (1945), in which he described the expanding US urban areas as places of identity that transcended social division, was virtually ignored by both urban anthropologists and urban sociologists.

Initially, alongside classical sociological works, anthropologists were strongly influenced by the production of what became known as the Chicago School of Urban Ecology (for short, the 'Chicago School'), bringing together urban sociologists who worked under the leadership of Robert Ezra Park at the University of Chicago. This group of scholars basically drew on the conceptualization of cities as ecosystems segmented in 'natural areas' (Park, Burgess and McKenzie eds 1925), which included 'ordinary' neighbourhoods and slums and ghettos for immigrants and African Americans. According to the Chicago School's approach, these areas were subject to laws of residential succession; thus, a major aim was to study changing residential patterns as part of the broader investigation of cities' 'social problems'. The research methods adopted by these scholars reflected such a broad interest, focusing on historical evidence, interviews and, especially, quantitative demographic and statistical material. This kind of quantitative empiricism was rejected by a new generation of sociologists who instead favoured a more qualitative 'ethnographic method'; they became the most influential inspiration to anthropologists. Their production is exemplified by Carolyn Ware's *Greenwich Village, 1920-1930* (1935) – on the incorporation of Greenwich Village into New York and the process by which it maintained its distinctive character; William Foote Whyte's *Street Corner Society* (1955 [1943]) – a study of an Italian neighbourhood, in which he applied the classical anthropological method of participant observation; and W. Lloyd Warner's *Yankee City* (1963) – a study of a New England city, which combined an ethnographic perspective with formal interviews.

While the Chicago School influenced the methodological approach of the early anthropologists who worked in urban settings, theorizations of 'urban life' were influenced above all by the work of the sociologist Louis Wirth. In his essay *Urbanism as a Way of Life* (1938), Wirth described the city as a specific 'social institution' with distinctive attributes, which were reflected in the urban physical structure – that is, the urban plan and the city's size – in the urban social organization and in the attitudes and ideas of city-dwellers. According to Wirth, the city's social heterogeneity and population density promoted differentiation and occupational specialization. Therefore, he argued, social relations tended to be impersonal, transitory,

superficial and instrumental. Such a weak social integration would eventually result in anomie. Wirth maintained that, in contrast to rural communities, in a city 'the juxtaposition of divergent personalities and modes of life tends to produce a relativistic perspective and a sense of toleration of differences which may be regarded as prerequisites for rationality and which lead toward the secularization of life' (1938: 15), adding that 'urbanism as a way of life' was not confined to city-dwellers but extended its influence beyond the city's boundaries. His work was later criticized for having focused on a kind of urbanism that was culturally and historically specific to the North American city and to the capitalist economy of his time (see, for example, Fox 1977: 58-9; Hannerz 1980: 68, 74).

Early Anthropological Studies in Urban Areas

In contrast with the received, and for a long time unquestioned, academic division between sociology and socio-cultural anthropology, in the late 1930s, the American anthropologist Robert Redfield (1947) began to carry out field research among peasant city-dwellers. Influenced by the work of the sociologist Wirth (1938), he theorized a 'folk-urban continuum' in which 'folk' societies and 'urban' societies were the two opposite ideal types. Quite unmindful of Raymond Firth's conclusion that the difference between types of economic system is one of degree, not one of kind (Firth 1939: 355), Redfield argued that folk societies consisted of small-scale, isolated and homogeneous communities, had a rudimentary division of labor and were economically self-sufficient. On the basis of research carried out in developing countries, such as India, he went on to suggest that, contrary to folk societies, peasant communities were not isolated, for they were linked, for example, to economic forces outside their own communities. They were, thus, part of a larger social set up, specifically the city and its 'great tradition', as opposed to the 'little' tradition of the small village.

Redfield's work stimulated anthropologists' interest in studying society from the perspective of the city. American anthropologists in particular began to address rural-urban migration in peasant societies without, however, paying sufficient attention to the relevant macro-processes beyond the community under study. Thus, from the 1930s to the 1950s, anthropologists mainly focused on rural migrants in slums and shanty towns in Mexican and other Latin America cities, and on the impact of 'urbanism' on their lives. Richard Fox (1977) aptly criticized these studies pointing out that, following the established anthropological tradition, they focused on small-scale units (minorities or small communities within the cities); an approach that was reflected in these anthropologists' interest in the 'exotic others'. It is in such a context that, heavily influenced by the dominant functionalist methodological paradigm and by the sociology of the Chicago School, still in the 1960s North American-trained anthropologists engaged in problem-centred studies, focusing on minorities, urban adaptation and poverty.

The development of urban anthropology among British social anthropologists was significantly slower and fraught with serious difficulties, notwithstanding the seminal work of Raymond Firth, who in 1947 stimulated members of the Department of Social Anthropology at

the London School of Economics to engage in a study of kinship in a South London borough, which resulted in a an important contribution to the intensive study of modern urban society (Firth 1956; see also Firth, Hubert and Forge 1969). Nonetheless, in the late 1930s the process of urbanization in many African countries caught the attention of British anthropologists. Although research carried out in African cities was not really regarded as *urban* research (Grillo 1985), the Rhodes Livingston Institute, based in the British territory of what was then called Northern Rhodesia, did give a major contribution to urban African studies. The Institute, established in 1937 and initially directed by the British anthropologist Godfrey Wilson, encouraged a relatively large number of young researchers to investigate the social transformations that were occurring in Central Africa, including the process of urbanization. One of the earliest studies was carried out by Godfrey and Monica Wilson on 'detribalization' in Central Africa (see G. Wilson and M. Wilson 1945). In 1941, the appointment of the South-African-born anthropologist Max Gluckman to the directorship of the Institute gave new impetus to research in urban areas. In 1940, Gluckman drafted a 'Seven Year Research Plan' aimed at stimulating research in both rural and urban areas with particular reference to the rural areas affected by the migration of the labour force to the new mining towns. Such intense research activity focused on the mining area known as the Copperbelt and, under Gluckman's leadership, addressed the effects of colonialism on tribal economies and their inclusion in the market, focusing on the different economic structures and the kind of social relations that were emerging in the new urban areas. Significantly, the population of the Copperbelt mining towns was made up mainly by immigrants from the surrounding rural villages, who were employed as cheap labor force. As, according to Gluckman, these urban immigrants had entered a new web of relationships that were believed to be typical of the 'urban system' (1961), anthropological research in these towns was to be regarded as the study of processes of social transformation and of the situations in which such processes took place (Mitchell 1966). The works of Epstein on African politics (1958) and of Mitchell on urban social relations (1957) exemplify this approach.

Until the mid-twentieth century, the research produced by British anthropologists under Gluckman's direction provided the main body of African urban ethnography. Following Gluckman's appointment in 1949 to a Chair in Social Anthropology at the University of Manchester, this group of anthropologists became known as the 'Manchester School'. Soon after, in the 1950s, the Manchester group launched a 'school in urban anthropology', which had a limited impact for, by the late 1960s, the leading scholars who had been engaged in this project had moved on to other fields. It is important to bear in mind that, although such urban anthropology was later criticized for its functionalist approach, it did contribute to the development of new research methods – particularly case- and network-analyses – which are widely regarded its major legacy (see, for example, Mitchell 1966 and Mitchel ed. 1969).

While attention to the city as an important field of anthropological enquiry grew, urban research in Western industrial societies continued to be excluded, particularly though not only in the UK, from the anthropological research agenda. When historical events in the aftermath of the

Second World War and the process of decolonization forced anthropologists to turn their attention to Western society, they were famously encouraged to carry out research in rural villages, not in cities. As Cole (1977) noted, anthropologists focused on processes of modernization in rural European villages, believing that the analysis of these processes would provide a blueprint for an understanding of the changes that were occurring elsewhere in the world. As we have argued elsewhere (Pardo and Prato 2010), the anthropological study of Western society, especially in Europe, contributed to push the discipline backward rather than encouraging its advancement (see also a later section). It can indeed be reasonably argued that, while holding on to the then still dominant functionalist paradigm, anthropology appeared to be rediscovering its nineteenth century evolutionistic roots.

Moreover, those anthropologists who took an interest in the city appeared to see this kind of setting as a new laboratory in which to carry out traditional studies on kinship, on belief and value systems and on small group dynamics. This trend prompted Ulf Hannerz (1980) to question whether urban anthropology did actually have a specific object of study. The key point is that early anthropological studies in cities focused on traditional anthropological topics, thus leading to the study of urban kinship, of ghettoes and slums in shanty town communities, of the perpetuation of folklore and rituals, and so on. Throughout the 1960s, such disciplinary interest focused on new urban residents; urban problems, such as poverty, urban adaptation and ecological factors; the role of dominant social groups; minority communities (the problem-centred approach); and traditional ethnographic studies which looked at the city as a laboratory. The overall, basic focus was rural-urban migration. However, it must be stressed that, notwithstanding their limitations and later criticism, such Anglophone pioneering studies did undoubtedly form the basis for the development of urban anthropology.

The Development of Urban Anthropology

In the 1960s, the worldwide increasing demographic movement to cities led to the expansion of urban anthropological research. With continued attention to 'problem-centred' studies, research focused on poverty, minorities – including ethnic minorities – and on urban adaptation. Some anthropologists who engaged in these studies developed such concepts as 'culture of poverty' (Lewis 1959, 1966), which over the years was fiercely criticized (see, for example, Valentine 1968, Eames and Goode 1996); others focused on ghetto culture and community dynamics (see, for example, Hannerz 1969), on interpersonal networks and collective identities (see, for example, Abu-Lughod 1962) and on the significance of so-called 'quasi-groups' in the context of 'complex societies' (see, for example, A. Mayer 1966). A more eclectic and regionally diversified urban anthropology emerged during the 1970s, as field research was increasingly carried out in Japan, India, South-East Asia and in various African and South and North American countries. Southall's edited volume, titled *Urban Anthropology* (1973), offered an initial insight into the variety of research that was being done at the time, bringing together methodological and ethnographic contributions and a seventy-page bibliography on the topic.

This new interest in urban research stimulated a multidisciplinary symposium on 'Processes of Urbanism' at the IX International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (ICAES) held in Chicago in 1973. The symposium was poorly attended and no further sessions were organized at the following Congress. In the US, given a strong home-oriented tradition, the American Anthropological Association took an interest in anthropological research in urban areas and, in 1972, initiated the publication of the journal *Urban Anthropology*. This initiative did not, however, lead to the establishment of 'urban anthropology' as a sub-disciplinary field. A further attempt was made in 1979 with the foundation of the *Society of Urban Anthropology* (SUA) but endless debate ensued and ostracism continued from 'traditional' anthropologists who believed that urban anthropology was not truly anthropology. So, after an initial, rather enthusiastic start, the relevance of the SUA faltered. Later, as part of the steps taken in the late-1980s in an attempt to revitalize this organization, the Society was renamed SUNTA (*Society for Urban, National and Transnational/Global Anthropology*) and the journal *Urban Anthropology* was renamed under the lengthy title, *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural System & World Economic Development.* A new journal called *City and Society* was also launched.

In spite of the reluctance and, in some cases, outright opposition of the wider anthropological community, in the late 1970s Cyril Belshaw, the then president of the IUAES (International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences), endorsed the establishment of a *Commission on Urban Anthropology* (from now on, CUA) within the IUAES. Ghaus Ansari and anthropologists like Fox and Southall – who had published textbooks and readers on urban anthropology (see, for example, Fox 1977, Southall ed. 1973) – were among the Commission's founding members. As the only international association of anthropology, the IUAES, through the CUA, aimed at promoting the establishment of an international network of scholars engaged in urban research and at stimulating debate on the variety of research identifiable as urban. Ansari was asked to coordinate the preparatory work for the organization of this new Commission and in 1982, following prolonged consultations with specialist anthropologists, the first International Seminar on Urban Anthropology was eventually convened in Vienna. The Seminar was attended by 15 participants from Austria, Canada, Egypt, India, Japan, Kuwait, the Netherlands, Nigeria, the USA and Venezuela. The proceedings were published in 1983 in a volume published by Brill and co-edited by Ansari and Nas. Titled *Town-Talk – The Dynamics of Urban Anthropology*, the volume aimed at providing a blueprint for the scientific program of the Commission, which gained full affiliation to the IUAES in 1983, at the Vancouver International Congress.

The CUA has since grown in strength, its membership including scholars based in universities across the world. It holds regularly its thematic Annual Conference and promotes seminars and round-tables, bringing together strong fields of senior and younger anthropologists in discussing their work and debating key issues in this subfield. In recent years, the Commission has published its own web-site (http://urban.anthroweb.net/). Under the chair of Giuliana B. Prato, has established strong links with Ashgate Publishing through the Series *Urban*

Anthropology and, in November 2011, has launched *Urbanities*, its open-access peer-reviewed on-line journal, which endeavours to provide the scientific community and the general public with up-to-date research findings, debates and news in urban anthropology. A key objective of this journal, published twice a year, is to bring out the relevance of this disciplinary sub-field in understanding social, cultural, political and economic changes worldwide.

Defining the 'Urban'

In the 1970s, the socio-economic and geo-political ethnographic variety of expanding urban research generated some confusion on how precisely to define the concept of 'urban'. The urban was defined in terms of demographic density or in relation to occupations other than agricultural or direct subsistence production. Southall (1983) viewed the 'urban' as a highly spatial density of social interaction, rejecting a definition based on mere demographic or physical density. From a Marxist point of view, Gutkind (1983) provided yet another definition arguing, similar to Southall, that it is not physical density that constitutes an urban setting; it is, instead, the kind of social relations, which, according to him, are significantly different from those in rural settings. Gutkind maintained that class struggle constituted the essence of urban life and, like Southall, that the city was a 'social institution' totally different from any other. They were influenced by earlier sociological works, such as Louis Wirth's aforementioned essay, *Urbanism as a Way of Life* (1938) where he described the distinctive attributes of the city as a specific social institution, a view that led to the conceptualization of an anthropology *of* the city, as opposed to anthropological research *in* the city. Having argued that the aim of urban anthropology should be the cross-cultural study of urbanism, Southall (1983) encouraged the comparative analysis of historically established metropolises, taking further an earlier debate on classifications of city types that, like the more recent attempts made in this line (see a later section), bring vividly to mind the spirit of Edmund Leach's robust warning about some anthropologists' tendency to engage in pointless 'butterfly collecting' (Leach 1961: 5). The influence that such attempts have yielded in the history of this subfield makes them, nonetheless, worthy of some attention.

An early attempt at classifying city types was made by Redfield and Singer in their essay, *The cultural Role of Cities* (1954), which expanded on Redfield's theorization of the folk-urban continuum to develop the idea of a continuum with two ideal types of cities at its opposite ends, which they called the 'orthogenetic' city and the 'heterogenetic' city. These two ideal types were supposed to explain the role that cities play in cultural change and transmission. According to Redfield and Singer, 'orthogenetic' cities are the product of endogenous development, a product therefore of 'primary' urbanization. In the context of orthogenetic cities, pre-existing folk ideas and values are transformed by a group of urban literati and transmitted back to the people (folk) among whom they originated. Such a process of elaboration and codification of the folk culture into a 'great tradition', they argued, creates an indigenous civilization. In contrast, they described 'heterogenetic' cities as products of a 'secondary' kind of urbanization; the product, that is, of the encounter between a folk culture and a different (often colonial) culture. In this second case, the

outcome is not the creation of a 'great tradition' of indigenous civilization but a new form of urban life which is often in conflict with the indigenous folk culture. According to Redfield and Singer, heterogenetic cities may well be centres of technical and economic change, but the ideological innovation that accompanies them destroys the ancient tradition and brings about dissent, rootlessness and anomie.

Southall's subsequent classification of African cities played a relevant role in the research carried out in the African ex-colonies. For Southall (1961), African cities fall into either a 'category A' or a 'category B'. Category A includes cities of ancient formation, which existed long before the colonial administration; these are characterized by slow development and maintain strong links with the subsistence economy of the surrounding rural areas. Category B includes cities of recent formation, which are marked by fast growth and are inhabited mainly by rural migrants employed in the mines and industries built and owned by white Europeans. Gluckman joined the debate arguing that towns in Central Africa 'differ only in degree from any town, anywhere in the world' (1961: 79), and that an 'African townsman is a townsman' (1961: 69). With reference to the African towns in the Copperbelt area, Gluckman maintained that these towns' 'social structure is determined by the urban industrial setting', thus 'the starting point for an analysis of urbanization must be an urban system of relations' (1961: 79-80).

These Africanists' approach was interestingly at odds with the analyses developed by scholars who were carrying out research in urban India. In 1960 Pocock published a paper on the Indian city, arguing that Indian cities are above all *Indian* and that many sociological theorizations about the city had erroneously and hastily associated the urban with 'Western values and influences' (Pocock 1960: 65). In a recent essay, Parry (2012) discusses these different approaches suggesting that the divergence between these two main arguments may have developed in part out of different academic agendas. On the one hand, the scholars of the Rhodes Livingston Institute were attempting to distance themselves from colonial stereotypes casting African 'tribesmen' as people who could never truly become 'townsmen'. On the other hand, anthropologists who did research in India were determined to get out from under the shadow of Africanist anthropology, and sought to assert the unique and distinctive character of Indian cities and civilization. However, as Parry points out, there is an objective difference between the two kinds of urbanism addressed by Gluckman and Pocock. Pocock ignored Indian colonial cities in his analysis and mainly referred to cities that had evolved endogenously through millennia and were similar to the 'orthogenetic' cities pictured in Redfield and Singer's model; he wanted to demonstrate that in India there was no discontinuity between rural and urban social life. Stressing India's ancient urban civilization, Pocock endeavored to show that, historically, the Indian city has been the central expression of the traditional social values reflected in the caste and kinship system. Ultimately, his rejection of the urban-rural divide factually questioned the idea that there could be such a distinctive field of study as urban anthropology.

Notwithstanding such an authoritative objection as Pocock's, two main positions emerged in the late 1960s from the described different approaches to urban research. One developed along

the lines sketched by Southall and Gutkind and was espoused by people like Conrad Arensberg (1968), who, in comparing rural and urban life, regarded the city as a totality that should be studied in itself. Arensberg's stance reflected a strong functionalist influence, as he cast urban studies in the methodological framework that he had applied to his research in rural Ireland, which he published with Solan Kimball in 1940. Such functionalism should not come as a surprise, for, as Rosemary Harris pointed out in a key essay published 1988, Arensberg and Kimball acknowledged the influence of Lloyd Warner's study of Yankee City. The other position is well represented by Leeds (1968) who, in contrast with what we have just outlined, argued that the city could not be studied as an isolated unit separated from the wider national and international context. Leeds (1972) made it clear that too much emphasis had been put on micro-level studies, which he regarded as having limited importance in understanding cities. His criticism pointed to two main problems in the way in which 'urban anthropology' had developed. Having argued that urban anthropology 'has been done as if (a) the city were an isolated unit and (b) as if the thing studied in the city has some intrinsic relation to the city,' he concluded that 'cities are simply one form of population nucleation, all of which are precipitates in localities of an extraordinarily complex system of interactions which constitute a society' (Leeds 1972: 4-5). Leeds sought to define theoretical and methodological models that would allow anthropologists to study the 'totality' of the city as part of a wider totality; that is, the state and the global context to which it belongs. Leeds's approach is graphically illustrated by his statement that 'no town is an island of itself' (Leeds 1980; see also Leeds 1973). For him, cities are elements of a complex macrocosm, and such a macrocosm must be taken into account for us to be able to unravel what is going on at the local level. On a parallel line, other anthropologists increasingly realized that cities could not be regarded as subordinate units of centralized states and that urban phenomena should be contextualized in the global system. Richard Fox (1977), for example, emphasized the relevance of including historical analysis in the locally significant global dimension.

Note that, apart from the US, thus far the study of Western industrial societies had remained distinctly missing from the urban anthropological agenda. The increasing difficulty in carrying out 'traditional' anthropological research in the new post-colonial situation had been a turning point in what appeared to be a disciplinary stance against research in the West. As we have mentioned, this was particularly true of British mainstream anthropology. As research in the ex-colonies was increasingly hindered by lack of cooperation from local governments and by the decreasing interest, and therefore funds, in the anthropologists' countries of origin, some anthropologists turned their attention to their own society, leading to a fatuous (Schneider 2002) and damaging (Pardo and Prato 2010) search for the 'exotic at home'.

The Tribalization of Cities: Urban Anthropology and the Functionalist Paradigm

By the early 1980s, three major tendencies had developed in anthropology: 1) the study of the transformations that were occurring in the so-called Third World societies and in developing countries; 2) the study of the anthropologist's own society, the so-called 'anthropology at home';

3) the study of European communities, with particular reference to Celtic and Irish communities and to rural settings in the Mediterranean Region. The latter trend developed especially among Anglophone anthropologists (mainly British and North American). Since the 1960s, there had been a proliferation of Mediterranean ethnographies, particularly on Greece, Spain, Italy, Portugal (although, geographically this is not a Mediterranean country), Turkey (in part considered between Europe and the Middle East) and, to a lesser extent, France, for France had its own tradition of anthropology 'at home' (see, for example, Dumont 1951). As such research in rural communities continued to be conceived mainly as the study of small-scale, self-contained societies, a substantial body of anthropological literature was published that provided synchronic accounts of rural villages studied as 'isolated units', no attempt being made to relate these villages to the wider regional and national context to which they belonged. In short, despite the traditional functionalist paradigm having unmistakably proved limited in other ethnographic areas, it continued to be applied particularly to the study of Mediterranean rural villages with a focus on social norms and on the integrating and static aspects of social structure.

About two decades later, a new generation of anthropologists with research interest in Europe began to question this mainstream analytical approach to the study of European rural communities. These critiques were aptly summarized by the U.S.-based British anthropologist Herzfeld (1987), who had conducted research in rural Greece. Herzfeld forcefully argued that, paradoxically, a discipline that claimed to reject exoticism (in the sense of sensationalizing cultural otherness), had in fact pursued the study of cultural otherness. Most important, Herzfeld pointed out that the focus on the village had obscured the complex web of relations between local and national political and economic dynamics. The structural-functionalist paradigm still dominant in the 1970s had brought about a heavily criticized tendency (see, for example, Albera1988) to tribalise and isolate in space and time the society under study, and to seek out the marginal. Such criticism mirrored that raised against the kind of urban anthropological approach that focused on group dynamics and community studies. As Fox wittily noted, at its early stage, urban anthropology appeared to be caught in an undignified scuffle to find savages in the slums (1977).

It is important to remind the reader that 'urban anthropology' was developing parallel to the study of the anthropologist's own society. It is equally important to note that when anthropologists began to turn their attention to 'home', their interest was, in a sense, of an applied kind. They were interested in studying the 'problems' of their own society and contributing to planning social intervention aimed at the solution of such problems. For these anthropologists the Western metropolis constituted a breading field of the society's problems. From this perspective, the city was conceived as a mosaic, in which each piece presented different problems. Their approach did not contemplate the study of the whole set up; instead, it focused merely on the observation and analysis of each part separately from the others, as advocated by the Chicago School and its followers in the USA. The School's influence on anthropological urban research raised animated debate and criticism – particularly directed to its focus on small-scale social units

– which continue to these days. Hannerz, who in the 1960s had carried out a study of 'ghetto culture' and community (1969), later criticized this approach arguing that the problem-centred studies had produced a fragmented view of the city (Hannerz 1980). Anthropologists' failure to bring together the various pieces of the 'mosaic' constituted, he suggested, a major limitation of urban research (1980). In an earlier publication, Fox (1977) had similarly argued that by focusing on specific groups, anthropologists were producing a fragmentary picture of urban reality (see also Wayne and Kemper eds 1978).Years later, Leith Mullings (1987) criticized the way in which urban anthropology had developed in the US, and yet her work (Mullings 1997) and that of other North American scholars (see, for example, Susser 1982) continued to struggle in getting away from an analysis in terms of urban 'mosaic', focusing on such issues as poverty, ethnicity and gender. These contemporary scholars appear, however, to be motivated by a different kind of applied interest; specifically, that of the 'engaged' anthropologist. The applied-oriented approach of many US anthropologists to their own society should not be surprising for, as Marcus and Fischer have noted, they have always had 'domestic interests'. Their 'exotic subjects' have traditionally been American Indians, urban migrants and immigrants (Marcus and Fischer 1986: 112).

As we have indicated, for a long time, and in contrast with their US and to a lesser extent European colleagues (for instance, French and especially Scandinavian), British anthropologists regarded the study of their own society as 'poor man's anthropology, … as neither testing, nor serious scholarship' (A.P. Cohen 1986: 15). At most, we have seen, they turned their attention to Irish and Celtic societies (somehow depicted as 'colonies') or to European (mainly Mediterranean) peasants; in particular, Mediterranean anthropology was seen as anthropologists' second-best enterprise. These communities were regarded as 'remote' enough to be considered 'fit' for anthropological study (see Ardner 1987), which nicely met the belief that only distance, especially semantic distance, could lend 'enhancement, if not enchantment, to the anthropological vision' (Ardner 1987: 38). Eventually, a clear acknowledgment was made of the need to study a specific social unit – being it a village, the town or a larger city – in relation to the macro-processes that influence, and are influenced by, local dynamics.

Keeping in mind that most of this debate turned a blind eye to European cities, evolving around research carried out in villages, it is not surprising that by the mid-1980s only a few ethnographies had been produced on urban Europe by Anglophone anthropologists; fewer still had been integrated in major debates. Notably, most of these monographs failed to provide a holistic analysis, focusing on narrow topics, such as the West Indian London Carnival (Cohen 1980), political ideologies and representation of immigrants in France (Grillo, 1985), working class political relations in Italy (Kertzer 1980), social historical study of industrial élite in Spain (McDonogh 1986). Moreover, the aforementioned debate continued to ignore what urban ethnographies there were, for the aim was not to stimulate urban research but to develop an informed criticism of the structural-functionalist paradigm. Such a debate ended up proposing an

anthropology of 'complex', nation-state societies, focusing on issues such as bureaucracy, nationalism, religious and political ideologies, gender and ethnic relations.

The Diversification of Urban Anthropology

The 1980s saw the publication of a large number of urban ethnographies. In an article published in 1990, Sanjek reviewed urban ethnographies spanning over the five continents, looking at the issues that caught the anthropologists' attention, but also at the topics that were neglected. As he pointed out, urban anthropology found itself competing with other 'anthropologies' – applied, environmental, medical, educational, aesthetic, 'of development', 'of gender' – that were developing alongside more traditional subfields, such as political, economic, religion, kinship and a sub-section of legal anthropology (specifically, legal pluralism). As Sanjek noted, 'urban anthropology in 1980 was arguably the narrowest and theoretically least influential of all this brood' (Sanjek 1990: 151).

Significantly, however, a new trend emerged in the USA, where anthropologists started to 'study up', examining such topics as the dynamics of inherited wealth (G. Marcus 1980) and Congressional patronage and ritual (Wheatherford 1985). At the same time, renewed interest in single-subject issues led to research on the elderly, ethnic minority and new migrants, gender (particularly feminist-oriented) and education (e.g., Susser 1982, Foner 1987, Harrison 1989, Jones and Turner 1989). Special attention was paid to ethnic and religious identities, and to ethnic relations. In the article cited above, Sanjek pointed out that much of this research continued to be neighbourhood-based. Elsewhere, the empirical study of local dynamics was linked to broader historical and international processes. For instance, ethnographies on the Middle East addressed the Israeli-Arab conflict, looking at the influence of religious education in political processes (Fischer 1980), the significance of ethnic demographic movement (Shokeid and Dresden 1982) and historical processes of nation-state formation (Aronoff ed. 1986) in relation to significant external factors.

Ethnographies of African societies continued, in part, to reflect traditional interests, such as kinship, social organization and labour migration; some moved on to new grounds, examining, for instance, the dramaturgy of power, the relationship between status symbolism and Masonic lodges (Cohen 1981), the emergence of new indigenous leaders (W. MacGaffey 1983) and entrepreneurialism (J. MacGaffey 1987). A growing field was also brought out by ethnographies on the role of women in economic activities (Obbo 1980, Cock 1980). Work, class and gender, along with town symbolism and urban planning, and 'urban' religion, were also major topics of urban anthropological research in Asia, a trend exemplified by the work of Holmstrom (1985) on organized and unorganized industrial sectors in India, of Smart (1989) on street hawkers in Hong Kong, of Gates (1987) on Chinese working class in Taiwan, of Bestor (1989) on market place and social organization in Tokyo, of Robinson (1986) on the political economy of development in Indonesia and of the volume edited by Nas (1986) on Indonesian cities. Many studies linked gender to work issues and migration (Ong 1987 and Sharma 1986; Trager 1988), and middle-

class and élite Hindu women (Caplan 1985) and upward mobility (Srinivas 1984); still others looked at 'sex tourism' (Phongpaichit 1982) and at the culture of *geisha* professional entertainers (Dalby 1983), while demographic policies and the different position of women in urban and rural areas became the object of ethnographies on China (Wolf 1985). Religious studies varied from analyses of the work of Braham priests (Fuller 1984) to analyses of the relationship between class and religion (Lewandowski 1980), 'new religions' in Japan (Davis 1980), Islamic revival (Nagata 1982, 1984; Nakamura 1983), the clash between religious institutions and legal colonial institutions (Appadurai 1981) and the complexity raised by the ethnography of the ancient pilgrimage city of Banaras (Parry 1994).

Also in the case of Asian ethnographies, most of the literature, perhaps with the exception of the studies on sex tourism and on joint corporate ventures, was concerned with internal changes, often overlooking external influences. Urban ethnographies on Latin America addressed housing, urban restructuring and new settlements at the urban peripheries (e.g., Lobo 1983, Logan 1984, Holston 1989), or focused on economic policies, women workers, local politics and religion (see, for example, Chaney and Castro, 1989, on women factory workers and market traders; Safa, 1986, on informality and state policy; Bank and Doimo, 1989 on social movements). Many studies on Latin America were influenced by sociological works, such as Castells's *The Cities and the Grassroots* (1983).

Urban research in Europe appeared to be more geographically diversified. In Britain urban research mainly focused on ethnic groups, especially on Commonwealth immigrants (Burghart 1987, Cohen 1981, Wallman 1984, Werbner 1986). Exceptions to this trend were represented by such works as that of Mars (1982) on workplace crime, Harris (1986) on power relations in industry and Finnegan (1989) on hidden musicians. A few studies were carried out in Southern Europe and almost none in Eastern Europe. Although research in South Europe continued to be circumscribed to the Mediterraneanist tradition and its limitations (Pardo and Prato 2010), refreshing theoretical approaches began to emerge, as exemplified by the work of Murphy (1983) on generational change in Seville and Pardo (1989) on the relationship between religious beliefs and practices and social dynamics in Italy, while urban France attracted the attention of both British (Grillo 1985) and native anthropologists (among them, Zonabend 1981 and Segalen 1985). Interestingly, Sweden was the country where most urban research was carried out in continental Europe, addressing also ethnic issues and focusing on welfare institutions, class and culture.

We must point out that, although based on urban ethnographies, most of the aforementioned publications were not presented as 'urban anthropology'. Many were identified, instead, as studies in the anthropology of religion and of thought, economic anthropology, gender, political anthropology, material culture, environmental anthropology and so on. Opposition to urban anthropology was still predominant in the mainstream academic world and, as we shall see, it took some time and effort for anthropological research in the urban West, and particularly in Europe, to develop and achieve recognition.

Methodology and Methods: The Development of Classic Anthropological Research in the Western City

Throughout the 1970s, it became obvious to many that the increasing number of urban anthropological studies had brought about the need to redefine the disciplinary paradigm methodologically and theoretically. In particular, the post-war and post-colonial situation had generated a critical rethinking of anthropology, of its scope and methods and of its object of study (see, e.g., Ansari and Nas eds 1983). Research interests became more diversified. At the same time, the study of social change and the influence of Marxism led to criticism of the dominant functionalist paradigm.

Many anthropologists, who from a different perspective questioned the validity of the study of alleged 'isolated' and 'autonomous' communities, began to cast their ethnographies in a wider context. It was the beginning of a new methodological approach in the discipline as a whole. Anthropologists became increasingly concerned with the relationship between micro-processes (at community level) and macro-processes (at regional and national level). Such an approach and interests were, however, only partially reflected in urban research. The limited debate that followed the publication of European urban ethnographies continued to be marred by the – unsubstantiated – argument that a classical anthropological study of Western urban settings could not be done.

In the 1980s, two key issues were addressed. On the one hand, anthropologists asked whether the classical methodological apparatus, developed specifically for the study of village and tribal communities, could be applied to larger, more 'complex' settings. On the other hand, methodological problems were raised by the perceived danger of interdisciplinarity. Undeniably, anthropologists found it increasingly difficult to define their field of study, for global changes forced them to take into account data that were academically 'allocated' to other social sciences and to the humanities; in particular, sociology, political science, economy and history. The main concern was how to apply the traditional anthropological methodology to more 'complex' (Western and non-Western) societies and, where adaptations were needed, how to avoid losing disciplinary identity – questions, we must note, raised by Banton (1966) two decades earlier.

Having said that urban anthropology has been heavily influenced by sociology, it should also be said that initially, and of course unsurprisingly, the taken-for-granted distinct separation of the two disciplines' fields of study ('primitive' societies and 'exotic' communities, on the hand, and 'complex', mainly Western societies, on the other) did not bring about disciplinary insecurity. All was well regarding data collection too for, broadly speaking, the two disciplines adopted different research methods. Sociologists would normally study large population samples, using mainly quantitative and statistical data, surveys, structured interviews and so on, whereas anthropologists essentially carried out long-term qualitative research based on the in-depth ethnographic study of a community through participant observation, collecting data through a

combination of field techniques such as note-taking, open interviews, case-studies of significant people and situations, audio and visual recording and so on. Traditionally, the ethnographic method allowed anthropologists to focus on a specific topic while remaining holistic in their analyses. The spatial complexity of the urban field undoubtedly presented a challenge in this respect, as anthropologists were increasingly faced with the need to design their research in such a way as to broaden their scope; ethnographic methods needed, therefore, expanding. Many, we know, circumvented such a complexity by setting specific boundaries in defining the target population and limiting their study to neighbourhoods (spatial boundaries), ethnic minorities (cultural boundaries), or target groups that were confined by gender or work boundaries. As anthropological research in urban areas increased, there was, however, the risk that the distinction between the two disciplines would become blurred.

While sociologists became increasingly interested in the ethnographic method (e.g., Gans 1967), anthropologists such as Sandra Wallman doubted the applicability of participant observation in urban areas, which eventually translated into an advocacy for new methods and for an 'anthropology by proxy' (Wallman et al. 1982). In her research in London, published under the title *Eight London Households* (1984), she applied research methods borrowed from other disciplines. This soon turned out to be a major limit of such otherwise stimulating work, which pointed to the relevance of analysing 'resources' such as time, information and identity in understanding inner-city Londoners.

For a while, Wallman's methodological stance appeared to play the perverse role of justifying the objection that (classic) anthropology could not be done *in* the Western Industrial city. So, for a while, the danger of this subfield being dismissed altogether was clear and present. However, in the mid-1980s Pardo's research on death in Naples (1989) and, then, his doctoral research convincingly proved that not only was participant observation possible, but also that its combination with an adaptation of Wallman's techniques in the construction of case studies produced good results and that a holistic study in the anthropological tradition could successfully be done in urban Europe (Pardo 1996; see also 2012 on the academic and intellectual complexity of that time). A key aspect of Pardo's work in Naples is its focus on the agency-system relationship, which led to a critical analysis of the categorical oppositions typical of both the Functionalist and the Marxist perspectives. Demonstrating the analytical and theoretical relevance of in-depth empirically-based research, Pardo drew on his detailed ethnography to develop a sophisticated framework urging anthropologists to address the sociological significance of 'strong continuous interaction' (Pardo 1996: 11-12) between the material and the non-material, of long-term goals and immediate returns – taking into account the significance of morality, rationality and values in people's choices and strategies – and of the link between micro- and macro-level analysis. New urban research followed thereof on the interactions between economic, political and cultural aspects, which contextualized local dynamics and change in national and global historical processes (Prato 1993, 2000, 2009). Others (see, for example, Spyridakis 2006 and 2010) have taken on such an approach looking at the relationships between

local and national processes and policies of global restructuring that fundamentally influence the local reality and people's everyday life. While recognizing the usefulness of data collected through non classical anthropological methods, these works continued to draw on the traditional ethnographic methodology. As testified by the works cited above and by an increasing number of others (such as, for example, Armstrong 1998, Gill 2000 and 2001, Bardhoshi 2010, Lindsay 2011, Mollica 2012, Engebresten 2012), long-term field research in a specific site is a *sine qua non*; participant observation and in-depth case-studies are made possible by the 'fine gained daily interactions' (Falzon 2009) and the relations of trust established with local people (Pardo 2000 and 2001).

Attention to the relationship between micro- and macro-processes should not be confused with the methodological arguments that, in the 1990s, questioned the validity of traditional fieldwork. This is the case, for example, of the kind of a 'multi-sited' ethnography proposed by scholars like George F. Marcus. Having argued that many contemporary social phenomena – such as globalization and transnationalism – could not be accounted for by focusing on a contained space, Marcus (1995) suggested that anthropologists should study the 'connections between places' (Falzon 2009: 5). A major criticism of this approach is that, in their ambition to develop a holistic understanding of supra-local processes of globalization and transnationalism, post-modernist advocates of multi-sited ethnography have often produced 'thin', superficial ethnographic accounts, to the detriment of an in-depth understanding and analysis of the local reality (on this debate, see, for example, Falzon ed. 2009). Furthermore, Hannerz (2009) has rightly questioned the novelty of this kind of multi-sited approach, arguing that, in the mid- and late-twentieth century, all too often new fashions and vocabularies have been presented as innovation. The Marxist and post-modernist critical stance of this new generation of anthropologists towards the past of the discipline not only led to questioning the validity of traditional fieldwork but, as Hannerz notes, also produced a 'mass-amnesia' in the wider academic community. Since the dawn of the discipline anthropologists have carried out fieldwork not just from the veranda and have engaged in some form of 'multi-sited' investigation. More recently, as Pardo's work shows (see, for example, 1996 and 2012), anthropological research carried out applying traditional methodology, while based in a specific urban area, offer an empirical understanding of the broader context and of the attendant sociological connections through the ethnographic study of local people's links throughout the rest of the city and beyond. Pardo makes it quite clear, and in fine detail, how, as a participant observer, he 'followed' his informants in their dealings within and without the neighbourhood, thus providing an in-depth, articulated understanding of the ways in which local people relate to the wider social, economic and political system that stimulated a correspondingly complex analytical and theoretical effort. Similarly, Seligmann's study (2004-2012) of street vendors in urban Peru shows that multi-sited fieldwork has played a fundamental role in tracking intertwined micro-, meso- and macro-processes in the Andean economy. These are just two examples of the kind of multi-sited ethnography that at once offers an in-depth understanding of how people relate to the wider

system beyond their neighbourhood and workplace and links nicely the analysis of micro-processes to the complexity of macro-level influences. In this specific sense, 'multi-sited' fieldwork proves to be useful (see also Mollica 2012, Parry 2012, Prato 2012 and Giordano 2012).

A significant aspect in the study of the relationship between micro- and macro-levels is the conceptual and analytical distinction between place and space. Such a distinction has become significant in urban research as cities have been increasingly regarded as 'places' that take a specific significance for the resident; they are argued to be more than physical spaces in so far as their social forms give meaning to 'who we are'. Thus, cities have been addressed as places of meaning and identity. For some scholars (see, for example, Orun and Chen 2003), conceptualizing the city as a place becomes particularly significant when cities are studied in relation to external global forces. Although the global economy may transform cities, their specific identity comes to light when they are analysed as places of meaning. Thus, despite new attempts at classifying city types (e.g., Low ed. 1999), it would be misleading to apply the same analytical parameters to such diverse cities as such as New York, Tokyo, London, Paris, Shanghai or Chicago; these, like others, may well be described as 'global cities' (in the sense given by Sassen 1991) but their empirical study brings out the indisputable fact that cities 'vary from one epoch to another, and from one society to another' (Orun and Chen 2003: viii).

New Developments in Anthropological Urban Research: Cities in the Global Context

Since the 1990s, urban anthropological research has variously recognized the ways in which regional diversity (cultural, social, economic and political) affects urban life. Anthropologists have paid attention to: a) a rethinking of theories of urbanization and patterns of urban growth; b) different patterns of urban social interaction and urban conflict in traditionally multi-ethnic states and 'multicultural' processes in Western cities; c) the ways in which people in different regions and under different political regimes respond and adapt to the demand of global policies (e.g., developing countries, post-socialist countries, post-industrial settings); d) the visibility and relevance of urban research, and anthropology generally, in the broader society.

To expand on a key point, apart from inviting criticism *à la* Leach to which we have referred earlier, attempts to provide a theorization of cities by categorizing them into sacred, ethnic, gendered, global, informal, traditional, contested cities and so on, raise the obvious question, how can one group under the same category cities such as, for example, Jerusalem, Banares and Rome or Hindu and Islamic cities? These are all 'sacred cities', they are however fundamentally different and such a difference needs to be recognized and appropriately addressed. Similarly, we should ask whether the 'spatialization of culture' occurs in the same way in Costa Rica and in Vienna (Rotenberg and McDonogheds 1993), or whether 'class struggle' and gender solidarity have the same meaning and follow the same pattern in New York City (Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992) and in Barcelona (and Kaplan 1992). While comparative analysis may well yield enlightening insights (see, for example, Monge 2010, Krase 2012), it is

critical to recognize that each of these cities have different history and different meanings for its inhabitants (whether they are new immigrants or old residents); that they are marked by diverse economic and social conditions and that they belong to different political systems which, despite global and transnational processes, inevitably affect a wide range of urban policies.

The diversity of cities is reflected in recent works on migration, such as the volume edited by Glick Schiller and Çaglar (2011) on the interrelationship between migrants and cities, with particular reference to the 'rescaling' of cities. Looking at the relationship between locality and globality, including historical transnationalism linked to labour migration, the volume aims to show how the ways in which migrants of different backgrounds establish themselves in cities and their contribution to urban restructuring are affected by the different political, economic and social conditions of the host cities (See also contributions in Prato ed. 2009).

It goes without saying that the works mentioned thus far, and those that follow, are by no means exhaustive of the research carried out in the urban anthropological field. They represent major trends that have developed throughout the years and they show the extent to which *Urban Anthropology* has changed over the years.

Among the issues that have caught the attention of urban anthropologists in the 1990s and at the beginning of the twenty-first century are industrial relations (Harris 1986; Parry, Breman and Kapadiaeds 1999; Spyridakis 2006); social marginality (for example, Bourgois 2002 and 2003 [1995], Pardo 2009, Perlman 2011); the sociological significance of kinship in social relations (Pardo 1996, Donner 2008); citizenship, the relationship between ordinary people and their rulers and the legitimacy of governance (Holston ed. 1999, Pardo 2000 and 2001, Prato 2000, Gill 2000 and 2001, Zhang 2002, Bray 2005, Sam Hickey and Diana Mitlineds 2009, Pardo and Prato eds 2010); religion and modernity (Parry 2008); political ideologies and urban planning (Bray 2005, Colombijn 2006); gender issues (Harrison 1991; El-Kholy 2002, Engebretsen 2012); violence and conflict (Armstrong 1998, Caldeira 2000, Sant-Cassia 2000, Colombijn and Lindbandeds 2002, Mollica 2010), also addressing movements of resistance (Holston 2008, Gledhill and Schell 2012); the problems raised by the growing movement of population and multiculturalism (Ong and Nonini 1997, Feldman-Bianco 2001, Zhang 2001, Erdentug and Colombijn eds 2002, Prato ed. 2009, Nagle 2009, Weingrod 2010, Krase 2012); legitimating processes of state formation and ethno-nationalistic revival (Rubel and Rossman 2009, Weingrod 2006), urban symbolism (Jezernik ed. 1999, Nas and Samuels eds 2006), the cultural meaning and use of urban space (Rotenberg and McDonogheds 1993, Makhulu 2002), environmental issues (Prato 1993, Aoyagi et al. eds 1995, Torsello 2012).

The activities of the *Commission on Urban Anthropology* have reflected the breadth of these new interests, often stimulating new research and acting as a springboard for debate on methodological and theoretical issues (see, Prato and Pardo eds 2010 and eds 2012). Following the collapse of Communism, there has been a renewed interest in Eastern and South-Eastern European cities, linking them to global geopolitical processes (see, for example, Prato 2004 and 2012, Thiessen 2007 and 2012, Bardhoshi 2010). Several publications of the *Commission*'s

members have demonstrated the validity of interdisciplinary debate, addressing the connection between micro- and macro-processes and, crucially, the importance of empirically-based analysis and of the need to link theoretical speculation to empirical evidence. Ethnographically global, the Series *Urban Anthropology* established by Ashgate in 2007 meets precisely this trend, encouraging the publication of original, empirically based works that address key issues of comparative value in the current international academic and political debates. The first of its kind to be established by a major academic publisher, the Series includes works on the methodological challenges posed by urban field research; the role of kinship, family and social relations; the gap between citizenship and governance; the legitimacy of policy and the law; the relationships between the legal, the semi-legal and the illegal in the economic and political fields; the role of conflicting moralities across the social, cultural and political spectra; the problems raised by internal and international migration; the informal sector of the economy and its complex relationships with the formal sector and the law; the impact of the process of globalization on the local level and the significance of local dynamics in the global context; urban development, sustainability and global restructuring; conflict and competition within and between cities. Together with the aforementioned CUA journal *Urbanities*, the Series is part of an effort to stimulate fresh ideas and forward-looking analyses on the problems and complexity of our urban environment in today's global set up.

Conclusions: Human Mobility, Diversity and the Contemporary Relevance of Urban Research

In this concluding section we need to point out that, since the 1990s, most anthropologists prefer to define their field of study as anthropological research in urban settings, rather than 'urban anthropology'. This methodological and theoretical stance reflects a shift in focus from the community studies inspired by the 'urban ecology' model of the Chicago School and processes of urbanization in post-colonial societies to political economy, city planning, the legitimacy of grassroots action and of governance, the relationship between the local and the supralocal and their significance to urban dynamics.

Today anthropologists are concerned with a healthy variety of topics, including the multifaceted analytical challenge posed by the process of globalization (cultural, economic, political), biotechnology and bioethics, new reproductive technologies, the problematic of human rights, new forms of exclusion (including spatial segregation), legitimacy and governance, and so on. The early twenty-first-century situation appears to be marked by the re-emergence of localism, transnationalism and by the effects of the ill-fated political project of multiculturalism. In such a situation, the city stands out as a crucial arena in which citizenship – and, by extension, identity and belonging, the democratic process and human and civil rights – are constantly renegotiated (see Appadurai and Holston 1999, Prato 2006) and the morality of law and politics are increasingly questioned and scrutinized (see Pardo ed. 2000 and 2004).

As in the twenty-first century the world continues to grow urbanized, urban dynamics are increasingly central to global processes. At the same time, globalization and the contemporary scale of human mobility (virtual, through communication, and actual, through geographical movements) affects significantly, and in different ways, the social spectrum. Anthropology remains fundamental to our understanding of these processes for it offers a unique, empirically-based approach to studying both the micro-level in its broader context and the effects that global processes have on the life of the single individual and of whole communities.

Cities are hubs of cultural and ethnic interaction as well as challenging settings for future sustainable development. In studying the complexity of the world in which we live, interdisciplinary work – in the sense of cooperation and exchange of research findings – has proved to be of critical importance in gaining an informed, adequately articulated understanding of human beings and society; at the same time, it is *a sine qua non* to avoid the disciplinary fragmentation risked in the 1980s. True, the complexity of life somehow compels anthropologists to specialize in a specific field; however, there is absolutely no need for such a complexity to translate into academic complication and disciplinary insecurity. Bearing in mind that the a great part of the world population lives in cities and that urbanization will inevitably grow further, it could be argued that contemporary urban anthropology *is* Anthropology. Urban research can definitely contribute to achieving the kind of holistic understanding on which the discipline is based.

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COMMENTS AND REFLECTIONS

Stephan Feuchtwang, Ph.D.
Professor Emeritus of Anthropology, London School of Economics and Political Science
S.Feuchtwang@lse.ac.uk

The survey provided by Giuliana Prato and Italo Pardo is an extremely useful history and orientation of urban anthropology as a subject and an institution. I will offer three comments, one leading into the other. The first is, from my perspective as an anthropologist of China, to make good an omission from their survey. The second is to note some that much anthropology impinges on and is relevant to 'urban anthropology'. The third is to broach the problem of what might the theoretical object of urban anthropology be, in order to judge whether or when such other anthropological topics are part of it.

The omission is the work of the anthropologist G. William Skinner, first on marketing and administrative hierarchies in imperial China and their transformation in the process of modernisation (1964), second on the city in late imperial China (1977). Skinner combined historical documentary research with geography (principally central place theory) and demography in his anthropology of cities as parts of regional systems in China. His studies did not rely on a typology, but had empirically to distinguish between two kinds of hierarchy, that of the nested hierarchy of administrative cities in a centralised state and that of the ramified hierarchies of central places of social and economic interaction leading from the centres of standard market areas through greater areas and their central cities up to regional economies, each region with its city cores and remote peripheries. These were systems of the co-variation of variables of population density, mortality rates, spheres of inter-marriage, mediation and élites, increasing specialisation of occupation, and accumulation of wealth. Transport and topography are the keys to the formation of these hierarchies, whose formation could be traced from the first great commercialisation of the Chinese economy and the emergence of cities with populations of one million or more in the 9^{th}-11^{th} centuries until the twentieth century when road, rail and steamship reduced the intermediate levels of the central place hierarchy. Skinner's (1977) *The City in Late Imperial China* is one of three volumes on the city in China that he and his close colleagues, Mark Elvin and John B. Lewis edited. The chapters in them covered their internal social, economic and political institutions and culture, adding these to Skinner's regional analyses. They did not seek to demonstrate a uniquely Chinese quality in contradistinction to colonial biases as in the anthropology of Indian cities. Instead they offered studies of Chinese cities in critical response to classical urban sociologists and for comparison, which may indeed have indicated peculiarly Chinese characteristics. Unfortunately they were never taken up by anthropologists of other parts of the world. Nevertheless, they exemplify first a spatial approach and second an historical anthropology of cities, their emergence and transformation.

An even longer-term historical anthropology of cities is of course that which relies on archaeology, a curious omission from 'Urban anthropology'. It raises one of the issues confronting the anthropology of cities, which is to question the old equation of state, city and civilisation.

At the other end of the long-term historical view, the anthropology of industrialisation and work relations, including those of agro-industry, is an entirely distinct topic from the anthropology of the urban, though the two may of course overlap. Prato and Pardo only partially acknowledge this because they want to claim anything that is in 'cities' for 'urban anthropology'. For both, capitalist relations of production may well be a common denominator, but that does not make them the same anthropological topic. This brings me to a smaller omission from their survey but one that raises a big question.

It is the article by Liu Xin (2002) on the emergence of a so-called urban anthropology in and of China, which questions whether there is a theoretical object at stake. In the course of this important article he brings into question the whole of urban anthropology. Before coming back to this question, I want to draw attention to something that Prato and Pardo write at the beginning of their conclusions: 'most anthropologists prefer to define their field of study as anthropological research in urban settings, rather than "urban anthropology"' (p. 18). Previously in their survey they take this as a slight upon 'urban anthropology' or an avoidance that they take to be based on scorn. To me, it seems to be quite natural and no slight to urban anthropology that, as the world's population increasingly resides in cities, all anthropological and sociological topics are continued in urban settings. That they are often situated in city settings does not make them – for instance the anthropology of kinship or of religion – urban anthropology.

When extension of those topics begins, as it often does, to bring to notice how the topic is affected by urban residence, only then do we begin to note or at least to face the challenge of saying something about the urban as such. So, for instance, we are driven to ask what and why do family and kinship relations change under conditions of residence in cities. Raymond Firth's and his colleagues' studies of families in London did ask whether there was something specific about family life in London, as later Sandra Wallman did. But those changes are as much or more to do with changed sources of income, information from mass media, women's work, or everything placed under the imprecise label of modernisation as a world revolution, first systematically outlined by the sociologist William Goode in 1963. As Chinese studies have shown, these changes in kinship and family form are general, not just urban.

So, can we be more specific in designating the urban as an object of anthropological or sociological study? Like so many others have done, Liu Xin refers us to Henri Lefebvre's conception of capitalist production of space, a specific political economy of spatial formation that is the 'urban' of our times. Liu Xin notes that a spatialisation of social relations has taken place with the market reforms and the kind of state-led capitalism that has occurred in China and has generated the greatest urban expansion over the last thirty years. And he adds that with this spatialisation has also come a new temporality of short-term presents. It is aided by the

technology of mobile phones, social media and the financialisation of capitalist economies. But for me at least this is still not specific enough. I think that here the contrast of the urban, or at least the modern urban, with the rural can help. The contrast draws attention to the physicality of urban spaces, or of light pollution obscuring the sky and the phases of the moon, of the urban nature of seasons and daily rhythms of life. They give a clue as well as an empirical object lesson to the specificity of the urban. Living among strangers and the freedoms and problems of anonymity and anomie are classical and still relevant. But to them we should add the paths made and mapped in the different experiences of the same urban spaces, the ways the same spaces are centred on different points of significance as places of refuge, gathering and danger for different urban dwellers in their daily or weekly trajectories. Concatenations of these everyday practices and trajectories are the spatial stuff of urban spatiality and temporality. The physicality of policing of these spatial gatherings and dispersals and their links to nodes of transport is an obvious and tellingly specific subject for urban anthropology, exemplified by Julie Kleinman's study of the Gare du Nord in Paris (2012).

Prato and Pardo themselves point to another specifically urban topic: 'new forms of exclusion (including spatial segregation), legitimacy and governance' (p. 18). As another indication of such critical and specifically urban anthropology, I would add the counterpart to spatial segregation and urban governance, which is urban planning, both as a temporality and as part of the process of spatial formation. It is a never-ending, future-oriented but never completed and always both constructive sometimes utopian but also destructive process dogged by contingencies, a definition of legitimacy that literally marginalises and creates illegitimacy at its margins. A classic study of this specifically urban topic is *Berlin, Alexanderplatz* by Gisa Weszkalnys (2010).

With these clues I leave open to fellow anthropologists the specification of 'urban' as an object of anthropological theory and therefore empirical study, a question that the essay by Prato and Pardo inevitably provokes.

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Michael Fischer, Ph.D.
Professor of Social Anthropology, University of Kent, U.K.
m.d.fischer@kent.ac.uk
and
Maria Kokolaki, Ph.D.
Institute of Educational Policy, Athens and Honorary Research Fellow, University of Kent, U.K.
markok1921968@gmail.com

This excellent account by Prato and Pardo of the historical developments that underlie the dynamic of the current state of urban anthropology is a good starting point for moving forward. The theoretical innovations that have emerged from urban anthropology are, as they conclude, becoming a driver for anthropological innovation.

One of the difficulties in this story that Prato and Pardo relate is how long it has taken anthropologists to come to grips with fulfilling the mission of anthropology to describe and conceptualise urban social formations in a way that relates external holistic viewpoints to the composite holographic views of individual people. Each person experiences an urban place differently but in a manner partially compatible with others, a compatibility that increases or decreases depending on the extent to which they share pathways, networks and experiences. People construct a composite of cities and places, communities and groups in cities that is their own. Even at the level of communities, there is only partial agreement between direct neighbours about the boundaries of the composite of the community each holds (Henig 2012, Fischer 1994). This likewise applies to social networks, where the aperture on the network for each person in the network reveals a different conception of the whole of the network (White and Johansen 2004).

In villages anthropologists can imagine they are chipping away at these issues by use of brute force in detailed accounts of peoples' perceptions and conceptions; they can work with almost everyone they think relevant to a particular case study. Thus they feel they have related individual experiences to the 'reality' of the situation. In urban contexts it is clear one has to use samples in the form of cases studies, surveys and selective participant observation. The best one can do is to collect fragments of experience, social relations and the city itself.

One of the reasons that more anthropologists may be amenable to urban anthropology, in addition to the prevalence of urban population that Prato and Pardo allude to, is that one outcome of the past thirty years of social and cultural anthropology is the acknowledgement that even village life is far more complex in ways not before imagined. This was the initial stimulation for

the formal recognition of 'multi-sited' ethnography (Marcus 1995), which as Prato and Pardo note has informally always been a part of fieldwork. But most anthropologists need different skills than those developed for simpler times. They require quantitative skills useful for evaluating results within samples, and for many these remain an anathema. Simple but powerful forms of data collection and analysis based on social networks will be critical.

The need to acquire an urban perspective and use this to address the phenomena of day to day life will become even more apparent as the current revolution in ubiquitous communications results in new forms of social organisation and social life that resemble much more those of urban contexts than the village. Recently, social computing has greatly changed the capacity for establishing social networks. Initially, groups that existed primarily online were termed 'virtual', with the imputation that they were unlikely to have a major impact on social organisation. This was clearly miscalculated, as groups that are organised around mainly online contact are a major resource for many, particularly younger, people. Part of the reason for the misapprehension of the significance of online groups is common also for the consideration of more traditional networks. If each network is viewed as a single network, some – apparently organised around a single interest or need – appear relatively insubstantial. But people are members of many such groups, and where these groups in part overlap, either directly or indirectly, they become more significant. That is, when members of one network can be presented as resources through another network, the two networks in part extend each other beyond the immediate corporate relationships of given egos in the networks. Single principle networks are likely to have a large number of people come into and leave these, but as other networks become partially integrated these networks will become more resilient and robust.

An individual's economic and social circumstances change throughout their lifetime, and more radically in urban environments. Drivers of change include physical changes in locales and the roles of locales within the city and changes in the overall infrastructure and economic circumstances that emerge from urban formations. But at an individual level there are many drivers that relate to changes in age, skills, knowledge, experience, social networks, health and cultural interpretations of the individual interacting with these. This has several consequences. People must develop new adaptive strategies for their entire life as both circumstances around them change together with the changes that arise from their personal development as they enter different culturally recognised phases of life. Much of this will come through learning, mostly intra-generational learning, as people incorporate adaptive strategies from others around them in similar circumstances. But people are not just buffeted in the stream of life, adapting to circumstances imposed on them. An important adaptive strategy is to change the circumstances somewhat rather than simply change to adapt to circumstances; e.g. adapt the circumstances to oneself rather than simply adapt to the circumstances, which Fischer has referred to as adaptive agency (Fischer 2008); that is, the capacity to change the options available and to actualise these as viable choices. Some of this can be done at a personal level, but often this requires cooperation with others. Social networks are, thus, an important aspect of instantiating adaptive agency.

Traditionally, most of them include the corporate network relative to a given ego, the set of people one has a direct and personal connection with, and an extended group, which includes the union of the corporate groups of all members of the network. Thus, social networks enable access to resources and influence far beyond the immediate members of one's network.

Some foresee the decline of the cities as socio-economic and cultural entities, since online communications replace face to face communication and substitute sources of information and knowledge such as libraries or even economic activities such as stores or business meetings. This is unlikely. Urban centres appear to benefit from inclusivity and diversity, and online networks greatly enhance the capacity of individuals to include views and effort from others. Technological advances are used as complementary and as facilitators to face-to-face interaction (Hall 1999, Gaspar and Glaeser 1998). These new technologies attribute increased significance and value to places through 'opening up' places to a net-based world audience and by enhancing the specific and unique character of each locale through provision of direct comparators. The connection of people with places acquires new meaning in present times, where the sense of place is rapidly being displaced and altered by new technologies (Malpas 2008).

An anthropology based on this approach aims not only at developing an understanding of collective constructions of knowledge but also at locating changes and investigating what drives changes and makes them effective. The goal is to develop a greater capacity for agency on the part of urban dwellers by increasing both an awareness of the available options and the skills and knowledge needed to convert these options into genuine choices.

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Rosemary Harris, Ph.D.
Emeritus Reader in Social Anthropology, University College London

This well-constructed, excellently written essay is likely to establish itself as *the* definitive statement on the subject. It covers the existing literature in a comprehensive way and presents cogent arguments for its criticisms and conclusions. Prato and Pardo deal with the paradox that urban research has included 'significant contributions from anthropologists and yet mainstream anthropologists have long been reluctant to recognize industrial urban settings as legitimate fields of enquiry'. The roots of this attitude are traced to the ways in which the two disciplines of sociology and social anthropology developed and diverged from the late nineteenth century. An 'unquestioned academic division' was created between these disciplines so that 'folk' societies and 'urban societies' were opposed as ideal types. Prato and Pardo trace the ways in which this rigid division began to break down in North American studies, but they argue that British Anthropologists, approaching the 'urban' through focusing on the development of South/Central African mining towns, dependant on migrant labour, assumed that urban research should deal essentially with the processes of social transformation of the immigrant worker. This did lead to the development of new research methods, particularly to the focusing on networks of social relations rather than on the structure of groups, but virtually precluded the study by anthropologists of 'the urban' in Europe, as opposed to studies of aspects of urban ethnography arising out of a continuing interest in rural-urban migration. Prato and Pardo nevertheless stress that such studies laid the foundation of the development of urban anthropology.

The 1970s saw an interesting development in British 'urban' anthropology in that work on Indian cities pointed up the contrast between them and the essentially Colonial model that formed the African towns that were the previous focus of study. And this was a development that led to a realisation that urban phenomena should be contextualized in the global system rather than seen essentially as mere subordinate units in distinct centralised states. Trenchantly, moreover, the sheer physical fact that in the post-colonial era the anthropologist was unwelcome, or ill funded, or both, turned the attention of British anthropologists to 'anthropology at home'. This did not immediately lead to a focus on the urban. There was a digression through the Mediterranean world, essentially seen as composed of rural communities studied independently of the national context. And when the urban was studied 'the Western metropolis constituted a breeding field of the society's problems.' The city was a mosaic in which each piece presented different problems, to be studied separately.

Prato and Pardo show how, from this time, although there were many studies of what might be called aspects of urban anthropology, in urban anthropology as such there was precious

little interest. There was, however, a new methodological approach to the discipline (of anthropology) as a whole; instead of the concentration on 'isolated' communities, there was increasing concern with the relationship between micro-processes and macro-processes– the regional and the national. The common attitude seemed to be, however, that a classical anthropological study of Western urban settings was impossible. The contrary view rested on the belief that even in extremely complex urban environments, the quintessential anthropological tool of participant observation, the ethnographic method, allows anthropologists to focus on a specific topic while remaining holistic in their analyses. In short, it permits the study of the links between micro- and macro-level analyses in ways that expose the fallacies of Marxist and post-modernist fashions that seek to rubbish fieldwork as a tool for urban studies. The participant observer who follows the informant through the city demonstrates the local people's links through the city and beyond.

Prato and Pardo argue that since the 1990s urban anthropological research has recognised the various ways in which regional diversity affects urban life. Fresh ideas have been stimulated and there have been forward-looking analyses on the problems and complexity of urban environments in today's global set up.

As Pardo and Prato note, most anthropologists prefer to define their field of study as anthropological research in urban settings rather than 'urban anthropology'. They argue that in the early twenty-first century the City stands out as a crucial arena in which citizenship, identity and belonging, the democratic process and human and civil rights are constantly renegotiated, and the morality of law and politics are increasingly questioned. Above all they argue that 'Anthropology remains fundamental to our understanding of these processes for it offers a unique, empirically based approach to studying both the micro-level in its broader context and the effects that global processes have on the life of the single individual and of whole communities.'

So I end where I began. This is an exceptional essay and I believe it will become a core text for students of urban anthropology.

Michael Herzfeld, Ph.D.
Ernest E. Monrad Professor of the Social Sciences, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA
herzfeld@wjh.harvard.edu

Prato and Pardo offer a remarkably useful and comprehensive overview of the emergence of a distinctive subfield of urban anthropology. Following hints of nervousness on their own part about such an enterprise, and building on Hirschon's (1989: 233) much earlier and trenchant critique, however, I would like to dissolve the category of urban anthropology into a shared concern with what constitutes good anthropological method. We clearly agree on recognizing ethnography as the discipline's diagnostic methodology and in rejecting efforts to exchange intensive fieldwork for other methods. The latter stance parallels a growing discomfort with the

expropriation of the term 'ethnography' by scholars unwilling to invest in it the time and intense dedication that our version requires. This recognition of ethnography's distinctiveness transcends any urban-rural distinction. Silverman's (1975) study of an Umbrian rural community, for example, was a study of the urban (and urbane) ideal known in Italian as *civiltà*, while my discussion of the same phenomenon in the Italian capital was designed in part to demonstrate how so historically important a city could be considered culturally marginal precisely for its inhabitants' tendency to pit (socially and morally) civil against (politically and ethically) civic values (Herzfeld 2009). In tackling a city that vaunts its own seemingly paradoxical marginality, moreover, was I departing so far from the preoccupations of earlier generations of anthropologists?

While it may be true that 'urban anthropology' may have sprung from a desire to find the exotic in the familiar, much as Davis (1977: 7) argued was the case for the anthropology of the Mediterranean, that parallel – heralded by the Kenny and Kertzer (1983) volume on Mediterranean urban life – is instructive. The conceptualization of a Mediterranean cultural area, characterized in part by a complex and historically deep urban-rural engagement, long ignored the political implications of its genesis. Does the triumphal emergence of a distinctive urban anthropologist not signal a disturbingly similar tendency to ignore peasant and tribal groups precisely because they are now minority concerns and fading demographically?

Where Prato and Pardo and I converge is in insisting that ethnographic methods should not be sacrificed to the new expansion. If the work done in cities is not ethnographic, why should we claim it as anthropological? But what, then, is ethnography? I would argue that it characteristically rests on the demonstrated achievement of *intimate relations with informants*, regardless of the kind of site involved (multiple, local, linear, or even electronic); that this requires protracted and often repeated stays 'in the field' to experience in person what Pardo calls 'strong continuous interaction'; and that its success is revealed through the anthropologist's writerly skills at depicting minute details as expressing encompassing social and political processes. The several works on Naples, including Pardo's (see also Schneider and Schneider 2003, on Palermo), that describe the various ingenious ways of fixing problems are redolent of wine, sweat, music, and fear. Because there is simply too much information in what any good ethnographer brings home, the ability to use sensuous description to convey that encompassing nexus of social relations and cultural values is what makes the writing sing – and inform. I would argue, furthermore, that 'engaged anthropology' does not usually motivate the foray into urban work, but emerges from the realization – as I did for me in both Rome and Bangkok – that academic research addresses real problems, sometimes galvanizing our consciences more urgently than we could have imagined in the safety of an academic office (see Herzfeld 2010).

If many distinguished studies were not presented as urban anthropology, as Prato and Pardo correctly remind us, why now force them into a mould that suppresses precisely the richness of the conceptual context from which they draw their significance? The achievement that

these and other authors can claim is not that of having created a new subfield, but rather that of having done good ethnography against the often daunting odds created by urban settings.

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Jerome Krase, Ph.D.
Emeritus and Murray Koppelman Professor, Brooklyn College, The City University of New York
jerrykrase@aol.com

At a recent intensive and intellectually stimulating seminar, 'Placing Urban Anthropology: Synchronic and Diachronic Reflections', held at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland, participants rigorously examined the significance of the classic, but not 'classical', anthropological paradigm in urban research as well as its value to society in general. Much of the conversation that took place was framed by the challenging ideas presented by Prato and Pardo in several of their works but especially in their recent essay 'Urban Anthropology'. I should preface my comments that follow with a rather ideological statement about the current state of affairs in many social sciences that are challenged by post-modern, post-structural and cultural studies critiques. The boundaries and borders between disciplines, even between newly created, and already nearly extinct inter-disciplines, have become so porous that in some academic circles it is difficult use terms such as 'anthropology' or 'sociology', without protestation, in conversation. Similar has been the devaluation of science, even merely as an attitude, or, even more troubling, the denial of its value by defining it as just another neocolonial enterprise.

On the other hand, has been the 'conservative backlash' of denigrating of new modes of scholarly expression such as auto-ethnography and less than classical versions of participant-or

similar observation/ethnography. One can recognize the need for self-reflection without devaluing its honest practice; after all, it can be said that the original ideology of anthropology as other social sciences was a rather pragmatic humanism. I favour the largest tent for those who seek to understand the social worlds in which we live.

The question, 'Can anthropology be practiced in the city?' might be replaced with 'Ought anthropology be practiced in the city or elsewhere?'. In their essay, Prato and Pardo address, among other things, the complex relationship between the sister disciplines of sociology and anthropology. In this regard, they present a concise description of the unfortunate, perhaps 'orphaned' development of urban anthropology that placed it for a time outside of the Pale of mainstream anthropological research and writing. I believe Prato and Pardo correctly locate the source of this historical diversion in a naive interpretation of the Functionalist Paradigms in both Anthropology and Sociology that I have also experienced in my own interdisciplinary writing and research. The misinterpretation was most simply that Anthropology was only, or best, suited for the study of primitive, traditional, or at most modern but rural or small town communities. By almost ignoring cities, except as an implied end of a spectrum or the other half of an overwrought dichotomy, a kind of scholarly self-marginalization was produced. Fortunately, a significant number of social scientists trained in anthropological field methods, such as ethnography and participant-observation, found the increasing urbanization of societies around the globe of sufficient interest to pursue its study. In the process, over several generations they assembled a substantial body of research that made it possible for anthropologists confidently 'to define their field of study as anthropological research in urban settings, rather than "urban anthropology".' (Prato and Pardo). It is this radical shift in disciplinary perspective that has made it possible for contemporary anthropologists to engage with a multitude of newer approaches to the study of urban dynamics including political economy and urbanization in post-colonial societies. I would add that it is this shift that helps maintain the relevance of anthropology and anthropologists today.

Within their argument for 'Urban Anthropology', Prato and Pardo deftly interweave a wide spectrum of anthropological methods and theoretical approaches. These range from the more or less classical study of 'urban villagers' to how the anthropological paradigm itself can make significant contributions to the study of the city-as-a-whole as well as its smaller integral parts. They offer 'empirically-based anthropological analysis' as a tool for understanding of our increasingly urban world.

Subhadra Mitra Channa, Ph.D.
Professor of Anthropology, Department of Anthropology, University of Delhi
channa.subhadra@gmail.com

The essay on the scope, meaning, history and development of urban anthropology by Italo Pardo and Giuliana Prato is both comprehensive and informative. They have traced the theoretical developments of the subject, critically assessed the conceptual issues as well as given a fairly detailed account of the works done in this field over the past few decades. There are however a few expected omissions. For example the authors' review is rather Eurocentric, although they have accounted for some works done in South Asia, Africa and South America. It is never possible for any scholar to cover every aspect with equal competence and in this comment I wish to elaborate a little on the South Asian urban studies as well as raise a couple of conceptual issues regarding the way in which the 'urban' can be understood from a slightly different platform.

In South Asia, the major impediment to a dichotomous view of urban vs. rural, as was initially the case in the West especially when it came to observing the European rural/urban societies, was the continuity of institutions such as caste and kinship across the various forms of settlements. The ground realities of Indian society even today reflect very much the predominance of kinship ties and family/caste values where people related to each other may be spread not only across the rural/urban divide but across the globe as well. While referring to the Mediterranean ethnography, the authors have commented that rural areas were seen as insulated from the urban, but in India, scholars like Redfield (see Singer 1976) and Mc Kim Marriot (1955) had talked about 'horizontal' relationships of caste and kinship that bound the rural with urban societies and with each other at the same level. The interface of the concept of civilization with that of the urban and the rural becomes interesting in this context as in old centres of civilization like South Asia (Singer 1972), institutions cut across the rural /urban divides. In South Asia urban studies have thus often focused on kinship and caste like those by Vatuk (1972) and Channa (1979), Mines (2002), Seymour (1999) to name a few. Thus although distinctions have been made among South Asian urban societies that emphasize the more 'traditional' (orthogenetic [Redfield and Singer 1954] or 'sacred' [Parry 2012]) and more 'modern' or 'industrial'(Parry 2012) or 'heterogenetic' (Redfield and Singer 1954) with differing levels and character of sociability, the absence of caste and kinship ties is not a feature of any social group in India (for the non-Hindus also kinship-like clan and lineages are important and some also follow caste-like divisions). Thus even at a more generalized level, urban society cannot be seen so 'impersonalised' that existing social and political set-ups including sacred elements cease to operate; deep-rooted social and cultural elements, and their political ramifications, are evident in the way in which resources and space are distributed in urban areas and in which urban dwellers live their lives.

This brings us to the theoretical perspective of comprehending the urban from a phenomenological platform as a 'lived space'. This issue has been left somewhat un-attended by

the authors; particularly the concept of 'built space' and important works like that of Setha Low (1995, 2000). In this perspective the internal differentiations of the 'urban' space become important especially in the division of the domestic and the public. Here also one needs to take into account the 'urban' not merely as a cultural phenomenon and 'way of life' but also in terms of its physical structure, architecture, infrastructure and so on. Urban architecture is continuous with its history and also its economic and political aspects.

The physical dimensions of the city is not separate from its cultural dimensions, for example living in apartment buildings may affect social life in different ways, depending upon which part of the world we are talking about. For example, while such living in high rise buildings may lead to anonymity in a city like New York, in India, even in a metropolitan city like Delhi, the residents tend to form kinship- and family-like collectivities where sharing and co-operation and participation in common rituals and festivities is common. But again people who live in the same apartment complex often tend to reproduce community, class and caste ties that may set them apart from other groups. An apartment complex, by its very ability to put people in close physical proximity with each other, may reproduce 'collectivities' or exaggerated anonymity, depending on the context.

Thus one must agree with the authors that 'new urban research' must comprehensively take into account the 'interactions between economic, political and cultural aspects', and the urban situation needs to be contextualized within the larger global, national and state backgrounds within which they occur. The urban is not a uniformly comprehended space and there are likely to be greatly differentiated internal divisions. The cognitive aspects of urban life will thus be conditioned by the platform from which it is being viewed and in the same region one find have different interpretations and 'pictures' of the urban.

With their stimulating essay the authors have initiated a lively debate that *Urbanities* can carry forward successfully.

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Moshe Shokeid, Ph.D.
Professor Emeritus of Anthropology, Tel Aviv University
shokeid@post.tau.ac.il

Prato and Pardo confront the community of 'urban anthropologists' with a major dilemma concerning their professional identity: What are the terms of their fieldwork sites, their subjects of research, the theories and the methodology which distinguish their project from other contemporary anthropologists? Although post-colonial anthropology uprooted its practitioners from the rural sites of their professional birthplace, they seem to have carried on their tools and interests, based mostly in the craft of community studies, into the main scene of western social research – the urban environment, the hitherto monopoly of sociologists. True, they had some earlier experience studying the first stages of urbanization in Africa in particular (for example, the copper belt new towns in Zambia). However, as Prato and Pardo report, the Manchester-school pioneering urban ethnographies from Africa were a natural extension of the tribal scene. Thus, the first steps taken by a younger generation of anthropologists in western urban societies resembled the old genre, namely, studying bounded neighbourhoods, 'urban villages', presenting minorities of various shared social, ethnic, economic backgrounds (e.g. Hannerz' seminal *Soulside* 1969). But, as succinctly claimed by Sanjek (1990: 151), in time, the strictly 'urban anthropology' endeavour proved the narrowest line of anthropological contemporary production compared with the more theoretically rigorous and clearly defined fields of research such as the family, medical, political, economic, religious, legal and other anthropologies.

I will not continue presenting Prato and Pardo's enormous project introducing the wide spectrum of studies and theoretical discourse that continued to dominate the field, its critiques and defenders. The predicament of urban anthropologists was recently raised again in a *City & Society* special issue (Barker, Harms and Lindqist 2013, no. 2). For example: 'While urban settings offer attractive sites to explore broader, structural relations of power, how can the "deep hanging out" of a lone ethnographer yield compelling analysis of these broader social dynamics?' (Ibid.: 166).

Although adopting a simplistic approach, I will introduce my own take on the venture and identity of an urban anthropologist. I believe my personal experience represents a common story among other practitioners of my generation.

I started my career as a Manchester School graduate, conducting eighteen months fieldwork in a farming community of Atlas Mountains Jewish immigrants in the Israeli semi-arid Negev (Shokeid 1971/ 1986). However, my next fieldwork project was among the Arab minority left in a Jaffa neighbourhood (now part of Tel Aviv) after the 1948 war's *nakba* left them separated from the majority of its Arab native population (Shokeid and Deshen 1982). 'Naturally', I considered myself since then an urban anthropologist. Although conducting participant observations on a more limited daily schedule compared with my full time engagement among the Moroccan villagers, nevertheless, I was employing my old school methodology, 'the extended case method' in particular. Moreover, my interest in both the rural and urban fields were of a similar sociological pursuit: among the Moroccan Jews, the adjustment of 'Third World' immigrants to a modern farming technology and to a western communal model of organization, and among the Arabs in Jaffa, their adjustment to a radically changed world under the Israeli regime, the loss of their community, the imposition of Jewish-western culture, the relationships with Jewish neighbours, and so on.

My next project took me to New York studying Israeli emigrants in the Borough of Queens (Shokeid 1988). No doubt, the circumstances of fieldwork in metropolitan New York have changed dramatically compared with my situation in Jaffa, but basically the goals and methods have not been transformed. I concentrated with an 'ethnic' group residing within the borders of a large ethnically mixed suburb. The leading research questions were mostly the same as before: how these Israeli born immigrants adjusted economically, socially and culturally away from home.

My major query at this point: implementing a similar professional agenda and methodology, moving on from the Negev village to Jaffa and later to Queens, have I achieved or failed the promise of a modern differentiated sub-discipline of 'urban anthropology'?

However, conducting my next projects also in New York, it seemed I was 'liberated' at last from the 'classical community study' model of research. I moved into a novel field of social relationships no longer regulated mostly by the rules of ethnicity, similar social-economic circumstances and close residence, but prescribed by one major personal source of the participants' identity – their shared sexual orientation.

My first step out of the mould engaged me in the study of a gay synagogue in Greenwich Village (Shokeid 1995/ 2003) recruiting its congregants from all parts of New York City and nearby neighbourhoods. Though 'Jewish', they represented a mixed crowd of American born citizens, nostalgic of a cultural tradition, but mostly expressing their sexual identity *communitas* shared with other gay-lesbian participants in various religious and secular organizations in New York City. I moved on to study a services centre also in Greenwich Village catering to a wide and heterogeneous constituency of LGBT participants. I conducted observations among its kaleidoscope of voluntary associations and other activities (e.g. Shokeid 2002).

I end my 'story' responding to Prato and Pardo's search of the raison d'être, the theoretical construction, the methodology and the agenda of urban anthropology versus that of other contemporary anthropologies. I consider myself an urban anthropologist because I engage in research of various facets of social behaviour and cultural presentations unique to city life. I mention in this context Bech's assertion about the unique conditions, the gains and pains of gay life in the city: 'The city with its crowds and mutual strangers, is the place where the homosexual can come together with others; and – at the same time and for the same reasons – it is the place that confirms his loneliness' (1997: 98). No doubt, the specific sites I observed could be chosen for research projects from other major sub-disciplinarian perspectives, such as, ethnicity, religion or sexuality. However, gay congregations and LGBT services centres have emerged mostly in metropolitan cities. Ethnic enclaves of legal and illegal immigrants, as much as present day waves of refugees, develop mostly in major cities (I am presently observing the growing concentration of many thousands of refugees from Eritrea in downtown Tel Aviv). Although I conducted my observations in New York sites, nevertheless, there is sufficient evidence to confirm that my reports represent similar sites in other major American cities. For example, most gay organizations I observed are part of national networks. However, I believe my ethnographies contributed no less to various specific sub-fields under the umbrella of anthropology.

In conclusion, my choice of field sites was not instructed by the orientation of a scholar specializing in ethnic, religious or gay studies. I was drawn to these social aggregations and 'cultures' generated and developed under the unique circumstances of the urban environment. It was rather a product of the same old drive to observe and report about the human condition and social life in 'other' cultures that has triggered the emergence of the art of anthropology. In my experience, the city of today represents the African continent that absorbed the energy and imagination of my teachers in Manchester before the proliferation of specialized sub-fields. I accept the stigmatic verdict of nourishing an eclectic, naive taste for urban social 'exotica'.

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Alex Weingrod, PhD
Emeritus Professor of Social Anthropology, Ben Gurion University, Israel
weingrod@bgu.ac.il

Giuliana Prato and Italo Pardo's excellent essay is a genuine tour-de-force. Elegantly written, their critical review of Urban Anthropology presents not only a global view of the field's development, but also presses ahead to present new challenges in understanding the changing nature of 'urbanism as a way of life'. On behalf of all of us, Bravo!

As they correctly emphasize, many anthropologists study important issues that take place in cities, but too few give attention to the more fundamental problems thrust upon urban people by the very nature of living in cities. This means not just studying social complexity and the absence (or presence) of community, not only examining urban anomie and disorganization (or organization), but also, following Pardo, analysing the broken links between citizenship and 'the legitimacy of governance' and other fundamental urban issues. Two Examples: the possibility of living a meaningful life in The Metropolis; the consequences of an absence of 'traditions' in urban worlds that are remade every few years. We are in need of new formulations, different slants of analysis that will better explore the dilemmas inherent in urbanism.

Prato and Pardo also examine the methodological problems involved in doing anthropological field work in cities, and they consider strategies to overcome these (team research, 'multi-sited' studies). There is a new development on the horizon that is worth recognizing.

The era of 'Big-Data' (or as it is sometimes called, 'hyperdata') is upon us. The computing giants have accessed zillions of data-bits about everything and everyone, and the applied mathematicians have now produced logarithms that presumably are able to locate 'patterns' within this gigantic mass-mess. Imagine what this means for studying people in cities, where everything from land registration to parking tickets to shopping for tomatoes (and on and on) can be tabulated and calculated. Given the technology, we can anticipate an outpouring of sociological-historical research reporting on 'newfound patterns' in urban life across the globe.

Why do I bring this up now? New research formats often capture public attention and become fashionable, and 'Big Data' is more than on the horizon. My point is that while such research can sometimes be illuminating, it does not replace anthropological field research. In fact, it makes long-term field studies even more vital and important. What actually is taking place in cities of whatever size is best understood by exploring how particular people interact and lead their lives in very specific urban contexts.

Placing Urban Anthropology: Synchronic and Diachronic Reflections

International Conference, University of Fribourg, September 2013

Italo Pardo
(University of Kent)
i.pardo@kent.ac.uk

Last September a round-table Conference on *Placing Urban Anthropology: Synchronic and Diachronic Reflections* took place at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland. Inspired by the publication of *Anthropology in the City: Methodology and Theory* (I. Pardo and G. B. Prato eds, 2012, Ashgate Series 'Urban Anthropology'), the Conference was convened by Wolfgang Kaltenbacher, Italo Pardo and Giuliana B. Prato and was organized by the Department of Social Anthropology of the University of Fribourg with the financial support of the Swiss National Foundation and the Rectorate of the University of Fribourg. The thirteen participants, ten paper-givers and three discussants — Andrea Boscoboinik, Edward Conte and Helen Hertz — debated the state of the art of urban ethnographic research, diachronically and comparatively, and the potential for methodological and theoretical development in the shared awareness of the unique contribution that ethnography offers for a better theoretical as well as practical grasp of our rapidly changing and increasingly complex cities. The structured contributions by a strong field of anthropologists, two sociologists and a philosopher, and the intense discussion offered an important opportunity to develop a detailed examination of the significance of the anthropological paradigm in urban research, its centrality both to mainstream academic debates and to society more broadly and the potential for development of this field of research.

Today half of humanity is living in urban settings and that proportion is expected to increase in the coming decades. Cities are identified as hubs of cultural and ethnic interaction as well as challenging settings for future sustainable development. Clearly, studying urban settings and the attendant complex dynamics is timely and of great importance. Field research in anthropology is an 'art of the possible', and in cities there are many possibilities. Combined with specific research objectives, the application of ethnographic methodology leads to a great variety of approaches and to new paradigmatic challenges.

Undeniably, today anthropologists find it increasingly difficult to define their field of study, for global changes force them to take into account data that traditionally are academically

'allocated' to other social sciences and to the humanities; in particular, sociology, political science, economy and history. The main concern is how to apply the traditional anthropological methodology to contemporary Western and non-Western societies and, where adaptations are needed, how to avoid losing disciplinary identity. Of course, like cultures, scientific disciplines are not static. They are dynamic entities, continuously changing and developing. They alter their identity, though they always do have an identity. Thus, new collaborations arise, widening the field of interdisciplinary research; and yet, there is no interdisciplinarity without disciplinarity. In studying the complexity of the world in which we live, interdisciplinary work — in the sense of cooperation and exchange of research findings — is undoubtedly of critical importance in gaining an informed, adequately articulated understanding of human beings and society. Participants in this Conference engaged with the argument that, although the complexity of life somehow compels anthropologists to specialise in a specific field, there is absolutely no need for such a complexity to translate into academic complication and disciplinary insecurity. Specifically, new approaches in urban ethnography have recognizable stature and profile.

The empirically-based analyses developed by Subhadra Channa (University of Delhi. *Critical Reflections on the Cognitive Dimension of 'Being Urban' in the Global Context: The Case of India*); Vytis Čiubrinskas (Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, Lithuania, *New Lithuanian immigrants in Urban Chicago: Networks, Livelihoods and Loyalties*); Paola De Vivo (University of Naples Federico II, *The Debate in Urban Anthropology and the Development of Empirical Investigation on Governance*); Christian Giordano (University of Fribourg, *Investigating Multiculturalism in the City: Anthropological Insights from Southeast Asia*); Wolfgang Kaltenbacher (Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici,Naples, Italy, *Facing New Clusters: Methodological and Epistemological Reflections on Anthropological Research in Urban Areas*); Jerome Krase (Brooklyn College, City University, New York, *Visual Ethnography: Bridging the Gaps*); Italo Pardo (University of Kent, U.K.. *Italian Elite Groups at Work: Views from the Urban Grassroots*); Giuliana B. Prato (University of Kent, U. K., *Polis, Civitas and Metropolis: An Anthropologist's Reflections*); Michel Rautenberg (University Jean Monnet, Saint-Étienne, France, *Cities, (Re)generators, Tombs or Social Heritages and Social Memories? Urbanity as Heritage of Cities*); François Ruegg (University of Fribourg, Switzerland, *'Nouveaux Riches' in and Around the City: An Aspect of Urban Transformation in Eastern and Central Europe*) stimulated epistemological reflections on the state of the art of urban ethnographic research, on the prospected impact of this field on anthropology in general and on the relations of anthropology with other disciplines and with the broader society.

Revised versions of the individual papers, incorporating key aspects of the round-table discussions, are now in preparation for publication in a Special Issue of the international Journal *Diogène/Diogenes,* a quarterly publication published under the auspices of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies with the support of the UNESCO. It is hoped that further expansion of this debate will generate a volume to be published in the forthcoming Series 'Palgrave Studies in Urban Anthropology'.

Welcome Address

International Conference on Placing Urban Anthropology: Synchronic and Diachronic Reflections

Guido Vergauwen
(Rector, University of Fribourg, Switzerland)

Ladies and Gentlemen, dear guests,

It is my pleasure, as Rector of the University of Fribourg, to welcome you to this international conference. Since its very beginnings – 125 years ago – Fribourg University has understood itself not just as a local Swiss institution but as an academic institution with an eminently international character and outlook – a full university in which humanities and natural sciences, law and economics, medicine and theology do not simply live together in the same administrative structure, but in which they collaborate in order to create an habit of mind and an intellectual culture. In his lectures on the Idea of a University, John Henry Newman spoke about the practical end of university courses: 'it is that of training good members of society. Its art is the art of social life, and its end is fitness for the world … a University training aims at raising the intellectual tone of society, at cultivating the public mind … at facilitating the exercise of political power, and refining the intercourse of private life'. Our university has been faithful to this idea of liberal education, contributing at the same time to the development of scientific investigation and the expansion of knowledge in all the fields of arts and science.

Since 1939, Ethnology and Social Anthropology have been part of the teaching and research activity of our University. At that time, in the methodological perspective of cultural history in the tradition of the *Wienerschule* (The Vienna School), Professor Wilhelm Schmidt initiated courses titled *Ethnologie und Menschheitsgeschichte* (Ethnology and History of Humanity), '*Anfänge der menschlichen Gesellschaft - Familie und Staat* (The Beginnings of Human Society- The Family and the State) and *Überblick über die Völker und Sprachen der Erde und die sie berührenden Probleme* (Overview of the Peoples and Languages of the World and the Problems Affecting Them). No less than 200 persons attended his inaugural lecture – in spite of the cantonal minister of education's view that 'a small University' did not need a 'discipline of minor importance such as ethnology'. In its further methodological development towards social anthropology, this disciplinary domain has kept its basic orientation, putting at the centre of its concern the human being, culture and society – with a strong orientation towards Eastern Europe, Africa and Asia, in close collaboration with political and religious sciences. Professors Giordano and Ruegg have successfully developed the field of social anthropology, which is now a substantial part of the Faculty of Humanities, offering in a bilingual setup and collaborating, among others, to an MA in 'Culture, Politics and Religion in a Pluralist Society'. Cultural

diversity and social identities are part of the large scope of their research and teaching – for which I would like to congratulate and thank my two colleagues on this occasion.

I do not have the ambition to deliver a substantial scientific contribution to the very rich program of your conference. And since we are waiting for the *Apéritif riche*, you rightly expect richness other than the words of a Rector. I do not want to test your patience – allow me, though, to add two personal thoughts which came to mind as I reflected upon the fascinating topic of this conference.

First, according to biblical mythology it is not the town, the urban condition, which is the natural environment of humanity but the garden – the peaceful dwelling in harmony with a non-aggressive nature. The town is linked with the condition of a 'lost paradise', with the struggle for life, the search for protection within an environment which has become aggressive. I am always impressed by the negative connotations the biblical tradition gives to towns. In this sense, towns are *refuges in times of war* or even places in which murderers can take sanctuary. There is a mysterious link between town and homicide. The first city is situated 'east of Eden' – it was built by Cain after he murdered his brother Abel. The building of cities can be an expression of a claim for the concentration of power and the arrogance of mankind: 'Come, they said, let us build ourselves a city and a tower with its top in the heavens, and make a name for ourselves; or we shall be dispersed all over the earth' (Gen 11, 4). Even Jerusalem, the biblical epitome of a city, does not escape this negative understanding of the urban condition. It is the city 'that murders the prophets and stones the messengers sent to her' (Mt 23, 37). This contrasts with the true and new Jerusalem – the city of peace, a mother for people from every race (Ps 87, 5), which refers to the heavenly Jerusalem, where the negative sides of the urban condition are healed: no more suffering, no more tears, no more danger – 'the gates of the city shall never be shut' (Revelation 22, 24).

Second, in its political philosophy, Greece has developed a less dramatic understanding of the urban condition of humanity. The *polis* is born out of the naturally given fact that no-one can exist in a self-sufficient, autarchic way. Everyone is called to contribute, according to their talents and at the right time, to the practical organization of life. *Polis* is a form of life – a Lebensform. In this sense, the *polis* precedes, as it were, the individual person; it offers the possibility, and the right condition, for the individual actor to realize his or her aims in conformity with his or her qualities. For Plato this ideal and just way of life is not guaranteed by a single or a collective power but by knowledge – embodied by the king-philosopher. Aristotle emphasizes that, when it comes to organize education, subsistence and the economy, the urban condition should be ruled and organized through the freedom of those who accept the predominance, and the attendant direction, of reason. I am always impressed by the fact that Aristotle insists on the importance of friendship in the organization of the *polis*; where 'friends' are people who are willing to live and to act together. *Polis* as an ethical way of living together in an organized society also implies the *logos*, which is at once reason and speech. Valuable, I think, in today's world too, reason and speech enable us to survive as human beings in changing urban conditions. Let me quote

Aristotle (Politics 1253a): 'For nature, as we declare, does nothing without purpose; and man alone of the animals possesses speech. The mere voice, it is true, can indicate pain and pleasure, and therefore is possessed by the other animals as well (for their nature has been developed so far as to have sensations of what is painful and pleasant and to indicate those sensations to one another), but speech is designed to indicate the advantageous and the harmful, and therefore also the right and the wrong; for it is the special property of man in distinction from the other animals that he alone has perception of good and bad and right and wrong and the other moral qualities, and it is partnership in these things that makes a household and a city-state' (*poiei oikian kai polin*).

I wish you a good conference.

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REVIEW ARTICLE

Legitimacy, Authority and Power: Some Key Concepts in the Understanding of Contemporary Societies

Brigida Marovelli
brigida.marovelli@gmail.com

Italo Pardo (ed.) (2000). *Morals of Legitimacy: Between Agency and System*. New York, Berghahn Books.

and

Italo Pardo and Giuliana B. Prato (2011). *Citizenship and the Legitimacy of Governance: Anthropology in the Mediterranean Region*. Farnham; Burlington, Ashgate.

Not without rhetoric, the Mediterranean Sea has been depicted as a hub of tolerance and mutual understanding throughout the centuries. Over the last few years, it has been a death trap for thousands of people escaping from countries such as Eritrea, Libya, Tunisia, Egypt, and Somalia. On 3 October, 2013, 366 corpses were recovered one mile away from Lampedusa's shore (Day, 2013). Hundreds of people drowned in a shipwreck in the Mediterranean Sea, while trying to reach Europe. They were travelling in an overcrowded boat from the Horn of Africa. Over three days, 200 people lost their lives in a similar event in the Mediterranean waters.

It is interesting to look at what kind of debate this mournful event provoked in Italy. According to the Italian immigration law 'Bossi-Fini', the survivors of this tragedy had to be investigated for having entered the country illegally and were denied the right to attend the funerals of their relatives and friends who died in the shipwreck (Latza Nadea 2013). Furthermore, according to the same law, fishing crews are not allowed to rescue illegal immigrants trying to cross the Sicilian Channel. However, the fishermen who did not stop on these occasions were blamed and those who saved people in high waters were celebrated as heroes. The latter did not abide by the Italian state Law; many of them said to their interviewers that the 'law of the sea' follows its own, different principles.

I believe that these events could be held as exemplary of the complex relations among legitimacy, authority and citizenship in real life situations. They also point to the need to contextualize the ideas related to legality and power. It is exactly in this perspective that the two books that I will discuss in this review article are noteworthy.

Morals of Legitimacy: Between Agency and System, edited by Italo Pardo (2000b) in 2000, is a collection of essays addressing definitions of legitimacy in different settings, including Italy, India, Britain, Cyprus, Papua New Guinea, and Japan. This book has contributed to the political debate within anthropology, because it tackles the issues related to the cultural construction of legitimacy and, consequently, of trust, authority and morality. More than ten

years after its publication, these topics are far from being exhausted. Recently, Italo Pardo and Giuliana Prato (2011a) edited a second collection, which explores these meanings further. In *Citizenship and the Legitimacy of Governance. Anthropology in the Mediterranean Region* (Pardo and Prato, 2011a), legitimacy is studied in its relation to the contested concept of citizenship in the Mediterranean Region. Both volumes start by examining the discourse on legitimacy, pointing to a general agreement about the crisis of legitimacy and of democracy. However, the most recent book aims specifically to address the 'displacement of citizenship', which according to the authors is demonstrated by two distinct but interconnected phenomena: 'the re-emergence of localisms' and 'the development of transnationalism' (Pardo and Prato 2011b: 11).

In spite of the difference in geographical focus, the two volumes share a wide range of topics. In his introduction to *Morals of Legitimacy* (2000a), Pardo clearly explains that people do not see what is legal as necessarily legitimate; on the other hand, what is not legal is not automatically regarded as illegitimate. Pardo and Prato (2011b) also follow this line of reasoning when they write that 'what is not legal may, thus, acquire an aura of moral justification and become widely accepted as legitimate' (p.2). In the case of the shipwreck mentioned earlier, the rescue of human beings in the Mediterranean was seen by ordinary people as legitimate even if it was illegal according to the national Italian law, and these actions were also portrayed as a moral duty by the media. These processes of legitimation and de-legitimation constitute the fulcrum of the two volumes under discussion here.

According to this theoretical framework, the system of law and of morality, which is often viewed as rigid and unchanging, is in fact negotiable and Pardo's (2000a: 9) expression in this matter is particularly evocative, as he talks of 'the porosity of the law'. This idea is further explored by Peter Fitzpatrick (2000), who takes into account the need for the law to respond to changes and to adjust to the shifting circumstances of social life. In order to adapt to society, '[l]aw cannot be purely fixed and pre-existent' (p. 159).

While seeing the need for the law to be responsive to an ever-changing society, a warning about bureaucratization and 'juridification' of all life aspects comes across many of the essays in these volumes. John Fitzpatrick (2000: 178) overtly worries about the juridification of the private sphere, which in the past was mediated by communities and collectivities. In his discussion about the increased number of noise complaints in the UK he introduces the concept of juridification borrowed from Habermas (1987 quoted in Fitzpatrick J., 2000). More precisely, he shares Habermas's concern about the pervasiveness of the law entering aspects of social life, such as family and school, previously regulated informally by 'mutual understanding' (J. Fitzparick 2000: 178).

From this point of view, a central question is the way in which the state takes legitimate control. In his essay about vigilantism, Abrahams (2000) shows how Tanzanian institutional powers, such as the police, bureaucrats and lawyers, stress the illegal nature of vigilantes groups, implying that the right to exercise 'arrest and punishment' (p. 111) belongs only to the state.

Taking into account material drawn from historical and contemporary sources, Abrahams's ethnographic analysis demonstrates that vigilantism and the official institutional system promote their idea of social order, and in the name of the common good they exercise power, which can lead to 'serious miscarriages of justice' (p. 123).

The failure of the state to take legitimate control is addressed in Pardo's (2011) essay about the rubbish crisis in Naples, whereby the gap between citizenship and the law seems to become insurmountable. In their chapter about the criminalization of black youth in poor urban areas in Lisbon, Fernandes and Morte (2011) also examine this issue, arguing that the Portuguese state contributes to creating prejudices and stereotypes against minorities, due to 'contradictory discourses and measures' (p. 91).

These reflections can be placed into the wider discourse that Pardo originally initiated about trust and distrust. He argues that trust becomes a 'precious commodity in situations in which power is seen to be exercised with insufficient or absent concern with the fundamental responsibility of guaranteeing the rights of citizenship' (2000a: 7). Motivated by Pardo's Neapolitan ethnography (1996, 2011, 2012), this concern can be extended to most of the contributions to both volumes. I would argue that the systematic failure of the élite to be seen as legitimate is particularly apparent in the Italian southern regions, due to the history of the Italian Unification and to the firm repression of social movements throughout the centuries. Nevertheless, this grassroots distrust in the people in power who man the state institutions — and, in the long run, in the institutions themselves — has been observed in many different contexts.

One of the implications of this theoretical reflection is that it helps changing the perspective on marginality, because these ethnographies unmistakably invite a refusal to label and dismiss particular cultural and moral frameworks as marginal when they are not in line with dominant ideologies (Pardo 2000a: 22).

These dynamics of inclusion and exclusion link to Abrahams' (2000) contribution on vigilantism, when he discusses the concept of 'frontier', as elaborated by the work of Kopytoff (1987, quoted in Abrahams 2000). From this point of view, the power of the state is not distributed evenly over a territory and its authority is stronger in certain areas. 'The long arm of the law', Abraham argues, 'does not stretch everywhere with equal force, and areas where its power is significantly diluted or resisted have a frontier quality. The simplest model of such frontiers or edges of state power is a spatial one of centre and periphery' (2000: 113).

We can easily grasp how such a view could be applied to the Mediterranean Region. Pardo and Prato (2011b) highlight how Mediterranean cultures have been chosen as an anthropological object of study and seen as the 'exotic' nearer us. The Mediterranean Region does have these frontier qualities, as recent immigration trends demonstrate. It is located at the margins of Europe, where at times 'the long arm of the law' does not seem to reach or, when it does, its legitimacy is widely questioned.

Pressures from transnational powers such as the European Union are often received as illegitimate at the local level. In other cases, the requests of this transnational institution are difficult to be met by national states. This is made clear by Spyridakis (2011) who shows how the central Greek government and the local institutions are unable to face such pressures. Close to Spyridakis's reflection about Greece, Bardhoshi (2011) investigates the 'transformation period' in Albania and emphasizes that the country is caught in-between the requests of the European Union and the local agenda. Dembour (2000) looks at the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg to demonstrate, through an array of legal decisions taken by the Court in matter of religious conflict, how 'Christian beliefs, practices and sensitivities are better accommodated than those of other faiths' (p. 221). Sedmak (2011) questions the portrayal of Slovene Istria as a multicultural setting, drawing attention to the unequal distribution of social power among different ethnic groups; the Italian minority in Slovene Istria has in fact guaranteed more rights than other immigrant groups.

These considerations confirm that the European Union's transnational power is perceived 'on the ground' as financial and economic pressure aimed at meeting a capitalistic idea of modernization, while leaving behind the rights of citizenships. Following Pardo's (2011) analysis of Neapolitan and Italian institutions, this weakness can lead, and in my opinion is already leading, to a de-legitimation of European authority and to a widespread distrust in its institutions. The rise of anti-European movements and parties seems to confirm this tendency.

There are another two elements, which are really important when it comes to anthropology in Mediterranean settings. First, as it has been widely discussed by Pardo (1996, 2011), Mediterranean anthropology has engaged mainly with rural villages, contributing to stereotypes of backward societies held frozen in time and lacking modernization. Since cities are a demanding anthropological object of study, their empirical investigation requires an engagement with macro processes. Urban settings offer an opportunity not to be missed; particularly, in order to engage with the complexity of Mediterranean cultures, avoiding pre-existent paradigms, such as patron-client, honour and shame and the like, mainly based on an orientalist, prejudicial approach. Second, Mediterranean people have been often described as lacking agency and ability to perform any form of resistance. This view has been encouraged by the mainstream historiography as much as by social scientists. Fortunately, both volumes under consideration here see people as continuously negotiating legitimacy and citizenship; not as puppets but as agents, even when operating in disempowering marginal social contexts. A good example is given by Manos Spyridakis's (2011) chapter about shipbuilding activities in the Piraeus. In such a setting, it would be easy to victimize the local workers but, recalling Pardo's Naples ethnography (1996) Naples, Spyridakis sees workers as 'managing their existence' in an 'attempt to manoeuvre selectively in order to establish some control over the circumstances of inequality and to improve the conditions of their life in the context of their collective employment experience' (Spyridakis 2011: 167).

This discussion about agency is not related to the Mediterranean region only. It is adopted by the majority of the contributors to both volumes, who engage with globalizing processes without forgetting the ability of people to face, resist and adjust to change.

There are a few methodological implications of these works which I would like to highlight. First, they bring back a comparative perspective to the anthropological debate. Second, they prioritise ethnography but they are courageous enough to face grander issues in the wider society. Finally, these two books may be seen as crossing boundaries and interests among disciplines, but they are instead the kind of anthropology that challenges boundaries, frontier zones and ideas of marginality.

While I was writing this article, another event was reported as responsible for a 'breakdown in trust' (Hamilos 2013) among Western countries. Edward Snowden's revelations about the mass surveillance action by the US National Security Agency have generated a gigantic diplomatic crisis. Watching the news and reading about this event in a renewed light thanks to the debate about legitimacy, citizenship and trust in these volumes, I had to reconsider my initial question. I first asked myself why these books were relevant in the contemporary anthropological discourse. I now believe that an ethnographically informed discussion about authority and power can further our understanding of the contemporary world when placed in such a thought-provoking and stimulating theoretical background. I think the anthropological contributions of the two volumes show us the way for a more in-depth understanding of the societies we live in.

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RESEARCH REPORT

Amateur Music-making as Urban Politics

Tommaso Napoli
(IUAV of Venice, Public Policy Doctorate School)
Tommaso.napoli@gmail.com

In this research I consider four different case studies of cities and the role of music as a form of collaboration between people. In particular, my work focuses on amateur music and its role in partnership-building in Caracas, London, Milan and Brussels. Four dimensions of making music politics - sociality, work, culture and governance - are found in all the cases under study.

Through an analysis of amateur music-making projects in these cities, I show how collaboration can be different, with different motivations. In Caracas, music is created to develop the country; here we assist observe a strong centralization of decisions. However the various music projects not only help to solve problems, such as reducing poverty and generating new energies or a new sense of participation in building the common goods; they also generates problems, such as cultural conflict between ethnic and classical musical traditions, the emigration of talents due to the lack of musical work, the local governance of the '*nucleos*', the different perspective in which musical activities are seen by students, families, music teachers and managers, who have different ideas about the musical or social aim of El Sistema.

In the London case I analyse the South Oxhey Choir project, a BBC project based on the idea of creating a link between two different sides of town, which divided in two by the railway line. The wealthy part, Carpenders Park, is characterized by the presence of middle class people, who own their houses. The poor part of the city, South Oxhey, makes a rare case of social housing in a large estate built and managed by the London City Council in the '50s. The choir, after the direct involvement (also financial) of the BBC, survives and continues to play its role as a link between the two parts of the city.

In the Milan case study, I address the social consequences of the Italian approach to music. I focus on the 'Milan Accademia Morigi Orchestra'. Through a set of decisions made in the assembly, the association's structures were bypassed and musical control given to the conductor, generating the collapse of the democratic life of the association in the name of musical quality. This way of addressing amateur music-playing as a form of activity without social meaning generates a sense of guilt among the musicians, which marks to a larger extent the Italian '*marchetta*'. The word *marchetta* is used for performances in which musicians may be paid but have the feeling of not playing at the expected level of musical quality.

Finally, in Brussels case study, I look at another form of collaboration among musicians, embodied by the Cambristi Association. This association is structured simply as a group of people who enjoy playing chamber music. Members can freely keep in touch with each other, and form duos, trios, quartets, and so on. Nothing is requested of the members,

who choose whether to play in public. In spite of such loose network, the links among musicians are strong and involve people, such as for example EU managers, who speak different languages and structure their life in the city as occasionally dwellers, voluntarily outside the flow of local life,.

In all those four cases, I study not only the specific forms of collaboration that music can produce, but also the complex processes that generate the final form of the project (which, in reality, is never reached). In some cases, such as Caracas and Milan, the motivation works as a generator of aims, which over time have shifted from nationalism to social cooperation. In other cases, such as Brussels and South Oxhey, there are established aims (just play music or create a link between twos part of the city) that generate different motivations for people to participate. In all the four cases the development of the projects remains open; interestingly the original plans rooted in different traditions and experiences may well produce for unexpected results. Therefore I conclude that any strategic plan, however carefully laid and precise, is subject to modifications due both to the context and to the unexpected results that it always generates.

COMPLETED DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS

Name: Konstantinos Ardavanis
Affiliation: School of Anthropology and Conservaton, University of Kent, U.K.
Defended: June 2013, University of Kent
Ka254@kent.ac.uk

Navigating Confined Fluidity: The Power of the 'Dash' in Greek-America

For the Greek-Americans of New York City, negotiating their identity has been at the center of establishing their ethnic consciousness. Moving between and beyond the old-fashioned Mediterranean values of their forefathers, the Greek-Americans of New York City constantly weave in and out of shifting identity contexts and social platforms, continuously reimagining their place in the world. In this thesis, I explore the various contexts within which they construct their identity, and I try to shed some light on the ways in which they fully realize their place in the big city. An experience of being 'caught in the middle', as they say themselves, epitomizes their relationship with the hyphenated identity of the Greek-American. At times, they try to escape from either the 'Greek' or the 'American' side of this polarity, and in the process of this effort, their identities constantly shift, and are transformed, yet without challenging completely the original categorical boundaries that constitute the original hyphenated identity.

Identifiable cultural markers help Greek-Americans identify other Greek-Americans, and such markers relate to both primordialist criteria and cultural expectations. The family and kinship become a repository of such intimate knowledge, and further contribute into shaping the Greek-American identity. The chapters in this thesis explore these topics ethnographically, and illustrate how the Greek-Americans of New York City often seek to escape from the rigidity of the past, redefining themselves both within a contemporary urban context and with an eye toward mainland Greece. While doing this, however, the Greek-Americans still allow their Greek: American polarity to dictate much in their lives, and often consciously resort to the past (the prestigious Greek past) to share its symbolic capital. Thus, they navigate within their hybrid identity, reimagining the contexts of their being within the realms of historical constructivism, education, and religion, all the while negotiating their position both within the realms of their Greek identity and their American experience. For the Greek-Americans of New York City, identity has become fluid — albeit within the confines of the Greek: American polarity — and it is within this confined fluidity that they shape their own experiences continually drawing upon opposite ends of the spectrum to create an identity all of their own."

Konstantinos Ardavanis' *primary research interests focus on the negotiation of identity amongst the Greek Diaspora in the United States. His research takes into account a number of interdisciplinary themes from family life to religion, church, education and politics. Drawing on a careful ethnographic account, Ardavanis examines the negotiation of hybridity amongst urban migrant communities to challenge notions surrounding creolization. Using the negotiation that the 'dash' or 'hyphen' promotes in hyphenated migrant identities as a resource or an extra set of*

resources, Ardavanis delves deep into the meaning of migration and the negotiation of ethnic identity in the contemporary urban context.

Name: Maya Hélène Balhawan
Affiliation: CLERSE – CNRS
Awarded: January 2013
helene.balhawan@gmail.com

Beirut and Reconstruction Issues: The Case of the District of Hamra and of Downtown

In recent decades, city centres around the world have been undergoing urban transformation, such as renovation, rehabilitation, revitalization or reconstruction. Beirut is one of the capital cities which have seen the rebuilding of their central squares, after a civil war which lasted more than fifteen years. My interest in researching urban transformation is not only based on the fact that a territory is a space of creation, management and even conflict resolution, but on the need also to understand how peace can be restored in a formerly divided city. It is within Lebanese territory that I wanted to question the reconstructions of central areas (Downtown Beirut and the district of Hamra[1]) in order to investigate the processes at work in the evolution of the city; that is, gentrification on the one hand and "elitization" on the other, and to bring to light the underlying issues. The reconstruction of central areas is at once a way to establish a new order after a civil war and the conjunction of various strategies of demographic, symbolic, social and spatial reorganization of the territory. Thus, the districts of Hamra and Downtown are now at the centre of new conflicting tensions, including strategies of placement and displacement of the population and local actors' strategies of appropriation of and resistance to public and residential areas. Conflicts are no longer religious. They have become political and social; particularly so since Rafic Hariri's death (2005), which redefined the country's political scene. Thus, my Doctoral Dissertation focuses on the duality between urban strategy and territorial re-appropriation in the new Downtown and Hamra districts of Beirut. Finally, the study of urban transformations is an excellent revelation of territorial, symbolic, social and political conflicts, which are currently taking place in Beirut. It is also a way to understand around which principles this post-war Lebanese nation is built.
Key words: Gentrification, strategies of domination and resistance, territorial and political re-appropriation, Beirut.

Dr Maya-Hélène Balhawan, *a French Sociologist, was born in Saudi Arabia from Lebanese parents. During the civil war (1975-1990) she left Beirut to settle in France. She obtained her PhD in Urban Sociology from the University of Lille with a thesis titled Beirut and reconstruction issues : the case of the district of Hamra and of Downtown. Specializing in the Middle-East studies, particularly in Beirut studies, she became interested in city-centres transformations, focusing on reconstruction, gentrification, elitization, territorial representation and re-appropriation, and then territorial, confessional and political resistances. Dr Balhawan has taught in urban sociology, contemporary*

[1] Hamra has been considered the second centre (economic and cultural) of the capital city since 1950. It is situated West of the former green line which split Beirut into two parts: the East is mainly Christian whereas the West is mainly Muslim.

sociology, social demography, and urban policy. She teaches Sociology at University of Lille and the University of Social Career, Tourcoing, France.

Name: Natalia Campbell
Affiliation: Wadsworth Magnet School for High Achievers, U.S.
Awarded: 2011, Lincoln Memorial University, U.S.
besalaman@yahoo.com

Hispanic Women in Leadership: Perceptions of Their Roads to Successful Careers

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore the perceptions of Hispanic women in leadership positions as they travelled the roads to successful careers. The study also attempted to discover how Hispanic female leaders were able to achieve professional success in the United States: what barriers they encountered and what strategies they used to overcome the obstacles. This study utilized a hermeneutic phenomenological framework to obtain, analyze, and interpret rich descriptive data in order to answer the research questions.

Standardized, semi-structured, digitally recorded interviews with twelve Hispanic females employed in leadership positions in academia, government, and the private sector provided rich descriptive data for this study. Seven essential themes emerged because of the coding and data analysis. These seven essential themes represented common characteristics of the participants of this study, and explained their professional success: (a). family, (b).winner mentality, (c).desire to give back to community, (d).religious beliefs, spirituality, and luck, (e).opportunities, (f). keeping Hispanic roots, and (g).mentoring.

The results of the study revealed that family support, hard work, self-respect, self-determination, and goal-orientation helped the participants to accomplish their career aspirations. Also revealed was a drive for success and lack of a pre-conceived sense of inequality that contributed to the professional success of the participants. The findings imply that it is necessary to create information centers for professional Hispanic females who move to this country. The Conclusions suggest that it is very important to create additional centers for English language training and establish mentoring programs for aspiring Hispanic females.

Dr. Natalia Campbell, *Ed. D. is a lifelong learner and educator. She holds several graduate degrees which she earned in three different countries, USA, Spain and Belarus, using different languages, English, Spanish and Russian. Natalia Campbell earned her Doctorate in Executive Leadership (Ed. D.) from Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, TN. Her dissertation research topic is titled* Hispanic Women in Leadership: Perceptions of their Roads to Successful Careers. *Dr. Campbell holds an Education Specialist (Ed.S) degree from Lincoln Memorial University with double majors: Curriculum & Instruction and Educational Leadership, a Master's degree in Spanish Language and Spanish Culture from the University Of Salamanca, Spain (scholarship of the Embassy of Spain and Georgia Department of Education) and a Master's degree in Linguistics with double majors: Spanish & English and Teaching from Minsk State Linguistics University in her native Belarus. Dr. Campbell completed her specialized training in the Reading in the Classroom Program in the university Universidad Complutense, Madrid, Spain (scholarship of the Embassy of Spain and Georgia Department of Education). Dr. Campbell is a member of the IUAES Commission on Urban*

Anthropology (CUA), a Board Member of the National Association of African American Studies (NAAAS) and she serves as Proposals Evaluator for the Mid Southern Association of Educational Research (MSERA). Dr. Campbell has worked in different academic settings, schools, colleges and universities in Belarus and the United States. Currently she is working with gifted students at Wadsworth Magnet School for High Achievers.

Name: Fernando Firmo
Affiliation: Department of Anthropology of the Universidade Federal da Bahia, Brazil
Awarded: 2013, Universidade de Brasilia, Brazil
ffirmo.mg@gmail.com

Transformations of the Work and the Workers of Steel in the Acesita

This study analyses the transformations, during the time, in the work and labor's profiles in a specific place: the old Acesita steel mill, currently *Aperam South America*. The manufacturing plant is located in the city of Timóteo, part of the Vale do Aço (Steel Valley) region in the Brazilian state of Minas Gerais. The objective is to compose a history about the construction of a "factory-labor village" system, the formation of various generations of industrial workers and the changes in the work process from fordism till toyotism. The documented ethnographic history from the labor's point of view materializes, partially, the universal history of capitalism. Generations of Acesita workers originated a steel mill born from important international agreements. They produced handmade steel in the past and entered the XXI century driving this almost automatic factory, completely integrated to the productive and organizational flexibility of contemporary capitalism. Counting approximately 8000 employees and 4000 residences in the peek of its existence, I reconstitute the grandiosity and injustices of Acesita, contributing to the insertion of this labor's history in the history of Brazil's industrial development.
Keywords: Acesita, Labor, steel works, industrial anthropology

Dr Fernando Firmo, *currently a researcher in the Department of Anthropology of the Universidade Federal da Bahia, collaborates with Group ObservaBaía, He is conducting his rsearch on the fishing populations in the Bay of All the Saints, focusing the conditions of risk and vulnerability of these communities in a context marked by the pollution caused by great projects of industrial development.*

Name*:* Brigida Marovelli
Affiliation: Social Anthropology, Brunel University, West London UK
Awarded: February 2013, Brunel University, UK
brigida.marovelli@gmail.com

Landscape, Practice, and Tradition in a Sicilian Market

This research explores the dynamic relationship between place, history and landscape in an urban food market, Catania, Sicily. This market informs a mythological image of the island

and my main concern is what significance lies underneath this representation. I examine the ways in which this image has been constructed through ideas of history, space, landscape, modernity and tradition. Unpacking these notions in the light of my in-depth ethnography, I address how vendors and buyers frame and define their relationship with space and time.

After placing the market in relation to its historical and geo-political context, I argue that the representation of passivity and the lack of agency have contributed to the maintaining of elitist local and national powers. The use of space within the market informs a distinctive cosmology, in which the landscape constitutes the main local organising principle. The landscape is looked at as a cultural process, constantly renegotiated and re-contextualised. The principal categories of food classification 'wild', 'local', and 'foreign' are explanatory notions of a specific relationship between people, food and locality. The interaction between vendors and buyers cannot be understood as a purely economic transaction. Their relationship is articulated through a unique set of practices, which are analysed throughout this thesis. Senses, social interactions, culinary knowledge, and conviviality contribute to the ability to operate within the market. I look at my own ethnographic experience as a practical 'apprenticeship'.

I also address the local ideas of tradition and modernity, mainly through the analysis of the shared fears of being left behind and of losing control over the process of change. The idea of modernisation as an ongoing process carries with it a sense of loss, of nostalgia for an idealised past.

Dr Brigida Marovelli *obtained her PhD in Cultural Anthropology from Brunel University, West London. From 2010 to 2012 she taught anthropology and research methods in social sciences at Brunel University and at Middlesex University. She was previously trained in Clinical and Social Psychology at the University La Sapienza, Rome (Laurea cum laude) and in Medical Anthropology at Brunel University (MSc). Her research interests include economic anthropology; ethnography in urban areas, especially in the Mediterranean region; the relationship between urban and rural contexts; food production and consumption; space, place and landscape; anthropology of the senses. As an independent anthropologist, she is currently preparing a monograph on the relationship between space, history and identity in a Sicilian fish market and several articles for publication. Dr Marovelli is a member of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences and of the International Society for Ethnology and Folklore.*

Name: Mahima Nayar
Affiliation: Centre for the Study of Social Systems, School of Social Sciences,
Jawaharlal Nehru University
Awarded: August 2013, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi
mahimanayar@gmail.com

A Sociological Study of Women with Psycho-Social Distress in a Resettlement Colony in Delhi

This thesis is a study of the experience of psychosocial distress faced by women living in a low-income neighbourhood in Delhi, India. It explores the intersections between socio-

cultural, political and economic conditions of a community and psychosocial distress. The study highlights the contested nature of social space and brings out the reasons for increasing distress amongst women. Feminist methods and reflexive ethnography were used for collection of data.

Psychosocial Distress amongst women is embodied and expressed through the categories of possession and illness experiences. Possession experiences are seen as powerful negotiating tools as they provide a means of communication to those who have been silenced. In addition to possession, psychosocial distress is expressed through the 'tired body' (pains, aches, sleeplessness and disinterest). Stressful daily routines, negative life events and worries about the future are related to bodily distress. Women in the field site seek help from multiple systems which include the 'traditional' or 'folk' healers. Increasingly, the legitimacy of 'traditional' or 'folk' healers is being questioned and the medical paradigm is gaining hegemony. Bourdieu's concept of doxa has been used to argue that women's distress is increasingly being 'misrecognised' as illness and 'treated' with medicines. Oppressive social conditions are medicalised and the real issues remain unaddressed. Women's movements have been instrumental in bringing out relationship between women's social position and distress. The research brings out how reduction of psychosocial distress of women implies not only a better quality of life for them but also implies better governance.

Dr Mahima Nayar *is currently Assistant Professor in the Centre for Disability Studies and Action, School of Social Work, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, India. She previously obtained a Masters degree in Social work and M.Phil in Psychiatric Social Work. Her research interests include gender and violence, disability, urbanization and health.*

Name: Max Rousseau
Affiliation: Université de Saint-Etienne – Université de Lyon, France
Triangle – UMR 5206
Awarded: 2012, Université de Saint-Etienne
max.rousseau@univ-st-etienne.fr

Selling the (Post) Industrial City:
Capitalism, Power and Image Policies in Roubaix and Sheffield (1945-2010)

Based on a careful study of the evolution of urban capitalism and power in two (post) industrial cities, Roubaix (France) and Sheffield (UK), this dissertation aims at refining the regulationist analytical framework commonly used by urban studies (based on two periods: Fordism and post-Fordism) by introducing a periodization in five steps. The first part of the dissertation analyzes the emergence of the image policies in both cities at the turn of the 1960's as reflecting a process of "fordisation on urban policies". This section proposes a division of the Fordist era into two ideal-typical periods: early, then late urban Fordism. Indeed, even during the Fordist era, the industrial base of both cities evolves, some new social interests emerge and the urban governments gradually move away from the working class. The second part is devoted to the few years of the "urban sacrifice", during which

industrialization accelerates. It highlights the role of urban social movements in the divergent evolution of the image policies in both cities, as Roubaix briefly considers the conversion of its economy towards advanced services while Sheffield becomes the symbol of the struggle of the North with the economic restructuring promoted by the national government. Finally, the third section on the "entrepreneurialisation of urban policies" offers to subdivide the post-Fordist era into two sub-periods: early, then late urban entrepreneurialism. The evolution of the image policies, their production and their targets (from firms with high labor requirements to real estate development, the "creative class" and tourists) results from the continuous decline of the industry in the economic base of both cities, from the fragmentation of the working class and from the closer collaboration of the urban governments with the private interests since the early 1980's.

In 2012, **Dr Max Rousseau's** *Doctoral Dissertation was awarded the first prise for the best dissertation in the field of urban studies by the Association pour la promotion de l'enseignement et de la recherche en aménagement et urbanisme, the Centre d'études sur les réseaux, les transports, l'urbanisme et les constructions publiques, the Fédération nationale des agences d'urbanisme and the Plan urbanisme, construction et architecture.*

Name: Liliana Lopes Sanjurjo
Institution: Philosophy and Human Sciences Institute (IFCH) at
State University of Campinas (UNICAMP) – Brazil**.**
Awarded: 2013, State University of Campinas (UNICAMP) – Brazil
Skype Name: lilisanjurjo
lilisanj@yahoo.com.br

Blood, Identity and Truth: Memories of the Dictatorial Past in Argentina

Based on a 12-months fieldwork in the city of Buenos Aires, Argentina, this research investigates the political activism of the Argentinean human rights organizations composed of the families of the disappeared people in the military dictatorship (1976-1983). It is central to this thesis to understand the social processes that lead these organizations to play a major role in the construction of the memories concerning the dictatorial past, as well as analysing the disputes over the definition of a public memory about the dictatorship in this national space.

From a processual perspective of culture, I analyse how the family members of the disappeared people, anchored in the kinship relations with the victims of the repression, give meaning to their own identities and experiences, whilst finding social legitimacy for their political actions. This research reveals in what measure the kinship relations has been operating as a key resource in the processes of political legitimation in Argentina, and how the blood is converted into a critical instrument when affirming the *Truth* about the dictatorial past. Besides, this work also seeks to understand the political struggles that have the juridical field as their *locus*, and the strategies performed by the families movement of the disappeared people to provide legitimacy for penal liability for the agents of the State accused of violating human rights.

The political activism of this social movement becomes then a privileged case study to reflect upon a major issue for Social Anthropology: understanding the native forms of associating social spaces conceived as being of different backgrounds and scales: the kinship and the politics, the family and the nation, the private and the public domain, the natural and the social. Therefore, I explore how the notions concerning politics, kinship, blood, identity and truth integrate the disputes over the dictatorial memories in Argentina.

Dr Liliana Sanjurjo *obtained her Ph.D and Master in Social Anthropology from State University of Campinas, Brazil. Dr Sanjurjo is currently a researcher at the Center for International Migration Studies (CEMI) at the State University of Campinas. Her Research interests include Migration, Identities, Memory, Nation, Human Rights, Violence, Transitional Justice and Social Movements. Dr Sanjurjo has co-edited the volume,* Dossiê Direitos Humanos, Memórias e Políticas de Reconhecimento *(In Revista Teoria e Cultura, Vol. 6, No. ½. Juiz de Fora: Universidade Federal de Juiz de Fora, 2011). She has authored 'Memórias em conflito nos tribunais argentinos'. Dossiê: Memória & Ditadura (In Revista Espaço Acadêmico. No. 143, Ano XII. Maringá: Universidade Estadual de Maringá, 2013); 'Sangue, Identidade e Verdade Histórica: crianças desaparecidas e memórias sobre o passado ditatorial na Argentina' (In Sociedade e Cultura. Vol. 15. Goiânia: Universidade Federal de Goiás, 2012) and has co-authored 'História como Espiral: Memórias e Representações sobre a Violência Política na Argentina'. (In Anuário Antropológico. Vol. 2011/I. Brasília: Universidade Nacional de Brasília, 2012.); 'Direitos Humanos, Memórias e Políticas de Reconhecimento' (In Teoria e Cultura. Vol. 6, No. ½. Juiz de Fora: Universidade Federal de Juiz de Fora, 2011); and 'Argentine Emigration to Spain: Push and Pull Factors' (In C. Hansson ed.* Thoughts on Europe: Young Scholars on Contemporary European Issues, Six Essays. *Lund, Sweden: Malmö University Press, 2003).*

Name: Rano Turaeva-Hoehne
Institution: Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology
Awarded: 2011, Martin Luther University Halle, Germany
r.turaeva@gmail.com

Identification, Discrimination and Communication: Khorezmian Migrants in Tashkent

This dissertation is based on the research conducted during 2005-2006 and 2010-2011 in the capital city of Uzbekistan. It highlights communication strategies of migrants and the formation of collective consciousness and the We. The support of family networks versus state welfare has major implications for the social organization of everyday lives of migrants as well as for social relations. The context detailed in this book represents post-Soviet urban realities on the ground where various belongings clash and kinship ties are reinforced within the safety networks.

The main argument of the thesis is constructed around contradictions regarding Uzbek identity where I describe how different groups-Uzbeks relate to each other as different ethnic groups. Besides this very critical perspective on Uzbek identity, the book also makes very innovative theoretical approach to the identity theories namely through using strategic rhetoric and discourse analysis, communication and identity theories and combining it with other theories of power relations. I explore the dynamics of interethnic relations among sub-

ethnic Uzbek groups in Tashkent. The theoretical focus in this study is on the communication aspects of collective identifications among the groups in question.

Dr Rano Turaeva-Hoehne *is an Affiliated Researcher at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in Halle, Germany. She has published her work in peer-reviewed journals, including* Inner Asia, Central Asian Survey, Post-Communist studies, Anthropology of Middle East and Anthropos. *Her works address such topics as language and identity, citizenship, ethnic relations, state and society relations among others. Her current research focuses on the principles of regulation of informal economic activities of Central Asian migrants in Russia.*

Name: Kim Young Jin
Affiliation: Department of Anthropology, University of Delhi
Defended: August 2013, University of Delhi
azadazad@hanmail.net

Narrating the Landscape of Delhi: An Anthropological Study of Urban Space

This study is aimed at decoding the spaces of Delhi focusing on the street landscapes. The urban space of Delhi has its own characteristics and, therefore, is proper to study the interactions of spaces and practices. Theoretically, the study counts on two concepts, or de Certeau's *tactical practice* and Lefebvre's *space*.

I focus on two characteristics in the landscapes of the space. The one is strong religious colours and the other, non-partitioned spaces. First, the landscapes of Delhi are characterized by the religious colours that are dyed both by religious rituals and by everyday practices. People celebrate many kinds of memorial days in the streets. These rituals give ordinary people several opportunities to get together in the streets, to showcase their artistic talents, and to express their opinions. It contributes to diversifying the function of carriageways. Everyday practices also affect the religious colours of landscapes. Usually, several worship places are located at accessible places in a neighbourhood and get a steady flow of devotees all day long.

Another characteristic is that the streets are not strictly partitioned as a section to have a fixed function. Instead, people, vehicles, animals, vegetation are complicatedly mixed in the spaces. I interpret that it is related to the religious creeds. As for Hinduism, the concept of the One gives the resilience to the society and encourages people to think positively about the tension between these two opposing forces. In other words, the concept does not allow several Western dualisms to pervade easily in the Indian Society. As for Sikhs and Muslims, they emphasize *sewa*(community duty), congregation prayer, and so on. Their emphasis of community life or brotherhood prohibits individualism from pervading in the society and their life from becoming atomization.

Consequently, the urban space is discursive. The discursiveness resembles tactical everyday practices of ordinary people who belong to different groups. It means that the moments of space, *the perceived-conceived-lived triad*, are not broken in the space. In the space, time flows 'slowly' as the triad is 'walking' together. Sometimes, the slow time is

criticized as underdeveloped or pre-modern. However it is too much Western-centered. Rather, slow time of the city protects 'life' from 'competition'.
Keywords: Urban space, landscape, Delhi, tactical practice.

Prior to engaging in doctoral research, ***Kim Young Jin*** *carried out research on 'Unequal Peer Relations in an Elementary School in Seoul', between 2001 and 2005 worked in the National Folk Museum of Korea from 2001 to 2005 and then lectured at the National Kangweon University, also taking part in a research project on Civilian suffering during the Korean War in Inje, Kangwon-do Kim Young Jin has authored 'The Unequal Peer Relation at an Elementary School in Seoul', (The Folklore, Vol.10, Jun. 2002); 'Dice and Ssangyuk' (The Review of Folk Life and Culture, Vol.11, Dec. 2003); 'The History and Practice of 'Ssangyuk' (The Review of Folk Life and Culture, Vol.13, Jun. 2004) and 'Ssangyuk' (The Dictionary of Korean Periodical Ceremonies. Seoul: The National Folk Museum of Korea, 2006).*

BOOK REVIEWS

André Cicalo (2012), *Urban Encounters. Affirmative Action and Black Identities in Brazil*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Urban Encounters is the result of an in-depth ethnography of university racial quota systems in Brazil. This is a very important topic in contemporary Brazilian society due to the recent adoption of these racial policies. The author focuses on the Universidade Estadual de Rio de Janeiro (State University of Rio de Janeiro – UERJ), the first public university to adopt racial quotas. Using a solid methodology that combines an analysis of students' life-paths with a quantitative analisys of the relevant statistics, Cicalo reviews the effects of the quotas. The conclusion emphasizes their potential positive consequences, as their flexible application allows each individual to make a self-declaration about his or her race and color. Moreover, an analysis of the broad public debate on racial segregation in Brazil allows the author to critically reflect on the consequences of a possible, more rigid, application of quotas.

The first chapter introduces the reader to the Brazilian debate on racism, which has been revitalized in the nearly thirty years since the end of military dictatorship. The establishment of the university racial quotas has been the first effort to deconstruct the myth of racial harmony, a prevalent imaginary construction of Brazilian society. To illustrate the topic, the author introduces his research field: the UERJ and the city of Rio de Janeiro. Racial and economic segregation are markers that guide his exploration of social spaces and the construction of a social map of one of Brazil's largest cities.

The second chapter, *Dreams and Hard Places*, begins this exploration. A historical contextualization of the university, a prestigious institution for middle-class students, brings out the social barriers that quota students must cross. There are physical barriers established by the distances that separate the residential areas of lower-income residents from the rest of the university. There are also economic barriers, given the low-income social background of the quota students' families. Here, the author introduces the complex network of categories that he uses for interpretation. Skin color, religious behavior and gender are some of the categories used to describe the multiple strategies adopted by the students in pursuing their 'dream' of social and economic empowerment.

The third chapter presents daily interactions among students, observed within the university spaces. Quota students are differentiated from others mainly because of their attitude toward the university, rather than for their skin color. This resignifies racial categories. The place occupied in the classrooms distinguishes the 'zealous', usually quota students who tend to sit close to the teacher, and the 'barbarians', as non-quota students call themselves because of their apparent lack of discipline. The former try to work hard to compensate for their weak scholastic background; the latter, who have studied in expensive private schools, achieve good results with apparently little effort and participation. The author uses these categories to examine how racial

references are used or 'silenced' in everyday life.

The next two chapters delve into the main topic of the book: the role of race in the university system and in Brazilian society. Chapter four, titled *From Race or Color to Race and Color*, analyzes the academic debate about racial policies. Scholars such as Fry, Maggie and Harris contribute to the author's interpretation of racial categories, distinguishing them from colour. Race, a word connected with ancestry, is used emblematically by black political movements to promote an operational image of blackness. Colour is described as a social shifter that changes depending on what social actors are involved in interactions in given places and social spaces. The fifth chapter, *Narrowing political gaps*, emphasizes the role of quotas in the development of paths for personal empowerment. University access appears, in the words of Cicalo's informants, as a door open to social and economic empowerment, and quotas are used operationally to achieve this. Cicalo analyzes the cultural consumption of UERJ students. The relations between militant students and others sheds light on personal paths for social recognition of the new black identities. These paths involve reading, as well as a re-socialization to new social spaces and the use of expensive clothing.

In the conclusion, Cicalo recognizes the positive role of quota policies aimed at black people. The re-socialization of students to a racially mixed university and the creation of black élites are the most important indications of this success. Moreover, the persistent racial and social differences in Brazilian society, indicate that these policies are only a first, symbolic step in a process that must continue with other political strategies that focus on both class and race.

It would be helpful to complement this analysis with a look at other policies that are currently shaping Brazil's racial geography, such as those involving Quilombos. Nevertheless, the book offers a considerable and important contribution to the debate on quotas in Brazil and is a good example of urban ethnography. The choice to focus on students appears to be successful, considering that they are the first recipients of this new experiment in Brazilian society.

Alex Vailati
Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Brazil
alexvailati@gmail.com

John. C. Kilburn Jr. and S.E. Costanza (2011), *Salvation City: Halfway House Stories.* Youngstown, NY: Teneo Press.

In Salvation City: Halfway House Stories, John C. Kilburn Jr. and S.E. Costanza offer ethnographic case studies with historical analysis to help the reader understand the place of Halfway Houses in American society, and call the question of the usefulness of these institutions towards achieving stated goals. While the authors center their discussion of halfway houses as most directly related to issues of community autonomy and safety, they describe the stories of individuals to elucidate their points.

Through the preface and introduction, basic information is provided

to prepare the reader for the in-depth exploration of the history and debate related to halfway houses in later chapters. A simple definition of a halfway house is outlined in the introduction: "[a] residence for individuals after release from institutionalization (as for mental disorder, drug addiction, or criminal activity) that is designed to facilitate their readjustment to private life". However, the authors acknowledge that other variants of halfway houses exist, including those where residents voluntarily commit themselves for rehabilitative purposes without prior institutionalization. Common patterns of admission to halfway houses are outlined, highlighting the historical and political context of each option. Great depth is provided which prevents the reader from making blanket assumptions regarding these institutions.

In the chapters that follow, the authors unfurl theory, history, ethnography, and case studies to broaden the reader's understanding of the complexities of the context in which halfway houses exist and related controversies. Chapter 1 uses major perspectives in sociology: functionalism, conflict, and symbolic interactionism, to explain why the reader should care about these institutions. Chapter 2 uses historical examination of the development of halfway houses, from the introduction of work houses for the able-bodied poor in 17th Century England through deinstitutionalization of the mentally ill in 1980s America, to help the reader better understand why halfway houses exist in their various current forms.

Chapter 3 uses personal vignettes from a larger case study of a fictional "Salvation City" to expand on the issues and concerns of those involved with halfway houses. Salvation City has experienced the same trajectory as other major urban areas in the United States that were once sources of abundant employment in manufacturing, and related fields, but through the growth of the global economy, has seen great decline. Excerpts from interviews with recovering addicts and community leaders are intertwined with community and personal history. The chapter concludes with a discussion of common themes related to addiction, recovery and the utility of halfway houses.

Chapters 4 and 5 outline the debate as to whether halfway houses are needed, or not. Community level concerns, including personal safety for residents around halfway houses and impact on nearby real estate, are offered in opposition to the existence of halfway houses, along with unfortunately high recidivism rates, and financial costs. Concern for the morality, and effectiveness of a criminal response to behaviors that would otherwise see those served by halfway houses is the strongest argument for preserving these institutions, along with fiscal and practical concerns for institutionalization. Suggestions for improvement to services provided are highlighted.

Salvation City: Halfway House Stories does not purport to convince the reader that these institutions are inherently good, nor evil. The authors do an excellent job of providing historical and political context that can be analyzed through a theoretical base. This text is most appropriate for use in anthropology and sociology courses that center on social problems, or the urban experience. It

could, however, be used in other disciplines, such as public health and social work, that focus on understanding, designing and evaluating societal responses to substance abuse and mental illness.

Kathryn S. Krase
LIU Brooklyn, New York
kathryn.krase@liu.edu

Waltraud Kokot, Christian Giordano, Mijal GandelsmanTrier (eds.) (2013), *Diaspora as Resource: Comparative Studies in Strategies, Networks and Urban Space*, Lit Verlag: Berlin.

It is a difficult task if not an impossible mission to present a comprehensive review of a volume based on presentations held at an international conference at the University of Hamburg-- *Diaspora as a Resource*. Thirteen chapters covering a wide panorama of world diasporas, exposing various methodological and theoretical perspectives. As emphasized by the editors and a few participants, since the 1990s the term 'diaspora' has been applied to various groups of migrants or ethnic origin, to all types of 'transnational dispersion' (Toloylan p.30). When I studied Israeli emigrants in New York, during the 1980s, I did not consider them a diaspora (Shokeid 1988). It was a designation and an identity reserved for the few 'classical' groups, such as Jews and Armenians who have lived in organized communities in dozens countries for centuries. In any case, as Khachig Tölöylan suggests, every diaspora consists of at least three categories of people: those wholly assimilated into their hostland's society; people who are claimed diasporans but who differ from their neighbors only at symbolic occasions when they acknowledge that they possess a different identity as well; the core diasporic membership, committed, activist, even militant, and who desire to sustain and renew diasporic identity and its difference from that of the hostland's majority.

The leading theme of the conference and the volume that came as consequence of its discussions intended to explore diaspora as a resource for the parties engaged; the participants as individuals and groups, the homeland and the hostland.

A few chapters present the contradictions observed in the apparently homogeneous diasporic groups. Janet Landa developed a theory about the Chinese middlemen group in Southeast Asia as a club-like arrangement membership. Under the conditions of contract uncertainty they will not randomly enter into transactions with anonymous traders. They use symbols of identity (such as eating rules) to economize on information cost of selecting their trading partners, as well as erecting barriers of entry against outsiders. In contrast, Ina Baghdiantz McCabe argues for flexible identities as observed among Julfan Armenians who joined the hostland's administration, converted to Islam, though they still collaborated with their ethnic network. A similar approach is presented by Christian Giordano in the case of the Chinese diaspora in Penang who share a long-standing collective consciousness, yet this does not necessarily imply a transnational feeling of empathy and solidarity. This against the often taken for

granted idea in many studies on diasporas, that they display a compact entity from homogeneous countries of origin.

That theme appears in a few more chapters. Thus, Freek Colombijn claims that even during the colonial era in Indonesia there is ample empirical evidence that class differences were already predominant in the socio-spatial divide. In some situations people felt part of an ethnic community and at other times part of a socially defined [ethnically heterogeneous] neighborhood. Christine Avenarius reports that starting in the early 1970s, economically well-to-do immigrants from Taiwan in Southern California (and in other countries) left the ethnic enclaves and moved out to the suburbs. However, although the community is not visible in terms of residential cluster and has only a weak level of cohesion, nevertheless, its members consider themselves to have a joint social identity.

Maja Korac describes the emergence of a new Chinese diaspora in Serbia. The paper examines how global restructuring and transnational practices are intertwined with the agency of the people who decide to move and engender new patterns of migration and incorporation.

The case of Lithuanian-Americans introduced by Vytis Ciubrinskas reveals the unusual development of 'nationalist Lithuanianness' at a faster pace in the US than in Lithuania itself. Consequently, the researcher reports about the asymmetrical social and cultural expectations on both continents, those who return to Lithuania versus the new immigrants to the US.

Gabriel Sheffer inquires the diasporans relations, activities, and impacts on homelands, the host-countries and the international system at large. He distinguishes between the 'positive' and the 'negative' interests and activities of the diasporic entities on the international level. For example, some organized diasporic cores initiate and endorse intrastate conflicts and violence in their homelands as means of attaining their own self interests.

The small Russian diaspora in Bulgaria presented by Milena Benovska-Sabkova, although composed of three different waves of arrivals during the 20th Century, has developed dense networks of institutions and organizations. Post Soviet Greeks/Pontic Greeks studied by Eftihia Voutira present another interesting case also compared with post Soviet Jews in Israel. Greece, Germany and Israel define access to citizenship in terms of membership in the 'ethnic nation.' However, most migrants do not abandon their former identities. Moreover, in the Pontic case, they use them as an advantage for investing in the country of origin (FSU), 'repatriates as *migrants* co-exist in two spaces, trying to draw their comparative advantage from each' (p.135).

A very different presentation by Hauke Dorsch introduces the image of the griot as symbol of the connection of Africans in the diaspora to their homeland. No doubt, the Africans' diasporic history is traumatic being denied of specific homeland's roots. However, the interests of the groups meeting in this situation, the Western tourists of African decent and the local people, are rather different. For example, versus the tourist's romantic search for an ancestral home, the local 'hosts' are focused more on the economic benefits

they might gain from a tourist encounter. However, griots' musical performances link the so called 'Old' and 'New' African diasporas. In a different mode, Rena Molho presents the unique and long history of the Jewish diaspora in Salonica.

As indicated already, it is beyond the limits of this review to present the rich ethnographic information and theoretical insights offered in this volume. It is not easy reading considering the unequal length of chapters and the lack of a standard form structuring the presentations to respond to the leading theme under investigation. This is, however, a recurrent deficiency in many academic conferences and the volumes that are produced afterwards. Nevertheless, the researchers engaged in the 'hot' subject of present day global migrations, be they defined as new diasporas or transnational dispersions, will find the volume of much interest and a stimulant for further research.

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Moshe Shokeid
Tel Aviv University
shokeid@post.tau.ac.il

Tsypylma Darieva, Wolfgang Kaschuba, Melanie Krebs (eds.) (2011) *Urban Spaces after Socialism: Ethnographies of Public Places in Eurasian Cities*. Frankfurt / Main: Campus Verlag.

This edited collection of twelve case studies offers an insight into selected aspects of contemporary life in four capitals and three 'second cities' of the former federal republics of the Soviet Union. The book stems from the results of the workshop on 'Urban Spaces, Caucasian Places, Transformation in Capital Cities' held in Tbilisi in 2009 and a subsequent workshop held in Berlin in 2010. The aim of the book, following the introductory text by Tsypylma Darieva and Wolfgang Kaschuba, is to deal with the following questions: How are new urban identities in Eurasia –including city symbols and place brands– represented, managed and appropriated by different social groups? How do people transform and reinterpret urban space into their own places beyond the perspectives of grand narratives? (p. 12).

Darieva and Kaschuba's introductory text speaks predominantly about post-socialism, transformation, the legacy of urban socialism and the post-Soviet city. The authors of the case studies, however, have also highlighted other historical intersections and legacies beyond the Introduction's theoretical elaboration, such as the legacy of the plurality of religions, the legacy of the Russian Empire, the legacy of the pre-Empire periods, and so on.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part is titled 'Contours and Places' and discusses the physical and symbolic layout of the city. The second part is named 'Places and Voices' and focuses predominantly on the sociability, behaviour and symbolic world of individuals and specific urban groups.

Physical changes in selected cities are the dominant theme of the first part of the book. In this section, the authors frequently search for modifications in the

urban landscape in specific historical periods and assess the results of building activities and their symbolic background. This is, for instance, the case with the chapter by Artyom Kosmarski, titled 'Grandeur and Decay of the "Soviet Byzantium": Spaces, Peoples and Memories of Tashkent, Uzbekistan'. Like many other authors, Komarski notes a huge increase of city inhabitants during the Soviet period, primarily from the 1950s to 1991. The capitals of federal states became metropolises with undergrounds transportation systems and trams where several millions of people lived, predominantly in suburbs. The uniform suburban architecture mirrored the state ambition to build a showpiece of the federal republic. Similar ambitions of the independent state after 1991 led to similar results: pompous squares and buildings, formerly Soviet now national dehumanized monuments and symbols. People are now looking for more comfortable places and are finding them in marketplaces and streets lined with shops and coffee bars. A very similar picture is offered by Madlen Pilz in her chapter on 'Tbilisi in City Maps: Symbolic Construction of an Urban Landscape'. Similar traits are also found in Tsypylma Darieva's chapter on 'A "Remarkable Gift" in a Postcolonial City: The Past and Present of the Baku Promenade', which also shows how the new post-socialist governors tried to oppose some city symbols and places of entertainments and then, after several years, returned to use them and under new slogans renovated at great cost monuments that were almost completely destroyed.

Paradoxically, in many contributions to this volume, we find references to lost cosmopolitanism, to the loss of a multicultural society. It seems that, though living in an open global world, many people in the described capital cities feel more isolated than when living behind the Iron Curtain but as part of the Soviet multinational state. They and their national governments are searching for ways into the global world with their newly built image. The chapter by Melanie Krebs, 'Maiden Tower Goes International? Representing Baku in a Global World' speaks about such image-building. A similar problem is touched upon by Levon Abrahamian in his chapter on 'Yerevan Sacra: Old and New Sacred Centers in the Urban Space'.

Many anthropological studies on the newly established states built from the former Soviet federal republics draw empirical material collected exclusively in capitals. Fortunately, this volume includes also studies of 'second cities'. In the first part of the book, there is a study about Gyumri (formerly Leninakan) in Armenia which offers reflection on what it means to be a second city. The last chapter in the second part of the book is a case study of the Osh in Kyrgyzstan, discussing a local youth culture which, highly globalized, draws norms and values primarily from Russia.

The second part of the book begins with views from a 'second city'. Oleg Pachenkov studies a flea market in St. Petersburg. In a well written text he describes the nostalgia of the poor people of the new Russia. The interpretation of their sociability in the flea market stimulates discussion on the change of meanings attributed to the Soviet period by the wider public in present-day Russia.

Shifts in symbols and meanings are the subject of further studies in this part of the book. Zaza Shatirishvili and Paul Manning interpret the changes in the meaning of various kinds of labour during communism, Sergey Rumyansev and Sevil Huseynova write about the importance of jazz in the Baku society, Shorena Gabunia about gay culture in Tbilisi and Paul Manning and Zaza Shatirishvili about the Kinto dance in Tbilisi.

Considering the dynamics of present-day sociability in the former federal Soviet states and the number of possible frames of reference, it is clear that more information can frequently be given to the reader by a clearly described single case than by a general theory. The cases realistically emphasized the often articulated boundary between city dwellers and the rural environment. Logically, the ethnocultural nationalism of the newly established nation states is not built merely on the values of the intelligentsia and of the urban population but also, and often predominantly, on those of villagers who are less globalized and more isolated. What is undercommunicated both in the case studies and in the Afterword is the role of churches in the decision-making processes and in the scene of symbols and meanings.

included in this volume are predominantly very well elaborated and well narrated also for scholars only generally familiarized in the local environment. They are anchored in ethnographic research and based predominantly on observation, sometimes on interviews. Thus, in many cases, the method of data collection is not transparent. On the other hand, the methodological simplifications are balanced by the wealth of reflections and insights.

It is hard to generalize the material of collected ethnographies. Alaina Lemon tried to do this in her Afterword for Urban (post)Socialisms. She correctly stressed the loss of cosmopolitanism frequently mentioned in the case studies. She also

This book is rich in new views and concepts and opens new insights to the life in the selected capitals and ‘second cities’ of the countries that were established after the collapse of the USSR. The case studies also demonstrate that the social processes analysed in the book can hardly be assessed by the narrow rhetoric of post-communism. They refer to a wider spectrum of influences and activities. Ethnographies are, indeed, writings by specific kinds of people and their subjectivity must be taken into account.

Zdeněk Uherek
Charles University, Prague
uherek@eu.cas.cz

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Forthcoming Conference

IUAES 2014 – JASCA
The Future with/of Anthropologies
Chiba City (Greater Tokyo), Japan, 15-18 May 2014

The IUAES Inter-Congress 2014 will be held jointly with the 50th Anniversary Conference of JASCA (Japanese Society of Cultural Anthropology). The theme of the conference will be *The Future with/of Anthropologies*. The language of the conference will be English.

CALL FOR PAPERS: 28 November 2013 – 09 January 2014. Please send your paper proposal to the Panel Convenor/s.

Panels organized under the auspices of the Commission on Urban Anthropology:

1. **Temp028** *Reconsidering the future of urban space: social and economic divisions in the public domain* (**JOINT PANEL**: Commission on Urban Anthropology & Commission on Anthropology of Women. **Convenors: Italo Pardo**, i.pardo@kent.ac.uk; **Subhadra Channa**, channa.subhadra@gmail.com)
2. **Temp050** *Migration and urbanization: emerging situation in pluralistic societie*s (**Convenor: Sumita Chaudhuri**, sumita_chau@hotmail.com)
3. **Temp153** *Global cities: digital urbanisation in the 21st century* (**Convenors: Michael Fischer**, M.D.Fischer@kent.ac.uk; **Francine Barone**, francinebarone@yahoo.com; **Sally Applin**, sally@sally.com)
4. *The future of Anthropology serves as the fulcrum to balance the interdisciplinary research related to anthropogenic sufferings* (**Convenors: Amlan K. Ray,** humanedestiny@gmail.com**; Snehasiktas Swarnakar**).

Further details on the Conference are available at:
http://www.iuaes.org/japan2014/

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