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Perspectives in the Study of Indigenous Migration to Cities in Mexico[1]

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Indigenous migration to cities in Mexico has been the focus of a range of research initiatives in Mexican anthropology, as new research approaches, questions and problems have emerged. In the context of a strengthened indigenous movement and of constitutional reforms that recognize cultural diversity and indigenous rights, the enhanced visibility of indigenous migrants that started in the 1990s has led to the development of new research topics, which are analysed in this article.
Keywords: indigenous, migration, cities, rights.

Introduction

In this article I provide an overview of the approaches used by anthropologists since the 1990s in their research on indigenous migration to cities. The introduction of new paradigms in the social sciences and the emergence of social movements have led to a reformulation of both the questions raised by such research and the theoretical positions from which they have been addressed. One issue that stands out is related to a growing interest in demonstrating that gender inequalities and the recognition of ethnic identity are not only a source of vulnerability and discrimination for migrants, but also form the basis for the demands related to rights and citizenship put forward by urban indigenous organizations.

I focus mainly on research carried out in Mexico City, in addition to studies carried out in two cities in northern Mexico, Monterrey and Tijuana. By including these other cities, I attempt to show some of the similarities and differences that characterize migrants' living conditions in the urban contexts in which they are inserted and how these have been addressed in the literature. In Mexico City, the process of industrialization that began in the 1940s and 1950s attracted many migrants from rural settings, for whom this city became the primary destination (Kemper 1976: 52). These movements of population led to the insertion, and in many cases, assimilation, of migrants into city life, which has made their social and identity integration a central issue in studies of migration to Mexico City. It is important to keep in mind not only that migrants of diverse ethnicities from all over Mexico live in Mexico City, making it a multicultural city, but also that this city is home to the Náhuatl people — the descendants of the native people of the Mexico valley — who have been incorporated into urban life as the city has grown, thus modifying their traditional lifestyles and in many cases leading to the loss of their farmland. I will expand later on how the different situations of the two kinds of indigenous people who live in Mexico City have led to specific demands related to their ethnic, social and cultural rights.

The city of Tijuana is characterized by its position on the border between two countries (Mexico and the United States) and by the fact that it provides infrastructure and services to people in transit, aiming to cross legally or illegally into the United States. Life in Tijuana entails exposure to the cultural influence of the United States, with its codes and regulations, and the ever present reality that crossing the border involves potential access to employment, which would ensure the reproduction of the family unit. In Tijuana many migrants are commuters living in Mexico and traveling daily or weekly to work in the United States (Velasco and Vargas 2010: 106). The influence of the border is expressed in many ways, causing a reconfiguration of ethnicity, as 'transnationalization means that subjects live in different state and national frameworks at the same time'[2] (Velasco 2002: 166). Migrants' lives are marked by international migration and by the everyday presence of 'coyotes' (people who charge a fee to help undocumented migrants to cross illegally into the United States), of migrants from different parts of Mexico and from Central America who are eager to cross 'to the other side' and of tourists from the United States who travel to Tijuana for cheap entertainment and shopping; they are the main customers of the indigenous Mixtec street vendors in downtown Tijuana (Velasco 2002).

Indigenous migrants in Monterrey have been invisible to public policy and social research until recently, for migration to this city began slowly in the 1970s and has only increased since the 1990s, with migrants coming from the states of Hidalgo, San Luis Potosí and Veracruz (Durin and Moreno 2008: 92). Proof of this invisibility lies in the fact that the first public policy aimed at indigenous people in Nuevo León was developed in 1998, and the Commission for the Development of Indigenous People (CDI)[3] first established a sub-delegation in the city of Monterrey as late as 2006 (Durin 2008: 26).

The different characteristics of these cities where indigenous migrants have settled have influenced the ways in which researchers have addressed the topic of urban migration. While in Mexico City the emphasis has been on studying the causes of migration and the patterns of assimilation, insertion and reproduction of ethnic identity (Arizpe 1975, Kemper 1976), in Tijuana a central line of research has been to explore ethnic agency and ethnicity in the context of the transnational situation in that city (Velasco 2002, 2005, 2010). In contrast, the studies carried out in Monterrey are largely marked by the need to define the study subjects, emphasizing a combination of demographic and social anthropological approaches to make these subjects visible and to provide an overall picture, in addition to pursuing qualitative lines of research further to explore specific issues (Durin 2008: 36 and 39).

In the 1990s, indigenous migrants to Mexican cities acquired greater visibility as a result of ethnic mobilizations related to the strengthening of the indigenous movement, the signing of the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 169, which recognizes the collective rights of indigenous people, and the indigenous uprising led by the Zapatista

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[2] The original Spanish reads: 'la transnacionalización implica que los sujetos viven al mismo tiempo en marcos estatales y nacionales diferentes'.

[3] This is the 'Comisión para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas', or CDI, formerly the National Indigenist Institute (Instituto Nacional Indigenista).

National Liberation Army (Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional, EZLN) in the state of Chiapas, demanding social justice, land and democracy and engendering an intense debate on indigenous rights in Mexican political and academic circles. In this context, the Mexican government introduced multicultural policies and in 1992 approved reforms to Article 4 of the Constitution, in recognition of the country's cultural diversity. In 2001, Article 2 was also modified, recognizing indigenous rights and autonomy. Despite criticism on the limitations of these reforms, it is nonetheless significant that for the first time indigenous people were recognized at constitutional level, questioning the idea of homogeneity and legal equality that had prevailed until then (Aragón 2007).

Research Issues and Approaches

Indigenous migration to cities has long been studied in Mexican anthropology, and new research approaches, questions and problems have consistently emerged. Robert Kemper (1987) identifies two broad paradigms in migration studies in Mexico, which I will explore briefly here. Until the late 1960s and early 1970s, a research perspective Kemper calls 'culturalism' predominated; influenced by scholars from Europe and the United States, it favoured case studies from an empirical and inductive perspective. Migration research emphasized analyses of sociocultural change, using a model that opposed tradition and modernity. Authors were thus concerned with analysing the causes of migration and family coping strategies, as well as values, attitudes and forms of adaptation to and assimilation into the broader society. In this context, the work of Oscar Lewis (1961) stands out. Lewis conducted his research in the mid-twentieth century among peasants who migrated to Mexico City. He contributed a new methodology, which, instead of focusing on classic studies of community, took as the unit of analysis migrants' families and individuals scattered throughout different neighbourhoods in Mexico City.

The late 1960s and especially the 1970s saw the consolidation of an approach that Kemper (1987) calls 'historical-structuralism'. This approach was influenced by Marxism and Latin American social scientists who, from a theoretical and deductive perspective, emphasized the importance of understanding migration as tied to the conditions created by dependent development in the capitalist system. The general approaches were thus aimed at emphasizing the social, political and class conditions that affect migration. Analyses of the causes of migration underscored such issues as the structural incapacity of the system to absorb the growth of the population (Nolasco et al. 1979: 10). Here, the work of Lourdes Arizpe (1975, 1978) stands out. She asks how ethnicity influences migration patterns and concludes that, while there are structural explanations for migration, it has a specific historical nature and thus it is important to analyse its dynamics in order to understand the different forms that it takes (1978: 228).

Since the 1980s, research on women in diverse spheres of social life has intensified in Mexico, and new debates and approaches have produced a shift from studies of 'women' to analyses based on the concept of 'gender', which entails an analysis of the hierarchies and relations of power that connect the two sexes (Alberti 2004). According to Cristina Oehmichen (2005: 22), it was not until the 1990s that studies on the culture of migrants to

cities were once again undertaken, especially studies about identity issues and, to a lesser extent, interethnic relations. The greater visibility of the migrant population in Mexico since the 1990s, underpinned by the forms of organization of the indigenous movement and rights-based demands, has stimulated new research questions and topics.

Some Common Problems

Since the 1990s, notable contributions to the study of indigenous migration to cities have addressed four broad themes: ethnicity and identity; family, kinship and social networks; gender; and the link between ethnicity, justice and rights. These themes have not all been explored to the same depth. While there is a significant body of literature addressing the first three issues, that of justice and rights, which has gained a great deal of public visibility over the last two decades, is an emerging line of research of great relevance for public policy related to migrants. I will address this issue in the next section.

The literature shows that the employment held by indigenous migrants is not homogeneous in nature. However, the common denominator among those with low wages is that men work in jobs that require physical strength, which tends to give them access to jobs that entail heavy labour, such as loaders at the La Merced market in Mexico City, while women's work largely consists of street vending and domestic employment (Oehmichen 2005). How do men's and women's employment affect their social interaction and the way in which they express their demands for their rights? On this point, the volume edited by Séverine Durin (2008) is instructive, as it explores two different types of jobs. On the one hand, she looks at indigenous men and women who work as street vendors in the city of Monterrey. They, she reports, are permanently harassed by the police due to their lack of street vendor permits and face a situation of conflict that constitutes an incentive to become organized, establish relationships with state institutions and demand their rights; thus, they acquire greater visibility and their work allows them to reside in densely populated neighbourhoods. On the other hand, and in contrast, women who are domestic workers and live in the homes of their employers, generally located in middle or upper middle class neighbourhoods, are isolated from one another. This dispersal fosters their invisibility; yet, it does not lead to a rupture of the ties on which their ethnic identities are based, as they participate actively in networks based on family and on shared places of origin (Durin 2008: 33 and 35).

The gender approach has also placed an emphasis on studying family dynamics and the situation of women migrants (Ariza 2000: 39). The presence of women in migratory processes was originally noted in the pioneering study by Lourdes Arizpe on the 'Marias' (Mazahua indigenous women engaged in street vending) in Mexico City (1975). Since then, studies have endeavoured to distinguish between men's and women's reasons for migration, identify the different kinds of employment they engage in and examine their roles in the reproduction of the group (Arizpe 1975, Oehmichen 2005). Recent research on gender issues among indigenous migrants has indicated that women migrants are social actors who play an active role in shaping their own lives and that new migratory patterns involve a redefinition of family dynamics (both in the places of origin and in the new places of residence), in which

gender roles, as well as rights and obligations within the family, are negotiated and redefined (D'Aubeterre 2000). There remains much to investigate in this respect, and Marina Ariza's (2000: 48) question, 'can migration modify the asymmetry between men and women?'[4] is still valid.

The issues of identity and networks are closely related, as networks (based on kinship, place of origin, membership of an organization) ultimately constitute bonds upon which ethnic identity is based and reproduced. References to networks are numerous in the literature. Oehmichen (2005) employs an innovative approach to this topic, emphasizing from a gender perspective the social construction, dynamism and flexibility of networks among relatives. Among the Mazahua families that she studied, networks are formed around the relationships established by the women, and in them expressions of loyalty, solidarity and mutual support in child care and child rearing are predominant. In any case, networks of relatives and people from the same place are rooted in a feeling of shared origins and constitute a social capital that protects migrants from the vulnerability and marginality they experience in the city (Oehmichen 2005: 386-387). Authors agree on the role that migrant networks play in the survival, reproduction and protection of the members of the group. The networks that bring women together are an expression of this aspect; in the face of widespread violence, women take care of each other, protect each other and watch over what happens in each other's lives (Chavarría 2008: 199). However, the role of networks extends beyond this, as they are, in turn, the basis on which indigenous organizations are established.

One example is given by Laura Velasco (2002: 49), who addresses indigenous organization on the Mexico-US border and, interestingly, shows that both networks and organizations are built on the deep ties and solidarities that develop among relatives and people from the same place. She argues that 'migrant organizations could not exist without the networks.'[5] For instance, the Binational Oaxacan Indigenous Front (*Frente Indígena Oaxaqueño Binacional*, FIOB), which brings together Mixtec, Zapotec, Triqui and Mix indigenous people, extends over the national territory and also crosses borders. From a perspective that aims to analyse the impact of migration on ethnic identity, Velasco (2002: 45) sees ethnicity as a resource that makes it possible not only to deal with vulnerability, but also to produce organizations with the 'capacity to construct an ethnic project that is expressed in a social awareness.'[6]

However, Carmen Martínez (2004, 2006), who conducted research in Baja California with migrants living in Tijuana and with those working as day labourers in commercial agriculture for export in the San Quintín Valley, became interested in investigating the capacity of the state to create identity through institutions such as the CDI. She also conducted research on the responses of marginal groups in society to multicultural policies that recognize cultural diversity and encourage these parts of the population to identify

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[4] The original Spanish reads: '¿es capaz la migración de alterar la asimetría entre hombres y mujeres?'

[5] The original Spanish reads: 'sin las redes no podrían existir las organizaciones de migrantes'.

[6] The original Spanish reads: 'capacidad para construir un proyecto étnico que se hace manifiesto en una conciencia social'.

themselves as indigenous. She found that the kind of ethnicity promoted by the government employees who apply these policies superimposes a generic and stereotypical ethnic identity that does not recognize the specificities of migrants' experiences. Due to difficult living and working conditions, for most migrants their indigenous identity functions as a stigma that hinders their social and economic progress and that they try to avoid. Thus they prefer cultural assimilation, which involves their integration into the broader society as citizens. Therefore, Martínez suggests that the recognition of difference is not demanded by most migrants, due to the racism that excludes them from access to resources and opportunities.

This case of migrants in Baja California demonstrates the need to explore further the issue of identity among indigenous migrants and shows that multicultural policies that recognize cultural diversity have different effects among indigenous people, depending on the contexts in which they are applied and the specific gender, age and status of the people to whom they are targeted. Relevant studies have been carried out among young people who migrate to the cities to work, as well as among second- and third-generation migrants who live in large urban centres. In the next section I discuss this research on younger generations, which aims to shed light on issues of cultural assimilation and on demands for ethnic rights.

Indigenous youth were rarely addressed in the anthropological studies carried out in Mexico prior to the 1990s, when the emergence of new research approaches and methodologies, the increase in the migration of indigenous and mestizo youth to the cities and the expansion of the use of media such as television and the internet, among other factors, made indigenous youth more visible (Urteaga 2008, Pérez 2008a). Here I am interested in emphasizing several points of relevance in the studies of indigenous migrant youth, as they underscore the tensions that occur between parents and children around the children's reproduction of social values and in connection with the practices associated with community life and the cultural traditions of their places of origin, to which the parents are more attached. Urteaga (2008) reflects on how young people question certain relations of power that occur in the community context, while at the same time research shows how forms of social control that are rooted in community values and norms are in some ways reproduced in the urban life of migrants; one thinks of the persistence of asymmetries and long-standing views on gender roles such as supposedly honourable feminine conduct, even as increasing numbers of young women travel to the cities in order to find work. This is what Jahel López (2013: 153) found in terms of social control over the exercise of female sexuality, though the context of migration has also led to changes and greater flexibility in how marriage arrangements are made. Something similar has been found among women migrants in Monterrey who work as live-in domestic employees. These women must watch their conduct in order to protect their reputations in the face of the moral sanctions applied to women who freely exercise their sexuality, which their families find out about through rumours and comments spread by acquaintances, friends and relatives (Díaz 2009: 173).

Despite the racism and stigma associated with being indigenous, living in the city undoubtedly offers young people new opportunities to work, study, connect with each other and have fun. This is evident in the ethnographies on the importance of dance halls in Mexico City (López 2013) and on the Alameda in Monterrey, a public plaza that used to be a

recreation site for the city's middle and upper classes but has now been 'appropriated' by indigenous youth as a place for courting and socializing (Díaz 2009). In both cases, these urban places constitute spaces for dialogue, identity negotiation and intercultural relationships with mestizos and youth of other ethnicities, as well as for belonging to new networks based on friendship. As Maya Lorena Pérez (2008b) argues, in the cities young indigenous people are exercising their capacities to make decisions about how they want to live their lives. The accelerated processes of change that they experience, with the attendant tensions and conflicts, pose a broad range of questions to be further investigated along a thematic line of research that Urteaga (2008: 704) describes as an 'anthropology of borders',[7] which takes into account how the categories of young, Indian and migrant are being constructed '*inside* a new area and *outside* the borders of worlds that until recently seemed fixed and unchangeable…'.[8] Uretaga believes, nonetheless, that the parents' world continues to have an influence on how young people build their lives.

New Perspectives on a Key Issue: The Relation between Ethnicity, Justice and Rights
Migrants' demands for ethnic rights started to acquire prominence in the national setting in the early 1990s in light of the Zapatista movement and of the rise of movements for indigenous rights in Latin America. In this context, the ethnic rights discourse became a central strategy used by migrants to negotiate with the state in their efforts to have their demands met (Velasco and Vargas 2010: 104 and 116). The magnitude of the impact of Zapatismo and its demands for autonomy is evident in the fact that this issue appears repeatedly in the arguments of indigenous organizations such as the FIOB. Migrants demand ethnic rights and recognition as social actors in various ways, while also demanding that the state and authorities respect their human rights (Oehmichen 2005: 13).

According to Oehmichen (2007), men and women migrants have in common their vulnerability and lack of rights, and they all face discrimination and racism from mestizo society. This has led Oehmichen (2005: 184, 191) to consider their condition to be similar to that of undocumented migrants, as they, too, lack job stability, social security and social services. This vulnerability also promotes the concentration of migrants in specific neighbourhoods or districts and the strengthening of their networks and organizations (Sánchez C. 2004: 72-73). The importance of networks is also evident in the migrants' 'extraterritorial communities'[9] (Oehmichen 2001: 185), whose members may reside in different regions of a country and even in different countries. This is the case with migrants to the United States, who maintain ties with their communities of origin as they keep their sense of belonging to their ethnic group or place of birth.

Other authors have emphasized that migrants' vulnerability helps to explain why they seek support in the networks of relatives and people who originate from the same place. It is

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[7] The original Spanish reads: 'antropología de frontera'.
[8] The original Spanish reads: 'dentro de una zona nueva y fuera de las fronteras de los mundos que hasta hace poco parecían fijos e inmutables…'
[9] Original Spanish: 'comunidades extraterritoriales'.

worth reiterating that these networks provide a social capital that can protect them from the violence that they experience as migrants; a product, that is, of the asymmetric relations in terms of gender, class and ethnic identity (Chavarría 2008: 176). Women suffer violence within the home, workers experience it through the hierarchies and relations of power in the work context; because of their identities as indigenous people, they are also subject to discrimination, racism and the abuse of power by the authorities and the police (Chavarría 2008: 199). In this sense, the vulnerability of indigenous migrants is similar to that of international migrants who lack legal permits to enter and stay in a country; thus, their rights are limited and they experience a 'lack of power'[10] also through daily discrimination, as is the case of Hispanics in the United States (Bustamante 2001: 28). In the case of the migrants analysed in this article, there is no context of illegality because they reside in their own country; however, their lack of power, as discussed by Bustamante, is evident in the fact that many of them do not have birth certificates, which prevents them from obtaining other official documents, and in the fact that they are often unaware of their rights as citizens and workers.

Taking as a point of departure the notion that ethnic identities 'are a product of historically constructed social relations',[11] Oehmichen (2005: 297) explores the question of sociocultural change and notes that certain ethnic markers have been re-functionalized since the rise of the issue of indigenous rights. Indigenous language and dress, which in many cases had been abandoned to avoid discrimination, are now used when negotiating with the state from their position as indigenous people. This strategic use and manipulation of ethnicity in accordance with the context and circumstances at hand suggests that ethnicity becomes an element that differentiates these actors from the rest of the urban poor; the political use of ethnicity enables them to 'better defend their rights'[12] (Oemichen 2005: 400). This has led to a greater visibility of migrants, who reaffirm themselves as indigenous people and stress their ethnic and cultural identity (Igreja 2005: 306 and 312).

This revaluation of indigenous people's ethnic identity and language has not occurred in a homogeneous manner in Mexico City. Various factors have played a role in such a process. People's socio-economic status and, as Maya Lorena Pérez (2007) emphasizes, social differentiation in the migrants' places of origin affect the ways in which they settle into the city. It is important to keep in mind that not all indigenous people residing in Mexico City live in poverty, though a large number do. Equally important, as Igreja (2008) points out, there are Mazahua migrants who do not teach their children their language so that they will not experience racism and discrimination, while Triqui migrants are more attached to their customs and they do teach their language to their children and generally consider it appropriate to impart justice within their group in accordance with the norms and practices of their communities of origin. It is the young who, as a result of their greater integration into city life, mainly question this process of ethnic revaluation; however, through their participation in different indigenous organizations and the contributions they make drawing

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[10] The original Spanish reads: 'carencia de poder'.

[11] The original Spanish reads: 'son producto de relaciones sociales históricamente construidas'.

[12] The original Spanish reads: 'defender mejor sus derechos'.

on their experiences and perspectives, many young people have come to 'discover the best of their culture as well as that which they do not think should be reproduced'[13] (Igreja 2008: 235). In a sense, they seem to choose tradition and, at the same time, continue to live actively in the city and take advantage of what it has to offer.

The rights demanded by migrants are varied and are a consequence of the vulnerability, conflicts and different contexts in which they are situated. In the case of the street vendors, what stands out are the demands related to abuses by the authorities and those in defence of their business, leading Séverine Durin (2008: 50) to argue that 'they have managed to be recognized as an entity with collective rights.'[14] Other demands aim at highlighting the lack of labour, political and social rights, as well as the legal vacuum in the current legislation, which does not take into account the ethnic and cultural diversity that exists in the cities (Yanes 2004: 207). The authors who have addressed this topic stress the peculiar situation of indigenous migrants, who have a sense of community based on their shared origin anchored to their towns and communities and to their group belonging, but because of their migration do not have a territory. This paradox seems to constitute a central point for the indigenous rights of urban migrants: how can they demand autonomy if they are not associated with a territory?

Indigenous rights in Mexico City must also be understood in view of the fact that indigenous descendants of the area's original inhabitants, known as 'native people',[15] also live in several municipalities in Mexico City (Mora ed. 2007). Dispossessed of their land since the colonial period, they are rooted in their territory and face difficulties raised by illegal settlements, the development of new neighbourhoods and the expropriation of their land for public works (Mora ed. 2007: 41 and 119), which, among other problems, has led to water scarcity and to the violation of their human and cultural rights (Pérez 2002). They, therefore, demand recognition of their territorial autonomy, unlike migrants who, lacking territory, can only demand 'cultural autonomy'[16] (Sánchez C. 2004: 80).

There is consensus among writer on this issue that the ethnic rights of urban indigenous people transcend territorial rights (Martínez and de la Peña 2004: 133; Oehmichen 2005: 198). The Assembly of Indigenous Migrants (*Asamblea de Migrantes Indígenas*), which includes indigenous people of various ethnicities, demands recognition of the autonomy and ethnic rights of these people in spite of the fact that they do not have their own territory (Sánchez P. C. et al. 2004). The Assembly has developed an agenda for reflection and study in order to debate the issue of urban indigenous people, with the issue of 'how to participate in this process of struggle'[17] as a starting point (Ortiz 2006: 270-271).

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[13] The original Spanish reads: 'descubrir lo mejor de su cultura y lo que les parece inadecuado reproducir'.

[14] The original Spanish reads: 'han conseguido ser reconocidos como un ente con derechos colectivos'.

[15] The original Spanish reads: 'pueblos originarios'.

[16] The original Spanish reads: 'autonomía cultural'.

[17] The original Spanish reads: 'cómo insertarse en este proceso de lucha'.

In the political context that has developed since the 1990s, urban indigenous people question being referred to as 'migrants', as they associate this word with the subordination and exclusion to which they are subjected in urban life; they ask to be called, instead, 'indigenous residents'[18] in the city (Banda and Martínez 2006: 286-287). However, this change in terminology does not do away with the tension that exists in the demands for rights expressed by the two groups of indigenous people who live in Mexico City; specifically, the native people demand collective rights based on territory, while indigenous residents can only demand to be able to exercise their rights as individuals (López 2006: 364).

Dolores Figueroa (2005: 250) asks, 'What does the distinction between migrant and native imply in terms of the granting of rights?'[19] She concludes that, drawing on different priorities, they demand different rights,. Among other issues, migrants' demands are related to 'limited access to the basic level of services, and to racism, discrimination, lack of access to full citizenship; lack of access to bilingual/bicultural education; school dropout rates; the lack of public policies with respect to migrant women and children'[20] (Figueroa 2005: 262). In contrast, indigenous people who live in their native land struggle against the threat posed by urban sprawl to their territorial integrity, as well as against real estate speculation, the division of communal lands into lots, deforestation, overexploitation of aquifers and the lack of recognition of their traditional authorities. So, while the demands of those in their native land are related to 'power and property, to local capacity in decision-making',[21] those of migrants are related to the recognition of their political, economic and citizenship rights and to the need for the implementation of public policies that benefit them. The tension between these demands is marked by the potential that the territorial rights pursued by indigenous people in their native lands have to deprive of their rights the citizens residing in these areas, including indigenous migrants (Figueroa 2005: 263).

A question of great relevance is how to reconcile native and migrant rights in a legislation on indigenous rights in Mexico City that takes into account what both groups have in common and where they differ. Regardless of their differing views in this debate, all writers address the need to incorporate indigenous rights into Mexico City's institutions and legal framework (López 2006: 349 and 355). This matter deserves special attention in migration studies, because it has important public policy implications. It is important to define the approach from which these policies must be developed. Alejandro López (2006: 365) suggests that a perspective is needed that emphasizes both universal rights and cultural diversity, as opposed to the approach of the federal government, which is based on combating

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[18] The original Spanish reads: 'indígenas residentes'.

[19] The original Spanish reads: '¿Qué implica en términos de otorgamiento de derechos la distinción entre migrante y originario?'.

[20] The original Spanish reads: 'Problemática de migrantes: limitado el acceso a piso básico de servicios… el racismo y la discriminación/no acceso a ciudadanía plena; el no acceso a la educación bilingüe/bicultural; la deserción escolar; la ausencia de políticas públicas con respecto a las mujeres y niños migrantes'.

[21] The original Spanish reads: 'el poder y la propiedad, con la capacidad local en la toma de decisiones'.

poverty among indigenous people. Heeding López's suggestion means attending to the issues that arise from the contextual situation of indigenous people in the city, which will make it possible to address their needs and demands.

The Marcelo Ebrard administration (2006-2012) implemented human rights policies leading to the development of the Mexico City Human Rights Program (2009), which formed the basis for the Mexico City Human Rights Law, enacted in 2011. This programme takes into account the city's cultural diversity and acknowledges that even though indigenous people and communities may come from different places (they can be native or migrants), they all need their shared collective rights to be recognized, without overlooking their specific rights (Hernández 2010: 3). The programme defines a series of rights that form the basis for advancing public policies and strengthening legislation; among others, they include the right to maintain a community identity, the right to equality and non-discrimination, the right to access to justice, the right to land/territory, the right to work, the right to adequate housing, the right to the use of public spaces and the right to education and health care.

In order to address the legal vacuum in terms of indigenous rights, in 2011 and 2012 a bill on the Rights and Culture of Indigenous and Native People in Mexico City was debated, though not passed into law. In Mexico City, Miguel Ángel Mancera's administration (elected in 2012) has approved a comprehensive draft indigenous Bill for native and migrant people living here. The Bill, which has not yet been passed by the Mexico City Legislative Assembly, includes, among others, the right to autonomy and self-determination, political rights, rights related to the administration of justice and law enforcement, the right to education, cultural and social rights and the right to economic development (see, Comité de Mecanismo de la Consulta 2014). I would like to emphasize two aspects that I consider to be significant in this bill. First, the Bill recognizes native and migrant indigenous people as 'entities in public law with legal personality and their own assets'[22] (art. 7), which has important consequences for the exercise of individual and collective rights. Second, it distinguishes between the rights of Native People and Neighbourhoods and the rights of Indigenous Resident Communities made up of migrants. So, the aspects shared by these two groups, the situations specific to each group and the need to differentiate between the rights granted to them are all taken into consideration. For example, in the chapter on Autonomy and Self-Determination, the former group is granted the right to establish 'self-governance in the territories as they see fit'[23] (art. 13), while the territorial dimension is not mentioned in the case of indigenous migrants and reference is made only to their right to autonomy 'in the identity-related spaces or places where they regularly carry out cultural, social, political or economic activities'[24] (art. 36). As far as I am aware, there are few academic publications that address the matter of rights and justice among indigenous migrants in Mexico City, though

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[22] The original Spanish reads: 'entidades de derecho público con personalidad jurídica y patrimonio propio'.

[23] The original Spanish reads: 'autogobierno en los ámbitos territoriales que así lo concideren'.

[24] The original Spanish reads: 'en los espacios o lugares identitarios en los cuales realizan de manera recurrente alguna actividad cultural, social, política y económica (art. 36).'

there have been debates in which academics have participated (Díaz 2013) alongside members of the city government and of indigenous organizations. It would appear that indigenous rights and justice continue to be underreported in the literature on migration to Mexico's capital city. Nonetheless, the nature of the topic and the impact that it will have on public policy in the city if this bill is passed suggest that this issue needs urgent attention and debate among academics and other interested parties.

Various authors have highlighted migrants' needs in terms of justice (see, for example, Yanes 2004 and Sánchez 2004). Rebecca Igreja's (2004) work on justice and indigenous organizations in Mexico City introduces the issue of legal pluralism, as she shows that some communities and organizations reproduce and re-signify — with different levels of intensity — the norms and conflict resolution procedures of their places of origin. As indigenous forms of regulation mix with state law, we witness the occurrence of situations of inter-legality, understood as the articulation and hybridization of different normative systems. This is a novel formulation in migration studies, as anthropological research on justice in Mexico has been focused on documenting inter-legal processes in rural areas of the country.

The norms and procedures for the functioning of groups and organizations constitute a central part of migrants' daily lives in the city. The members of ethnic groups create new norms of coexistence in accordance with the context in which they live and, largely in assemblies, seek ways to resolve conflicts and settle disputes within the group (Igreja 2004: 427). In this adaptation of the justice system to their interests and needs, some groups aim to recover the traditional justice of their places of origin while others do not, indicating that among indigenous migrants there are different ways of resolving the problems associated with living together. Furthermore, they make strategic use of state law, creating 'spaces of negotiation and inter-legality'[25] (Igreja 2004: 434), even though indigenous people are notably excluded from state justice institutions — as from other spheres of social life, due to their ethnic and class positions. The administration of justice is also inadequate as, in line with what happens across the country, indigenous people are often not recognized as such in the Mexico City's justice institutions and have to face deficiencies in legal proceedings, such as not having access to indigenous language translators. Young people are criminalized by legal authorities, facing criminal proceedings for drug addiction and delinquency. The authorities do not consider them to be indigenous because they do not speak the language of their parents, so when they are called to testify in court they find themselves in an ambiguous situation; they do not know whether they should identify themselves as indigenous in order to obtain institutional and legal support based on their ethnicity (Igreja 2008, Oehmichen 2003b). This example further demonstrates the difficulties that occur when the state establishes rigid definitions of what is indigenous, often requiring a person to speak an indigenous language in order to be categorized as such. In these cases, the dimension of lived experience is lost from sight, as are the subjective and objective aspects that lead indigenous people to define themselves as such.

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[25] The original Spanish reads: 'espacios de negociación e interlegalidad'.

Conclusion

The foregoing discussion of recent research has brought out the centrality of the ethnic dimension both in the constitution of organizations and in their demands and has stimulated reflection on the consequences of practising multiculturalism in national legislation. In addition to this, we have seen that there are public policies of great importance on human rights in Mexico City. These policies are taking the lead on this issue in the country, though a law attending to indigenous rights in the city has not yet been passed. The performance of policies aimed at meeting the needs and demands of the indigenous population constitutes an important future field of study, extending to the inevitable conflicts and debates to which the application of such policies will undoubtedly give rise. The different political agendas of the indigenous organizations in the cities is another emerging field of study, as is that pertaining the role of women in these organizations and their specific demands. To sum up, the issues addressed here show that despite growing civic awareness about indigenous rights, these rights have yet to be fully realized.

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Ostranenie in Cape Town

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For Viktor Shklovsky, habitual perception born of an automatic, regular viewpoint, was the greatest obstacle to knowing reality. Russian formalists saw de-familiarisation (*Ostranenie*) as a way to gain a fresh perception of reality. In this article I argue that the principle of *Ostranenie* can be applied to urban ethnographic research, which can generate a process of de-familiarisation in the subjects involved in movement the research. Inspired by Russian formalists' ideas, I adopt a method of ethnographic observation in the city that seeks to generate a de-familiarised viewpoint among its inhabitants. In my research in Cape Town I used urban movement as a fieldwork tactic in the attempt to observe the relationship between the city's inhabitants and its urban spaces beyond a habitual relationship. This experiment generated a fresh perception of the city's places, which were described and represented 'as if for the first time'.
Keywords: Russian formalists, de-familiarisation, Cape Town, photo eliciting, urban.

Introduction

In Russian formalist thought, de-familiarisation (*Ostranenie*) is seen as important to awakening what is dormant. In *Art as Technique* (1917), Victor Shklovsky defined de-familiarisation as the true origin of experience, the only thing that can overcome the indifference of habit-bound perception. Shklovsky introduced the theory of de-familiarisation through the interplay of opposites, such as life vs. death, vital vs. fossilised and aesthetic perception vs. habitual recognition. The Russian formalists considered the 'first impression' to be a revelatory experience, while they saw a habitual, automatic viewpoint as an obstruction to understanding the true meaning of things. Shklovsky wrote, 'Habitualization devours works, clothing, furniture, one's wife, and fear of war…And art exists that one may recover a sensation of life, it exists to make one feel things, to make the stone stony. The purpose of art is to impart the sensation of things as they are perceived and not they are known' (1965 [1917]: 12).

In this article I argue that we can usefully translate the principles of formalist concepts into ethnographic observation, particularly of urban phenomena, and that we can view the de-familiarised viewpoint on a city's locations as a particular form of observation that can reveal aspects which would be otherwise hidden by a habit-bound viewpoint. By transposing formalist ideas to the ethnographic observation of the city, we can engage in an investigation of urban places in which they are described by the city's inhabitants through a de-familiarised viewpoint. In the pages that follow I shall describe some key elements of my research in post-Apartheid Cape Town. I shall relate how, through the application of investigative techniques such as urban movement and dramatization of experience, I have attempted to observe the relationship between the city's inhabitants and the city's places and the ways in which these places were signified drawing on 'first impressions', or on the meaning given to these places on first seeing them. This investigative method brought out the interviewees' 'distorted' representation of the city and its spaces, with certain locations being represented in relation to particular events of their lives.

Be Free

In March 2011 I went to Cape Town to conduct the fieldwork for my PhD. I investigated the processes by which urban places were signified in the post-Apartheid period. I had booked an apartment in the centre of town, where I was to conduct much of my fieldwork. A few days before I travelled to Cape Town I was notified that the apartment was occupied and I would have to spend the first night in a nearby hotel, the Tulip Inn. When I got to this hotel, I found that I had been given a room on the top floor, from where I had a view of Cape Town's Central Business District (CBD). When I opened the window curtains, I saw a billboard with the words 'e - Be Free' written on it.
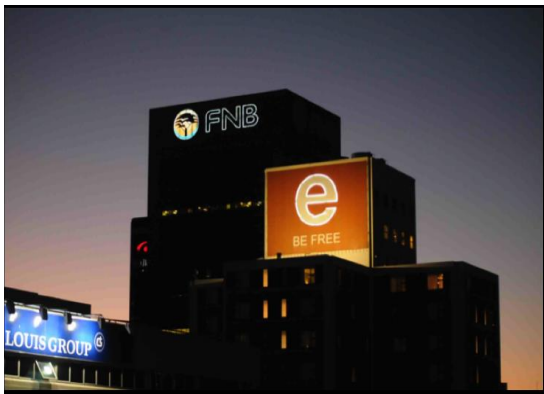
Image1: Tulip Inn 1

Image 2: Tulip Inn 2

I paused, reflecting on what to 'Be Free' meant. Instead of the abstract notion of freedom, I started thinking about what it had meant to me in the past; how the way I understood freedom had changed through what I had read, the people I had met and where I had travelled. I remembered meeting Shirley Gunn in Cape Town. This is a white woman who in the name of freedom abandoned her family and left her work in order to take part in the armed conflict. I remembered this tiny woman whose hands shook when she recalled certain events in her life. Readings on the subject of freedom also came to mind; particularly about Brutus, in William Shakespeare's Julius Caesar, ruminating over freedom after having killed his mentor.

Reconstructing past events, losing myself in my memories led me to re-examine what and who I had been but also what or who I wanted to be or, more specifically, what my desires and aspirations were, especially those linked to my experience in the field. The imaginary creation of my freedom followed a spatial-temporal order. I wanted to see again specific places that I had visited in the past, such as Cape Agulhas, where the Indian Ocean meets the Atlantic. I wanted to experience certain feelings, such as meeting friends I hadn't seen for years. *The Snap* came to mind, a nightclub where I first met Kay on a Wednesday evening in 2005. I wanted to walk along the promenade at Sea Point on a stormy day. That night, I stood by the window of the Tulip Inn for a long time, reflecting on how my memories and personal life experience could enable me to enter into a dialogue with Long Street and with post-Apartheid Cape Town.

Seeing an advertising message such as 'e - Be Free' in an urban landscape is a perfectly normal experience for a European used to living in a city. Yet, in the context of ethnographic research, such an experience might become the moment when new types of urban communication are revealed. Vincent Crapanzano (1986) has defined the 'Hermes Dilemma' as the art of revealing what is masked through ethnographic interpretation. 'The ethnographer is a little like Hermes: a messenger who, given methodologies for uncovering the masked, the latent, the unconscious, may even obtain his message through stealth. He presents languages, cultures, and society in all their opacity, their foreignness, their meaninglessness' (Crapanzano 1986: 51). This analogy between anthropological description and the messenger of the gods is based on a methodological reversal that makes the foreign familiar and the familiar foreign. The art of interpretation or 'hermeneutics' is found in distancing the near.

It was only after I had spent a considerable amount of time in the field that I discovered that the 'e' in the aforementioned billboard advert referred to a local television station and that the billboard was probably meant to promote freedom of information, or state that only by gaining access to information it is possible to win freedom. The 'strangeness' of the city had prevented me from grasping the meaning that the message's sender had likely intended to convey; yet, it was precisely through this 'misunderstanding' that the start of a particular dialogue with the city became possible.

The fact that I did not know who was the sender of the advert and what were its communicative intentions had triggered an inner dialogue; the advert's 'strangeness' had generated in me specific memories, emotions and hopes. In other words, my 'strangeness' had not impeded communication with the city, but had actually elicited a new form of intense and engaging communication. My memories, things that I had read and trips that I had taken came into play and 'entered into a dialogue' with the urban space.

Traditionally, ethnography involves uprooting and alienation as situations of distress, and lack of familiarity with the field is often described as something of a purgatory you have to get through to attain the entry keys to understanding the object of study. Nonetheless, there are many examples in which the first approach to the field, including the urban field, is described by the fieldworker as revelatory.

Massimo Canevacci noted that a new arrival's viewpoint on a city could be taken as a state that could reveal that which is incomprehensible to the habitual, familiarised viewpoint. He stated, 'Often the uprooted viewpoint of foreigners can grasp differences that the habituated viewpoint does not see because it is too internal and too habituated by an excess of familiarity' (Canevacci 1996: 16). For him, uprooting and alienation are privileged conditions that 'can let us rise towards new cognitive possibilities, through a (dirty) result of unexpected, random mixtures between the rational, perceptual and emotional levels, such as only the city-form can combine' (Canevacci 1996: 18). During his field research in Sao Paulo, finding himself in a strange city, unable to withdraw cash and without any local contacts, Canevacci decided to enjoy his disorientation and 'get lost' in the city. From this experience, he drew the foundations for a particular methodology based on urban disorientation. He wrote, 'I am convinced that we can only develop a more or less precise research method on urban communication with one condition: that we want to get lost, enjoy being lost, accept having

become foreign, uprooted and isolated before we can rebuild a new metropolitan identity'
(Canevacci 1996: 18).

Andrew Irving, like Canevacci, considered one's initial perception of the city as an
invaluable moment for ethnographic research. In 'Journey to the End of the Night: Disillusion
and Derangement among the Sense' (2008) he describes how his arrival in New York was
'marked' by his previous time in Africa. 'Manhattan's long, straight avenues, full of vast
buildings and consumer goods, look strange, because my reality is formed in contrast to the
sights and sounds left behind in Uganda, rather than what is empirically present and
perceived' (Irving 2008: 134). Irving does not see the first impression of the field as a
preliminary phase in understanding the object of study; on the contrary, for him the initial
perception is a revealing viewpoint that can unveil what a habitual perception misses.

In line with the ideas of the Russian formalists, both Canevacci and Irving emphasise
how an excess of familiarity can render opaque what an uprooted, displaced viewpoint can
reveal. Both make a distinction between the researcher's unfamiliarised viewpoint (as that of
the traveller or the newcomer to a city) and the viewpoint of locals, emphasising how these
different viewpoints may generate different perceptions. On the one hand, Irving notes, there
is the habitual relationship of locals, who 'experience and negotiate the city's complexity
through familiar paths, movements, and practices. Rather than always being consciously
aware of their actions'. On the other hand, there are the new arrivals who 'must frequently
enter the self-conscious and reflective realm of the cogito to know how to act or where to go,
they potentially see, sense, and understand things that the local does not' (Irving 2008: 137).

The newcomer's unfamiliarised viewpoint is thus described as a 'state of grace', so to
speak, that (like Hermes) can reveal what appears opaque to a habituated viewpoint. Here, the
dichotomous distinction between the perception of the observer (newcomer) and that of a
local person evokes two separate realities that cannot permeate or influence each other. Yet,
as Gregory Bateson (1951) stated, the *process* of knowledge should be seen as a *relationship*
between the perceiving subject and the perceived subject. From this epistemological
perspective, all knowing processes (including ethnographic ones) should be seen as a
relationship between these two interdependent entities. The 'perceiver and perceived' are not
autonomous, separate agents; they are 'intrinsically connected' (Rapport 1997: 5). While it is
true that the habitual viewpoint of a local person can progressively influence that of the
newcomer (and make it habitual), the opposite process can take place whereby a foreigner's
viewpoint can sow seeds of de-familiarisation amongst locals. In the present discussion, I
suggest that the outsider's viewpoint of the ethnographer (and newcomers in general) can
generate an uprooting of the habitual perception and spark a process of de-familiarisation
among those involved in the ethnographic research.

On Method
After my arrival in the field, I realised how an unfamiliar viewpoint on the city could reveal
aspects that would otherwise be inaccessible. Thus, I asked how I could generate a de-
familiarised viewpoint on the city also through its inhabitants. My arrival in the city made me
understand how the fact of being a stranger could favour a particular kind of communication

in which a de-familiarised viewpoint on its places, buildings and streets could foster introspection and inner searching. This experience became a *conditio sine qua non* for building the research methodology through which I intended to pursue the following objectives:

a. Determine how I could investigate the memory of my interviewees by going through the city's places and inciting particular memories and feelings related to specific urban places, which could not be observed through traditional tools of study;

b. Explore how urban movement could generate a process of de-familiarisation with urban places among my interviewees and observe them in relation to personal experiences in contrast with their habitual viewpoints born of familiarity with these places;

c. Adopt a kind of 'distorted' representation of the city through the combination of written excerpts from the interviews and pictures of urban places in order to convey the process of 'making strange' places that were considered habitual and regular.

The method that I used has three separate phases:

1. Movement through city with the interviewees, going through places that they considered significant because they were related to a particular personal experience;

2. Taking photographs of the places we went to and recording comments and quotes from interviews;

3. Combining the pictures and texts from the interviews.

A primary source of inspiration for my methodology was the 'deambulation' method employed by the French surrealists. They undertook a journey without a purpose and without a destination, a literary wandering through the map of a mental territory. In surrealist terms, space is an active, living subject. It is an autonomous generator of affections and relationships. It is a living organism with its own character, a conversation partner that has shifts in mood and can be visited regularly to establish a dialogue. The surrealists' wandering through such a territory was guided by psychic automatism and spontaneous disorientation. By taking inspiration from their deambulation method in my study of urban phenomena, I intended to let my subjects explore like unknown areas the parts of the city that were familiar to them, and delve into the mazes of their memory and into the infinite dialogues of their inner worlds.

A second source of inspiration for my methodology was Andrew Irving's research in Kampala, London and New York on HIV-positive people (2004 and 2008). His methodology was based on urban movement and sought to explore the lives of the people he interviewed by relating their personal experiences to the urban places. The person is asked to walk around the city, recounting his or her thoughts and life. The fieldworker observes how the past emerges in the present, records the interviews, asks questions and takes pictures of the places that they visit. Thus s/he builds an urban pathway made of different places that have significance for the interviewee. The city is subdivided into psychic and emotional areas which the subject experiences through movement. The act of walking through the city spurs the interviewees to relive their past and explore it anew. Walking facilitates one's own lived experience through the reliving of the actual experience (*Erlebnis*), or allows one to have new experiences.

When I started my project I had not yet realised the potential of this method. It was only when I tried it out with my interviewees that I realised how it could generate a shift in the perception of the city. During the fieldwork I noticed how residential places, streets and clubs that were habitually acknowledged for their practical value started to be seen as places in which one's past could be explored. The city stopped being seen as a familiar place, as it was discovered as an unexplored domain in which resided memories, emotions and hopes that had been obscured by habitual perception.

Looking at the pictures that show places where significant events in their lives had taken place prompted my interviewees to explore the meaning that these places had had in their personal experience. Their habitual, automatic viewpoint was challenged through an exercise in which exploring certain urban places coincided with exploring memory. The places that they thought they knew became 'places full of hidden temporalities' that were not yet fully explored. Like Hermes, my interviewees revealed what the habitual viewpoint had obscured. The process of exploring the city ethnographically led them to making places become de-familiarised.

This method had a number of limitations, particularly the fact that it did not always lead informants to adopt a completely de-familiarised viewpoint on the city. Initially, I intended to use this method to lead my interviewees to observe urban places 'as if for the first time'. I thought it would be possible to avoid any influence from a habituated viewpoint. However, during the fieldwork I realized that it would not always be possible to make an absolute distinction between a habitual viewpoint and a de-familiarised one. It often happened that informants overlapped descriptions of places as if seen and perceived for the first time with their habitual attitude to the city. For example, a street could simultaneously be the place where a man realized that he had become homeless and the place where he goes every day to find sources of sustenance. I chose excerpts from interviews in which the interviewees described the places of the city, remembering the first time they saw these places, or the first time they attached a particular meaning to them. I decided not to include the parts in which they focused on their everyday relationship with these places. I wanted to emphasize the de-familiarising aspect of the ethnographic process.

In the pages that follow I will examine three cases. Louis, Xolewa and Kay are three residents of Cape Town with different sociocultural backgrounds and life experiences. Louis is a 37-year-old man of Afrikaans origin who became homeless after a chain of economic and family problems. He went to live on Long Street, one of Cape Town's oldest, best known streets frequented by many locals and tourists, particularly at night. For him, Long Street was both the place where he lived and the place where he found his means of subsistence. Xolewa is a 28-year-old girl of Xhosa origins from Eastern Cape who lives in Kayelitsha, one of the country's largest and most populous townships. In Kayelitsha, Xolewa found the place where she finally felt accepted after a number of family and social conflicts that made her feel like 'an outcast'. Kay is a 35-year-old coloured woman from a town in the Western Cape (Worcester). She came to Cape Town in search of a more cosmopolitan environment where the social and racial divisions inherited from the Apartheid period were less harsh than in her native town. I went with these informants to the places that they considered significant. I shall

report excerpts from the interviews conducted in places that they considered particularly familiar but that they saw from a fresh viewpoint as they became involved in my ethnographic study.

Image 3: Long Street - *This street is my mother*

Below is an excerpt from an interview I did with Louis in Cape Town in April 201. He said:

> 'When I got to Long Street, my first thought was of my mother. I knew that I had forever lost the only person who really cared about me. I knew no one would love me like she did. It was three in the afternoon and Long Street was deserted. The image of my mother mixed up with that of the street's pavement. As I walked I started to think about where I would sleep that night and how I would get money to eat. At one point I started to think that Long Street would be the one to take care of me, feed me and give me a place to sleep. Long Street would be my mother.'

In 2008, after losing his mother, Louis chose to leave his father's home for good and became homeless. As I have said, he lives on Long Street. I met him in a bar on Long Street while he was drinking a coffee at a table. When he found out that I was a foreigner he decided to buy me a drink. Only later did I find out that this was his tried-and-true way of approaching tourists. Louis told me that Long Street was full of black and coloured homeless people who were 'often poorly dressed or had a threatening attitude'. He said that being white could be a disadvantage for him because 'no foreigners believed that a white person could be homeless in South Africa' and because 'tourists think that whites are just the ones exploiting blacks'. This is why Louis decided to camouflage himself as a patron of the street's bars, trying to keep a presentable appearance and investing part of the little he had in 'hooking' tourists, buying them drinks to start a conversation and then ask them money or offer to be their impromptu guide for payment.

Over the years Louis learned to recognise the comings and goings of the street's regulars and discovered the tricks and secrets that helped him survive life on the street. He knew every building on Long Street and had been in almost all its nightclubs, and often knew

their owners, the staff and many of the regulars. Although it had only been five years since he had started living on Long Street, he was so habituated to Long Street's life that I found it hard to imagine his life elsewhere. He told me that before moving there he lived in a residential area not far from the city, where only whites lived. After the death of his mother he had a fight with his father and sister and ended up living on the street. I asked him to take part in an interview and he accepted.

We started on the lower part of the Long Street, where many tall buildings and skyscrapers are located, housing offices of local and international banks and firms. Walking to the intersection with Strand Street, Louis remembered the day he decided to leave his father's home and gathered his belongings in a small backpack and went to Long Street in search of shelter.

> 'When I got to Long Street that day, in my head I went over everything that had happened in the previous months. I saw the image of my father's face when he got the news of my mother's accident. Sh.t he got old in a few seconds, all at once. His face turned yellow and he was bent like a branch. I thought of the image of the accident when she died, though I hadn't seen it, just imagined it. I thought of the face she might have made when the car skidded and went off the road. I thought of myself and how I was before she died and how I was changing. I saw these buildings of the city and it seemed like something cruel was pushing me away. It seemed to me that my life had said to me: "No".'

Having walked through the street's lower part, Louis and I went to the hostel where he had stayed during the first days he spent in Cape Town. He said:

> 'When I saw that hostel I immediately understood that my life had changed. I saw the faces of the janitors who looked at me like, 'What the f..k are you doing here?' It was a place full of mainly Nigerian and Congolese immigrants and only a few desperate coloureds from the provinces. The janitor gave me the keys to my locker (which was broken into that very night) and sheets. Going up to the stairs I felt a rage that I'd never felt before. I felt my back muscles throbbing like I was getting ready to fight'.

As we left the hostel behind us and started walking down Long Street again, Louis told me that a long time later he understood that he would gradually stop thinking of his mother and family and try to adapt to his new situation 'keeping [his] eyes open' and 'looking at things as they really are.' He added:

> 'My mother loved me a lot and this made me happy, but at the same time all the love she gave me prevents me from adapting to the situation I am experiencing. I can't bring myself to steal, or to knife someone to take their money, or to be totally unscrupulous. The people with whom I live now feel no remorse at all in taking whatever action they feel necessary; they bear hate within them and this

enables them to survive in this environment. The more hate you have within you, the more lacking in manners and morals you are, the better you can adapt to this type of life. It is as if everything has been turned upside down: in normal white society if you are well-behaved, if you are loving, you win the prizes; where I am now, these are considered limitations. My background is a handicap and "they" are aware of it, they feel it, they smell it. From a certain point of view, my mother's love has destroyed me.'

After Long Street, Louis decided to take me to a place near the Garden district, a residential area close to the city centre. We went through the neighbourhood's streets and sat across from a palm tree. He told me that he used to come here frequently to go to the house where a childhood friend he still saw lived. Louis told me how these places were important for him because it was here that he had had a series of thoughts that let him better 'accept' his homeless situation. As we sat under the palm tree, he started to recall:

'Last year I ended up waiting here for my friend to come home so I could have a roof over my head. It was five o'clock and he was due to come back at six, an hour later. While I was waiting I got a text message telling me that he wouldn't be able to put me up that night. I was finished; I didn't have a single rand in my pocket and I didn't know where I was going to sleep. Just the thought of going back to Long Street made my flesh creep; under the tree I started to think about what I should do.

My only solution was to go back there, but just thinking about it made me shudder. I didn't want to feel the stench of those people; I didn't want to sleep with my arms round my rucksack, terrified of being knifed during the night. I started looking for a reason why I'd ended up in that situation; what harm had I done? I started to pray. I thought perhaps there was something somewhere that could help me if I start praying; I was tired and exhausted and I had given in to the situation and my fate.

I said, "If you are there, superior being, come and save me, I surrender myself to you." At a certain point I heard a text message arriving: it was my friend telling me he'd managed to get out of what he was doing and I could go to his house if I wanted. I had a feeling of infinite joy; it was an extremely pleasant feeling; it felt to me like a greater force, a higher power was looking after me. That day I understood that whatever happened to me, I would survive.'

Louis views this episode as the moment in which hope was born in him. Spending hours under the tree had led him to recognize and review his awareness of his own situation. Before this, he had devoted his energies to 'finding solutions for survival'. Now, he was questioning himself. This awareness plunged him into a state of 'desperation', but the arrival of the text message suddenly triggered a feeling of hope and a new faith in his destiny. Louis also said

that this was the first time he had told anyone about this episode. In this case, it was the interview process that reawakened his memories of that day.

Xolewa: Shack and Love

When I met Xolewa in May 2011 in an Internet café in the centre of Cape Town where she went to check her email, she was living in Khayelitsha, the largest township in Cape Town and the second largest in South Africa after Soweto. Originally, we know, from Eastern Cape, she had been living in Cape Town since she was 13-years-old, when she was entrusted to the care of her aunt. A few days after we met, Xolewa accepted to do an interview with me. She told me that, unlike many of the township's residents, Kayelitsha was not her first destination and that she came there after having lived in the centre of Cape Town.

Image 4: *While I made love and thought of his death, I discovered I was free* – Kayelitsha

Listening to her life story, I discovered that Xolewa's experience was marked by different forms of exclusion (social and family) and how she found in Kayelitsha the comfortable environment that she had long sought. She told me that it was because of her confrontational relationship with her mother and her partner that the decision was made to entrust her to her aunt. She said, 'When my mother met her new partner our relationship began to deteriorate. That man had two children with her and treated me differently because I wasn't his daughter; they made me feel like an outsider.' Xolewa recalls with distress how she started experiencing loneliness in her family: 'I lived with them, but sometimes it felt like I was invisible, like I didn't exist. All the attention was reserved for my little brothers and I was treated like a domestic servant or worse'. The young girl's feelings of deprivation and discomfort exploded in a confrontational relationship with her mother who decided to send her to her sister.

'The situation didn't change much with my aunt. She treated me like a maid who had to clean, iron, cook and didn't allow me to go out with other kids of my age'. However, in Cape Town, Xolewa began to learn what life was like for children of her age, particularly at school. Thus, she became aware of the existence of other worlds, different from her own circumstances, and when she came of age she decided to leave her aunt's house and to live on her own in Khayelitsha. The house where she move, she recalls, 'was just a shack, but it was all mine. No-one could tell me what to do'. For many of those who live there, Khayelitsha

symbolised their hope to change their lives, to find work in the city. For Xolewa it represented freedom.

I started my pathway with Xolewa in Senator Park; the place, that is, where she went to live when she first got to Cape Town. She told me how she often happened to pass this building and 'no longer took notice of it'. But on the day that I did the interview with her she started to recall her early days in the city. Until twenty years ago, Senator Park was a predominantly white, middle-class residential place, but it has gradually been taken over by immigrants, some of whom are involved in illegal activities such as drug dealing and prostitution. Today, Senator Park is seen as one of the most disreputable places in Cape Town. It has also been the location of serious crimes, such as the kidnappings or murders of people who had been lured into the building.

Image 5: Senator Park - A sense of powerlessness

Our interview took place in the street because it would not be safe for us to go inside the building. Standing across from Senator Park, Xolewa started to recall the time when she lived with her aunt. When she arrived in Cape Town, this building was going through a transitional stage. She said, 'It was beginning to be inhabited by migrants who lived crammed six to a room, but there were also still white residents living in comfort in their own flats.' Xolewa added that at this time whites were starting to gravitate towards other areas of the city, like Sea Point, Rondebosch and Claremont. She remarked:

'Every time the blacks arrive in a place, the whites start to take flight, it's what they've always done and they did it at Senator Park, too. I lived with my aunt in a small flat on the ninth floor. I remember how difficult it was living in close proximity to that woman. When I used to live in the Eastern Cape and the atmosphere got heavy at home, I could go out into the street. Here, in town, that wasn't possible. That woman wouldn't allow me to go out and kept me shut inside those four walls. Sometimes the house would be clean. Everything had been

washed and ironed, and I was having a nap when she would wake me up and make me keep working, even if there was no need. I remember on one occasion the clothes were folded and I unfolded them, then refolded them just so I would look busy and wouldn't have to put up with that woman's screaming. For me this building has a curse on it; it reminds me of how lonely I felt and the sense of powerlessness I experienced within its walls. My mother never phoned me and sometimes I tried to get in touch with her but she never answered. That man had taken her away from me and I hated him for all I was worth'.

During the interview, Xolewa described how, at that time, she often remembered the wrongs that her mother and especially her stepfather had done her and she described the sense of liberation she felt when she left Senator Park. A few days later, I decided to go with Xolewa to Khayelitsha to visit the house where she moved when she decided to live on her own. Here, she connected her inner distress at Senator Park with a specific event that she saw as retribution; the day, that is, when she got a call informing her of the death of her stepfather. Xolewa's shack was very small, just like the majority of the shanties in Khayelitsha. Inside there was only a bed, a small camping stove and a cupboard made of salvaged materials. When inside, Xolewa stretched out on the bed and, looking at the ceiling, recalled an episode that had happened many years before:

> 'I know it's horrible to say this, but one of my fondest memories is of a telephone call to tell me that my stepfather had died. I was in my boyfriend's shack and we were still sleeping. The phone was ringing, but I didn't answer the first time; the second time I answered and I was still half-asleep. I heard my mother's voice, she was crying and I was worried. She told me that man had been shot dead in Pretoria. It was as if she was looking to me to comfort her and this made me feel uncomfortable. She'd abandoned me for that man and his daughter and now he'd been killed; she was asking me to console her. Perhaps she was hoping I would feel grief, but I felt I had been set free. When I was little, I hoped he would die so I could become close to my mother again, but now I was with my boyfriend, I didn't need her anymore. I had a man and she didn't have one anymore. When I hung up my boyfriend asked me what had happened; I didn't tell him anything and we made love. I was happy and I felt free.'

Kay's farewell
Born in Worcester, a town in the Western Cape province, Kay was 23-years-old when she decided to leave her birthplace and go to live in Cape Town, where she would finally be able to forget life in the provinces. In Cape Town she discovered a place rich in opportunity and, most important, a place where she could build her own personal identity regardless of her racial background and political affiliation.

Image 6: *Forget* – Going into Cape Town

In South Africa, the 1980s were marked by violent confrontations between opposing groups. Because Kay's family was involved in the political conflict, their house was searched and they were under constant police surveillance. After the collapse of Apartheid, all Kay wanted was to forget that time and start a new life. She told me that in 1994 she got a job in a hotel in Worcester that had an exclusively white clientele, and that she was the first coloured girl to have been taken on there. Her experience at the restaurant did not turn out well. Kay understood that, despite the changes in policy and laws that allowed her to work side by side with whites, her town was not ready to accept these changes. Tired of the atmosphere in Worcester, she decided to leave the small town for good and go and live in Cape Town.

It was only in 2011, years after I first met her, that I decided to interview Kay. I started my pathway with her on Strand Street, opposite the office building of the company that had hired her when she arrived in the city. As we walked to the front of the building, she told me about the first day she had set foot in the company office:

 'I remember when I was in the elevator, shaking. I had to have my interview and I didn't know how I'd be seen. I thought I would have to show that I was smart even though I was coloured. The elevator went up quickly, but it felt like hours to me. When I finally got to the last floor and the doors opened I saw a blond woman who smiled at me, and I said to myself, "They'll take me. I'm sure of it."'

Kay told me how after having found a job in the city, a 'wonderful' period started when she felt free of the bad memories connected to her hometown. She was proud of herself, she said, for having been able to leave her town and make a decision 'without thinking too much'. After Strand Street, we decided to go to the tattoo shop where during her first weeks in the city she had decided to get a tattoo. Standing in front of the shop she started to recollect:

'I'd decided to get a tattoo and I felt the Nike slogan was the best choice. Things were going well in my life at the time, I used to go out with my group of friends and everything was becoming easier. The Nike slogan then was 'Just do it'. I felt like that slogan had been written for me. One afternoon I was walking past here, and without a second thought, I went in and had my tattoo done. While the tattoo

artist was drawing on my body I felt a sense of completeness and it seemed to me like I finally understood how I should act in the world without ever making a mistake'.

A few days after this interview outside the tattoo shop, Kay suggested that I go with her to Worcester to visit her family and the places of her childhood. After spending the entire day in the town, we went to an intersection where she had gotten a ride to go permanently to Cape Town. Although she had been to this place many times, during the interview she started to recall the day when she left her town for good:

'I wanted to forget everything', she said, 'the problems with my family, the provincialism of my town, even the fact that people knew me. One day I was speaking to a girlfriend who had moved to Cape Town and had come to Worcester to see her family. She told me that she felt free, that her life had changed completely and she was happy. I didn't think about it a minute longer. I decided to leave and a week later I was in the city. I believe that if I'd started to think it over, if I'd considered all the risks, if I'd talked it over with my family, I'd still be in Worcester with three kids, a huge belly and a coloured husband who expects his dinner to be waiting for him. But it didn't turn out like that because I took action immediately. A few hours later I was in the street looking for a ride to Cape Town. I knew that my fate would change forever. '

Conclusion

The theory of *Ostranenie* is also called an 'economics of perception', where the cost of perception lies in the difficulty of engaging in de-familiarisation, creating a textual plane for readers bound by the space of meaning and by the time needed to recognise the 'deformed/de-familiarised object in its poetic description' (Crawford 2008: 4). We have seen that Victor Shklovsky explained how an aspect of the process of de-familiarisation has to do with the process of 'distortion' and making the habitual 'strange'. According to him, the de-familiarised view leads to a distortion of habitual reality and the adoption of a poetic language. He gave literary examples of writers, such as Leo Tolstoy, who present objects in novels as if they had never been seen before. He wrote, 'In describing something he avoids the accepted names of its parts and instead names corresponding parts of other objects. For example, in "Shame!" (1895), Tolstoy "de-familiarises" the idea of flogging in this way: "to strip people who have broken the law, to hurl them to the floor, and to rap on their bottoms with switches", and, after a few lines, "to lash about on the naked buttocks."' (Shklovsky 1965 [1917]: 13). Tolstoy avoids defining concepts and places with their names; instead he distorts them through metaphors and other definitions. And yet it is precisely the semantic shift (*sdvig*) typical of poetic language and its distortion that, according to Shklovsky, ensures the perception of the object.

During my research, I discovered how for my interviewees the process of de-familiarisation of the city meant avoiding calling with their original name the places that we

walked through. Instead, they described these places through metaphors and other kinds of words. We have seen how Louis compared Long Street to his mother and how Xolewa called the roof of her house 'the place I was looking at while I was making love and thinking about his (my stepfather's) death, and I discovered I was free'. When Kay passed by the intersection of the highway connecting Worcester and Cape Town, she identified it as the place where she 'would start to forget' and where she went 'after having made a sudden decision'.

In order to convey the process of de-familiarisation elicited by ethnographic research, I chose to represent my work by associating excerpts from the interviews with pictures of the urban pathways. Thus I produced a number of representations in which visual texts, written texts and their interaction create a hybrid, multi-dimensional form of communication. Ephrat Huss (2012) has argued that in visual anthropology there is a 'conflicted relationship' between visual and verbal ways of understanding. He has noted that for many authors images are 'a discrete (compositional) language that does not need explanatory words', and 'that images are a more authentic or universal form of expression than words' (McNiff cited in Huss 2012: 1441), while others have emphasised how the use of art to illustrate words 'is a reduction of their inherent characteristic' (Mason cited in Huss 2012: 1441). My contention is a form of ethnographic representation in which written text and visual materials are intended not as illustrations of each other but as essential, complementary parts of one expressive, interpretive flow.

On this point, important sources of inspiration include works by artists such as Jim Goldberg, W. G. Sebald and Hamish Fulton. In his *Rich and Poor* (1985) and *Raised by Wolves* (1995), Goldberg pairs portraits of individuals and groups with their handwritten impressions. John Collier has noted how Goldberg's work can be seen as a form of a photographic interview in which the interviewees question themselves in relation to the images rather than engage in a dialogue with the researcher. In this sense, the visual and textual are anchored to the meaning that the subjects give to the images and their experiences. Sebald also used a particular combination of texts and images in his work, describing himself a bricoleur. His work is marked by the juxtaposition and overlapping of images and writings from different sources. In some cases, he produced the texts and images himself; in other cases, he borrowed from other artists and just composed the two languages. In this juxtaposition of images, the two communicative forms borrow fragments of communication from each other. Mark Anderson (2008) noted how Sebald's written texts aspired to take on a visual form, while his photographs were intended as a form of writing. As Sebald noted, the use of photography in his work was not intended for illustrative purposes but as a source of inspiration for his writings. For him, when writing, you see ways of departing from the images or entering into them to tell your story, to use them instead of a textual passage (Sebald in Scholz 2007).

My combined use of written and visual materials is aimed to express the process of de-familiarisation that shapes the discovery of the city through participation in an ethnographic study. We have seen how, during the interviews, my informants rarely called the places with their original name; they referred, instead, to 'other' situations that were distant in time and space. Louis Crawford (2008) has noted how, in the process of de-familiarisation, the

semantic shift from representation and from the represented object should be read as a mediation of time and space. On the one hand, de-familiarisation involves an extrapolation of the temporal context in which the object was originally set; he remarks, 'Since an artistic device like de-familiarisation is a restoration of difference to an object which has lost it in the course of a life' (Crawford 2008: 9). On the other hand, each representation can be understood only in so far as it is spatially outside the text to which it refers; according to him, 'The text and its signs remain spatially secondary, since while they are metaphorically aligned on a spatial grid of meaning (a semantic chessboard) in which the semantic de-familiarisation is effected by displacements into different contiguities, the perception thus engendered is not of the signs and the text but of objects elsewhere.' (Crawford 2008: 12).

In my work, I have tried to create a semantic de-familiarisation. I realized that combining the pictures taken during the fieldwork with excerpts from the interviews resulted in 'distorting' the city, in 'making it strange'. Louis viewed Long Street through the memory of his mother's death, which occurred a few months before he came to the street as a homeless man, several years before the interview. Similarly, Xolewa cast the roof of her house in the light of an event that happened in Pretoria, of a lonely time that she experienced many years earlier in the Eastern Cape and of her living in Senator Park in Cape Town. Through the memory of places, as seen for the first time or when a particular meaning was first given to them, the interviewees progressively distanced themselves from their habitual perception and expressed this through new descriptions. Distorting the city's language in this sense became an expression of their de-familiarisation.

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When Network doesn't Work:
Strangers' Encounters and Awkwardness in Urban China[1]

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This article focuses on methodology drawing on reflections on personal research experience in urban China. The main question is how to interpret and understand problems of tension and awkwardness between outsiders and insiders when researchers encounter insiders *as strangers* in cities. The city as a dynamic environment and a social institution of heterogeneous individuals has transformed the intimacy of relationships typically found in rural settings into segregated impersonal acquaintanceships. The classic problem of 'insider and outsider' is usually associated to western researchers in non-western societies. This problem now extends to complex urban settings where most individuals — including the researcher and the insiders — become strangers. I argue that, in the urban context, massive migration flows, ethnic diversity and the presence of various religious denominations are leading to a 'super diversity' of human interaction. Therefore, the original characteristics of the urban 'local' are weakened and differences are strengthened. I shall draw on first-hand experience of failed attempts to mobilize transnational networks for fieldwork purposes in order to explore how the production of new knowledge is initiated with hope and aspiration. I conclude that researchers should value the random and coincidental moments when they encounter strangers in the field.
Keywords: Stranger, insider, outsider, network, awkwardness.

> We live as we dream — alone.
> (Conrad, Heart of Darkness, 2005: 31)
>
> We are all strangers in a strange land, longing for home but not quite knowing what or where home is. We glimpse it sometimes in our dreams or as we turn a corner, and suddenly there is a strange, sweet familiarity that vanishes almost as soon as it comes.
> (L'Engle, The Rock that is Higher: Story as Truth, 2002 [1993]: 17)

Introduction

According to Steinmüller (2011a), in classical anthropological works, the tension and awkwardness between insiders and outsiders originate from the inherent dichotomy between the two. Here 'awkwardness' is to be understood as a sense of inappropriateness and frustration: the feeling of unfamiliarity that researchers experience when entering the field. As Steinmüller (2011a: 222) points out, 'spying into other people's houses might be somewhat problematic and ethically questionable'. Understanding this problem will help to improve dramatically our research in new urban settings. As Krase argues (2012: 1), 'What we see makes a difference in how we respond to the places and the people we find in our increasingly complex and changing urban surroundings.'

Malinowski addressed the same problem in his reflections on the relationship between anthropologists and their object of study in ethnographic fieldwork (Malinowski 1922). On

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the basis of his extensive experience living in New Guinea from 1914 to 1918, Malinowski suggested that in order to grasp the insiders' point of view, 'his [sic] relations to life, to realize his [sic] vision of his [sic] world' (Malinowski 1922: 290) anthropologists should go 'inside' the community; that is, in order to enhance their understanding of native peoples and their cultures, ethnographers who do fieldwork in a foreign milieu should emphasize their role as 'participants' rather than mere 'observers'.

This is also reflected in Max Weber's writing on a value-free social research, which addresses how outsiders should attempt to understand the perspectives of insiders. Weber claims that outsiders cannot have the necessary sensibilities for an empathic understanding because, as outsiders, ethnographers are not initiated in the cultural values of the people they study; thus, outsiders may only provide subjective interpretations of the meaning, motivation and rationality of those cultural values (Weber 1922). Objective knowledge relies on the degree in which researchers can detach themselves from the prejudices they might have on the social groups they study (Simmel 1950). In other words, the competent researcher should create a balance between the 'proportion of nearness and remoteness' (Simmel 1950: 404) in order to gain access to credible information and data.

Many scholars have joined this classical debate, describing how anthropologists as outsiders live through ambiguities and contradictions, being torn between two different worlds (Merton 1972, Ohnuki-Tierney 1984, Young 1992). For instance, Young argues:

'Anthropologists are two-faced and two tongued; and we too look in two directions at once — at the culture under observation and at the culture that bred us as observers. We have to be duplicitous yet friendly, agreeable if not liked…..Although we are uneasily aware that they too might be engaging in duplicity, we have all relished those gratifying moments when our hosts grant us the accolade of a kinship designation'.(Young 1992: 194).

The basic assumption in this insider vs outsider debate rests on the exact boundaries and contrasts between the two. As Griffith points out, the insider is 'someone whose biography (gender, race, class, sexual orientation and so on) gives her [sic] a lived familiarity with the group being researched', while the outsider is 'a researcher who does not have any intimate knowledge of the group being researched, prior to entry into the group' (Griffith 1998: 361).

Recently, however, there has been a shift in the conceptualization of categories of insider and outsider. Scholars and theorists such as Minh-Ha (1989), Harding (1987) and Rosaldo (1989) have challenged the essential nature of the researcher/subject dichotomy, allowing us, instead, to 'walk the hyphens of the Self and Other' (Fine 1992: 74) by critically analysing the reflexive relationship between 'us' and 'other'.

In this article, I draw on my research experience on migration and religiosity from 2010 to 2014 to discuss how to deal with problems of tension and awkwardness when researchers (outsiders) encounter insiders as strangers, especially in the context of rapid mobility in urban settings in China. Facing the reality of super diversity and temporary elements in the urban space, the question remains of how researchers are going to map this space, especially in

mega cities. If we are all strangers, how can we deal with these issues? What is the state of the insider/outsider dichotomy? It has been argued that the dynamics of the urban condition are blurring the identities of 'us' and the 'other' and the difference between 'acquaintances' and 'strangers'. In dealing with the dilemmas and the diffiulties generated by this new situation, researchers may find a solution by respecting the blurring identities and cherishing the random encounter as a moment that generates new knowledge. Before relating my research experiences to this theme, I shall outline the high degree of mobility in urban settings that runs parallel to China's extraordinary economic growth.

City of Mobility and Diversity
Urban settings are important fields for anthropologists, as cities are important sites of human diversity and interaction (Pardo and Prato 2012: 5). Yet, the issue of conducting anthropological fieldwork in cities has been object of debate because anthropological expertise was often associated to 'traditional aspects of the rural social structures' (Parry 2012: 29; Pardo and Prato 2012), whereas urban social relations are characteristically 'segmental' (Parry 2012: 39).

Along with extraordinary economic growth, China has experienced more than two decades of rapid urbanization.[2] The level of urbanization has gradually increased from 18 percent in 1978 to 21 percent in 1982, 40 percent in 2003, 43 percent in 2005 and 49.68 percent in 2010; it is expected to exceed 60 percent by 2020 (Duan 2003, State Council 2014). Migration from the countryside to the city has been the main drive of urban growth. Rural-urban migration is also playing an increasingly important role in shaping the economic and demographic landscape of Chinese cities.

China's economic growth has been accompanied by massive migration flows which have resulted in the huge increase of urban inhabitants. According to the National Bureau of Statistics of China (NBS 2014), in 2013 there were 289 million internal migrants,[3] which accounted for approximately 20 percent of China's population (1.37 billion). In Shanghai alone the population increased to 23 million, of which 9 million are 'internal migrants' (Shanghai Bureau of Statistics 2011). According to the 2005 National 1 Percent Sampling Data and the 2010 Census, migrants in Shanghai account for around 39 percent of the whole municipal population.

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[2] Urbanization is intended here as the physical growth of urban areas, primarily as a result of modernization and global change. The word urbanization can represent the ratio of urban dwellers relative to the overall population, or it can represent the rate at which the proportion of urban areas increases. Urbanization may indicate a change in the employment structure from agriculture and cottage industries to mass production and service industries.

[3] According to the National Bureau of Statistics of China, in the Chinese context, 'migrants' are defined as people who live for more than six months a year in a location (for example, a city) other than the place where their permanent residence (*hukou*) is registered. The *hukou* system is a household registration that functions like a domestic passport system to regulate the migration of people between locations, especially from rural to urban and from small cities to big cities.

External migrants (transnational migrants) are also highly represented in Shanghai. In 2010, the 'transnational migrants' residing in China amounted to 1 million (0.59 million of which are foreigners). [4] In Shanghai alone there are 0.2 million transnational migrants, accounting for 20.45 percent of all transnational migrants in China (NBS 2011b). By categorizing the national origins of all transnational migrants, it emerges that 0.12 million (20 percent) are from Korea, 0.07 million (12 percent) from the USA, 0.066 million (11 percent) from Japan, 7 percent from Burma and 6 percent from Vietnam. Shanghai boasts 0.14 million foreigners and 0.06 million migrants from Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan; 27.3 percent of the transnational migrants came to Shanghai in search of jobs and 22.8 percent for business cooperation. The average time actually spent living in Shanghai is 20 months. If 'residence' is defined as 'living in Shanghai for more than 6 months'(see n. 3), then 85.2 percent of foreigners and 89.2 percent of Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan trans-regional migrants are to be considered 'residents' (Shanghai Bureau of Statistic 2011).

The most interesting aspect is that Shanghai's 'transnational migrants' originate from 214 countries and regions (Shanghai Statistic Bureau 2011); this situation could be defined as one of 'super-diversity' in the sense described by Steve Vertovec (2007 and 2011). Vertovec developed this concept in his analysis of foreigners living in Frankfurt; he estimated that 40 percent of the city's inhabitants (around 700.000 within a metropolitan area of more than 5 million people) had a 'foreign-born' background and that they belong to 170 nationalities (see also, van der Veer 2012).

In urban China, 'super-diversity' is present not only in the form of internal and transnational migrants but also in the huge diversity of ethnicities. In the first decade of the 2000s the number of minorities living in Shanghai increased by 165.9 percent, from 0.10 million in 2000 to 0.28 million in 2010. The proportion of ethnic minorities in the total population of Shanghai increased from 0.5 percent in 1990 to 1.2 percent in 2010. Shanghai's population now includes all 55 Chinese minorities, whereas in 1990 there were only 44 minorities (Shanghai Bureau of Statistic 2011).

According to the 'one percent sampling' carried out in 2005, the largest ethnic group, the Han, constitutes about 91.9 percent of China's total population. The next largest ethnic groups include: the Zhuang (18 million), the Uyghur (11.3 million), the Manchu (10.7 million), the Hui (10 million), the Miao (9 million), the Tujia (8 million), the Yi (7.7 million), the Mongols (5.8 million), the Tibetans (5.4 million), the Yao (3.1 million), the Buyei (3 million) and the Koreans (2.5 million). Minority populations have grown faster than that of the majority Han. The percentage of minorities increased from 8.04 in 1990 to 8.49 in 2010; in contrast, the Han have decreased from 91.96 in 1990 to 91.51 in 2010 (NBS 2006, NBS 2011a).

However, in Shanghai the Hui constitute the largest ethnic minority group, with a presence of 28.3 percent residents, followed by the Tu (12.2 percent), the Miao (11.4 percent), the Manchu (9.1 percent) and Koreans (8.1 percent). Each of these groups includes more than

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[4] The census of 2010 recorded 'transnational migrants' from Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan and several foreign countries who had lived or were planning to live in mainland China for more than 3 months.

20,000 individuals. Within the ethnic minority groups, 64.4 percent do not hold a local *hukou*. In Shanghai, the groups without a local *hukou* amount to more than 39 percent of the entire population. Holding a local *hukou* is most important for migrants because without it they face significant difficulties in accessing local welfare and the education system (Shanghai Bureau of Statistic 2011).

Apart from the ethnic status, a variety of religious denominations has also dramatically contributed to urban diversity. According to the 2007 World Values Survey, which reported on the religious situation in China,[5] around 89 percent of the population does not belong to a specific denomination; those who declared a religious affiliation include Christians (4.4 percent), Buddhists (3.6 percent), Muslims (2.4 percent) and Taoists (0.5 percent). The survey also suggests that there were approximately 58.14 million Protestants in China.[6] In Shanghai, there are around 0.82 million Christians, 0.67 million Buddhists, 0.45 million Muslims and 0.09 million Taoists (deducted from the national ratio). Christianity is the fastest growing religion in China. In 2010, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences announced that there were 23 million Christians in China. However, international scholars argue that this number appears to be much larger if Protestants 'in house churches' are taken into consideration.[7]

In this complex background, locals are absent in the urban context; most urban dwellers are 'strangers' in China's mega cities. Insiders, too, could be defined as strangers because of the huge variety and diversity of ethnicity, migration background, religious denominations, gender and occupational and social status. However, despite this complexity, the researcher, as a 'stranger' who goes into a foreign field, remains *the* outsider who will have to face several awkward moments.

When Network Fails: The Awkwardness of the 'Outsider'
In addressing the stranger's dilemma, we should consider that, on the one hand, this dilemma strengthens the insider/outsider dichotomy; on the other hand, however, we cannot ignore that 'individuals have not a single status, but a status set' (Merton 1972: 22) and that identities are 'always relative, cross cut by other differences and often situational and contingent' (DeVault 1996: 35). In other words, according to Merton, we cannot permanently locate individuals according to a single social status. Rather, there are a set of social statuses that individuals can occupy; for example, one can hold an insider status at a specific moment in time and an outsider status at another. From this sociological perspective, '"one" is not a man or a black or an adolescent or a protestant, or self-defined. Sociologically, "one" is, of course, all of these and, depending on the size of the status set, "much more."' (Merton 1972: 24).

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[5] For further details on the World Values Survey, see: http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs.jsp

[6] This calculation is based on the national population of 1.32 billion recorded that year (National Bureau of Statistics of China 2008)

[7] In China, 'House Churches' are unregistered assemblies of Christians, also known as the 'Underground' Church or the 'Unofficial' Church in the People's Republic of China, which operate independently of the government-run churches. They are not officially registered organizations, therefore they cannot independently own property, and hence they meet in private houses (see, for example, Aikman 2006)

Let me now focus on my own experience. I am from the biggest Hakka district in Canton,[8] mainland China, and Hakka, Cantonese and Chinese are my first (three) Chinese 'languages'.[9] Before and during a relatively long-term period of study in Germany, the USA and the UK, I had had working experience in over ten Chinese provinces (including autonomous municipalities).[10] Thus, when I began my fieldwork, urban settings such as Shanghai were not a strange to me. However, as I shall explain later, mainly due to religious boundaries, I was seen as a non-native and had many awkward moments when I entered the field.

I grew up in non-religious communities and families; my religious experiences were limited to the local Hakka customs, which we celebrated during the most significant festivals. In 2010, seven-month stay in Boston was in some respects the beginning of my knowledge about Christianity. I was introduced to the Chinese[11] Protestant Church by an old friend, Xiao Li, whom I had known since 1998. She converted to Christianity after staying in the USA for three years; however, she did not reveal her Christian identity when she stayed in mainland China. Almost two or three times a week I went to my friend's church and participated in the worship and in the fellowship and festival celebrations. Through my church attendance, I quickly came to know a large amount of people and, soon, my everyday life more or less revolved around this network. Apart from their 'Christian' identities, what made this community attractive to me were a range of (Chinese) activities — such as their leisure and academic activities — that were quite familiar to me, which drove me to getting involved.

In the beginning, I became involved mainly out of curiosity and for fear of being alone. Later, however, I felt that this involvement was becoming an interesting process. I engaged in studying the Bible very seriously and after some time I became a beginner who asked relevant questions. The peers in the church liked me and I was encouraged to engage in all their activities. I almost declared a commitment to Jesus (Jue Zhi)[12] after having heard a very

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[8] The Hakka (*Kèjiā*), sometimes Hakka Han, are Han Chinese who speak the Hakka language and have links to the provincial areas of Guangdong, Jiangxi, Guangxi, Sichuan, Hunan and Fujian in China. The Chinese characters for Hakka literally mean 'guest families'. The Hakka's ancestors were often said to have arrived from what is today's central China centuries ago. In a series of migrations, the Hakkas moved from central China and settled in their present locations in southern China; they have also often migrated overseas to various countries throughout the world. The worldwide population of Hakkas is about 80 million, though the number of Hakka-language speakers is fewer (*Encyclopædia Britannica Online*; available at: http://www.britannica.com. Accessed 7 April 2015).

[9] Hakka and Cantonese are defined as 'languages' under the United Nation and World Bank recruitment requirements. In China, however, they are defined as 'dialects'.

[10] In the Chinese structure of governance, autonomous municipalities such as Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin and Chongqing are at the same level as provinces.

[11] Here, I use Chinese in its general meaning of 'Huaren'; this term applies to people of Chinese ethnicity or descent, irrespective of language, politics or geography, and includes all overseas Chinese, Taiwanese and Mainland Chinese.

[12] Commitment is a process, during which one must acknowledge that one is a sinner and is ready to commit oneself to Jesus. This process is not as formal as that involved in being baptized, but it is an equally important initial step in claiming to be a Christian.

touching speech delivered by a famous priest. My fellow friends and acquaintances in the church also tried to persuade me to 'declare a commitment', but I felt that I was not yet ready to do so.

I had very difficult moments when I started to become more involved in Christianity. Unclear boundaries between me and the real Christians existed everywhere. I was cautious about what I said and did because I did not want to annoy them. When I was in Shanghai, these boundaries seemed to be even broader and stricter.

I identified myself as a 'seeker', even though I had not yet achieved a recognised status of 'believer' or 'follower'. This identity was constructed in Boston and later conveyed to Shanghai through another network. In 2007 I met another Christian through Xiao Li; her name is Xiao Qu and, at the time, she was doing research in Shanghai and trying to finish her PhD in the USA. When I began my research in 2011 on migration and religiosity, I tried to establish a contact with a 'house church' with her help. By then, she had already finished her PhD, was doing research on a house church in Shanghai and was affiliated to a local university. I imagined it should for her to help me but, surprisingly, she refused to introduce me to the house church. Then, one evening, Xiao Qu sent me a message in which she apologized and 'pointed out' that the situation in China was not as easy as in foreign countries. She said that if nobody would take me to the house church I was not allowed to show up and, because she was not in Shanghai at the time, she was unable to contact people who could take me there.

Although I could not immediately grasp the real meaning of Xiao Qu's words, it was clear that, having realized that she represented an important 'gate keeper' for me, she was refusing to offer me access to the house church. At that moment, it seemed that none of my identities as a 'seeker', a 'researcher', and even as a 'long-distance friend' were relevant. I was simply an 'outsider' and she was an 'insider' as she was already a Christian and an accepted researcher in the house church. Thus, I had to accept that I was a stranger in Shanghai, a non-native and non-believer, and a migrant. It is precisely this kind of 'awkward' situation that I am going to address here.

On the one hand, this awkwardness stems from the gap between 'outsider' and 'insider'. Frequently, anthropologists tap into things that are at least potentially embarrassing to outsiders; for instance, the strange old customs of peasants who were perceived as being 'behind the times', or the ironies of the insiders which the outsiders are unable to understand (Steinmüller 2010, 2011a: 230 and 2011b). My awkwardness stemmed from my ignorance of the religious space which interacted with this broken social connection — a broken link with which I was trying to come to terms. As Steinmüller (2011a: 227) pointed out, 'Such gestures of embarrassment, irony and cynicism point towards a space of intimate local self-knowledge'.

On the other hand, this awkwardness originated also from the typical characteristics of religious space in China. Generally, religions in China are still struggling between the state and public space. Furthermore, different religions have different social and political spaces: Buddhism and Daoism are mostly safe, due to their historical connection with ancient China, but Islam, Catholicism and Protestant House Churches still bear a mark of foreignness. Some

scholars argue that Protestants have better connections to some local governments and therefore they are 'allowed' more space, even in mega-cities like in Beijing and Shanghai. As Weller and Sum note, 'Protestants have been active in the grey zone….for example, missionize among rural migrants to cities — a group that temple religion is not well placed to serve and that Buddhism has been too cautious to approach' (2010: 47).

Protestant house churches are also seeking a place in the 'grey zone'. As Weller and Sun have noted, 'These urban house churches, especially those in Beijing, have attracted well-educated professionals, college and graduate students, writers and artists' (2010: 43). Nevertheless, their public space is still under state supervision and intervention. As Berling has argued, the government controls the religious activities through *Patronage*: 'The Chinese imperial government always reserved to itself the legal power to define "orthodox" and lawful religious thought and practice; the People's Republic continues that practice, although they have a legally defined principle of "religious freedom"' (2011: 7). Weller (2011) also agrees on this point and claims that 'sometimes' it is the 'ambiguity in religion policies' that creates quasi-visible spaces.

This quasi-visible space of religiosity in urban China helps to explain my awkwardness. A little time after Xiao Qu's refusal to introduce me to her house church in Shanghai, I found out that she was working with another famous American scholar who was doing research on Chinese religion and offered several young Chinese scholars the opportunity to participate in sub-projects. Xiao Qu was one of them and she was working on the house church in Shanghai. This might be a major reason why she did not want another scholar to gain access to the same sites and do research in a similar field of study as hers.

While still pondering on Xiao Qu's refusal, I remembered that I knew another Christian, Xiao Ma, whom I met on Facebook as an acquaintance of Xiao Qu. It turned out that we had a much stronger connection than I initially thought, due to our shared experience of living in Europe and dealing with unfamiliar cultures. However, compared to Xiao Qu, Xiao Ma was a stranger to me, for we had met only once. Nonetheless, when I turned to him for help, he said to me: 'Yes, I am not in Shanghai, but I could introduce you to other friends and they can take you there tomorrow.' Xiao Ma kept his promise and, on the following day, some of his friends introduced me to a house church on NJ Road in Shanghai. At the time, I did not fully realize that the shared experience, identity and status as students overseas were helping me to achieve the goal of entering into house churches.

I had deep feelings of awkwardness because I had too many diverse experiences in constructing my network in the field. Initially, I had a pre-conception of inevitable success, but this kind of arrogance embarrassed me when entering the field. Then , the failure of the network on which I had initially counted became the beginning of an important reflection. As I mentioned earlier with reference to Simmel's work (Simmel 1950), the reflection of knowledge and objectivity stem from the position of strangers who can travel between distance and nearness. My transnational network did not work when indeterminacy, uncertainty and disappointment occurred. However, at these moments of failure the production of new knowledge started, with hope (Miyazak 2004) and aspiration.

'Why They don't Really Talk to Us?': Strangers' Encounters

George Simmel's (1971) socio-psychological concept of the 'stranger' links to the role and experience of new migrants to the city. The 'stranger' is similar to Robert Park's 'marginals', a word used to describe a trait he believed to be embedded in the migrants' social structure (see, for example, Gottdiener 1994). More generally, Simmel (1971) believed marginal personalities to be manifestations of cultural hybridity — of living on the margins of two cultures without being a full members of either. Here, I use these concepts to refer to and explore my experience of going into the field with my own interpretation and identity.

One early morning in August 2011, I arrived at the house church in NJ Road with two friends of Xiao Ma: Xiao Wen and Xiao Wu, both of whom had been student migrants who had settled in Shanghai after completing their university education there. I was surprised to see that the house church was located in one of Shanghai's busiest business districts. The fellowship took place in a sport club on the ninth floor of the highest building. The location was quasi-visible for, although the name of the building could not be read anywhere, the general location could be easily known due to the proximity of a nearby shopping mall.

I looked around at the participants in the group and found that most looked quite young and enthusiastic. Xiao Wu told me that the majority were students or new 'white collar' workers. After the morning session singing songs, reading the bible and listening to a priest's speech, it was announced that one sister from the group was going to have a wedding party in the afternoon. This woman was closely affiliated to this house church and was going to marry a man from another house church. All participants from this group were invited to the wedding party in the afternoon.

Unfortunately, I did not know how to go to the wedding. Xiao Wen and Xiao Wu could not accompany me because they had to sing for the wedding and needed to practice. I was embarrassed and felt that I should abandon the idea of attending the wedding when two girls behind me asked the priest directions to the wedding venue and then discussed how to go there by public transport. I guessed that they, too, were alone, as all the other people had already left; so, I asked whether I could join them. They were initially sceptical, but finally agreed to take me along. This marked my first meeting with the Chen sisters, Chen Jie (36-years-old) and Chen Mei (34-years-old).

During the entire morning session, I worked very hard to concentrate on the bible study and to follow people's speeches. Nevertheless, I continued to feel awkard in that context, because I felt like a total stranger. The bible study was a bit similar to the experience I had in Boston but here, in Shanghai, the attendants were even more serious, particularly in their cautiousness and attention during the learning session. It was clear that religious boundaries were still present for me, even though this was, apparently, a multicultural context (Prato 2009).

The case of the Chen sisters provided another interesting and fresh perspective on the whole situation. They told me that they were from a rural area in the Anhui province and came to Shanghai with their aunt, who had business in the stamp-card-coin market in Shanghai. This aunt was also engaged in some Christian activities, such as participating in International Christian Conferences in Switzerland, and hired the Chen sisters to help her with

her work load, as she was often engaged with other tasks. According to China's migrants classification, the Chen sisters could be defined as 'non-*hukou* migrants' (*liudong renkou*) or 'migrant workers' (*nongmin gong*),[13] because they had migrated to Shanghai three years earlier but had only worked temporarily in the city (that is, in the stamp-card-coin market). The purpose of the stamp-card-coin market is speculation, which entails a large degree of temporality and risk. So, the Chen sisters did not work in the market permanently. Because of this situation, they left their *hukou* registration[14] at their village of origin in the Anhui province and planned to go home whenever their involvement in the stamp-card-coin business slowed down or did not work well.

Having carried out research on migration previously, I soon recognized their occupational and social status. Given the nature of their job, they were hesitant to discuss it openly, but it was clear to me that they derived great satisfaction from it despite regulatory restrictions. In fact, mainstream research indicates that policies and institutions are the most significant factors that affect the marginalization of migrant workers in urban spaces, both individually and as a collective labour force (see, for example, Du and Bai 1997, Bai and Song 2002).

Being myself a 'stranger' in the city, it was easy to empathize with the dilemma of migrants and with their difficulties in moving in and dealing with the urban space. This empathic understanding especially applied to migrant whose *hukou* registration was still in the rural areas. This transient status prevented people from developing an urban-based identity. After spending the whole afternoon together, the Chen sisters told me, 'We don't feel good in the house church because it seems that people are not willing to talk to us. We feel distance and no intimacy. Is it because they are students or "white collar", so they are more "élites" than us in Shanghai? But you are so nice'.

It is significant that at that moment all three of us were strangers. I was a stranger in this context due to religious boundaries; they felt they were strangers and marginalized because of their occupational or social status. Because of this shared feeling, we became in a sense a group who was trying to reach the wedding party. We had lunch and then prepared presents for the wedding couple. The sisters were very considerate and helpful during the whole process. For example, when on the way to the wedding my shoes broke and were clearly hurting me they took me to buy a new pair. I listened to their advice on which shoes I should

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[13] As I explained in note 3, in the Chinese context, 'migrants' are defined by the *Hukou* (household registration) system. Here it is worth pointing out the difference between 'non-hukou migrants' (*liudong renkou*) and 'hukou migrants' (*qianyi renkou*). The former are those who maintain the *hukou* registration in the village of origin; the latter category includes those who have re-registered in the new place (usually a city) where they work. A further category is that of 'migrant workers' (*nongmin gong*), which includes persons who have agricultural *hukou* status and are employed in secondary and tertiary industries.

[14] The 'status or type of *hukou* registration' (*hukou leibie*) essentially refers to 'rural' and 'urban' *hukou*. Before the 1980s, this system determined a person's access to state-subsidized grain and other privileges and was often more important than the location of *hukou* registration. For further details, see Luo (2012).

pick. We were delighted with the whole process, which brought us closer to each other and, together, we bought several other things. Thus, we constructed a sort of 'female intimacy'.

It is worth reporting at length another relevant conversation that I had with the Chen Sisters:

Chen Sisters: 'How old are you?'

Me (slightly embarrassed): '30'

Chen Sisters: 'Have you been married?'

Me: 'Unfortunately, not yet.'

Chen Sisters: 'Oh poor you. You should really hurry up! Your parents are not worrying about that?'

Me: 'Yes, they do! But I just could not manage that. Are you both married?'

Chen sisters: 'Of course, for a long time ago. But our kids are still in Annhui living with grandparents. You know, they could even sing some Christians songs now as they always go to churches with grandma. We only go home to see them during the holidays. And our husbands are working in Zhejiang provinces. They are not religious, but they don't disagree with our beliefs, so it is OK.'

In Chinese culture women should marry at the age of 25 and have babies at 26. Most of the time, girls who are over this age are considered to be too old for marriage, or are regarded as women who have been 'left over'; those who are not yet married at 30 are called 'super left over'. The Chen sisters showed me their sympathies and they felt we had a common understanding and a common heritage from a gender point of view. After our encounter as strangers, they agreed to take me to their stamp-card-coin market to conduct another part of my research there. This was a great fieldwork opportunity for me because the migrants working in the market were from different ethnic groups and had different religious backgrounds; some went there following their kinship network. Therefore, this market was a very suitable site in which I could observe the interaction among migration, religiosity and kinship networks, as well as the way in which religiosity influenced financial activities and how moral and informal economic activities emerged in this context.

I appreciated this random encounter among strangers. It felt like Simmel's 'strangers', travelling between distance and intimacy. Not only I experienced personally that feelings of intimate relationship are universal to humankind; I also realized that an element of strangeness is always present even among the closest relationships, as each individual is socialized in a different context. This seemed to confirm a paradox of the stranger — embodying both closeness and distance — which encourages trust in the relationship while at the same time maintaining distance (Simmel 1950).

Conclusion

In this article I have addressed the identities of 'us' and 'other', looking at how in contemporary urban settings the difference between 'acquaintances' and 'strangers' seem to become blurred. This raises a new problematic for sociologists and anthropologists who carry

out urban research because, I have argued, when the researcher enters the new urban field, both he or she and the insiders are 'strangers'.

It has been argued that cities are a special type of social institution because of the indifference that seems to characterise urban social relations as opposed to the intimacy found in rural societies (Wirth 1938). This approach is parallel to classical sociological analyses that distinguish between 'Gesellschaft' (urban societies) and 'Gemeinschaft' (rural communities) (Tönnies 2002). This distinction seems to be occurring in the modern globalizing world where insiders and outsiders are running into the common world of 'strangers' (Simmel 1950). Simmel points out that 'spatial relations are only the condition, on the one hand, and the symbol, on the other, of human relations' (1950: 402). Therefore, strangers may exist everywhere, even within a group. It is not only outsiders who are strangers; there can be strangers also among insiders. If mobility takes place within a closed group, such mobility ends up embodying the synthesis of 'nearness and distance' that constitutes the formal position of the strangers (Simmel 150: 403).

In discussing my experience of awkwardness and disappointment when attempting to enter the field, I referred to my failed attempt to use a transnational network. However, such moments stimulated the production of new knowledge, generating further hopes and aspiration. Following Miyazaki, it could be said that the possibility of achieving congruity between knowledge and its object emerged out of 'provisionality, indeterminacy, and open-endedness' (2004: 138). This reflection stems from the fact that in a globalizing world, the concept of community in urban spaces should be re-thought. Unlike rural areas, where people rely heavily on close-knit networks and on familiarity, in urban spaces networks and social trust are affected by the provisional character and accelerated pace of urban life.

Reflecting on the common sense consideration that researchers should get into the field through networks, I drew on my experience of encountering insiders as strangers and pointed out that encounters with strangers should be reviewed in urban studies. As Krase argues, it is possible to visually 'read' and 'experience' (in my case) how the 'meanings of urban spaces are changed by ordinary people…and in the process how their agency helps them to become both producers and products of those spaces' (2012: 205). This reflection should stimulate researchers to abandon their pre-conceptions and be prepared to reconstruct their existing knowledge. In conclusion, I suggest that fieldworkers should value their random and coincidental encounters with strangers.

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SPECIAL SECTION:

Women's Entrepreneurship in a Globalizing World
Guest Editor: Subhadra Mitra Channa

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Introduction

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The papers that follow were included in a Panel titled 'Women's Entrepreneurship in a Globalizing World', which was part of the International Interdisciplinary Conference on *Issues of Legitimacy: Entrepreneurial culture, Corporate Responsibility and Urban Development* that was held in Naples in September 2012. The Conference was promoted by the Commission on Urban Anthropology (IUAES). I convened this Panel on behalf of the Commission on the Anthropology of Women (IUAES) with the specific aim of reflecting on the effects of economic globalization, rapid urbanization and environmental changes on individual lives and communities, especially from a gender perspective. An important goal was to investigate the mechanisms of survival and the livelihood strategies employed by women in order to cope with these problems from 'material, experiential and daily-life level' (Mohanty 1991: 21). The papers presented in the Panel offered detailed ethnographic examples from urban societies across the continents providing kaleidoscopic insights into the responses of women to challenging situations.
Keywords: Gendered entrepreneurship, globalization, urbanization, agency, livelihoods.

Introduction

The articles included in this Special Section of *Urbanities* are revised versions of the papers presented in the Panel on 'Women's Entrepreneurship in a Globalizing World'.[1] They are based on ethnographic investigations by the respective authors. Of the six papers presented at the conference, three are reproduced here in full; the other three are presented as abstracts at the end of this Special Section. Taken collectively, these papers account for different social worlds and cultural representations that mark gendered divisions of social life in a variety of cultures spread across the globe, from Italy to Mexico and from North East India to Indonesia. Methodologically, they are based on anthropological fieldwork, substantiating the applicability of the ethnographic method to urban and complex societies, beyond the discipline's traditional concern with small scale society (Pardo and Prato 2012: 20). Theoretically they are critical of possibilities of individual emancipation and growth for

women under neo-liberal economy which 'seem to have overstated individual agency within reflexive modernity and overlooked the role of power in shaping individual subjectivity' Belliappa (2013: 35).

There is a general acceptance that individual subjectivities operate within structural constraints of patriarchy and other forms of inequality. At the same time, the optimism about human possibilities and inner power are not altogether lost. The articles in this Section, while reflecting upon the structural constraints faced by women, are also hopeful about the manner in which women deal with their oppressive life conditions and negotiate the best possible solutions to their problems of survival.

Accepting that there cannot be value free research (Bristow and Esper 1984, Harding 1987, Mies 1981), the articles that follow also move away from the 'oppression model' towards an examination of how women successfully cope with their life situations (Cook 1983). All the authors highlight that what women do is worth talking about, and what they do is also informed by logic, strategy, common sense and knowledge, providing an effective critique of the perspective that excludes women from both enterprise and logical thinking (Hekman 1990).

Globalization and Feminist Anthropology

To situate women within the discourse on globalization, especially with respect to the flow of capital and economic opportunities, one needs to take cognizance of Appadurai's comment that these flows are 'not coeval, convergent, isomorphic or spatially consistent' (Appadurai 2011: 624) and it is precisely these disjunctions that 'produce fundamental problems of livelihood, equity, suffering, justice and governance' (ibid.). For instance, resource-bases for subsistence are sacrificed when environments are degraded for the sake of mega dams and mining. Implementing new technologies and outsourcing leads to job losses. Structural adjustments put maximum burden on the marginalized sections of society, particularly women. A variety of unexpected transformations take place as side effects of new job opportunities or when remote areas are connected by roads and opened to tourism. In spite of their varied locations and contexts, all these changes have disturbingly similar effects on existing structures of class, ethnic, gender and racial divisions. An almost universal trend is that power relations are rarely restructured as globalization often tends to re-affirm and even deepen existing chasms based on classic forms of discrimination, including those that are gender-based (Harrison 2004, Nash 1994).

It is a historical reality that in most parts of the globe women have had less than their share of resources and opportunities. It has only been under extenuating circumstances such as war, migration and depopulation, including that caused by AIDS, that women have been required to move into the public domain of economic possibilities. The increasing poverty and political upheavals in 'Third World' countries have forced women to work and participate in the market economy, yet seldom on favourable terms (Perutz 2008). More often than not, they are forced into situations where even mere survival requires an intense investment of labour and time. Under such circumstances the meaning of entrepreneurship also takes on a different significance. Entrepreneurship for women often translates into survival strategies and is not

associated with the enhancement of status; it is about just to being able to live rather than making greater strides in life.

Women as Entrepreneurs

Entrepreneurship is usually associated with increase and accumulation of capital and what is termed as success in an economic project. However, scholars of urban societies such as Pardo (1996) have redefined the limits of entrepreneurship to include moral and spiritual dimensions and where the concept of rational is not focused on the material alone but is inclusive of non-material aspect of life, such as sentiments about 'significant others', faith in God and sense of worthiness and fulfilment. Pardo (1996: 12) brings in references to Bourdieu's concept of 'symbolic capital' to criticize Barth (1963), who in his discussion of entrepreneurship opposes normative to instrumental values. Pardo prefers to use 'entrepreneurialism' to describe a combination of economic, material, spiritual and cultural objectives that serve to establish a person's sense of worth, of identity and of social recognition in addition to economic gain. In his description of entrepreneurship, he includes a series of practices reflecting a cultural and subjective assessment of good and bad, right and wrong. Classically, an entrepreneur was defined as a person with qualities such as hard work, intelligence, a capacity for planning and strategizing, a vision about achieving a desired end and the ability to succeed. But in real situations, as these papers show, this 'category' includes persons who are able to manipulate, negotiate and stretch available resources by all possible means, sometimes even beyond the permissible. Such an understanding of entrepreneurship applies particularly to women, who often find themselves unable to access formal resources in society and to avail of the legal avenues to do so.

With reference to Naples, Pardo (2000) writes that southern Italians feel justified, in view of the discrimination meted out to them by banks and economical institutions, to raise capital and do investments by means that may not appear to be ethical by mainstream business standards. Yet, they too follow their own ethical system, which brings to mind the *havala* trade; a trade that operates in India outside all formal banking and financial institutions primarily on the moral strength of 'word of mouth'. As rightly pointed out by Pardo (1996, 2000, 2009, 2012), people's relationship with the state plays a key role in how the economy is managed. If the state appears corrupt and unjust, people develop their own sense of moral judgment and their own pathways to deal with the situation. Lobo (in this Section) quotes Ribeiro (2006) to discuss a concept of '(il)licit' that describes practices that are socially licit but illegal. This is the way in which Pardo broadened the definition of entrepreneurship to include the moral and ethical re-interpretation of what is possible and what is not.

The papers in this Section also indicate that social capital in terms of networks, knowledge and sociability plays a key role in entrepreneurship, especially at the ground level and at the margins. Women sometimes become players in the informal areas of the economy, where 'making a living' may involve simply moving things from one place to another. Social skills are used to form networks and create pathways for actions that enhance the value of an item by simply transferring it from the rural to the urban or from remote areas to city markets. Fowler (in this Section) describes how women use their in-depth knowledge of local

conditions and their social skills to their economic advantage by moving goods to generate profit. This parallels Pardo's contention (1996: 17) that the 'power of action from below' is often derived from information gathering and social networking. Again, everything in such movements may not fall within the official version of legality (Lobo, in this Section) but for the marginal, who are often women, they are legitimate ways of feeding their families.

This effort to survive against immense odds can also be viewed as 'entrepreneurship' for here the arithmetic does not start from zero but from a negative count.

Increasing urbanization and modernization does not necessarily mean that women benefit as a category (Saunders 2002: 2); they may have to scavenge around the margins to get some scraps for survival. Women, more than men, may have to fall back on their own skills, sociability and manipulative strategies in the absence of formal capital and they may expend all their efforts and resources without producing surplus value. Why does this happen? Here we find that it is culture, not economics that is at work. Comparing the situation of women with that of people who are marginalized through cultural processes of stereotyping and negative images such as the southern Italians described by Pardo, one can see that women face discrimination not because of any objective data about them but simply because of the cultural constructions of femininity.

In India, for example, while the needs of globalization and modernity have pushed many women into the public space to work as an extension of their domestic duties, men in general still hold idealized visions of homemaking mothers as their 'domestic goddesses' and are yet to accept a woman in the public space as worthy of respect (Channa 2004). Donner (2008: 14) describes how there is a clear-cut relationship in urban Kolkata between class and perceptions of women in the public arena, whereby a negative view is attached even to respectable women who work outside their homes.

Even when women work and are active entrepreneurs, they may have to justify themselves. A woman cited by Pardo (1996: 42) said that she wanted to improve her household's position. In other words, a woman is often culturally not viewed as having the right to be an entrepreneur for herself but only for the sake of significant others. But such notions can be culture specific, for in many urban areas women may be viewed as holding almost equal responsibilities for running household economies (Pardo 1996: 26). Therefore, as observed by Pardo (ibid), it would be misleading to have any stereotypes one way or the other. In India, for example, as pointed out by Channa (2013), lower caste women who work in their traditional occupations hold a higher status vis-a-vis their own families than upper caste women, who are seen as economically unproductive. The value ascribed to the social appropriateness of performing a role is what is given recognition here, not the objective contribution of the performance. Even in a market that is supposed to be free and objective it is only social and cultural values that are translated into economic values. There is nothing objective about pricing. It is here that gender differences become starkly apparent when most of the work that is deemed feminine either has no monetary value or is priced much lower than masculine work even if it is identical or very similar.

Most of women's work is identified with what is called the women's domain. Thus, it tends to be classified under reproduction rather than production and is kept out of market

valuation. A simple example is the cooking that a woman does for her family and which is never given a monetary value; yet, when this cooking is done outside the home it is actually considered a masculine task that attracts big money as in the case of the high salaries drawn by hotel and restaurant chefs. On the other hand, women are, for example, often involved in handicraft production but this kind of production is defined as crafts-of-leisure rather than crafts-of-labour (Becker 1998 quoted by Ficky 2012: xviii). Often, what women produce — such as food and handicrafts — is marketed as home-based product and priced accordingly. Therefore, it is clear that although women are producers of many essential products, the fact that they produce the most essential of human resources, namely other humans, has masked their production as reproduction. In a capitalist commodity market, the value of their products is not acknowledged and they are not compensated as free producers but as part producers tied to their reproductive tasks.

Appadurai (1986: 8) quotes Marx, who said that 'in order to produce not mere products but commodities, a man must produce use values for others, social use values'. Simmel (1978: 73) had already ascribed to the notion of value a subjectivity that precludes any form of objective valuation of any object even in a so-called free capitalist market. Anthropologists are well aware that things are priced not according to their actual or labour or input value but according to abstract and culturally specific definitions of 'prestige' and 'aesthetics'; 'designer clothes' are a good example. Gender becomes an intrinsic dimension of value just because of the subjective nature of valuation. Thus, women are seen as situated in a context of what Sahlins (1972: 193) calls 'generalized reciprocity' where they give out love, nurture and care.

A woman's work outside her home is often seen as only an extension of her domestic roles, where the 'extra' that she may put in is not evaluated as part of a commodity exchange system but is seen as an inherent part of 'being a woman'. As Perutz (2008) has shown, women are pushed into looking for 'survival' in a situation of exchange, while men (even when supported by women) are seen as being gainfully employed in making a living. The cultural representation of men as breadwinners makes anything that they do meaningful and something meant to provide for their families. A woman, on the other hand, is seen as only a supplementary worker. Thus, women are often paid less than men or their enterprise is not taken as seriously as a form of economic activity.

Women, Economy and Urbanization
Women's entry into the commodity market and in capitalist production always takes place from an unequal platform, as compared to men who often have the vantage position of not only being 'official' workers but also having access to resources that have value in a particular society. So, if a society is based on agriculture, men have access to and control over land; if it is based on commodity production, then they have access to and control over the means of production and on market forces. Here again we find that non-western, especially indigenous, societies often hold communal property or rights of use as opposed to total rights of possession. In such societies, women's rights are not too different from those of men. Two papers presented in the Panel discussed exceptions to the rule of male providers. Brara (see

Abstract) describes the mother's market in Manipur and Lobo in her article describes African women's entrepreneurship across national borders. Even in Fowler's description of women in Indonesia (see her Article in this Special Section) there is no explicit notion of patriarchy or implied male control, as women are responsible for exchanges in their own sphere. Both Brara and Fowler describe indigenous systems where women always had a role in the local economy and used their local knowledge for navigating the local landscape of resources, both natural and human. In the pre-capitalist economy where most resources either were free goods or were communally owned — as in the case of clan and community ownership — women had as much right of use as men and they also had access to traditional knowledge. In the initial stages of capitalist transformation women lost out on access to resources, for everywhere capitalism comes with a package of individual ownership and patriarchy. Historians in South Asia, such as Oldenburg (2002) have often discussed how the conversion of communal property to individual ownership transferred titles automatically to men, alienating women. Women in newly urbanized areas often find themselves at a dual disadvantage, as they are often required to work in the open economy but with the burden of traditions weighing them down. Urbanization has not really transformed the cultural values and perceptions of people across the world, whether it is Naples (Pardo 1996) Kolkata (Donner 2008), Delhi (Channa 1985, 2004) or Mexico (Perutz 2008).

Women's Freedom and Agency
As discussed earlier, globalization and modernity are not necessarily conducive to women's liberation. Most ethnographic works reveal that the less influenced a society is by the norms and values of western global forces, the more freedom is observed among women. This is demonstrated by Fowler in this Special Section. Her article on indigenous women in Indonesia shows that they apparently suffer less from patriarchal restrictions than women in South India (Antoniello in this Section) or Mexico (Perutz 2008). Seligmann (2012: 122) describes how for the élite in the city of Cusco (Peru) the 'indigenous looking women' street vendors were a sign of embarrassing non-modernity but also that the women stood their ground and 'were hardly submissive'.

Thus, it would appear to be a western or élite fallacy that only women who are urban, westernized and formally educated have the capacity to be entrepreneurs. The uneducated 'mothers', women past their prime who manage to run successful businesses in the local market in Manipur, ordinary housewives who successfully set of food stalls in rural Mexico and intrepid women of colour who carry goods from one country to another, manipulating legal and border rules and regulations (Lobo, in this Section) all show a high level of intelligence, a capacity for negotiation and manipulation and an agency, resilience and patience that probably are truly feminine qualities. The women of colour discussed by Lobo are negatively stereotyped by upper class Brazilians in the urban areas, yet they make a profit transferring goods from where they are less valued to a place where they are more valued, thus making use of cultural differences as an entrepreneurial resource. The location of these women in a commercially highly developed island that bridges two economies is strategic. Here the women are primarily linking two urban areas and not a rural place with an urban

place. These almost illiterate women form part of the informal sector of an otherwise flourishing commercial centre, with no resources other than a capacity for verbal negotiations and a keen insight into the minds of those they deal with, both producers and consumers. They are capable of making some neat profits and carry out trades of considerable volume.

Another important aspect that the discussions offered here bring out is that entrepreneurship among marginal groups like women is better understood and interpreted from the bottom up than by taking a top down view. For example, ever since a Bangladeshi entrepreneur, Mohammed Yunus, received the Nobel Prize for his work on micro-credit to the poor, this particular form of extending credit to the poor and marginalized has become not only a much praised system but also a profitable system for large companies. Yet, a kind of informal banking has long been in operation in rural areas and communities in the less developed regions of the world, especially among less educated people — both men and women — who find it difficult to negotiate the formal banking mechanisms. However, as Antoniello shows in her article, what works well in an informal and face-to-face community, does not work so well when this system of providing loans is controlled by large companies who operate according to formal rules and regulations. While big companies tend to siphon off huge profits from the small contributions made by the poor, the women's cooperatives manage to extend actual help without any formal organization.

When women form their own self-help groups or pool money in a closed and intimate social network, things are very different from situations where large banks and corporations lure them into debt traps offering what appear as more reasonable terms, which in fact follow the same capitalist principles of making money as any other enterprise. Through her study of small town women in India, Antoniello demonstrates that women's entrepreneurship works best when they are themselves in control as opposed to when they are controlled or even guided from the top. In this sense, the close-knit primary group relationships characterizing small kin-based communities are more conducive to this kind of entrepreneurship.

Conclusion: Women in a Globalized World

In its simplest definition, the recent phenomenon of globalization triggered by the capitalist market economy and political modernization, involves the movement of goods and people. Interestingly, the analyses offered here show how simple women with no special training or education have made strategic use of these avenues of movements of goods and resources and of efficacious modes of communication and travel to make a living and a profit. They are innovatively managing to survive in a world that is becoming more and more urbanized and more difficult to negotiate. As recorded by many scholars, globalization and the monetary economy have deprived many women of their traditional access to resources that were channelled to them mostly through the community and through common property rights. Since economic modernization emphasizes the individual as a key player for transactions of various kinds, the 'individual' most often than not translates as 'the man'. This situation has left women out of the reckoning for ownership of most property and resources. Yet, women continue to play the role of providers and nurturers for their families and communities. Thus, making a profit or having access to cash does not necessarily mitigate a woman's

marginalization. In situations of stress, like migration and recession, it is often found that women have to take on most of the burden of coping. The difficulties brought about in developing countries by structural adjustment programmes and economic recession as a whole make good examples. In conflict zones where men succumb to violence or drug abuse (as in Manipur) it is the women who take on the responsibility of caring for their families and the young people. Women from marginal communities are often pushed into entrepreneurial activities as they continue to carry the traditional burden of having to provide for their families no matter what comes to pass.

Another significant aspect highlighted in the discussions that follow is that women experience the differentiations and hierarchies of the world differently from men. Thus, while men tend to build walls, women try to negotiate with other women across racial and ethnic divides. For example, the migrant Muslim women studied by Delacourt (see her Abstract) in what she describes as a 'right wing', conservative Italian community are able to create a space for themselves and their families through cooperation and relationship building with other women in the host community. Women are able to negotiate better across divides of power because they appear *not to* represent the power holders. The African women studied by Lobo can manage to build trade relations across the racial divide with Mexican women because, as women, they share certain goals and aspirations and, as women, they do not represent oppression but come across, instead, as part of the universally oppressed, no matter where they belong. Even though such oppression may not exist in every situation, symbolically the possibility and acceptance of women as less powerful and less invested in power resources helps to advance them as mediators and builders of bridges. In a globalizing world such bridges often act as important resources for making a living and are an important aspect of gendered entrepreneurship. Fowler in her article on women who negotiate paths of resource transfers and use also makes clear that, while ethnicity is an important criterion in 'finding a path', women remain fluid and changeable just like the paths that they negotiate. Ethnicity when used strategically can be made into a resource.

So, women deprived by society of most conventional resources manage to create unconventional resources in terms of relationships and investments of their own efforts and time. Thus, whether they form group cooperatives to save money (Antoniello in this Section), make use of their energy and time to make up for money and power (Perutz 2008), or make use of cultural models (Brara's Abstract), they attempt to mobilize some capacity, some capability and some conditions to survive and make their way through a largely hostile yet demanding world. This is the true story of women's entrepreneurship and their courage and resilience in a globalizing world.

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Banking the Unbanked: Women and Microfinance in India

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This article questions whether loans to women's income-generating collectives, individual microcredit loans, and other related lending programmes are necessary and sufficient to alleviate poverty. Taking as a case study a group of women in a drought prone region of Maharashtra in India, this article challenges the presumption that women's lives will change or improve merely by introducing microcredit without identifying underlying structural inequalities, such as, class, caste, race and gender. The discussion stresses that underlying deeply embedded social and cultural factors that mediate women's experience must be analysed and comprehended. I argue that any simplistic assumption that drawing women into a cycle of debt and repayment will improve their standard of living is based on unproblematized top-down view of people in the Global South. This article highlights the conflicts and contradictions of neoliberal market solutions for social problems; for example, whereas Indian women experience this introduction to banking and loans as coercive, CEOs call it standard practice. Thus, there remain irreconcilable differences between the corporate economic sector and the lived experiences of the poor. The best solutions, it is argued, are generated from the bottom, such as by consciousness raising, and not from the top.
Keywords: Microfinance/microcredit, poverty, Women's Self-Help Groups, neoliberal policies, consciousness raising.

> 'We each gave 100 rupees every time we met. When we had enough we put the names in a bowl and let one of the children select a name. That woman got the money. And then the next and the next until everyone had a turn.'
> (Sunita Sadafule, Interview 2009)

Introduction

Sunita Sadafule is a Village Health Worker (from now on, VHW) at the Comprehensive Rural Health Project (from now on, CRHP) in Jamkhed, Ahmednagar District, Maharashtra India, a drought-prone area 250 miles east of Bombay-Mumbai where more than 90 percent of residents live below the official Indian poverty line (from now on, BPL). In the quote given above Sunita Sadafule describes the *Bhishi* informal self-financing credit plan used in her village that is similar to other indigenous and traditional savings and credit funds called *chit* in India, *susus* in Ghana, *tandas* in Mexico, *arisan* in Indonesia, *cheetu* in Sri Lanka, *tontines* in West Africa, and *pasanaku* in Bolivia. Women Village Health Workers at CRHP actively participate in ongoing cooperative efforts to reduce mortality, eliminate endemic health problems, and advance social and economic well-being in villages across the Jamkhed region. To put money in women's hands, Village Health Workers built on the informal Bhishi system of pooling resources to create village Self-Help Groups (from now on, SHG) and income generating projects. Based on the premise that health and development are complementary approaches, CRHP conducts continuing education to support training for local income generating projects and collectives to assist village women to take advantage of the India's poverty programmes for microcredit loans designated for those living below the poverty line.[1]

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[1] The average yearly family income in Jamkhed is $425 USD about 20,000 INR.

Indian government initiatives to extend financial services for those traditionally without formal access began in 1992 with 500 Self-Help Groups linked to banks (NABARD 2013: 1). Since 2004 Microcredit programs are initiated primarily by the National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (NABARD); the 2006 National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) creates wage work; and the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) supports health and social initiatives. Local projects like raising goats, tailoring, selling bangles, produce, and dried fish, or even, up-scale dairy communes are supported by these approaches.

These income related activities are the vehicles to microfinance, the broad term used to define the provision of financial services to low-income clients or solidarity lending groups who traditionally lack access to banking and related services. In other words, microfinance/microcredit essentially banks the unbanked drawing those outside financial markets, in this case Indian women, into borrowing or debt. Moreover, the presumption that women's lives will change or improve merely by introducing microcredit without identifying underlying structural inequalities, such as, class, caste, race, and gender that mediate women's experience is based on unproblematized top-down views of people in the Global South. The present discussion raises questions about whether loans to women's income generating collectives are necessary and sufficient to effect positive economic change and alleviate poverty. For example, do top-down microfinance schemes create an illusion of poverty reduction? Or, are these neoliberal approaches simply mechanisms to draw women into financial markets by incurring debt and dispossession as another means to prop-up banks and international financial companies at the expense of those living in poverty? Are there real on-the-ground advantages of income generation projects or are these microcredit schemes masking the real sources of women's poverty in India— underlying caste and gender inequality?

Failing Models

The Grameen Bank of Bangladesh founded by Nobel Peace prize winner Muhammad Yunus is a microcredit system that promises the alleviation of poverty and the empowerment of women based on strategies loosely aligned with the Washington consensus or neoliberal financial models. Yunus aptly questions whether the capitalist system has to be the handmaiden of the rich (Yunus 1994). As Harvey (2005) points out, the early 1980s founding figures of neoliberalism matched the political ideals of human dignity and individual freedom with claims of unprecedented social well-being in the world's population to be accomplished by rejecting state (government) intervention in matters of finance and labour in favour of the unbridled liberation of capital to generate market potential. However, since the most recent collapse of the world financial system in 2008, we have felt and seen the global ramifications of trickledown economics. Yet, there is a contradiction between the theory and practice of neoliberal approaches that produces enormous economic growth and power for the few dominant classes in the Global South and North, while social inequalities are increasing for the many due to the result of past coercive structural adjustments policies. Nevertheless, microfinance schemes, especially microloans for women, are promoted by international financial institutions (from now on, IFIs) like the World Bank as a panacea for those living

with low income globally.

The 2012 National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development Report on India notes that by March 2002 there were 500,000 SHGs that had increased to 8 million by March 2012 (NABARD 2013: 3). The report claims that informal Self-Help Groups have now blossomed into a 'monolith' microfinance initiative. The report established that these Indian financial initiatives are 'recognized as a decentralized, cost effective and fastest growing microfinance initiative in the world, enabling over 103 million poor households' access to a variety of sustainable financial services from the banking system.' (NABARD 2013: 1).

As a function of globalization, published reports and evaluations by IFIs and private donors universally declare the success of these financial services and make claims of automatic empowerment for women, although the latter concept is imprecisely defined. In direct contrast, researchers who evaluate women on-the-ground consistently show that these microfinance projects and programs have limited success in changing the economic situation of women (Karim 2011). Analysts like Mohanty (1991) and Abu-Lughod (2002) are critical of the political discourse that targets women of the Global South as being 'in need of saving' without reference to the social context of lived experiences. More recently, Eisenstein (2009) and Roy (2010) identify complicities within labour and financial markets that further compromise women's financial security.

To Market, To Market?

In August 2010 two events with diametrically opposite motivations occurred. The first event: SKS Microfinance Ltd. becomes a publicly sold company listed on the New York Stock Exchange as SKS Micro. SKS Microfinance Ltd., which is considered a top non-banking finance company (NBFC), is regulated by the Reserve Bank of India (Srinivasan 2009). As part of its IPO (initial public offering), SKS sold part of their stake to a hedge fund making a 12-fold profit even before going public. The founder of SKS Vikram Akula is quoted as saying 'put your money in the hands of the poor and you will make a lot of money' (Chandran 2010). This contradictory statement foregrounds the contradictions of scale between those below the poverty level and those able to buy stock on international markets.

Thus, there is an immiscibility between women living below the poverty line – who are struggling to put money in their hands with small loans 5000 Indian Rupees (from now on, INR) ($100 USD) – loans and the microfinance companies who provide these loans that are sold on the New York Stock Exchange. In rural areas, where the only wage work is seasonal farm labour or government road jobs, the average payment is 90 INR a day. In contrast, SKS, the most successful publicly traded microfinance company in India, relies on the 8 million purported microloans to bolster their stock price ($169 per share or 9,240 INR). The cost of 3 shares of SKS stock is equal to the yearly income of a Jamkhed family of 20,000 INR. Given these extremes in scale, is the growing sector of microfinance companies and other commercial, cooperative or rural banks concerned about financial hardship for low income families incurred by loan failure? By what mechanisms do these microcredit loans reduce poverty? In *Poverty Capital: Microfinance and the Making Development* Ananya Roy asks: What do we do when these microcredit loans default and hedge funds fail? In response she

cites Bruck, 'Sorry, we're closing down and you're going to lose your loans — so go back to feeding your kids twice a day?' (Bruck 2006 cited in Roy 2010: 217).

In contrast, the second event: August 2010 Jamkhed, State of Maharashtra, Sangeeta Khelkhar, the Village Health Worker of the Comprehensive Rural Health Project (CRHP) walks through her village of Sangvi. This day she is organizing a new Self-Help Group as part of her work to improve health and economic development in her home village of 2000 inhabitants. Women assemble in the front room of Sangeeta's house. In the 8-by-10-foot room there is a solitary string cot bed and a foot paddle sewing machine. Everyone sits on a cloth mat moving closer and closer together as women fill the room. Sangeeta and Mrs Ratna Kamble, the social worker, begin the conversation with 8 women, which quickly becomes lively with much joking and laughter. Someone gets a notebook and begins to enter the names. During the 40-minute meeting more than 30 women enter and leave the room replacing each other on the cloth mat. More women appear at the door but are told that the group is closed at twenty. If there are enough members another group will be formed. The names of the 20 members are written into a notebook and are read aloud. The members elect a president and secretary, both with Women's Club experience who will open a bank account when sufficient funds are collected. The women decide that they will contribute 100 INR monthly (about $2 USD). Next on the agenda is a discussion about the name of the group. One of the members, Vanita, suggests the name Savitrabai Phule, a nineteenth-century woman educator who started schools for girls. While older women members have a third standard education (third grade), this name choice shows a commitment to the education of young girls. Finally, the women start putting rupees in the centre of the woven floor mat next to the list of names. After all the money is collected and counted the women sign the agreement by writing or thumbprint. The meeting ends midmorning as most women rush off to work in the fields.

These Self-Help Groups are organized by women trained as Village Health Workers by the Comprehensive Rural Health Project that was founded more than 40 years ago by two Indian physicians, Drs Rajanikant and Mabelle Arole. The two physicians were trained at Vellore Christian Medical College and held degrees in public health from Johns Hopkins (now Bloomberg School of Public Health). The CRH Project is continued today by Dr Shobha Arole, Medical Director, and provides community-based primary health care. Centred on principles of equity, empowerment and integration, CRHP holds regular weekly meetings for Village Health Worker with the objective of mutual support and continuing education, keeping people healthy and villages economically stable. For example, as noted above, VHWs help village women to take advantage of the Indian government's poverty programs loans for women under the poverty line (BPL). However, of necessity the commitment includes teaching skills necessary to develop income-generating projects and to negotiate banking services for microloans. The CRHP teaching methods might be loosely compared to the Freire (2003) approach that describes learning as a process of action and reflection leading to transformation. Freire (2003) uses the concept of *conscientizaoção*, sometimes described as critical consciousness that helps individuals identify and examine the social, political and economic contradictions of society that lead to oppression. The Freireian model of adult

education identifies external political and economic factors as well as local patterns of inequality. In the CRHP Jamkhed case, this notion of consciousness is incorporated into a participatory process to help women make connections between their own experiences and the inequities of caste and gender so common in rural village life. Women in the Jamkhed area represent a diversity of castes and religions including those from the Dhangar, Vhadari, Vanjari, Sutar and Sambar castes; Marata (the local dominant caste), Brahmin, Dalits who identify as Mang and Mahar and Muslim women. One example of the extraordinary work carried out here is that since the organization's inception in the early 1970s women of all castes and religions learn together sharing rooms and eating together at the CRHP centre. In addition, the closeness and long established relationships of VHWs leads to marriages across castes and religions (interview 2009).

In August 2010, I collected Self-Help Groups data from a sample of 20 villages in Jamkhed. There are roughly 6 SHGs in each village with approximately 20 women each contributing around 100 INR per month. While some groups are recently formed, others are working together for more than ten years. These SHGs receive continuing support for developing income generation that creates a burgeoning consciousness about keeping money and savings, especially important for village women previously without wage labour or access to payment for their own day labour. However, even with training, few women in SHGs become entrepreneurs; most women use loans for family expenses, medical bills, school costs, and weddings. As a member of a SHG, Vimabai borrowed 5000 INR from the group's bank loan to buy two goats. She was able to pay back her SHG loan. One advantage of these SHGs is that women can avoid using local moneylenders – ubiquitous present in most communities – who charge usurious rates for such loans. I suggest that these CRHP women's Self-Help Groups are successful because they are part of an on-going collaborative process, supported by other women with access to resources for learning about loans and banking. Women all over India are being pushed into the microfinance world for better or worse, continuing education and training about banking and loans to help women resists bank co-optation and eventual revolving debt are seldom available or accessible, especially for those with little schooling. Women like those in Jamkhed at CRHP who receive continuing support have the potential for more success and less indebtedness.

In August 2009, a year before these two events, a *Wall Street Journal* article titled 'A Global Surge in Tiny Loans Spurs Credit Bubble in a Slum', by Ketaki Gokhale, describes a pattern common in Indian villages and towns. Gokhale writes, 'Here in Ramanagaram, a silk-making city in southern [Karnataka] India, Zahreen Taj noticed the change. Suddenly, in the shantytown where she lives, lots of people wanted to loan her money. She borrowed $125 to invest in her husband's vegetable cart. Then she borrowed more.' According to Gokhale, the 46-years old Zahreen Taj admits, 'I took from one bank to pay the previous one. And I did it again. Two for $209, another for $293, and then $356…' Gokhale reports that Ms Taj bought a television, 'the loans increased our desires for things we didn't have…We all have dreams.' Today, Zahreen Taj's house is bare except for a floor mat and a pile of kitchen utensils and she has cut her debt to $94 equal to about a fourth of her annual income (Gokhale 2009).

In the edition of 10 November 2009 of the Indian microfinance magazine *Microfinance*

Voices, Vijay Mahajan, Founder and Chairman of BASIX, called the aforementioned *Wall Street Journal* article a poorly researched, sensationalized article about Indian microfinance institutions (MFIs). In a two page letter to the editor published in the *Wall Street Journal* of 16 August 2009, the then chairman of SKS Vikram Akula wrote, 'We are deeply disappointed and shocked by this unbalanced and misleading portrayal of microfinance in India.' He continued, 'Shantytowns in Ramanagaram, Karnataka, India, are not getting "carpet-bombed" with loans from microfinance firms like this one are and it is a standard practice in the microfinance model pioneered by Nobel Prize winner Muhammad Yunus.' (see, Chandran 2010). Here we see the conflicts and contradictions of neoliberal market solutions for social problems; whereas Indian women experience this introduction to banking and loans as coercive, CEOs call it standard practice.

Panacea or Pandora's Jar

Feminist sociologist Sharmila Rege notes that after the1980s World Bank Human Development Report women are no longer seen as 'invisible' or 'silenced' but have become 'hyper-visible' in the new microcredit market economy (Rege 2006). Reports and evaluations by the World Bank support microfinance with claims of unprecedented benefit for 'poor participants but also the local economy' (Khandker 2005: 263). Others analyse empirically SHG bank linkage asserting the advantages of leading clients to scale-up to formal financial institutions (Basu and Srivastava 2005, Basu 2005). Critics of the World Bank and other IFIs assert that there is little on-the-ground evidence that microfinance means women's empowerment and poverty reduction. In fact, researchers identify several flaws in microfinance schemes for South Asian women. For example, the ubiquitous consequences of caste and class are ignored and women in most need are rejected (Hunt and Kasynathan 2002); there is insufficient room for women's agency, which negatively impacts empowerment (Kabeer 1999); exclusively loaning money to women while excluding men creates a hostile home environment (Leach and Sitaram 2002); there is a lack of outlet for expressing oppressed identities (Strier 2010); and finally, women's value is reduced to income-earning labour (Isserles 2003).

Conclusion—Banking the Unbanked

Lamia Karim wrote in *Micro Finance and its Discontents: Women in Debt in Bangladesh* (2011) that the Grameen Bank is accepted as a global symbol of poor women's empowerment, yet, the expansion of globalization and neoliberalism shows little impact on the everyday lives of women. Others point out that 'microfinance operations in the political, economic and cultural context of Bangladesh appear to reinforce the fundamentally unequal relations between powerful creditors and relatively disempowered debtors' (Kalpana 2011: 34). Microfinance, while appearing to be a solution to poverty reduction for women, merely involves women in a banking system that has the potential to introduce additional forms of oppression (Eisenstein 2009). For example, claims of the success of women's empowerment programs, especially in finance and banking, are frequently based on an analysis that examines a narrow or incomplete set of variables, like debt repayment. Furthermore, the National Bank for Agricultural and Rural Development Report (NARBAD 2013) delineates

the status of microfinance in India related to Self-Help Groups banking linkages of savings balances, loan disbursements and outstanding loans but there is no measurement of the alleviation of poverty. Without evaluating whether a woman's quality of life is improved, these surface results often fail to take into account whether there is in fact real economic or social change.

Finally, in Jamkhed, while thousands of women are successful at income generating projects in home villages and repaying loans, the number of women becoming entrepreneurs is negligible, much less than one percent. Most short-term microloans and grants do nothing more than increase consumption for televisions, ceramic tile floors, or motorcycles for men while homes are still without latrines and running water. Clearly the structural adjustment programs of the 1980s and India's current financial success reproduces an unevenness of income even as the number of millionaires in Mumbai increases exponentially. The arduous lives of most Indian women, whose workday starts before dawn, is well documented; yet, the current presumption that merely placing money in women's hands will change embedded social patterns is without evidence. Throwing or lending money at the problem may create a new class of banked women and Self-Help Groups with bank accounts, nevertheless, this narrow financial shift does not address or alter the entrenched social, economic, and political determinants of caste and gender inequality that directly mediates women's well-being and the quality of village or urban life and the questions of poverty.

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Buying and Selling Between Different Worlds:
The Rabidantes from Cape Verde[1]

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Although traditional markets are not a new topic in anthropology, only recently global commercial exchanges have become a concern among anthropologists. More specifically, mercantile spaces which do not fit in the logic of formality and of dominant practices in the contemporary economy have attracted the attention of many researchers, who have identified informal flows in markets worldwide and particularly in piracy centres and in street-vendor markets. This study focuses on the configuration of the commercial route between Cape Verde and Brazil created and maintained by the so-called *Rabidantes*, street vendors from Cape Verde who operate at the borders between the two countries through an intense circulation of commodities. These commodities are produced by informal entrepreneurs in Brazil and sold in markets in Cape Verde. The article offers an analysis of the paths taken by the flow of people and goods, and of their contextual meanings.
Keywords: Street vendors, informal entrepreneurs, 'popular globalization', formal and informal legitimacy.

Introduction
Scholars from different perspectives and approaches have analysed economic practices that do not fit legal or formal structural frameworks.[2] Discussions about the dichotomy between informality and formality, the nature of the two and the possibility of the distinction between them becoming blurred reveal the complexity of these practices, especially when they are analysed in the context of the contemporary transnational flows and movements of commodities.

My aim in this article is to discuss some of the studies that deal with flows of people and commodities drawing on my research in the recently established commercial route between Cape Verde and Brazil. This route has been created and maintained by the so-called *Rabidantes*, street vendors from Cape Verde who operate at the border between the two countries, dealing in commodities produced in Brazil by entrepreneurs who operate outside the formal sector of the economy and sold in the Cape Verde markets. The discussion of the importance and amplitude of this commercial route in local contexts will help to understand the paths taken by the flow of people and goods and the meanings that these people and goods have in this setting.

Over the last few years, anthropological debates regarding mass production activities have been cast in a broader discussion on the phenomenon of globalization. In this context, Brazilian anthropologist Gustavo Lins Ribeiro (2006) has reflected on what he calls 'popular globalization', or 'non-hegemonic world system'. He has examined popular groups as agents actively participating in this process either because they consume global goods or because they engage in the circulation of products which symbolize cosmopolitan modernity. There is

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[1] This article expands on a paper that I presented at the international interdisciplinary conference on 'Issues of legitimacy: entrepreneurial culture, corporate responsibility and urban development' (Naples, Italy, September 2012).
[2] Some of these approaches can be found in Geertz (1963), Machado da Silva (1971), Oliveira (2004), Machado (2005), Hart (1973), Rabossi (2004), Pardo (1995, 2012).

an established tradition, in anthropology, on the relationships between the legal and the illegal and between the licit and the illicit.[3] By bringing dualities such as legal-illegal and licit-illicit into the debate, Ribeiro opts for the '(il)licit' category to illustrate activities which are socially licit, yet formally illegal.

This non-hegemonic system maintains relations with the hegemonic system and is sustained by thousands of poor people who make a living as street vendors, sellers and smugglers, among other activities. According to Ribeiro, popular globalization, which is part of this system together with the 'illegal global economy' (including organized crime), involves products such as global gadgets and copies of super logos, people who operate in distribution and marketing (commercial diasporas, street vendors and smugglers) and markets, which function as trade hubs in the system (including fairs and some mega-centres such as Caruaru, Ciudad del Este).

The case of the *Rabidantes* carries some characteristics of what Ribeiro calls popular globalization. As they mediate commercial contexts that could be seen as 'hubs' in the system, the *Rabidantes* are formally illegal, socially legitimate, popular and global. However, their analysis brings out some elements which are not included in Ribeiro's definition; in particular, many products involved in the flow are manufactured locally, are not imitations of famous brands and cannot be described as 'global gadgets'. Taking into account these new elements in the context of popular globalization is one of the challenges faced in the present study. I believe that focusing on the flow rather than on the places where products are purchased and sold, our analysis may stimulate a new perspective on this phenomenon.

I will first discuss the ethnography and then will resume this theoretical discussion. However, before proceeding, a caveat should be noted. The reflections and data presented here originate from an initial study which can be expanded and investigated further, also ethnographically. The material that has been collected so far[4] raises relevant questions that provide guidance for continuing the research. The argument that I make here should therefore be intended to be under construction and open to readers' comments and contributions.

Cape Verde and the Routes
The Cape Verde archipelago is made up of 10 islands with differentiated topography, soil and climate. It was originally inhabited by Portuguese people and by a large number of Africans from the nearby West African coast, who were brought here to work as servants. Over time, a Creole society evolved as a product of the complex mixture of people from different ethnic, religious and linguistic origins. The country played a key role in the Atlantic and African coast trade; its role as 'mediator' in a system of inter-societal exchanges was the basis for its social reproduction. The lack of a local productive system which could meet the subsistence needs of the inhabitants of these the isles made Cape Verde particularly vulnerable to the hunger brought about by the periodical droughts.

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[3] On this issue see Pardo (1995 and 2000), Pardo (ed. 2000) and Pardo and Prato (eds 2010).

The Cape Verde archipelago was discovered by the Portuguese in 1460. At first, the geographical position of the islands, that is, the distance separating them from the Portuguese kingdom, was considered a negative factor for colonization. They were also located in a non-strategic geographical position as they lay too far south in the world known to the Portuguese. Another negative factor was their location in a warm and dry zone, which made it impossible to cultivate Mediterranean products such as wheat, rye and olives.

The island of Santiago (the main island in the archipelago) was scarcely inhabited until 1466. However, that year changes started taking place, as a document was circulated which allowed people based in Santiago to trade with riparian societies of the African continent and Europe. This commerce was considered illicit unless it took place under express royal authorization. The aforementioned document was thus of critical importance for the Santiago settlers. Now, being in Santiago meant having the right to practice trade between Europe and Africa. As this juridical prerogative made the island attractive, it became an immigration pole and its strategic value was re-classified.

The improvement of the infrastructure in Santiago turned the island into an important supplier of drinking water, food, fruit, salted meat and turtles. This also made it possible for ships to avoid long voyages to southern Africa. It should be noted that for several years there was no other safe point for re-supplying ships. Thus, in the late fifteenth century, these new facilities, in conjunction with European trade interests based on slave labour, enabled the entry of the archipelago into the world trade currents. At this time, the economy became more diversified and, in addition to slave traffic to southern Spain, Algarve, Madeira Island, Antilles, the Americas, France, Italy and England, two new cultivations were introduced; the cultivation of sugarcane for the commercialization of rum along the African coast and the production of brown sugar for local consumption and exports. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, *lançados*[5] came to dominate the coastal trade between the Senegal river and the region known today as northern Sierra Leone. The difference between these trading agents and those who preceded them consisted in the reduced freedom to trade caused by the measures established by the Portuguese government, which resulted in severe trading losses. In order to survive, there was no alternative to disregarding all trade-related laws imposed by the Portuguese state.

So, despite Portugal's apparent indifference, the Cape Verde islands grew in importance thanks precisely to their location, acquiring the status of a viable commercial route. This contributed to their demographic growth and to the development of relations with other contexts, which has influenced the history of emigration that currently characterizes this society. Cape Verde was thus born and became gradually stronger as a commercial route (though, from the start, largely informal) animated by traders and the flow of commodities. This aspect has been overlooked by commentators, who have instead focused on emigration, paying no attention to the origin of the flows of people connected to intercontinental trade.

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[5] This was the collective name given to Christians, Jews, New-Christians and mestizos, who settled in African ports to trade without royal licenses and were considered lost to Christianity and to European civilization.

While I do not wish to establish a direct relation between the two, I do believe that taking accurately into account the historical dimension will make it easier for us to understand the configurations of the phenomena under study here. Analysing the contemporary flow of commodities in the daily lives of the *Rabidantes* against the broader historical background may raise questions, as well help us to identify the social significance of the circulation of objects (Appadurai ed. 2008) in forming a nation that is strongly influenced by its relations with 'others'.

The *Rabidantes* and their Trading Flows

The Creole word *Rabidante* means to 'sidestep', to 'free one's self of trouble', and is used to indicate someone who is skilled at convincing others. This word is used to address people who trade in the Cape Verde markets (mostly in the Sucupira market)[6] located in the country's capital, Praia city. The *Rabidantes* are mostly women traders with keen negotiating skills. These street vendors were studied by Grassi (2003) with the aim of understanding their entrepreneurialism and their place in the ongoing processes of change in the relations among social stakeholders and between them and the institutions. Grassi's additional goal was to discover how this phenomenon influences Cape Verdean development and its place in the global economy (Grassi 2003: 29).

By making the transition from economy to anthropology, Grassi brings a wealth of data about the market (known as an informal market) and its importance in the economic and political constitution of the archipelago. In a context in which 'everyone negotiates deals', she goes deep into the Sucupira market to try and understand the dynamics of the deals made there. The material analysed by Grassi tallies with many ethnographies about popular fairs and markets – marked by solidarity, organization and friendship, which reinforces my argument that the universe of the *Rabidantes* fits in the broader context of 'popular globalization'.

The *Rabidantes* are regarded as agents who are active in the process of global circulation of commodities, resulting in the circulation of products among many frontiers. They travel among countries such as the United States, Portugal, France and Brazil to purchase goods. In addition to selling on the archipelago's islands, they 'export' to nearby African countries such as São Tomé and Príncipe, Senegal and Guinea-Bissau. Thus they secure a place in the global economy, either as producers or consumers.

The products in which they deal are generally men's, women's and children's clothes, cosmetics, shoes, accessories, bed linen, tablecloths, towels and domestic utensils. These products are purchased during periodic trips to some of the listed countries; they can also be received in packages sent by relatives living in large centres in the United States or Europe. The commodities are sold on either wholesale to vendors from Cape Verde and from other countries or retail; usually in the Sucupira market but also in their own households turned into small stores.

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[6] The name 'Sucupira' originates from the Brazilian soap opera *O Bem Amado*, which takes place in the fictitious town of Sucupira.

For about thirty years Brazil has been a shopping destination. In particular, São Paulo,[7] famous as one of the most popular global trade hubs, has been the focus for the *Rabidantes*. The trip was expensive and long – women had to leave Cape Verde, proceed to Portugal and then on to São Paulo. Because of these difficulties, they had to make the best of each trip; so, during each trip, they would shop in two countries or, when this was not possible, they would just purchase fewer products. The trips were few and far between, taking place only once or twice a year. It is also worth noting that, though Brazil is not a destination country for Cape Verdean migrants, it enjoys privileged standing as a shopping destination for the *Rabidantes* because of the quality of its products.[8] I was often told, 'it is Brazilian products that clients like the most'.

In 2001, with increased communication between the two countries, both the intensity of trading and the shopping destinations changed for these women. The Cape Verdean airways company (Transportes Aéreos de Cabo Verde – TACV), in partnership with a Brazilian company (VARIG), established a weekly flight connecting the two countries directly in three and a half hours. Originally, the flight connected Sal Island to Fortaleza in the Brazilian state of Ceará; today, it operates between Praia city and Fortaleza. Given the proximity between the two countries, travel costs decreased[9] and the shopping destination changed to Fortaleza, previously unknown to the *Rabidantes* and currently a great centre for 'good' Brazilian products.

The impact of trade between the two countries is reflected in the statistics. It is estimated that in 2003 the *Rabidantes* bought 400 tonnes of commodities produced in Brazil and spent 5 million US dollars. Approximately 150 *Rabidantes* disembarked at the Fortaleza airport and, on average, each of them returned to Cape Verde with fifteen suitcases, having spent approximately 10 thousand US dollars in cash.[10]

A newspaper article, which I found in Ceará, highlights the importance of the *Rabidantes* in the state's economy. Under the title 'Their Paraguay',[11] the article compares the arrival of the *Rabidantes* in Fortaleza to the important flow of Brazilians called *sacoleiros* (see n. 6), who shop in the neighbouring country and then re-sell in fairs in many Brazilian cities. It will be useful to quote from this article at length:

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[7] More specifically, the 25 de Março Street in São Paulo.

[8] I understand that the *Rabidantes*' entry in Brazil is connected to the flow of Cape Verdean students who come to study in Brazilian universities thanks to an agreement between Brazil and Portuguese-speaking African countries. However, this connection between flows needs to be verified through empirical research.

[9] On average, a round trip ticket now costs 500 US dollars.

[10] These data were extracted from the SEBRAE/Ceará website:
http://www.sebrae.com.br/sites/PortalSebrae/ufs/ce?codUf=6.

[11] For Brazilians, Paraguay is an important centre for the sale of falsified electronic products. The country is 'invaded' on a daily basis by Brazilian vendors, known as *sacoleiros* (literally, bag people); that, is the Brazilian version of *Rabidantes*. These *sacoleiros* cross the border between the two countries to buy these products and sell them in fairs across Brazil. The border between Brazil and Paraguay is the object of many studies; see, for example, Rabossi (2004) and Machado (2005).

'Every Friday, approximately 150 women gather in the departure area, creating a frightening scene. Surrounded by luggage of all sizes, they create jams never before seen in the Fortaleza international airport. This confusion is a reflection of a recent phenomenon in which *bag ladies* from Cape Verde are the protagonists. After a direct flight from Sal Island to the capital of Ceará state was established, these women started crossing the Atlantic to buy everything: underpants, bikinis, jewellery, sandals, dresses and even household appliances of questionable quality which they would sell at the largest street fair in the African archipelago, called Sucupira after the soap opera *O Bem Amado*, already broadcast there (…) Their travel schedule is very tight. They face a marathon of up to twelve hours-worth of shopping, visiting at least ten stores in one day. (…) Most purchases are made at small backyard clothes-making companies at the outskirts of Fortaleza. The bag ladies are known as *Rabidantes* (translated as 'saleswomen'). These *Rabidantes* usually buy from seamstresses and craftsmen who are not registered in Ceará. It is cheaper that way. In an improvised lingerie factory in the backyard of a local house, the average number of pieces sold in a week is 10,000. There are no receipts, and payments are cash-only, on the spot and in dollars. In order to avoid the IRS, small stores get receipts from larger companies. No bag lady travels without some kind of document with the amount paid, for fear of having the commodities apprehended at airport customs areas.'
(*Veja* magazine, 15 December 2004: http://veja.abril.com.br/151204/p_086.html)

The impact of the *Rabidantes* border trade on the local production in Fortaleza is the main focus of several magazine articles that I found in my initial efforts at data collection. It is difficult to estimate the number of backyard clothes-making businesses linked to this transnational trade; however, during a visit to Fortaleza, I observed at the outskirts of the city a considerable number of small family-based businesses in the backyards of houses, producing lingerie, bikinis and clothing in general. In our conversations, these producers often said that their dealings with Cape Verdean women were at the origin of their businesses. Most clothes-making businesses that I studied were indeed started in 2002, 2003 or 2004, which tallies with my informants' reports. These were the golden years in the trading between the two countries. They had an impact on the so-called formal trade. According to data collected in Sebrae-Ceará, in 2005 the Cape Verde-Fortaleza connection was responsible for transactions in the order of 5 million US dollars; in 2002, goods were exported from Ceará to the archipelago for a value of 140,000 US dollars. It is worth noting that these are official data; they do not account for the total volume of the *Rabidante* trade. They do, however, reveal an interesting aspect: given the Cape Verdeans' buying potential, formal trade took advantage of the informal trade and commercial relations with the archipelago intensified.

The long quote given earlier from the *Veja* magazine brings out other interesting issues that need attention. For example, I note the translation of the term *Rabidante* into *sacoleira* (literally, bag lady; pl. *sacoleiras*), which reflects both the way in which these women are

regarded by Brazilians and the importance of their commercial dealings for the city of Fortaleza, which becomes 'their Paraguay'. This is not accidental; these women's classification as *sacoleiras* carries a series of stereotypes that Brazilians attach to people from the lower tiers of their society who smuggle products across the border between Brazil and Paraguay, which are then sold informally in street fairs in Brazil.[12]

During an exploratory field trip in April 2010, I recorded in greater detail the way in which Brazilian vendors see these women. According to their descriptions, the *Rabidantes* are from some place in Africa or any other poor and small country; some informants even confused Cape Verde with Haiti when trying to explain where these women come from. They, I was told, are all black or mulattoes, speak a different Portuguese than Brazilian Portuguese and when speaking among themselves speak a 'weird', unintelligible language. Moreover, they are said to be inconsiderate, even rude when negotiating prices. They were described as professional hagglers who, according to my local informants, 'whine too much' in order to bring prices down. The upside, I was told, is that they pay cash, often in dollars.

These views bring out the ambiguous image of Cape Verdean women among Brazilian producers and salespersons. On the one hand, they personify Brazilians' stereotypical perceptions of Africans and of Africa as a place of extreme poverty and savagery; for example, I was asked if the house where I lived when conducting research in Cape Verde was on top of a tree(!). On the other hand, the *Rabidantes* have a buying power never before seen in Ceará, with the exception of European tourists, who are 'rich and well-educated and spend time in good hotels by the sea in the capital'.

So, for Brazilians, their origin quite apart, the *Rabidantes* are hard to bargain with but represent good business opportunities and are therefore clients worthy of good treatment and priority in filling orders; particularly in view of the volume, frequency and form of payment (cash) which characterize their purchases. Because they know the Brazilian market and the stiff competition among suppliers, they use strategies of disqualifying products to get lower prices. Furthermore, in the knowledge of tensions and opportunities involved, during the haggling process Cape Verdean women take advantage of Brazilians' preconceptions about them. The fact that they come from a small and poor African country often justifies the demand for a lower price. Competition from other Cape Verdean women is another bargaining chip. The alleged low quality of the products is a point of tension in price negotiations. The fact that the products are sold in fairs and originate from clandestine factories carries risks for the Cape Verdeans who transport these products across borders and these risks appear to justify lower prices. Overall, however, everything seems to indicate that these are good deals for all involved.

Among the Cape Verdeans whom I met in Fortaleza, Mrs Margarida made an interesting case study as she seems to illustrate well key aspects of this transnational trade.

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[12] Rabossi (2008:163) claims that although the *sacoleiro* category is generally associated with buyers who shop in Paraguay, it includes all those who shop in one city to sell products in other cities or in their home towns. The *sacoleiro* category refers to commercial practices which involve travel and profit expectations derived from differences in prices or in the availability of products.

Mrs Margarida has had commercial relations with Brazilian traders for over ten years. At first, she travelled to São Paulo via Lisbon once or twice a year. In 2001, when the direct flight was established, she began going to Fortaleza to buy from factories through links with fashion brokers.[13] Over time, she identified and became familiar with the best shopping locations, the best factories and the Brazilian way of doing business. As a consequence, she changed the place for negotiations from factories to fairs, thus becoming less dependent on fashion brokers. According to her, Brazilians are 'smart alecks'; the *Rabidantes*, she explained, have lost much money in Brazil in the form of orders paid upfront and never delivered, paying for higher quality products but receiving lower quality ones and having goods seized by corrupt customs officials.

Currently, the *Rabidantes* are experiencing two major difficulties. One is linked to the lower dollar-real exchange rate, which considerably decreases the profit margins. The other is raised by large numbers of Chinese traders coming to sell products in Cape Verde. Chinese stores sell extremely low-priced products and are in direct competition with the *Rabidantes*. These two factors have had a significant impact on the informal trade between the two countries; since 2008, lower volumes of commodities crossing borders are reported and many backyard factories in Fortaleza have closed down. In spite of these difficulties, however, Mrs Aparecida and her peers from Cape Verde continue coming to Brazil, which, raises the question, why?

Client demand is a decisive factor. Clients like products from Brazil, finding them attractive, original and of high quality. As good negotiators, when playing the role of saleswomen, the *Rabidantes* emphasize these attributes, while using the opposite argument when buying. As mediators between two universes, they manipulate the different values attributed to a commodity to maximize profits. On reaching Cape Verde in the hands of *Rabidantes* as 'Brazilian products', the same products which are known for their low quality in Brazil – being produced in textile factories which have no 'name', marked by the symbol of informality and by the 'for-the-masses' label, and sold in fairs – acquire a positive identity and become positive symbols which Cape Verdeans associate with their 'brother country' – the country of soap operas, creativity and 'quality'.

These local traders believe that the Chinese have not yet 'put an end to them' because of the quality of Brazilian products. Mrs Aparecida said, 'People in Cape Verde like products from Brazil. They know that, in addition to looking good, things there are high-quality, unlike Chinese products! There is also one more point – doors have not been closed for good because the Chinese cannot copy everything. Brazilians are very creative, there is something new each time we come and, since clients like novelties, we can sell before the Chinese can copy.' In order to survive competition from the Chinese, Mrs Aparecida uses a strategy of

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[13] These professional brokers were originally taxi drivers. They pick up Cape Verdeans at the airport, transport them to the hotel, assist with their shopping and generally remain at the beck and call of these women during the entire week, taking them to factories and mediating negotiations and orders. The *Rabidantes* do not pay these brokers, whose services are a courtesy offered by factories to Cape Verdean clients. Brokers get a 10 percent service charge for each sale.

buying smaller amounts and coming more frequently to Brazil, up to twice a month, spending 7 thousand US dollars on each trip.

The above remarks seem to contradict the belief that this is a decadent trade. This apparent contradiction drove me to investigate further. One possible answer, given by Mrs Aparecida, is that the number of *Rabidantes* who continue to make the trips has decreased significantly and wholesale deals seem to be the alternative for these vendors, which lead us to other dimensions of this flow and to other frontiers. This is supported by TACV data and by my own observation; for example, during one of Mrs Aparecida's trips, in which I joined her, only about thirty *Rabidantes* were in the plane. In addition to Mrs Aparecida, during my stay in Fortaleza I accompanied six other Cape Verdean women in their shopping trips. All followed the same pattern in terms of frequency of trips and products purchased. The leading products were bikinis, bought in very large quantities. It was April, near summer in Cape Verde, and Brazilian bikinis were the most sought after by clients. I observed how, as orders had already been placed, on reaching Cape Verde, all my informants had to do was to distribute the goods wholesale to their clients in Santiago and other islands. They also sold products retail on stalls at the Sucupira fair. Their clientele, however, includes also non Cape Verdeans, as they also sell to other African women in countries such as Senegal, São Tomé, Principe and Guinea-Bissau.

The existence of different routes and destinations for commodities outside the archipelago makes this case even more interesting. In addition to mediating frontiers between Brazil and Cape Verde, the *Rabidantes* operate at other frontiers, not as consumers but as saleswomen for Brazilian products in various African settings. In view of these dynamics, I asked what were the implications both for the people involved and for the goods that were traded.

Perspectives

The universes in which the *Rabidantes* move seem to share interesting similarities. In Brazil, they negotiate with trading partners from the large number of people who do not have formally registered businesses and their preferred shopping locations are fairs and markets; places which are also informal in nature. Similarly, in Cape Verde they sell Brazilian products in fairs or to other women who sell them on in other fairs or from their houses. However, there are also significant differences between the two settings which direct us to examine the fluid nature of the formal/informal and legal/illegal categories (Pardo 1995, 2012). For example, when dealing in untaxed commodities, the *Rabidantes* are at risk of having them confiscated, a risk which is lower once they cross the border and step on Cape Verdean soil, where values attached to formal legal rules are different from those in Brazil.

However, moving beyond the discussion about the relativity of these categories, which has been extensively debated by contemporary researchers, I am interested in reflecting on the circulation of products made in Brazil and put into circulation by the *Rabidantes* in different frameworks of values, to use Appadurai's term (ed. 2008). More precisely, I am interested in how objects produced in backyards at the outskirts of Fortaleza become 'Brazilian products', circulating in different cultural contexts, and in an analysis of the paths in which their value

acquire and re-acquire meaning according to contested wishes and demands. It is important to follow the trajectories of both these women and the products in which they deal and understand their strategies in negotiating the attending values.

We are faced with transactions that take place across cultural boundaries and in which there seems to be an agreement about prices and a minimum set of conventions in the context of the transaction itself. However, it is key to understand that these transactions involve intercultural exchanges based on perceptions that are profoundly different from the values of the people involved and the value of the objects which are traded or negotiated. In order to grasp these issues, inspired by Kopytoff (2008), I believe that we must look at the flow of the *Rabidantes* and the objects that they put into circulation from a process-oriented perspective that takes into account the different perceptions that the actors have of these objects. An initial analysis of the bargaining process and mutual classifications, which the Brazilians and Cape Verdeans use at the time of negotiations, points to interesting issues and raises some questions.

When considering the universe of the *Rabidantes* as a 'case in between' and these women as mediators among several frontiers, is it possible to learn a little more about the implications of circulating objects among the people who live in societies with different market systems? Are the desires and demands for these commodities limited to the people who live in the different contexts in which they circulate? What does it mean for an object to acquire the *status* of 'Brazilian product' when entering Cape Verde? What *status* is acquired when leaving Cape Verde? Furthermore, what *status* do these products give to those selling and buying them?

As I made clear at the beginning of this paper, I am faced with questions which only ethnography can help answer. These questions are inspired by the study of the *Rabidantes*, who move between borders putting commodities into circulation but also putting into place an elaborate process of exchange of information between cultures. In buying and selling, the *Rabidantes* mediate products and their consumers and play a double role of buyers and sellers (consumers and traders). In this game, they mobilize and add value to what they buy and sell, thus interpreting the cultural values and desires of two different worlds and capitalizing on such values and desires.

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Wayfinding Women: The Generation of Landscapes and Society through Female Entrepreneurship[1]

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In the monsoonal archipelago of Eastern Indonesia, the seasonally arid island of Sumba is a very challenging place to live. How do the islanders who live in this region endure the harsh conditions? What economic strategies do islanders pursue to ensure their survival? This paper seeks to gain a better understanding of exchange activities among indigenous women and girls on the island of Sumba in Eastern Indonesia. Women entrepreneurs on Sumba produce and process natural products and handicrafts. Women work together with their kin and allies — in groups composed, for instance, of mothers, daughters, nieces and sister-in-laws — to create value, to produce tradable goods and to generate income in a limited environment. Sumbanese women exchange products informally among one another, formally with buyers who pass through their hamlets on trading excursions, and as vendors in biweekly marketplaces. This paper discusses female entrepreneurship in open-air markets and describes the characteristics of the female driven natural products and craft trades on Sumba. Ethnographic data are presented about the locations where trade objects are produced, processed and exchanged and these data are used to map the movements of female entrepreneurs through the island landscape. Geographic maps of entrepreneurs' movements are the basis for an evaluation of the connections between exchange-driven wayfinding and the production of identities, social networks and landscapes. Evaluations of the wayfinding practices of women entrepreneurs reveal the power women have to form economic systems and ethnic identities.
Keywords: Wayfinding, trade, identity, market women, Eastern Indonesia.

Seeking Her Livelihood

The entrepreneurial identity of Sumbanese female traders is based, in part, on their movements through landscapes and on their social, economic and biophysical interactions within markets both rural and urban. 'Markets' here refers to actual marketplaces as well as to the principles driving and structuring women's participation in commodity trading. In spite of the strength of the market principle in the globalization of trade on Sumba, the exchanges that Sumbanese women have with other people, symbols and biota, and with the biophysical world continues to bear upon their identities. In this article I trace the geographic paths of several Sumbanese market women in order to address the continuing significance of market places and other spaces related to trade and the significance of movement within those spaces in identity-making processes.

Images and Captions

Image 1a: Adat Producer Traders   Image 1b: Adat Producer Traders

One category of female entrepreneurs on Sumba are the 'local' women who live in rural areas and who sell portions of the products they harvest from their gardens, agroforests, fields, and forests. Most of the vendors who sell plant (as opposed to animals, which men peddle) in the island's marketplaces are women, like the ones selling peanuts, tomatoes, greens, bananas, cassava, areca nuts, squash and papaya flowers in these images.

Image 2: Intra Island Traders

Female entrepreneurs populate the trade routes that carry merchants and goods from their sites of production and from smaller marketplaces to mid-size marketplaces and to the island's regional market hubs in Tambolaka, Waikabubak, and Waingapu. The woman in this image sells products such as chayote, betel catkins, areca nuts, scallions, greens and garlic from other marketplaces in western, central, and eastern Sumba as well as from off-island sources.

Image 3a: Muslim Inter Island Traders   Image 3b: Muslim Inter Island Traders

A community of women, most of whom are Muslim and have multiple geographic affiliations, move buy-and-sell products from the land and the sea in Sumba's and other island's markets and carry products back-and-forth across the shipping lanes between Sumba and neighbouring islands in Eastern Indonesia. The women in these images are en route to collect fish from their husbands who recently returned from their nightly offshore fishing expedition.

Mobility is a predominant component in the economic strategies of Eastern Indonesians in the sense that islanders move around frequently — on foot, atop mopeds, in minibuses, aboard boats — as they manage resources. *Cari hidup* (seeking a livelihood) is a popular saying among Eastern Indonesians that people use to explain where they are going or why they travel far from their homes. Fitri, for example, says that the reason she sails weekly back and forth across the Sumba Strait, along her trade route between Sumba and Sumbawa, is to *cari hidup* (seek her livelihood). Some Eastern Indonesians seek their livelihoods along land-based routes, such as Yuliana who transports agricultural goods between Waikabubak and Waingapu, the urban capitals of Southwest Sumba and East Sumba, respectively. Yuliana's land-based route is fairly large compared to the majority of Sumbanese women who both produce and trade; Nunu Lele, for example, travels almost daily out of the valley where her hamlet of Wewarko is, along dirt footpaths, through orchards, across creeks, up and down hills and across mosaics of gardens, fallows, fields and forests. Mobility is predominant in the lives of Fitri, Yuliana, Nunu Lele and the many other women on Sumba whose strong presence at most locations of trade and production indicate their great contribution to local and regional economies.[2]

What are the connections between mobility and livelihoods for these women and other Sumbanese? What routes do Sumbanese take as they engage in production and exchange, and why? This article describes geographical patterns among women on Sumba who seek their livelihoods in horticulture and trade. Maps of their traverses across the landscape reveal four major groups of female producers and traders defined on the bases of type of trade and the expanse of routes. The first group is producers-traders (Images 1a and 1b), who contribute to the subsistence of their households and also exchange products at several nearby locations in the commodity chain; these women have the smallest home range. The second group is intra-island merchants (Image 2), who buy products from the producers, sell them in marketplaces, and sometimes transport products to alternate marketplaces. The third group of women is inter-island merchants (Images 3a and 3b), who ferry products across the Sumba Sea between Sumba and Sumbawa. These women have the largest home range. The fourth group is shopkeepers, some of whom do not travel to trade because shop keeping is their primary occupation, while others do travel because shop keeping is one among several of their economic endeavours.

While women in these categories share similar routes and trades, they also share ethnicities. Ethnicity is fluid and shifts through time (Ong and Peletz 1995, Scott 2009), like women's routes and strategies. Wayfinding (Ingold 2000) while managing one's resources is an integral part of the construction of one's identity. Wayfinding generates knowledge, and relays information about senses of self and perceptions of the environment. If ethnicity is continuously under construction, and if identity is constructed while moving, then we can learn about the processes of identity construction by studying people's wayfinding activities. The present discussion is based on ethnographic descriptions of women's movements through

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[2] Women play significant roles in marketplaces also on Java (Brenner 1995) and throughout Indonesia and Southeast Asia. This has been the case since at least the nineteenth century (Raffles 1965 [1817]).

space, their social and ecological activities in trading spaces as well as spaces connected to trading and the symbols that women attach to themselves in order to discuss processes of ethnicity and identity.

Social Groups in the Marketplaces

Inter-Island Traders

Maimuna and her husband, Samsudin, have been trading products between Sumba and Sumbawa since 1976. The port of Bima on Sumbawa is their hometown, but they maintain residences on both islands. On Thursdays, the couple leaves Bima, crosses the Sumba Strait, docks in Waikelo and takes trucks to the Weimangura marketplace, which is about two hours inland from the port. In the Weimangura market, the couple sells products that they purchase in Bima and buys products they purchase from Sumba's farmers. Typical products they buy in Weimangura are bananas (purchased at US$00.42 per hand), golden apples (purchased at US$00.63 per large sack) and avocados (purchased at US$00.01 for five fruits). Maimuna and Samsudin travel the route in reverse on Saturdays when they load the goods from Weimangura on trucks, take them to Waikelo and load them on boats that cross the Sumba Strait and return to Bima. When the boat anchors in the shallow waters just off the shore of Bima, Maimuna and Samsudin's trading partners buy the Sumbanese products directly from the boat and haul them away to the next location in the Eastern Indonesian commodity chain.

Nurmin Usman and her husband, Abdul Ahmat, work together in their family trading business. Nurmin is a native Sumbanese whose father grew up on Sumba and whose mother is a Chinese Indonesian woman originally from the island of Lombok. Both Nurmin and Abdul sell produce in several of Sumba's marketplaces and both of Nurmin's parents are vendors in the Waikabubak market. Nurmin met Abdul, a native of Sumbawa, when he first began 'looking for a livelihood' as an importer-exporter on Sumba. Nowadays, the couple lives with their six children in Waitabula, which is the nearest town to the port at Waikelo. Nurmin travels between Waitabula (where a large, biweekly market also exists) and two of western Sumba's marketplaces. On Wednesdays, she sells dried fish, scallions and chili peppers in Waikabubak. On Saturdays, she sells the same in the Weimangura marketplace. Nurmin's younger sister-in-law, Fitri, is the family member who carries products back-and-forth between Sumba and Sumbawa. Fitri travels in the overnight ferry that departs from the Bima port on Tuesday evenings and arrives in Waikelo in the pre-dawn hours of Wednesday morning. After she off-loads the produce from the boat, Fitri brings the produce to Nurmin's house. Nurmin transports the fresh-off-the-boat products to Sumbanese consumers.

Intra-Island Traders

Hochi is a young woman who grew up in the village Wee Limbu in Elopada sub-district. When she was twenty years old, Hochi moved to Waingapu, the capital of East Sumba to, she says, '*cari hidup.*' Hochi joined her older sister and brother who were already living in Waingapu and were operating a stall in the town's largest marketplace. In their stall, they sell tomatoes, pumpkins, citrus, rose apples, eggplant, chili peppers, chayote, eggs, green beans, ginger and palm sugar. The siblings work together to collect produce from farmers across the

island. Hochi's sister, Maria, travels by bus to Waikabubak, the most populated town in western Sumba, every Tuesday and Friday so that she can purchase produce on Wednesdays and Saturdays which are the busiest market days island-wide. Maria can purchase products from farmers who deliver their produce to the Waikabubak market, which is western Sumba's largest, for a low enough price that she can sell it for a profit in Waingapu where agricultural production is less bountiful because the climate is drier. For example, Maria buys tomatoes in Waikabubak to sell in Waingapu.

An example of a product from East Sumba is the palm sugar. Rural East Sumbanese make palm sugar from trees growing in their villages and sell it to middlemen traders who in this case are immigrants from Sabu, another Eastern Indonesian island. The Sabunese traders bring palm sugar to the Waingapu market where Hochi and her siblings purchase it for their stall. Hochi sometimes makes the trip to the Waikabubak market (instead of or together with Maria) where she purchases produce for her stall in Waingapu.

Yuliana is a nineteen-year-old woman from the hamlet of Ngadu Tana in Mata Piasu Village which is in the sub-district of East Wejéwa. Yuliana and her forty-something-year-old business partner, Sintha, operate a stall in the Waingapu market together. On Tuesdays, Yuliana takes the bus home so that she can shop in the marketplace in the hamlet of Homba Rade. There, Yuliana buys products to bring back to her Waingapu stall; including guava, chayote, green beans, tomatoes, chili peppers, ginger, turmeric, avocados, bananas and citrus. Whenever their inventory gets low and they need to increase their stock, Sintha travels to her home village, Wei Limbu, which is also in western Sumba. Sintha's husband and children reside there, and Sintha regrets leaving her family behind when she stays in Waingapu, but she continues to vend because, she says, 'the most important thing for me to do is to *cari hidup* (earn a living)'.

Yuliana and Sintha earn a modest income from their work, they make just 'a little profit,' Yuliana says. Sintha estimates that they make about US $00.01 from each sale by marking up their merchandise. An example Sintha gives is that, when she buys a whole basket of guava in Waikabubak for US $00.53 (Rp5000), she brings them to Waingapu and divides them into units of seventeen fruits which she sells for US $00.50. Yuliana explains that she and Sintha 'buy produce in West Sumba because it is still cheap there, and [she] can sell it for a higher price [in Waingapu].' So, when she goes home to West Sumba, she brings back to Waingapu anything that she can sell for a profit. Yuliana transports goods in both directions, really, since she purchases items in East Sumba that she sells in her hometown marketplace, such as onions and garlic that are not as plentiful in western Sumba.

Producers-Traders
Nunu Lele woke up on a Wednesday morning in March just as the planet Venus rose above the tops of the trees on the eastern border of her hamlet. The glow from her kitchen hearth provided enough light in the dark pre-dawn hours for her to dress and gather her goods. By the time she had lowered three stacks of bananas onto her back porch and climbed through the doorway, one of her daughters, Dita Walu, and two of her granddaughters had gathered on the path that leads out of their hamlet which is named Wai Rawewok. These women set out

together on the uphill path that leads out of the forested territory that their clan occupies to the narrow paved road that runs east to west through the interior of western Sumba. Nunu Lele hauled the heavy stems of three different banana varieties; on her head, she carried jackfruit bananas (*kalogho nanga* in Kodi) and golden bananas (*kalogho mas*), and she cradled creamy bananas (*kalogho susu*) in her right arm. Dita Walu carried three-quarters of a sack of maize and a full sack of rice. One granddaughter carried six stems of bananas while the other granddaughter carried one stem of rice bananas (*kalogho nghagha*), a sack of avocados (*alpokat*) and a sack of golden apples (*wu dinjo*).

Nunu Lele's crew reached the roadside just as the sun began to rise and only several minutes before the first truck of the day passed by their stop. They climbed into the open bed of the bulky, diesel truck and headed to the Weimangura market. On his way toward Weimangura, the truck driver stopped to pick up lots of other folks carrying their goods to the market: more bananas, avocados, golden apples, taro, coconuts, copra, areca, candlenut, kapok and a buffalo skin.

The Weimangura market (Images 1a and 1b) was full of Sumbawan buyers who were so eager to get first choice of the high quality produce coming out of Sumba's forests that, before it stopped moving, they jumped onto the truck and began bargaining with these Kodi and Wejéwan farmers (Image 2). Bananas prices vary depending on the size and variety. Bigger hands sell for US\$.0053 and smaller hands sell for US\$00.26. A buyer from Bima named Yuri asked Nunu Lele how much she was selling her banana hands for and Nunu Lele said, '4000 rupiah [US\$00.42].' Yuri countered with the price of US\$00.16 (IDR 1500). Nunu Lele said, 'No, I won't take less than IDR 3000 [US\$00.32]'. Yuri walked away. Another Sumbawan buyer approached Nunu Lele and asked, 'How much?' Nunu Lele said, '3000 [US\$00.32].' The buyer agreed and bought all three of her banana bunches for IDR3000 each. Nunu Lele's granddaughter, Dulci, haggled with another Sumbawan trader over the prices of her six bunches of bananas. Dulci stated her selling price of IDR3000 per bunch, the buyer offered her IDR2000 (US\$00.21), she countered with IDR2500 (US\$00.26), and the buyer agreed to purchase two at that price, so Dulci sold them to him and he handed her IDR5000 (US\$00.53).

Dulci stood beside her remaining four bunches, and chatted with other girls who were also selling produce in the market that day. A young mother from Dulci's hamlet, Wai Rawewok, was there to sell three hands of bananas and a quarter of a sack of avocados. Another teenage girl from a neighbouring hamlet sold two hands of bananas. A middle-aged woman from Wejéwa sold one hand of smaller bananas for US\$00.21 (IDR2000). Piles of produce — bananas in one area, and candlenuts, avocados, areca, taro, golden apples in their own separate areas — accumulated as farmers unloaded their produce from the trucks and buses that carried them from their homes out in the countryside to the marketplace. Some of the women fussed at each other when their bananas got stepped on. People and produce overflowed the roadside.

Eventually, another trader bought Nunu Lele's granddaughter's remaining bananas for IDR2500 (US\$00.26) per hand. Later that night, the Sumbawan buyers — men and women — hauled the produce they purchased from the Sumbanese farmers to the Waikelo port, loaded it

on boats and transported it to Sumbawa. About seven boats full of agricultural products sailed from Waikelo to Bima that night. Some of the traders sold their produce on the docks as soon as they landed the next morning and other traders sold their goods in Sumbawa's Tente marketplace.

Within twenty minutes, Nunu Lele, Dita Walu and the granddaughters had sold all their produce for the prices they were aiming to receive so they set off into the market to use their newly earned income to purchase the products for themselves and their families back home in Wai Rawewok. Dita Walu purchased slaked lime, coffee, kerosene, salt and dried fish. Nunu Lele purchased chili peppers, shallots and dried fish. The granddaughters used their money to buy sugar, tea and rice. That was a typical March day in the Weimangura market for Nunu Lele's family in the sense that they produced a standard set of commodities in the late rainy season time of the year, and they had typical experiences with the buyers and the other producers. While commodity production varies during the year in response to the seasonality of rainfall, the model of exchange between horticulturalists and traders that occurred in the Weimangura market on that day in March endures throughout the year.

Seasonal Variations in Commodity Production

In order to compare the types of commodities that producers sell during the rainy season to those they sell during the dry season, let us take a look into Mali Kaka's household on a Saturday afternoon in October.

The dry season, which begins in May or June, is typically over in October (give or take a few weeks into September or November) when the monsoon rains begin. Nevertheless, the production of garden crops is minimal due to extremely limited rainfall. So Sumbanese rely more heavily on wild plants, famine foods, tree crops and other supplemental goods to both consume within their own households and to sell in marketplaces. The commodities that flow through Mali Kaka's household generally illustrate the production patterns that exist throughout Kodi and across Sumba during the late dry season. Mali Kaka lives together with several of her children; several of her grandchildren, whose parents live in other households, also stay with her for varying intervals of time. Mali Kaka's home is in the hamlet of Obmol in the interior of the Kodi region of Southwest Sumba. She has two grain/vegetable gardens — one directly in front of her house and another on the northern slope of the hill that Obmol sits atop — an orchard, and a taro plot. Mali Kaka inherited ownership rights to her gardens when her husband died; he had inherited the rights from his mother when she died and she had inherited rights from her ancestors. Mali Kaka's family works with her to produce food in her gardens, orchards and taro plot: her daughters, Dorkas, Katrina, Maria, and Ribica; Dorkas's husband, Paulus; and her little brother, Jacob. On that day in October, Dorkas took the fruits of her family's productive activities to Kori, a small town to the west of Obmol where the market is open on Saturdays and Wednesdays. Her basket of produce included amaranth leaves, fern fiddleheads and fronds, cassava roots and sorghum grains. To get to Kori, Dorkas walked down from her house in Obmol, shortly after sunrise, along the single track dirt path to a minivan stop on the nearest paved road, and boarded the minivan which was overflowing with passengers bound for the Kori market. Most of the other women in the

minivan were carrying products to sell. These included elderly women with green coconuts, eggs and roosters; middle aged women with bundles of ferns, squash leaves, sweet potato leaves, candlenut and hand woven cloth; young women with cassava leaves, eggplants and chickens; and little girls with papaya flowers, cashew nuts and mangos. When Dorkas returned home from Kori she distributed the goodies she bought to her family: she gave a bundle of areca nuts and betel leaves, a small bag of sugar and a small pile of coffee to Mali Kaka, one sweet roll to each child, and a bag of ground corn meal to her Aunt who lived in the house next door. The other women who were on the minivan with Dorkas brought food home for their families too; rice and maize were especially important, but also salt, fish, coffee, sugar and other commodities.

Identity Relations and Transactions

Inter-island traders, intra-island traders and producers are linked in a network of complex relationships that range from familial to friendly, complementary, competitive, tense, profitable and even to exploitative. The groups that constitute the network define themselves and others, in part, during exchange processes, when they are minding their businesses, positioning themselves to bargain, and playing their roles as producers, traders, importers and exporters. Identity is 'a nexus of relations and transactions actively engaging a subject' (Clifford 1988: 344). The boundaries of the main social groups that are found in Sumbanese marketplaces are permeable, and people's identities fluctuate so that, within their life courses, even multiple times throughout their biographies, they may change their affiliations.

Waitabula, Waikabubak, Waingapu, Homba Rade, Weimangura, Bima, Tente, and dozens of other Eastern Indonesian markets are spaces where people compare, contrast and discuss their economies, religions and ethnicities. On Sumba, traders and producers appear to occupy three categories: Muslim Inter-Island Traders, Intra-Island Traders and Adat producer-traders. Muslim Inter-Island traders define their identities mostly in terms of their religion and careers. They mark their identities by wearing clothes associated with Muslims in Indonesia and by working together with their husbands and other family members to import and export products across the land and sea. Their names also indicate their identity since they use 'Muslim' names such as Maimuna, Nurmin Usman and Fitri. Intra-Island Traders express their identities by wearing clothes associated with global culture (especially pants and T-shirts), by speaking the national Bahasa Indonesia language and by using 'Christian' names such as Yuliana and Maria. Adat producer-traders define their identities in terms of genealogy, language and territory, such that 'Kodi' people descend from Kodi ancestors, speak the Kodi language and live in the Kodi sub-districts. Members of the 'Wejéwa' ethnic group descend from Wejéwans, speak Wejéwan and live in the Wejéwa sub-districts; however, Wejéwans are more widespread and also live in other Sumbanese districts. Clothes also mark the identities of Adat producer-traders since they typically wear woven sarongs composed of colours and graphics that are associated with their particular ethnic groups. Like people in the other groups, names symbolize membership in Adat communities, hence Nunu Lele and Dita Walu.

Mapping Market Women on Sumba

One lesson that emerges from studying the strategic interactions of Sumba's traders and producers is that people produce their identities in the process of negotiating their ways through marketplaces and navigating along the routes into and out of marketplaces. The routes, then, are characteristics of identity — along with economic strategies, religion, language, clothes and names. Enacting routes is an identity process.

Maimuna has both maritime and land trade routes. The maritime portion of her route takes her and her bundles of commodities from Sumbawa, across the Sumba Strait in a boat, to Sumba. The land-based portion of her route goes from the markets of Sumbawa to the docks of Bima and from the docks at Waikelo to her home in Waitabula and the market in Weimangura.

Nurmin Usman has two main trade routes. The first is from her home in Waitabula to the Waitabula market. The second is from her home in Waitabula to the Waikabubak market. Nurmin's trade is land-based, but she works in tandem with her sister-in-law, Fitri, who handles the maritime portion of their import-export business.

Fitri's maritime trade route runs between the ports at Bima on Sumbawa and Waikelo on Sumba.

As in the case of the other traders and producers discussed in this article, Hochi's routes have changed during her life course. Her routes when she lived in her family's farming household in Wee Limbu Village differ from the paths she follows as a market trader in the capital town of Waingapu. In Waingapu, she moves back and forth between her house and the marketplace. She occasionally travels the route from Waingapu to her home in Elopada sub-district and from the capital of East Sumba to the capital of West Sumba. Hochi's economic endeavours depend on her collaboration with other traders and producers, especially Maria.

Maria routinely traverses the route from East Sumba to West Sumba for the purpose of buying and selling products between the island's two largest marketplaces in Waingapu and Waikabubak.

Yuliana's personal history is similar to Hochi's and to that of many other Sumbanese market vendors, since she also migrated from her small village to the capital for the purpose of earning income. Yuliana's migration took her from Ngadu Tana in the West Wejéwa sub-district of West Sumba to Waingapu in East Sumba. In search of merchandise for her market stall, Yuliana retraces the route between Waingapu and the market nearest her home.

Sintha's mapping routines are very similar to Yuliana's. Sintha also migrated from West Sumba to East Sumba, and she retraces that path periodically for, among other incentives, the purpose of buying and selling commodities.

Nunu Lele, Dita Walu, Dulci and the other granddaughter routinely follow several routes through the West Sumbanese landscape. On a daily basis, they walk between their hamlet and their gardens, orchards and forests as they manage those sites of production and as they plant, tend and harvest domesticated, semi-domesticated and wild plants. They also, like all of the other women whom they encounter in the Weimangura market, periodically make their ways from their rural hamlets to centres of trade; in the case of Nunu Lele and her kin, they walk and ride the bus from Kodi to Weimangura.

Mali Kaka, Dorkas, and their kinfolk have wayfinding practices that are very similar to Nunu Lele and her kin. Mali Kaka and her family walk every day between their houses, gardens, orchards, taro plots and forest patches; most days they take several outings. Many people also periodically plod the path between Obmol Hamlet and the market centres, usually Kori but also sometimes Weimangura, Bondo Kodi or Hombo Karipit. Nunu Lele's hamlet is several miles further into the interior of the island than Mali Kaka's hamlet; therefore, it has slightly more rainfall and slightly higher crop production rates and ripening schedules, so people's wayfinding patterns may vary slightly because of seasonality and in response to the plants themselves. The 'culture' of the residents of Mali Kaka and Nunu Lele's hamlets might be expected to be different because they belong to different clans with different genealogies. In spite of these factors, farming strategies and mapping practices are fairly consistent between the two hamlets, if not across the entire Kodi region and throughout Southwest Sumba and Sumba.

Wayfinding, Social Networks and Economic Security
Routes, especially people moving along them, constitute, in part, people's perceptions of society and ecology. As people move through landscapes, they encounter other people, nonhuman biological organisms, non-living entities and meteorological phenomena. As they find their ways through these encounters, people locate the resources to sustain them (or not) physically and metaphysically: calories, cash, meanings and relationships. While marketplaces are contact zones (Clifford 1997) where different communities of people within a society forge identities relative to one another, routes are also contact zones where different types of biotic and abiotic entities within an ecosystem produce one another. An important function of the movement of people and goods is to connect the urban markets to the rural centres.

In Eastern Indonesia, women connect with other women by moving through space and by weaving together their movements with those of other women. They create networks that bind them to other people, to other organisms and to the landscape. Their agro-economic choices create interdependencies. Market women possess individual identities at the same time as they enjoy a shared identity in relation to other market women. This — the coexistence, that is, of specific and group identities — is especially true when women are in the marketplace, on their way to or from marketplaces, or engaging in conversations or activities related to markets. This is the reality of complex identities, and is an indicator of the dynamic, processual character of identity production. While it might seem like a contradiction to portray marketplaces as sites of individual transcendence and collective co-creation, both of these aspects of identity result from complex social relationships and contemporary market 'places'.

Spatial mobility is vital in creating and sustaining the safety nets that surround female producers and traders on Sumba. Scott (2009) speaking of mainland Southeast Asian hill peoples — following Clastres (1987) speaking of American Indians, Griaznov describing Central Asians (1969) and Gellner discussing Arabs and Berbers in the Maghreb (1969) — claims that many foragers, swiddeners and seafarers purposively choose to be mobile and

marginal (relative to political centres) as part of their political strategies to evade incorporation into states or exploitation by oppressive regimes. In the mountains of mainland Southeast Asia, people use their mobility to 'integrate themselves more closely with the neighbouring polities or, alternatively, to keep them at a distance' (Scott 2009: 333). The mobility of women producers and traders who circulate around Eastern Indonesia contribute to the strength of their safety nets.

In the daily and biweekly marketplaces, the common identity of the women who gather together transcends their separate identities as Kodi, Wejéwan, Biman, Sumbawan, Sumban, Muslim, Catholic, Protestant or Marapu (the local ancestral religion). Sumbanese marketplaces are trans-ethnic spaces where exchange is 'a sphere of interest that cut[s] across ethnic categories' (Robinne and Sadan 2007: 300). Mobility and exchange define Sumba's transethnic marketplaces. A 'radical flux' (Scott 2009) in identities occurs as people circulate around markets, along paths and across oceans, and causes the social landscape to be as dynamic as the region's monsoonal landscape.

The tenacious women who farm and trade on Sumba work together with their kin and allies — in groups composed, for instance, of mothers, daughters, granddaughters, nieces and sister-in-laws — to create value, to produce consumable and marketable goods and to generate income in a limited environment. Most Sumbanese women manage natural resources to produce food and crafts. Many women trade their products informally among one another, as well as more formally with buyers who pass through their hamlets on trading excursions, and with vendors in biweekly marketplaces. As practitioners of horticulture, agroforestry, animal husbandry, fibre arts and trade (and so much more), Sumbanese women find their ways through relationships and resources as they make maps of places and landscapes. Wayfinding and mapping are necessary for the survival of Sumbanese women and their families.

The study of wayfinding provides us with insights about both the social relationships that connect people together into communities and the ways people perceive their landscapes. As people weave together their identities with their terrain, they increase their knowledge about resources and their ability to survive.

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ABSTRACTS

Gender Scrambling:
A New Comparative Advantage of International Capital

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This paper problematizes the relationship between women's employment and their presumed empowerment as its consequence. Ethnographic examples from Mexico show that women remain disadvantaged by work conditions even when they participate fully in a productive economy. Valuations of work and goods produced are always guided by masculine principles. Economic growth as measured in terms of GDP and other signs of a modern economy has contributed very little towards any positive gains in women's positions. Even in a globalizing market, women remain in the grey areas of the informal section of the larger economy. For women to be labelled entrepreneurs means reaching upwards from negative counts and to engage in struggle to come at par with male players in the market economy. Patriarchal norms go into defining work and it rewards leaving women to receive disproportionately less for their labour inputs and efforts, as compared to men. The same work may mean different pays and, more importantly, work designated as women's work, such as housekeeping, will pay better when it is done by a man. This paper relies on case studies from the author's field data from Mexico to illustrate how in every situation, from the market to household employment, women get an unfair deal, yet display great grit and strength. Women fight against all odds to survive.

Keywords: Neoliberal economy, women's employment, Mexico, informal sectors of the economy.

'I couldn't just sit around at home!':
North African Women Living in Imperia, Italy

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This paper focuses on North African Muslim women immigrants to Italy. I examine their entering and adapting to a new country with a different language, culture and religion. These women, mothers and wives sidestep stereotyping and establish social networks not only among themselves but also with local Italians and other immigrants. They can be described as ground level entrepreneurs who are busy creating new homes, making contacts, building communities and earning money. In this paper I show how stereotyping obscures many

activities which may be deemed entrepreneurial, especially by socially marginal groups. The women described here amply demonstrate Frances Angela's notion of a third space — 'neither the margin nor the co-opted centre, but a locus where women's agency, inclusiveness and solidarity are exercised, and where otherness is converted into a space for building alliances and community.' These migrant women express their resistance to global political and economic forces, by maintaining the national and ethnic identities of their home countries and resisting full assimilation in the host culture. At the same time, they are actively creating satisfactory living conditions and engage in sustained and enriching social contacts with Italians and other immigrants in their effort to survive in challenging situations marked by insecurity and vulnerability.

Women Entrepreneurs in Manipur: Their Institution and Their Entrepreneurship

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Just like their counterparts in Southeast Asia, women in Northeast India have been producers and sellers since ancient times. They may not be large-scale entrepreneurs but they are economically self-sufficient. Every household in the villages in Manipur has a loom, a small or a big kitchen garden and a *pukhari* (pond) with plenty of fish. Women all over Northeast India weave as an integral part of their traditions. They are both producers and sellers in the local markets. In Manipur, markets totally run by women are called *Ima Keithel* (mothers' markets); no man is allowed to own a shop there. These are the only markets of their kind in the world. Here, women are mostly vegetable vendors and cloth merchants who primarily sell their own produce. They have a very strong organization. The police are afraid to hassle them. The study of the history of Manipur shows that the *Ima Keithel* was the launching pad of the two-epoch making *Nupi Lans* (women's fights) against the British. It was here that they organized and pursued their movement and fought against colonial forces. It is not only an economic base for the *Imas* (mothers*)*, but also their political base. In this paper I describe this 'institution' of *Ima Keithel* and discuss its significance in the unique socio-cultural context of this region.

REVIEW ARTICLE

A Haven of Affectionate Relationships:
Uses and Gratifications of Lesbigay Semi-Formal Groups

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Moshe Shokeid (2015). *Gay Voluntary Associations in New York: Public Sharing and Private Lives*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 232 pages.
and
Ellen Lewin and William L. Leap (eds) (1996). *Out in the Field: Reflections of Lesbian and Gay Anthropologists*. Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Moshe Shokeid delves into a unique communitas or 'a spontaneous fraternity' (p. 8, all quotations from Shokeid, 2015, unless otherwise stated) of lesbians, gay men and bisexuals (from now on, lesbigays) who gather in various voluntary organizations in New York City in order to seek and offer empathy and friendship, advice and warmth. They assemble to express and perform distinctive lesbigay identities in the company of like-minded strangers. He focuses on seven such groups: Senior Action in Gay Environment, Sexual Compulsives Anonymous, Bisexual Circle, Men of All Colors Together, Gentle Men, Metro Bears New York, and four religious congregations (Dignity [Catholic], Unity [African-American], Metropolitan Community Church [Protestant], and Congregation Beth Simchat Torah [Jewish]). The book ends with two gay men's life stories that shed light on the inherently homosexual emotional contradiction between immediate (typically anonymous) sexual gratifications versus a life-long quest for an enduring, intimate relationship.

Shokeid concludes that the main theme of his book is 'generous openness' (p. 9). He is repeatedly astonished by the profound and even overwhelming sense of solidarity and mutual trust exhibited in the meetings of the above-mentioned groups, especially among people who are mostly strangers to each other. The lesbigays who attend these groups are 'exceptionally open in exposing intimate life experiences not only in the company of close friends, but also when participating in groups wherein they engaged with many strangers' (p. 30). Nearly all of them exhibit 'the desire and the ability […] to publicly reveal their most intimate feelings and share their very private experience with strangers' (p. 200). Shokeid strives to account for this phenomenon by offering several elucidations, of which the following is vital and actually sums rather well the uniqueness of the lesbigay experience shared by lesbigays anywhere. Many, if not all, lesbigays experience alienation, exclusion, and discrimination after being stigmatized. Hence, these groups offer consolation and a sense of finally 'coming home' and being unconditionally welcome. Here they do find and can nurture 'affectionate relationships' (p. 174) in a world that is largely antagonistic or hostile in varying degrees. Another possible way to explain this extreme communitas is rooted in the unrelenting quest for a lover/life-

partner. It is in these premises that attendees may ultimately find the One they have been looking for.

Gay Voluntary Associations in New York: Public Sharing and Private Lives can be read in roughly two ways: Readers interested in theory and are knowledgeable in anthropology and/or other social sciences can surely find a veritable treasure in Shokeid's explication of various aspects of voluntary organizations and their American socio-historical context as well as a wide array of issues that characterize lesbigay identities and collective endeavors. At the same time, other readers can enjoy an insightful, and at times rather moving, narrative rendering the stories of both individuals and communities. Shokeid is a skilled storyteller who can captivate his audience in these empathic, sensitive, albeit sometimes necessarily critical, vignettes of lived experiences. Indeed, the book 'is rooted in the ethnographic tradition that aims to present life in vivo' (p. 4); thus obviously neither formal interviews nor questionnaires were employed. What this ethnographer employs as his methodological tools are empathy, wisdom, and eager willingness to understand.

Shokeid elaborates extensively on a theme that characterizes ethnographic work since its inception, namely the roles an ethnographer — particularly one who is not an 'insider' or native to the groups under study — plays in the 'field'. He forever grapples with the tensions that are fundamental to his position as an outsider (that is, a heterosexual Israeli professor) who resists the long history of 'foreign travelers' (p. 6). In spite of this position and despite his own self-labeling as 'an alien anthropologist' (p. 200) and the assertion that he 'maintained the position of an ordinary participant' (p. 90), Shokeid immerses himself wholly at the Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center and the religious institutions mentioned above where he gets involved for rather lengthy periods and befriends several men who serve as his guides and informants. Moreover, when opportunities to stray away from the standpoint of a vigilant observer occur, Shokeid rarely hesitates in engaging himself (including in sexual escapades). Indeed, he is continuously reflexive about the thin (and fragile) line he threads; a line between 'going native' — becoming too immersed in the activities he participates in — and remaining an aloof 'voyeur'. The result is a book, which is not told by a 'transparent' witness, but by an affectionate friend.

Shokeid insists that a good ethnography is not and should not be clouded by the ethnographer's identity (that is, sexual orientation), and in his case he is right. However, already nearly twenty years ago Ellen Lewin and William Leap (1996) have collected an inspiring and critical anthology, in which prominent lesbigay anthropologists attest to the complexities of doing fieldwork in lesbigay contexts. The prevalent idea in *Out in the Field: Reflections of Lesbian and Gay Anthropologists* is that 'nativ'' anthropologists in this context may be more receptive and reflexive in addressing the subtleties inherent in the (cumbersome and oftentimes painful) management of a lesbigay identity and their social worlds. Walter Williams, for example, writes: 'It is not that sensitive heterosexuals lack the ability to do research on homosexuality; indeed, non-gay anthropologists […] have made important contributions to the study of sexual variance. But it is still clear that […] openly gay ethnographers have an advantage. […] Because native homosexual often see themselves as different, sometimes as outsiders in their own culture, they are likely to feel an immediate

identity with others they perceive to be "like themselves"' (1996 p. 79). I wish to add that from my own experience, being a gay researcher paves the way for a reciprocal relationship between my life and the informants' experiences. Our positionality within the same framework of stigmatized 'outsiders' usually produces dialogically intertwined stories. Thus, an intimate rapport between us eases their self-disclosure. Some of their biographical elements — similar dilemmas and parallel patterns of life trajectories — do echo my own. My experiential equivalents constitute a catalyst for the informants: As someone whose life course is in many respects similar, I can assist informants in the difficult task of reflexivity (Kama 2000).

Gay Voluntary Associations in New York may be informative and edifying for scholars of urbanity for it seems that these groups are ingrained in the urban context of a metropolis where lesbigays who have no immediate families (that is, spouses) inevitably run the risk of existential isolation and emotional loneliness. In fact, most of the people who inhabit the book contrast the haven of affectionate relationships found at the Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center with the faceless or alienating arenas of commercial venues and other lesbigay sites, especially those that afford spaces for casual sexual activities. In other words, the Center and its activities constitute a sort of a metaphorical island where 'the promise of generous sociability and a measure of affection' (p. 86) may safeguard an urban lesbigay individual from getting lost, so to speak, in the harsh and relentless city in spite of all the attractions it offers.

The book is based solely on ethnographic observations and conversations, thus the following critique may be construed as unfair or petty; yet, readers may wish to be acquainted with the larger picture of the social life of lesbigays in New York City. The Center and the religious congregations cater, as indicated by Shokeid, to a few hundreds of men and women, at most. The organizations he attends accommodate on the average a couple of dozens of people, some of whom regularly attend more than a single organized activity. One cannot but wonder whatever happens with the tens (hundreds?) of thousands of lesbigays that most certainly populate NYC and its environs. Moreover, based on the literature on the prevalence, nature, history, and socio-demographic attributes Shokeid reviews of American voluntary organizations, the inevitable expectation is that the number of attendees would be much, much larger. The book does not tackle the fact that after all the Center serves but a tiny — perhaps even insignificant — fraction of the lesbigay population.

Another problematic question relates to the 'anonymous sex sites' (p. 197), about which Shokeid as well as his informants often talk at length. These include commercial and non-commercial bathhouses, saunas, darkrooms, clubs, public restrooms, deserted alleys, and so on. There is no doubt that for many years these sites constituted an indispensable and pivotal meeting place for men-who-have-sex-with-men (MSM) regardless of acknowledged sexual orientation and identity. However, since the dawning of the Internet and its vast supply and endless opportunities, MSM can and do enjoy its many symbolic as well as material benefits (for example, no cost, ease of access, no threat of being stigmatized or seen by others and many more). Media scholars have already accentuated the omnipresence of computer-mediated communication in the lives of gay men especially as an easy and ever-present means

for meeting other men (see, for example, Kama 2007, McGlotten 2014, Roth 2014). In other words, it seems that the aforementioned anonymous sex sites play only a negligible role today and can hence be considered obsolete. In other words, based on contemporary evidence I would surmise that Shokeid's informants' dichotomy between the sex sites and the organized groups might no longer be so common today.

Finally, I wish to add a personal note. As a gay man myself, I found in the book many echoes of my own life. Paramount among these I was utterly touched by Shokeid's reflection that gay men are 'engaged in a continual search for long-term partners. This effort was a permanent element in their daily life and was conducted at a variety of venues. […] The continuous trial-and-error process they were engaged in reflected a yearning for a stable relationship' (p. 198). Sadly, neither Shokeid nor I — an elderly man, veteran activist and researcher — can offer a lucid explanation for this conundrum.

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CONFERENCE REPORT

Dreamed/planned cities and experienced cities
Université Jean Monnet Saint-Etienne, France, 8-10 July 2014

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Last July, the French Centre Max Weber (CNRS, University Lumière Lyon 2, Ecole Normale Supérieure de Lyon and University of Saint-Etienne) and the University of Saint-Etienne organized the annual conference of the IUAES (International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences) *Commission on Urban Anthropology*. More than fifty scholars participated in the conference, coming from all over the world: Albania, Brazil, Bulgaria, Columbia, Czeck Republic, France, Greece, Hong-Kong, Hungary, India, Italy, Serbia, Spain, Switzerland, U.K. and U.S.A. Nearly a third of participants were PhD students.

The aim of this conference was to investigate both the dreamed/planned cities and the experienced cities, following a well-established Lefebvrian sociological tradition that distinguishes between the government of the city and the city dwellers' representations and practices of the city. The Urban Anthropology Series[1] and the works published in the journal *Urbanities* are good examples of this growing trend among anthropologists, which is consistent with the major transformations of cities around the world: gentrification, competition between cities, urban sprawl, mobility, heritagization and so on. Urbanity is paradoxically claimed as one of the main attributes of Modernity at a time when cities are diluting and disseminating. Instead of opposing urban governments and urban planners to dwellers and local committed groups, the general convenors of this conference proposed to highlight the ways people take for dealing with the relationships between those who think the city and those who inhabit and practice it. The shared assumption was that everyone is entitled to have personal thoughts about the place where one lives.

There are particularly relevant reasons for working on those questions in Saint-Etienne. Saint Etienne is an average town which developed during the first industrial revolution thanks to a particular triptych: coal-mining, steel industry and textile industry. For a long period, St Etienne has been the capital of the French arms and weapons industry. In the mid nineteenth century the city was at the top of the French industrial development. Until the 1960s, the region remained one of the main French industrial settings. Some famous French companies were born here, such as the supermarket company Casino, Manufrance which invented the mail order catalogue at the beginning of the twentieth century, Creusot-Loire which is now included in the group Arcelor-Mital. Today, Saint-Etienne is among the world's leaders in medical textiles.

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[1] Published by Ashgate until 2013. In 2014, the Series 'Palgrave Studies in Urban Anthropology' was established.

Saint-Etienne has a large industrial heritage. For example the place where the conference was held, built in in 1864, used to be the *Manufacture Nationale d'Armes* (the National Arms Manufactory); over 11,000 people worked there 60 years ago. The *Cité du Design*, the Superior School of Arts and Design, which is part of the University, is now housed in most of those buildings. This industrial history has deeply impacted the urban landscape. It is one of the main issues of the local urban regeneration program. It has also impacted the social practices, demographics and local identity. Many features of this industrial labour past are still alive: the social habit to meet in cafés; the supporters' songs during the football matches, which evoke the coal-mining; the procession of Santa Barbara — Santa Barbara was the holy protector of the miners — is still very popular; the local artists and musicians who more than elsewhere use the features of the industrial heritage in their production and performances.

However, over the last few decades Saint-Etienne has lost 20 percent of its population. It has become one of the poorest towns in France. Probably close to 40 percent of the inhabitants have one grandparent who was born in North Africa, and a many people have a second home in the surroundings countryside. St Etienne's principal problems are the white collar flight and the impoverishment of the city centre. It is becoming a city of old people, migrants and children. Yet, it is not a large brownfield, a slum or a kind of large retirement home. St Etienne has one of the most important museums of contemporary art in the country, it is the home to one of the most important design events in Europe, and it is a place very pleasant to live in. Saint-Etienne was a good place to think about the future of European midsized cities.

St Etienne offers the kind of city life that ethnographers are fond of describing, but also the dreams, projects, aspirations that they have often forgotten. Everywhere, people need to dream their lives in order to deal with the everyday reality. Italo Calvino's *Invisible cities* shows that no place exists that we do not have in our mind. Cities exist when we experience them. How do city life and city dream join or disjoin? Our intention was to put on display the dialectic between city dwellers' dreams and urban planners' projects in order to understand better the white-collar flight and the gentrification process, the urban mobility and the spatial discrimination, the increase of heritage and the paradoxes of locality in the global world.

Five, well attended panels were held. *Emerging Practices in the City* was convened by Fernando Monge and Francisco Cruces (both at the National University of Distance Education, Spain). *Urban Changes and Attachments* was convened by Bianca Botea (Université Lumière Lyon 2) and Sarah Rojon (Université Jean Monnet Saint-Etienne). Fotini Tsibididou (University of Macedonia-Greece) and Eleftheria Deltsou (University of Thessaly-Greece) convened the panel on *From Civil Society to New Social Movements and Beyond: Urban Lives and Experiences at the Time of Neoliberal Governmentality*. Dolores Koenig (American University, Washington D.C.) convened the panel on *Planning for Renewal and Resettlement: Contested Visions*. The panel on *The Dreams and Nightmares of City Development: Urban Planning, Ideologies and Social Movements in Contemporary Cities* was convened by Nebi Bardhoshi and Olsi Lelaj (Institute of Cultural Anthropology and Art Studies, Tirana).

Emmanuelle Lallement of University of Paris-Sorbonne gave a very stimulating key-note lecture on *Ethnologists and the City: A View from France* that allowed each participant to be aware of the importance and singularity of the French urban anthropology.

The working method that we proposed was a little bit unusual for the CUA conferences. The call for presentations was launched in two steps. First, a call for panels was made and the proposals were submitted to a scientific committee. Second, the selected panel convenors issued a call for papers. They were asked to select between 6 and 8 papers which were then subject to the approval of the two general convenors. Speakers were asked to send their presentation to the appropriate panel convenor a few days before the conference, and then give short presentations at the conference. The convenors led the discussion. A main aim of the conference was to allow ample time for debate.

This format was much appreciated and we shared very exciting intellectual exchanges. The debate among speakers and with the floor was particularly rich and stimulating ethnographically, epistemologically and theoretically. Two points among many should be emphasized: the renewal of problematic issues through well-conducted ethnography and an intellectual attitude wide open to other scientific disciplines.

As a mark of the intellectual quality of this conference and of the interest it has raised, it was decided that the convenors would bring together revised versions of the best papers presented in their panel and then submit Special Issues for publication in *Urbanities*.

Last but not least, special thanks go to the doctoral students of the Centre Max Weber, who gave their time to help make this event successful.

COMPLETED DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS

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The Seduction of Football:
Youth and Sport for Development and Peace in Post-Conflict Liberia

This thesis considers Liberian youth and the concept of Sport for Development and Peace (SDP). Since the early 2000s the notion of SDP has been strongly advocated, accepted and inserted into UN led policies and intervention strategies for uniting societies divided by violent conflict. Whilst little has been done to monitor and evaluate such programmes the notion has grown at an unprecedented pace and has been adopted by the development and humanitarian industry with real vigour. In many ways football has become the face of development in post-conflict societies. However, this fashionable intervention remains a development assumption rather than a tested method of programming.

Liberia is a post-conflict society with a large youth population, an active large UN peacekeeping force and a long footballing heritage with a plethora of local NGO's using SDP initiatives. My intention in this thesis is to question the assumptions of SDP advocates as they are applied in Liberia, in order to provide a better understanding of the social effects of football for Liberia's youth population. I pursue this goal through an ethnography of one Liberian youth football team, Zatti FC, the community from which the players are drawn and the Catholic youth centre where they play. This thesis is significant as, despite its popularity, SDP has rarely been subjected to academic scrutiny, especially using the detailed qualitative methods I apply here. I will argue that, in this context, SDP is highly counter-productive for the purpose of youth development and the re-building of a peaceful Liberian society because *football constitutes and reinforces the marginal status of* youth. Seductive images rather than rational argument are central to SDP's implementation and growth. Aiming to engage and integrate youth in post-conflict Liberia, SDP actively confirms youth status in a competitive and exclusionary age-based hierarchy.

Dr Holly Collison *Completed an anthropological study at Brunel University examining notions of community, post-conflict youth and the sport for development and peace (SDP) sector in Liberia, West Africa. Dr Collison is currently a Research Associate at Loughborough University, where she is conducting an ESRC research project examining the Sport for Development and Peace Sector in five developing countries. Most of Dr Collison's fieldwork has been conducted in West Africa but she has also conducted ethnographic research in Rwanda and Sri Lanka. Dr Collison has been a speaker at several international conferences and has authored several peer-reviewed essays.*

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Tattoos and Other Body Piercing Operations: Inter-ethnographic Approaches Between Recife and Madrid.

This study focuses on certain socio-cultural phenomena related to the aesthetic of tattoos, body piercing and so-called extreme body modifications, which include scarification, subdermal implants, body suspension and the like. This investigation is based on an analysis of sixty-four individuals of both sexes, belonging to different age groups and social classes. These were subdivided into the following groups: followers, tattoo artists, body piercers, suspension artists and body modifiers. In the West, body markings and rites were, for a long time, associated with the exoticism of 'primitive' people. Later, they served as inspiration for avant-garde movements, giving rise to body art, which in the 1970s influenced the 'counter-culture' movements, especially those related to the hippie and punk aesthetics. With Internet communication and the speed of technological information, the aesthetics and rites related to these social movements have become internationalized. The Internet has facilitated and opened a number of communication channels, as well as prompting the migration of people involved in these practices to the major urban centres, where products and services focusing on the body and body modifications are commercialized and consumed. In this research, an extraterritorial mobility was observed among followers of this kind of aesthetics, who migrated from Recife to Madrid, the two cities where this study was carried out. Tattoo and body piercing studios, workshops, fairs and conventions are popular venues for individuals who gather there to modify their bodies, turn them into performing art and expand their networks. While tattoos and body piercing are part of a major trend that is conveyed by the media and has its own consumer market, the techniques which are considered extreme are outside the widely-accepted canons of beauty; yet, they always manage to attract new followers. The guiding questions in this study were: how can we understand the expansion and dissemination of these phenomena among different groups and in apparently dissimilar urban contexts, such as Recife and Madrid? What accounts for the choice to engage in these practices? To what extent do aesthetical choices become a lifestyle and in some cases an occupation, while constituting markers of identity and other possible subjective categories?

Dr Fabiana Maria Gama Pereira *is conducting her post-doctoral work in anthropology at the Federal University of Pernambuco (UFPE), Brazil. She Graduated in Psychology at the Catholic University of Pernambuco (UNICAP), Brazil and obtained her PhD in Anthropology from the University of Salamanca (USAL), Spain. Dr Pereira is a Member of the Centre for Studies in Popular Religiosity of the Graduate Program in Anthropology at the Federal University of Pernambuco.*

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The War of Positions: Football in Post-Conflict Bosnia-Herzegovina

Research on the role that sport might or can play in a post-conflict environment has tended to focus upon sport's ability to deliver wider development objectives through what are known as Sport-for-Development and Peace (SDP) interventions. Such programmes are somewhat notorious for over-looking the wider influence of the pre-established domestic sporting milieus. An ethnographic study of the role sport — in this case, specifically football — plays in what is known as a 'returnee' town within the Bosnian Serb Entity of Bosnia-Herzegovina is herein presented in an attempt to understand the complex interplay of power between the town, their neighbours, the state and those who perform and deliver football. The relationships that are established across and within such entities and the negotiations required for co-existence are significant; in a variety of ways they influence the post-conflict processes.

The interplay of the varied social and cultural groups that constitute post-conflict Bosnia requires a multi-disciplinary approach to elucidate the post-conflict processes. Using a neo-Gramscian approach, what follows makes it possible to envisage the International Community — namely the supra-national institutions, international NGOs and funders — in the role of the dominant political group working to create its vision of a hegemony of peace. Concurrently the ethno-political indigenous élite are endeavouring to retain the status quo and have managed to create a permanent liminality, preventing Bosnia from creating a post-conflict hegemony. With historic links to nationalist impulses and intricate connections to the current political milieu, football provides a window through which the post-conflict processes of a community may be observed. As what we might best call a War of Position for the establishment of a post-conflict hegemony ensues, the research illustrates that whilst domestic football may be understood as a focal point for the promotion of civil society that carries many capabilities of political capital, there remains a tension between the ethno-political élite and the International Community. Both use the game for their own ambitions, but neither of their visions are accepted by the wider Bosnian population.

Dr Emily K. Vest *was awarded her PhD in February 2015. She holds a BA from Cambridge University, an MSc in Development, Humanitarianism and Human Rights from Oxford Brookes University's Centre for Development Practice. Dr Vest's interest in sport as a vehicle for peace and development stems from her time spent working for NGOs in post conflict Bosnia-Herzegovina and Sierra Leone. Her MSc in Humanitarian, Development and Human Rights was obtained from the Centre for Development and Emergency Practice in Oxford Brookes University with a focus upon reconciliation for returning refugees. Her research interests focus on the role of sport in development and in reconciliation in post-conflict communities, the role of community based organisation in promoting sport for peace and development and the impact of corruption within sport in reconciliation and development processes.*

A Commemoration

Rosemary Lois Harris

***Born on 28th February 1930, died on 31th March 2015,
at 85 years of age.***

Corinth 2011

Obituary

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Rosemary Harris will be greatly missed by anyone who knew her and by the many who knew her work. Since her death last March, several tributes have emphasized her intellectual brilliance and her personal qualities, remembering her as a wonderful, dedicated teacher and supervisor and as a very kind person.

Rosemary was a gentle, unassuming and generous woman, who devoted countless hours to her students and younger colleagues, supporting them and stimulating their intellectual growth. Tributes to Rosemary have emphasized the important contribution she gave to widening the scope of social anthropology, both through her own research and through the encouragement she gave her students in the pursuit of innovative ideas. I would like to note, however, that paradoxically — or probably because of the pioneering nature and very high calibre of her work — such a significant contribution did not always receive the recognition that it deserved and that would have been reasonably expected. As unfortunately it often happens in these cases, Rosemary's great scholarship encountered unwarranted opposition from mediocre minds. In remembering Rosemary, I feel that more should be said about her scholarly achievements.

Rosemary was one of the first British anthropologists to do research in a modern North-European nation-state. Stimulated by the work of the ethnologist Estyn Evans (who later became professor of geography at Queen's University, Belfast), and initially encouraged by Daryll Forde at University College London, Rosemary undertook her first anthropological fieldwork in Northern Ireland with the aim to study the nature of prejudice in relation to religious divide. Her book, titled *Prejudice and Tolerance in Ulster: A Study of Neighbours*

and "Strangers" in a Border Community, was based on 10-month continuous fieldwork carried out in Ballybeg in 1952-53 and subsequent periodic visits until 1965, which she made during her lectureship at the Queen's University, Belfast. As Rosemary explains in the Introduction, the name of the village, Ballybeg, is a pseudonym used to disguise the real identity of the place and the people mentioned in the study. The ethnography analysed in the book brings out a common culture shared by Catholics and Protestants who 'paradoxically', Rosemary writes, 'are seen to have close and friendly contact as neighbours', despite the official cleavage between the religious groups. Anthony Buckley praised Rosemary's study of the Northern Irish situation as the first modern anthropological work that provided an in-depth, subtle and intelligent analysis of the sectarian divide; an analysis that transformed scholarship on the topic. In a review-article that addressed the 'Ethnology of Northern Ireland', Buckley emphasized how Rosemary's work represented a 'paradigm change' on the study of sectarian divide, masterfully showing the complexity of the relations between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland and, by relating sectarian divisions to social geography, bringing out how such divisions and the attendant prejudices coexisted with a sense of shared community. Buckley concludes that, unsurprisingly, the publication of her book in 1972 immediately stimulated similar works in anthropology and outside it. Note that Rosemary's monograph was published only in 1972, twenty years after the initial fieldwork!, and that this happened following Max Gluckman's steady insistence that she should publish an account of Ballybeg. Official explanations for such delayed publication would point to the fact that in the 1950s — at the time, that is, of Rosemary's original fieldwork — research carried out in northern Europe would not be considered appropriate for a PhD in social anthropology. While similar rural-based research was carried out elsewhere in Europe (especially in the Mediterranean region), northern Europe was perhaps considered too familiar or, in line with the dominant disciplinary divisions of the time, as being an appropriate subject for Sociologists or Folklorists, not for Social Anthropologists. Anthropology 'at home' had still a long way to go before being accepted in mainstream British anthropology. It is, therefore, not surprising that previously Rosemary had published her essays on her Irish ethnography in sociological journals, like the article she published in 1961 in the *Sociological Review*.

Thus, for her doctoral dissertation Rosemary had to do what was considered at the time 'proper' anthropological research. Being a strong and determined person, Rosemary was certainly not discouraged and, as a young British lady in her mid-twenties, travelled to West Africa on an Emslie Horniman Anthropological Scholarship to undertake a new field research among the Membe of Nigeria. She conducted this long-term fieldwork in 1956-57 and subsequent updating field-trips in 1958 and 1959 focusing on the variations of a particular form of chieftancy among the Mmembe tribes of the Middle Cross River area. Her revised doctoral thesis was published in 1965 by Her Majesty's Stationary Office under the title *The Political Organization of the Mbembe*, *Nigeria*, for which she was awarded the prestigious Percy Amaury Talbot Prize for African Anthropology. Hers was indeed a remarkable study of an African political system carried out in the classical anthropological tradition but which departed in significant ways from the still dominant functionalist approach to the study of

tribal societies. Rosemary provided a comparative historical analysis of the differences among three Mbembe tribes (the Adun, the Osopong and the Okum), which had involved linking their political organisation to their kinship system of double unilineal descent, to their belief system (in which spiritual leaders and witchcraft played a central role) and to their different economies and forms of warfare. In reviewing the book for the journal *Africa*, G. I. Jones wrote, 'The result is an admirable and authoritative study of Mbembe chieftancy … this is a very valuable contribution to the social anthropology and ethnology of this part of Nigeria and one that will remain the last word on Mbembe ethnography for some time to come'.

These two ethnographically and theoretically different researches clearly show what a talented and committed scholar Rosemary was. She was a gifted and innovative fieldworker and a highly sophisticated ethnographic writer. Her publications were written in a jargon-free style, linear, simple and elegant.

Rosemary commanded a solid anthropological knowledge and was blessed with an inquisitive mind. It is precisely her scientific curiosity and imagination that led her not only to undertake innovative research, but also to promote new teaching programmes. After her teaching appointment at the Queen's University, Belfast, Rosemary took up a lectureship at the University of Sussex before moving to the Department of Anthropology at University College London, where she retained the position of Emerita Reader after her retirement. It is at UCL that, in the 1970s, she initiated a course on the Anthropology of Complex Societies (as they were defined at the time) and later — in the wake of yet another innovative research, this time in industry — a new teaching programme on Western Industrial Societies. Both courses included anthropological literature and readings from cognate disciplines. The aim was to stimulate serious debate on the potential advantages and the possible alleged 'dangers' of an interdisciplinary approach. Through both courses Rosemary sought to show that if, on the one hand, anthropologists who studied western society could not ignore the contribution of cognate disciplines; on the other hand, it was precisely anthropology's methodological paradigm and the commitment to proper in-depth ethnographic fieldwork that constituted the basis of authoritative analysis and theoretical development. Her lecturing style was as clear and incisive as her writing. And she caught her audience's attention throughout; her lectures and seminars were interspersed with anecdotes that brought to life the anthropological works under consideration, thus actively engaging the students and awakening their desire for further knowledge. It is during her postgraduate seminars on kinship that I finally began to master the complexity of this anthropological field and not only fully understand the technical terminology, but more importantly grasp the economic, social and political relevance of different kinship systems and their significance as systems of exchange.

Rosemary was a masterful supervisor, stimulating self-reflection rather than imposing her views. She would ask apparently simple questions, starting from ethnographic details and from there leading her interlocutor to reflect on key analytical aspects and bring out the theoretical relevance of their analysis. I felt privileged to be one of her doctoral students. She had encouraged and supported my proposed research on Italian politics, despite arguments that a young woman could not possibly do research in a male-dominated institutional environment. Well, those who appreciate Rosemary's strong personality and intellectual

acumen would not be surprised by the support she gave me and many other students. She was one of the very few senior anthropologists who understood the broader relevance that the kind of locally-based political formations I wanted to study had on Italian politics and how they might be harbingers of more fundamental changes to come. I completed successfully my research and my doctorate and, as later political events showed, we were both right.

In 1986, Rosemary published what turned out to be her last book. This monograph, too, is based on new, ground-breaking anthropological research and has theoretical significance well beyond anthropology. Titled *Power and Powerlessness in Industry. An analysis of the Social relations of production*, it was based on her ethnographic research in two ammonia plants within ChemCo. Rosemary undertook a comparative study of the two plants, which were treated ethnographically 'as fields of social relationships', with the aim of showing how 'reflections on the nature of the differences between the two plants are very pertinent to the major theoretical debate about the relative significance of technology and culture for work-place behaviour' (p. 23). This work is a great demonstration of the danger of superimposing theory to reality. As Rosemary notes in her Introduction, aptly titled 'The Innocent Eye', her work began primarily through 'attentive observation rather than theoretical reflection'. Significantly, such attentive observation produced a well-informed and astute analysis of major sociological theories, focusing especially on key sociological debates about the nature of industrial relations. It was precisely the 'ethnographer's eye' that made it possible to develop such a convincing empirically-grounded rebuttal of abstract Marxist-oriented grand theories. However convincing might these grand theories appear at first sight, Rosemary's ethnography masterfully shows that a 'particular structural Marxist view of industrial relations is too simple, and is forced to be very selective of the data considered if it is to be crammed into what is something of a theoretical strait-jacket.' (218).

Rosemary's concern with contemporary western societies led to further initiatives and academic endeavours, such as: the collaborative work with Gary Armstrong on football hooliganism — another pioneering work; the constant encouragement and support given to her students to pursue anthropological research in European cities, which went beyond the duties and responsibilities of a supervisor.

Over the years Rosemary strongly supported the work of the IUAES Commission on Urban Anthropology (CUA) and encouraged the establishment of this Journal, on whose Board she served and to which she contributed several articles. In recognition of her substantial contribution to the development of the Commission, in 2011 she was unanimously elected to the Commission's Advisory Committee. It was Rosemary who introduced me to the CUA in 1996, on the occasion of a conference she had agreed to host at UCL. Rosemary involved three of her former students in that conference, Italo Pardo, Gary Armstrong and myself. Later, she encouraged me to engage in the activities of the CUA and, following my appointment as its co-chair, she gave unfailingly her invaluable and constant behind-the-scenes counsel. Never confrontational, never belittling her opponents, Rosemary gave subtle, most effective diplomatic advice. Throughout my professional life she has been a leading example of intellectual engagement, and of wisdom, skill and integrity.

More recently, she reminded me of a conversation we had when she was trying to soften my frustration and anger at not having yet been able to finding a publisher for my doctoral work. Although all the publishers that I had approached unanimously praised the great ethnographic and theoretical contribution of my work to anthropology and other social sciences, it seemed that either it did not fit in their publishing policies or it was believed not to be likely to produce sufficient commercial returns. Rosemary sympathised with my frustration and disappointment, both pointing out that academic politics can be far more vicious than real politics and suggesting that there I should apply the skills that I used in my analysis of Brindisi politics. A few months ago, while discussing some new fuss in academic circles she and I concluded that all too often mediocrity and pettiness find a way to matter at the expense of intellectual fortitude and integrity.

Rosemary's conducted her last major research before her official retirement in 1991-1995 in Somers Town, a multi-ethnic neighbourhood in central London's South Camden area — this is the area around Euston station, spreading towards St Pancras and Kings Cross. She carried out this research on ethnic conflict, including teenage inter-ethnic violence, in the context of the transformation of the area from a traditional working class neighbourhood to a cosmopolitan inner-city district hosting at its periphery various transient ethnic groups, the most numerous of which were Bangladeshi. With her usual acumen, Rosemary went on to analyse ethnic conflict beyond fashionable discourses on 'race'; she suggested that the term 'ethnic' would be more appropriate to describe a conflictual situation that did not arise 'simply out of perceived visual differences' for those differences were 'broadly cultural'. The research resulted in academic publications in 1996 and 1999 — respectively in the *International Journal of Minority and Group Rights* and in and edited volume on *Ethnicities in Conflict* (edited by T. Allen and J. Eade) — comments in *Urbanities* and a public intervention titled 'A Death in the Ghetto', which was published in the magazine *Prospect* in 1997. In this field research, Rosemary focused on groups of teenage boys from different ethnic backgrounds to investigate the alliances and antagonisms which these boys believed to be linked to ethnic difference. She investigated instances of violence often involving Bangladeshi boys in various institutional contexts such as the school, youth club and the street. She found out that youth violence was less important than drug abuse and the long-term effects of unemployment and that major problems concerning inter-ethnic violence appeared to be the stereotypical reactions by both local people and outsiders, especially the media.

It will never be said enough that Rosemary was a true pioneer in anthropology. She has promoted and encouraged new fields of study, either through her own research or by supporting her students in pursuing innovative anthropological research. Over her long career, she helped many 'stranded' doctoral students to bring to completion their dissertation.

Many will remember Rosemary' enthusiasm and intellectual curiosity and energy. To the end of her life, she remained lively in conversation and incisive in her comments. During her last academic engagement, as a key-note speaker at the CUA conference of 2011, Rosemary found herself respected not only by senior colleagues but, to her amazement, by a new generation of younger scholars who were completely taken by her intellectual brilliance

and greatly appreciated her encouragement and social interaction as well as her wit and humour. Posterity should certainly grant due credit to her contribution to anthropology and social theory more broadly, remembering her as an innovative scholar and a great mind.

Personally, I have lost a precious colleague and a dear friend.

Tributes

by Gary Armstrong, John Gledhill, Italo Pardo, Manos Spyridakis and Pier Paolo Viazzo

✳   ✳   ✳

by Gary Armstrong

Rosemary Harris' reputation preceded my meeting her. In 1981, as a first year undergraduate in the Department of Anthropology at University College London I eavesdropped on a conversation in the student common room among a group of third-year students; one of them was so behind in his studies that he had been summoned to meet with Rosemary in her capacity of departmental Senior Tutor. Seeking solace from his colleagues, the miscreant wondered how the imminent meeting might be best turned to his advantage. The group decided that the best tactic was to admit that his disregard of his studies was indeed his own fault and, then, somehow get onto the topic of ponies and dogs. That way, they surmised, she would look favourably upon him and give him all the time and understanding he sought even if he did not deserve it. From my later knowledge of Rosemary, I trust that she would have seen through the ruse, possibly admired his elementary attempt at research and, having tolerated the feigned interest in her passions, gently read him the riot act. The student would have left the meeting both happy and apologetic. Rosemary had that effect on people.

In a department that in the early 1980s combined extremely capable and gently humorous British-born scholars with equally scholarly hip dudes from the U.S., Rosemary was something different. Thoughtful, poised and not fond of the sound of her own voice, she had immense time for students and was ever-present in the Departmental Seminars; she was a backbone of the department where she was to serve for some 35 years. A problem-solver and ever a voice of reason, she had no enemies and did not pursue the small wars that so define academic life. Getting on with things and getting along with colleagues, and never swerving from what needed doing, Rosemary had a strong sense of duty and believed in doing what was right. A utilitarian in the home of that philosophy, Rosemary saw the many sides to any issue and knew that a successful settlement was one where no loser was apparent and no grievance was left to smoulder. She had no time for the cult of personality and never sought disciples in her students. She would have made a marvellous diplomat.

Her life as an Anthropologist saw her begin in the position then familiar to anthropologists, amidst a tribe near the equator. That fieldwork resulted in a book titled *The Political Organisation of the Mbembe, Nigeria*, published in 1965. Her next book was very different and represented a sea change in the discipline. A year after British Army troops were deployed to patrol the street of a British city, Belfast, Rosemary was updating her field research in Northern Ireland to address what the title of her book would suggest — *Prejudice and Tolerance in Ulster* published in 1972. A decade later, she was on the shop floor of a chemical factory looking at industrial relations and power in both its formal and informal manifestations. Her monograph, *Power and Powerlessness in Industry*, published in 1986, is a classic. However, this book attracted the opprobrium of some Marxist scholars specializing on work and industry. Never one deliberately to antagonize people, Rosemary had, however, little time for those whose thinking was reducible to formulaic rhetoric. If she had a doctrine that informed her work it was the incongruity offered by the debates over Agency and Structure. Her fascination lay in how people overcame and enabled structures to work to their advantage. Put simply, the distinction between what was said and what was done fascinated her. The truth was out there, but only ethnographic inquiry could tell it. She loved Anthropology.

When not doing research, Rosemary supervised PhDs. The topics were extraordinarily diverse. In the late 1980s, the department had a reputation for non-completion of dissertations. However, all who started with Rosemary finished; more of her students went on to become professional anthropologists than any of her colleagues — not that she was counting. She was the consummate academic; studious, generous with her wisdom and kind to colleagues. She could have harboured resentment around her academic status for despite her three monographs, she was never given the status of Professor. Why remains a mystery whose solution may lie in the academic process and, in part, in her character; whilst collegiate, Rosemary belonged to no lobby, and she was too kind to have or use sharp elbows. Perhaps people feared her intellect, which was fierce. Allowing herself to close her eyes in long-winded departmental presentations, she was often the member of the audience whose gentle question could be the one that flawed the speaker. Not that she was showing-off; she just saw things that others did not. Academics who were rude or whose *chutzpah* was second only to their self-promotion would occasionally attract the understated aside, *'I could easily fall out with that one'*. Yet, few people fell out with her. Never shying from stating her case, Rosemary wanted things done correctly and could be gently scathing of poor scholarship. And she was usually right.

I was to meet Rosemary in person in mid-1982, when final year dissertation topics were matched to supervisor. Teaching a course titled *Complex Societies*, Rosemary was considered the ideal person to watch over my efforts to explain the phenomenon of football hooliganism. Working on the dissertation engendered a collaboration that lasted nine years. Through my doctoral work, my sloth benefitted infinitely from Rosemary's patience. Because she sensed that there was a story lurking somewhere, she met with me weekly for years to tease out the narrative. The end product was a book which sold thousands and won an award. I went on to further studies and have enjoyed paid employment in academe for some 30 years. I owe

everything to Rosemary. She was a mentor and dear friend, whose opinion I sought over very many issues. Her job references were works of art; she covered all bases. Many people owe their living to her. She not only inspired; she left a legacy in all those whom she supervised. Having as supervisor someone so generous with her time inevitably rubbed off on those of her students who followed her in academic life. A major lesson that we, her students, learned was to be wary of appearances and careful not to make hasty decisions about people's character. Rosemary was very perceptive and, one senses, she recognized perception in her students.

Thankfully Rosemary was more than an academic. She was a public Intellectual in the truest sense. Not for her the breakfast TV sofa or the 15 second sound-bite. She realized that, when combined with time and wisdom, talents such as organisational skills could be put to the benefit of many, both human and animal. Thanks to Rosemary, small ponies were saved from extinction and rescued from cruelty. If there is an after-life, I for one would consider returning as one of Rosemary's beloved King Charles spaniels; no beast on this earth had a more comfortable life. Patron of a charity dedicated to assisting children in distress, Rosemary was also active on the local school Board of Governors and was a corner stone of the Parish Council. Rosemary's devout Christianity was in part a reflection of her fascination with Theology. She was particularly interested in the notion of Forgiveness. Anthropology will not see her like again. The academic world is a lesser place for her passing.

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by John Gledhill

Like many others, I owe Rosemary a considerable personal debt. I knew her as a colleague rather than a student, but when our relationship began in 1976 after I secured my first appointment as a lecturer at University College London, I was very green and often younger than even the undergraduate students that I was teaching. In those early days I tended to express my views on just about everything, from politics to the future of direction of anthropology, rather stridently if not downright dogmatically. Although Rosemary must have been appalled by some of the things that I blurted out in lectures and staff meetings, she refused to let that deflect her from a spontaneously assumed mission of informal mentoring that certainly made me a better person in ways that went beyond becoming a more professionally competent anthropologist. As I got to know her better and read her work, I developed a very great respect for Rosemary in intellectual as well as personal terms. There were some matters on which we continued to agree to differ, but, begging forgiveness for a lapse into audit-speak, as the quality of the final 'output' demonstrates, we proved a very successful supervisory team on Andrew Finlay's PhD project on trade unionism and sectarianism in the Derry shirt industry. The study of Northern Ireland's divisions and conflicts was one of the areas in which Rosemary made a truly pioneering contribution from social anthropology. *Prejudice and Tolerance in Ulster* may well be her most cited work today, although her Africanist contributions also continued to command respect after she

turned to other issues, and there was much more innovation to come. She never ceased to promote anthropological research on new and highly relevant contemporary social issues throughout her career. Anthropological research on industrial relations was one of these, and others, such as research on football hooligans, reflect the quite extraordinary levels of support and encouragement that she always gave to her students as well as her profound commitment to ethnographic methods as a foundation for grounded anthropological knowledge. This act of commemoration will certainly contain many direct personal testimonies to her support from former students themselves, so I will not labour the point beyond adding, on the basis of the inside knowledge acquired as a result of performing various administrative roles in the UCL department, that even the students who benefited from Rosemary's care and inspiration may not fully appreciate just how much behind the scenes administrative work this cost her, the extent of her dogged determination when colleagues and administrators placed obstacles in the path, and her extraordinary capacity to kick such obstacles out of the way.

Rosemary was trained as a social anthropologist in the heyday of what Adam Kuper dubbed 'The Modern British School' and made important academic contributions within its dominant paradigm. But what cannot be said too frequently is that through her personal research and writing, and by promoting the work of talented and forward-looking students, she made a truly important contribution to expanding the horizons of British social anthropology and developing new research agendas in the crucial period when that paradigm had entered its phase of collapse and professional horizons changed both geographically and thematically. Her anthropology was not just about doing anthropology at home (or in Europe) in ways that would provide a substitute for past anthropological research on small-scale societies in colonial settings. It was about applying anthropological thinking to new kinds of problems that mattered to the new kinds of places and people being studied. Her example should continue to inspire us today.

Personal tributes should have some anecdotal element and let me choose a story that is unlikely to be repeated by anyone else. For a while I organized a national study group that held its periodic meetings on Saturday mornings in the old premises of the UCL anthropology department, located on the street opposite the university bookshop and outside the back gate of the institution. Arriving for one of these meetings I discovered that newly delivered computers had been stolen from the department overnight. I reported this to security, to be told not to contact the police. Concerned by the absence of signs of forced entry and puzzled by this instruction, I telephoned Rosemary at home, since she was acting head of department at that time. She did not hesitate to disobey orders and make a call direct to Tottenham Court Road police station, thereby ensuring that what predictably turned out to be an inside job was properly investigated. Behind a diplomatic and often conservative seeming outward persona lay a strong woman with high moral values and an acute understanding of how the world really works.

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by Italo Pardo

Integrity, kindness, compassion and intellectual acumen defined the Rosemary Harris I knew. Death hath deprived me of my dear friend and invaluable colleague, to whom I owe an incalculable debt of gratitude.

I met Rosemary in 1981, when she taught me Social Anthropology as a master's student at University College London. Then, she advised me throughout my doctoral work, which I started in 1984, completed in 1987 and successfully defended in 1988, and she was one of my mentors throughout my postdoctoral years. She was an experienced and pragmatic council on just about any issue regarding anthropology and academic politics, who saw me through more than one crisis. Over time, she became a personal friend, on whose wit and wisdom and feedback and counsel I found I could count. And what a precious find that was!

Daring to go where others would or could not, throughout her career Rosemary broke many barriers and opened new fronts, ethnographically, methodologically and theoretically. As her ground-breaking production discussed by others in this Section amply attests, she was a brilliant producer of new knowledge. And as a highly motivating teacher and senior colleague she staunchly encouraged the breaking of new ground and the production of new knowledge, to which I bear direct testimony. As a young postgraduate, I wanted to do my doctoral research among what were thought to be the Neapolitan poor. The existing literature on these people was rife with derogatory stereotypes and I felt that classic anthropological research could contribute to offer a better view. However, I had to deal with my end of the view powerfully held in mainstream British Anthropology that fieldwork in the classic anthropological fashion could not be done in Western industrial urban settings; that that would not be anthropology. Rosemary rescued me before I could despair, offering much needed encouragement, support and advice: my doctoral project went officially ahead. Both she and I had little time for specious arguments and ideologues. Led in the belief that narrow empiricism is as misleading as unjustified abstraction, that Naples ethnography collected in classic anthropological fashion directly undermined arguments against ethnographic fieldwork made then in support of some ethnography by proxy or of armchair-bound abstract 'anthropology', damagingly reiterated later through post-modernist waffle and robustly disposed of in *Power and Powerlessness in Industry* (1986), where Rosemary lucidly spelt out the many weaknesses of this kind of argument.

Throughout the time it took me to complete my work, Rosemary applied what she appropriately called her Socratic advisory method: as I know she did with others, she listened, sat back and asked stimulating, constructively provocative questions, very rarely voicing and never attempting to impose her view. In her gentle, understated, intellectually demanding style, she offered incredibly valuable theoretical and methodological guidance. Perhaps equally important, over those years, and later, she both drew on her immense experience to ward me off the edge of naivety, over-enthusiasm over my own ideas or intellectual confusion, where all too often I happened to dwell, and reined in my eagerness to matter, while steadily encouraging me to dare and never refrain from being controversial — a word she loved. Patiently, very patiently, she taught me the importance of writing clearly and

simply; I am not quite sure how much of her teaching did actually get through to me but in later years she did not seem too disappointed with the results.

Even after she officially retired, Rosemary continued to lend her invaluable experience to those she encountered bringing her audience to their limits and beyond; the younger generations in particular admiring her style and benefiting from her time. I unashamedly dared ask her to participate to several seminars and conferences trusting that, despite her advancing years, her passion about and commitment to anthropology and her intellectual curiosity would make her ignore my gall and say yes. She impressed her international audiences presenting refreshingly provocative papers and, as an astute and sophisticated discussant, pointing to ethnographic or theoretical weaknesses, spotting common points among diverging views, bringing contradictions out in the open and encouraging boldness where it was due. This, Rosemary did almost to her end. To give the reader a small measure of her passion and commitment, a little less than three years ago she had cataract operations that could not be postponed and had to miss a conference in Naples which she was strongly committed to attend. She, however, authorized me to say that she would have flown there anyway, had she not been forbidden to do so on medical grounds. I did as she asked, later to learn that she had followed the proceedings as they were broadcast live streaming online (!).

As personal friends, Rosemary and I shared many non-academic interests over which we mused and exchanged views during our walks in the Kent countryside or through her Surrey garden. We also shared a love for Italian food, which sometimes I cooked for her and which sometimes she entertained me to in the Italian restaurant she knew in Virginia Water. Not many among her academic colleagues perhaps knew what a convivial, vastly cultured conversationalist this quintessential English lady could be.

As others in this Section report in detail, for many years Rosemary was active in her Surrey community, among other things contributing substantially to local education. And she was a devout Christian, who described herself as an 'Anglican Catholic'. Even the most hardened atheist would have been moved by her Funeral Service and impressed by the tributes that were paid to her from so many walks of life.

I learned much of what I know from Rosemary. And she was a key figure in my personal development.

Many colleagues who survive this great classic anthropologist will miss her scholarship. Those who had the privilege to know her will also miss her friendship. Her immense legacy lives on. Rosemary's presence and absence will be felt for years to come.

In sorrow,

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by Manos Spyridakis

I met Rosemary Harris in 2011 in Greece, when she participated in the Annual Conference of the CUA, which we organized in Corinth on 'Market versus Society'. Of course, I knew her

work; especially her excellent book, *Power and Powerlessness in Industry*, which has strongly affected my own work.

One thing that surprised me was this 81-years-okd lady's determination to visit important archaeological sites in the Corinth area and, later, the Acropolis in Athens, when she insisted on taking a walk in the city despite it being animated with demonstrations protesting E.U. economic policy. Her humor was never far away; I remember Rosemary expressing her very politely put criticism that people in Athens are 'so nice, so friendly but they don't wear helmets when they drive their motorbikes' (!)

Throughout that three-day conference, Rosemary ensured her constant presence and participation, asking helpful questions and offering topical comments. She delivered an extremely interesting key-note address on 'Power and Powerlessness in Industry: Are the 1980s Relevant in 2010?'. She based her talk on the fieldwork that had informed her book on industrial relations. That was an amazing moment in the conference. Rosemary captivated her audience for almost two hours. Having delivered an elegant 45-minute address, she answered all questions and responded to comments, never showing impatience or tiredness. We were mesmerized, as she very carefully answered the questions in a pedagogic and anthropologically deeply informed manner. This was a masterful performance. No one left the room! Most importantly, that performance generated great interest also among the large number of scholars who were not anthropologists: geographers, historians, sociologists and political scientists were absolutely taken with what this classic anthropologist had to say. Above all, however, she fascinated and was very much liked by the many postgraduate students, who enormously appreciated both the opportunity to hear such an experienced anthropologist develop her topic in an original and down to earth way and the privilege to talk with her afterwards. Many of us took a really good anthropological lesson that day.

Above all, Rosemary was a very warm and clever person, who had the original talent to attract your interest in a unique way. Politeness, the ability to deliver unfailingly well-aimed comments, a highly developed sense of humor and a strong self-dependence made her a lovable and admirable personality. This feeling persisted long after that conference, often renewed through our correspondence. I met Rosemary in person only for too short a while but I feel so very lucky that I did have the chance to realize what difference some people can make in your life. Rosemary was one of them. She will certainly be missed in our lives. Most certainly, she will remain in our memories.

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by Pier Paolo Viazzo

In the autumn of 1977, as a postgraduate student in the Department of Anthropology at University College London, I had just started the second year of the Postgraduate Diploma in Social Anthropology and was looking for an area and a topic for a Doctoral project. A challenging encounter with ecological anthropology during the first year had instigated the

idea of doing fieldwork in a mountain community. It was, however, Rosemary's course, 'Social Anthropology of Complex Societies' that Michaelmas term that proved decisive in driving me towards the Alps. What I did not imagine then was how even more decisive that course would prove in the long run, orienting my whole career.

While retaining a keen interest in West African ethnography, for a long time Rosemary had shown an interest in the 'anthropology of complex societies' (a relatively new label in those days). During her appointment at the Queen's University, Belfast, she had updated her field research on the relations between Protestants and Catholics in an Ulster border community, which she published in 1972 under the title *Prejudice and Tolerance in Ulster*. In the course of her apprenticeship to become a full-fledged expert on Irish matters, Rosemary had been fascinated by one of the central themes of Arensberg and Kimball's pioneering study of County Clare, namely the structural mechanics of the stem family and the ideology underpinning this stern system which imposed that only one son could inherit a farm and get married, whereas his brothers were condemned either to celibacy and lifelong social immaturity or to migration. The reading list that she proposed to her students that autumn of 1977 included Arensberg and Kimball's classic *Family and Community in Ireland* (1940) and the work of critics, like Brody and Gibbon, who argued that their influential account had been marred by historic myopia; Rosemary was indeed especially fond of Hugh Brody's impressionistic but heartrending *Insihkillane*. The Irish stem family continued to be one of her major theoretical concerns for many years to come. Our reading list also included studies of stem family systems in Central Europe, notably John Cole and Eric Wolf's *The Hidden Frontier. Ecology and Ethnicity in an Alpine Valley* (1974), a study of two neighbouring villages in the Italian Eastern Alps, and the American historian Lutz Berkner's path-breaking article in the *American Historical Review* (1972) on the stem family and the developmental cycle of the peasant household in eighteenth-century Lower Austria. Thanks to the stimuli from this part of the course I settled on the Alps and directed my fieldwork to the study of inheritance practices and family structures in a historical perspective, with Rosemary as my supervisor. No less important for me, through Berkner's article I learned about the existence of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure and the controversial theses on the history of the family put forward by Peter Laslett, one of the Group's founders, who was engaged in a furious debate with Berkner over the historical significance of the stem family in Europe. This was the beginning of a personal trajectory which eventually led me to join the Cambridge Group and to develop a long-term research at the frontier between social anthropology, historical demography and family history.

However, Rosemary's course was far from being focused only on the rural side of 'complex societies'. It also contained a robust urban component, spiced by an intriguing choice of titles which reflected her growing interest in a budding and still largely unacknowledged branch of the discipline, the anthropology of industry, which some ten years later resulted in her *Power and Powerlessness in Industry*, an empirically-based study of the technology and the social relations of production in two ammonia plants in Great Britain. We were thus encouraged to read such anthropological works as *Coal is our Life* (1956), the well-crafted portrait of a Yorkshire mining community by Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter and

Tom Lupton's *On the Shop Floor* (1963), but also the work of sociologists like Alan Fox and Anthony Giddens. It is remarkable, in retrospect, that she felt free to look to sociologists for inspiration and theoretical help. She was probably less insecure than some of her colleagues about the unique strengths of anthropology and was in no doubt that the tools of ethnographic enquiry as practiced by anthropologists (participant observation, extended periods of time spent in the plants meeting the crews and learning the production process and personal interviews) were essential to reach a proper understanding of social relations in a factory. She was certainly not obsessed with patrolling the disciplinary boundaries of anthropology and instilled this attitude in her students. I remember her as a supervisor who was not only careful and supportive, but extremely open-minded: she had no objection when she saw that I was increasingly drawing upon the sources and methods of social and demographic history, and she always spurred me to enter untrodden paths, if they looked promising.

A seemingly quiet scholar, aloof from fashionable theoretical discussions, Rosemary was in fact an enterprising researcher, unafraid of venturing into uncharted territories. In many respects she was ahead of the anthropology of her time. Her book on Ireland was a recognized forerunner of border studies and her volume on power relations in industry, besides being one of the first studies in urban anthropology not to focus on ethnic minorities, was the harbinger of an anthropological interest in industrial relations which came to the fore only in the 1990s and at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

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EULOGY

by James E Fraser and Paul Monaghan[1]

With Rosemary's passing we have lost a dear friend.

Dr Rosemary Lois Harris, Emeritus Reader in Social Anthropology at University College London, was born in 1930 in Eltham near Bromley. She was the youngest of the four surviving children of Albert and Gertrude Harris, and some years younger than her sisters Muriel and Betty, and brother David. Albert was an engineer and businessman of some repute, a member of the Worshipful Company of Founders and a Freeman of the City of

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[1] The authors are jointly Trustees and Executors of the Estate of the late Dr Rosemary L. Harris. The content of this tribute is drawn from material gathered by her Executors from Rosemary's own papers and the many written tributes received after her death, for the Eulogy delivered at her funeral in the parish church of St Mary, Thorpe on 29th April 2015. Unattributed quotes have been included where it has not been possible to confirm with the originator that they should be named in this article.

London. Gertie was bright enough to pass the Civil Service examination in an era when that was not an easy thing for a woman to do.

Rosemary rose to become one of the pioneering anthropologists of her generation, developing a sharp and incisive mind for observing and analysing human behaviours, and an engaging ability to put her thoughts into writing.

These professional skills she also put at the service of her local community and wider charitable interests – most notably with her sister Muriel in the breeding of Caspian horses. Those of us who were regular recipients of her emails and Minutes of meetings will recognise the clarity and wit of her written style, even if perhaps the layout and presentation often betrayed her greater familiarity with the mechanical typewriter than with the formatting features of *Microsoft Word*. But Rosemary was no Luddite: she was quick to embrace the advantages of modern technology, using email and Skype to their full advantage in pursuing her interests and responsibilities.

Rosemary's academic career began with a first degree in geography, followed by a PhD in social anthropology at University College London. Her doctoral research focused on the Mbembe of south-eastern Nigeria, which was later published in 1965 by Her Majesty's Stationery Office as *The Political Organization of the Mbembe, Nigeria*.

Rosemary went to Nigeria in 1956-1957 and again in the summer vacations of 1958 and 1959, still only in her twenties and travelling alone. She and her eldest sister Muriel had made a trip to the United States together in 1955, aboard the original Queen Mary. They landed at New York and travelled to the Niagara Falls and Chicago — quite an adventure in those days. Rosemary's pocket-book from that trip resembles remarkably the original research notes from her later anthropological studies, so perhaps she was using it as a trial run — closely observing the American people in their native environment.

In the Preface to *The Political Organization of the Mbembe*, she writes, 'Above all my thanks are due to the Mbembe people who made my work not only possible but enjoyable … The Mbembe are a modest people believing others to be wiser and more clever than they are. I hope they will see from this book that their fathers … displayed a degree of political acumen and inventiveness remarkable in a people so few in numbers'.

A major part of that study was the place of witchcraft in Mbembe culture; and having developed such an expertise in 'real' witches, Rosemary was a robust defender against any who made false claims on that territory. In the 1960s, she wrote a Letter to the Editor of the Daily Telegraph (undated):

> Sir — Since the article in WEEKEND TELEGRAPH appears to suggest that anthropologists believe that current "witches' covens" are true revivals of ancient practice, a comment from an anthropologist may be desirable.
> First, the kindest thing which can be said about the two anthropological authorities quoted is that their opinions on witchcraft are not taken very seriously by their colleagues, and that the covens as described probably have as much authenticity as Tennyson's poems on King Arthur have as pictures of dark-age Britain.
> Second, witchcraft beliefs, which seem almost universal, are related to the fact that all peoples seek explanations for human misfortunes such as sickness and crop failure; not surprisingly, one factor blamed in greater or less degree is human

maliciousness. Where this type of explanation is used beliefs about witches are elaborated and a few deluded souls try to put the beliefs into practice.

The modern witches' coven is an interesting sociological phenomenon, but its roots lie primarily in the present, not the past.

Yours faithfully,

Rosemary Harris

The Queen's University, Belfast.

Rosemary's first teaching post was at the Queen's University, Belfast from where she moved to Lectureships at the University of Sussex and, then, at UCL. Described by her colleagues as 'an innovative fieldworker', Rosemary was among the first in British Social Anthropology to carry out research in the British Isles. Her 1972 book *Prejudice and Tolerance in Ulster: A Study of Neighbours and Strangers in a Border Community* was widely cited for its well-grounded analysis of religious pluralism in Northern Ireland. The 1986 reprint includes reviews of the original work on the jacket, which capture Rosemary's style perfectly: 'Dr Harris writes with an eye to detail and without jargon. Her book is a model of its kind ...' (*The Economist*); '... fascinating in its detail, amusing in its anecdotes, clear and incisive in its descriptions' (*Economic and Social Review*); 'Here is scholarship which is humane, compassionate, yet detached and tough-minded … The poise and integrity of this book command respect both for its author and its conclusions'(*Irish Historical Studies*). In the Foreword to that book, Rosemary writes, 'These people, as I saw, prefer peaceful conditions and want above all to live at peace with all their neighbours. This is why, although I go on to show the sources of conflict, I begin by showing [this] as a community in which there was a vast amount of tolerance and good will. Perhaps, at this time this is the best way I can repay its people for all their kindness and hospitality to me'.

Rosemary's last major fieldwork, which again broke new ground, was undertaken on the factory floor of two chemical plants near Bristol. It was published in 1986 by Routledge under the title *Power and Powerlessness in Industry: an Analysis of the Social Relations of Production*. Her academic interests also took her to study in depth the origins of racial violence in inner London schools, and the 1980s phenomenon of football hooliganism, including the events surrounding the Hillsborough Stadium tragedy in 1989 which has been back in the news again recently.

Over her long career at UCL, Rosemary was particularly noted for her supervision of numerous PhD students and for her lengthy tenure as a very supportive and sympathetic Departmental Tutor. Since retiring, she retained an appointment there as Emeritus Reader in Social Anthropology.

In formal retirement, Rosemary became a key figure in the development and international success of the IUAES *Commission on Urban Anthropology* (CUA). She was unanimously elected to the CUA Advisory Committee in 2011 and enjoyed her last major international expedition, to their conference in Corinth, that year. Rosemary helped to establish this Journal, to which she contributed with her comments, advice and articles.

Rosemary's work for the CUA was mainly with Giuliana B. Prato and Italo Pardo. They have written, of course, of Rosemary's academic gifts but 'above all', they have said, 'Rosemary was a dear friend with whom we shared many pleasant moments'. On hearing of

her death, Professor John Gledhill of the University of Manchester wrote, 'Rosemary made very important contributions to widening the scope of what British anthropologists studied at a time when this was really important for us'.

It seems, however, that Rosemary's academic career was not always a foregone conclusion. One of her old School Reports from December 1946 was kept among her papers; she was at Blackheath High School for Girls, in the 6th Form. Rosemary was only 16 years and 9 months old, among a class with an average age of 18. Her classes were English, French, Latin, History, Geography, Scripture, Civics and Drill. The Headmistress, Mrs Mcauley, who taught Scripture, comments, 'Good. Rosemary makes interesting comments'.

There will be many priests and more senior clerics in the Church of England who will attest that this continued throughout her life. On Geography — which became her first degree, and the foundation for her anthropology — we read, 'She has real ability, but she seldom does herself justice in her written work'. And on English itself, 'Rosemary plans her essays well. She works thoughtfully and exercises her own powers of judgement. Her written work shows intelligent and logical thought, but she is still irritatingly careless in style and spelling – at this stage a serious defect'.

Well, she clearly took the criticism to heart, and worked on that defect, as she was admitted to UCL as an undergraduate less than two years later. Her determination and independence, however, had shown itself some years earlier, when she was evacuated to Abertillery in South Wales at the start of the Second World War. She was only 10 when her parents sent her away to escape the bombing in London. No sooner had she arrived than she was plotting her escape: she found that the family she was billeted with were so pessimistic about being bombed themselves, she decided to draw down the emergency funds her father had left her with, and take herself home by train – in the guard's van, after spinning him some yarn. She got home to Eltham with half a crown to spare, before anyone in Wales noticed she was gone. She was transferred to another school in Greenwich and later evacuated to Tunbridge Wells, where the family eventually settled.

Her desire to be back with her father — even in wartime — was perhaps because she so valued his commitment to her education. He was so shocked, at the age of 10, that she did not know the speed of sound that he decided to teach her about it by timing the sound of the Doodlebugs falling on Lewisham as they sighted them from an upstairs window. In *Power and Powerlessness in Industry* Rosemary says this of him, 'I dedicate this book to the memory of my father because my interest in industry dates back to the time when, at the age of seven or eight, I asked casually, "Daddy, what does 'Ltd' mean?", and had the advantages and disadvantages of limited liability carefully explained! I had made the delightful discovery that I only had to ask questions on industry to be treated seriously as an intelligent adult, and it made the subject fascinating'.

Of the four siblings, neither Muriel nor Rosemary married, and in the times Rosemary was not travelling or working away from London, they shared various houses together, eventually finding their way to Virginia Water. To the first house they owned they gave the name 'Rathlin' — an island off the north coast of Ulster on which Rosemary had conducted an in-depth anthropological study in the preceding years.

It was in 1974 that they moved to a larger property, with a garden big enough to establish the Runnymede Stud. They named this house after Eglantyne Jebb, the British social reformer of Edwardian era, who founded *Save the Children* and drafted the original *Declaration on the Rights of the Child.*

The Caspian Horse became Muriel and Rosemary's preoccupation. Virtually unknown as a breed until rediscovered in Iran in 1965, it was Prince Philip who encouraged Louise Firouz to expand the breeding population outside that country. In March 1974, a small shipment of Caspians was exported to the UK. In *The Caspian Horse*, her 1999 book on the breed, Brenda Dalton picks up the story, 'Muriel purchased the stallion Karoun … and subsequently Hopstone Banafsheh, a striking dark bay, thoroughbred in appearance … extremely important to the breed, being the only representative of the grey foundation stallion, Felfel, to survive the [Iranian] revolution. After three months in quarantine, Karoun was moved to the Harrises' home in Virginia Water … Muriel's sister Rosemary also became intrigued by the breed, adding her own expertise and preferences. Muriel and Rosemary Harris have done a great deal to promote the part-bred Caspian in the UK, using Welsh mares with top bloodlines. By crossing and re-crossing the offspring with pure-bred Caspians [they] produced stock which reached the standard required for Grading-up status … Runnymede Karamat, a chestnut stallion typically bred by Rosemary Harris, was amongst the first flights to the USA in 1994'.

Dalton has also recalled how Rosemary worked continuously with what is now the Caspian Horse Society from its beginning, mainly as Secretary, where she will be greatly missed for her knowledge and expertise: she became 'an indispensable vertebra in the spine of the first UK Caspian society'. She acted as liaison between the Society and other pony groups, giving up her valuable time and resources.

Rosemary also saw the world of Caspian horses go through one of those periods of conflict and division which had featured so significantly in much of her professional work. Perhaps it was the application of this experience and expertise which allowed Rosemary to come out of that with the respect of both sides. A leader of the Caspian Breed Society recalls, 'I appreciate we have had our differences between the Societies but our aims are basically the same: the promotion and preservation of the breed; and I know that Rosemary was particularly keen on this aspect. Her expertise will be greatly missed'.

Liz Webster, the earliest of the UK breeders and former Chairman of both the Caspian Horse Society and International Caspian Society, writes, 'The Harris sisters spent a good part of their later lives working for the Caspian. Muriel was one of the first owners who became a founder member of the Society and she and Rosemary worked to promote the breed through their imported stallion, Karoun. The Runnymede prefix is much respected in Caspian circles and the fact that it was started and mostly maintained in their back garden only adds to its interest. Another of the "old stagers" gone. I will miss her, like all those who have become her friends through her Caspians'.

Some believe that it was her sister's interest which led Rosemary to horse breeding — but horses had clearly been a favourite of Rosemary's since childhood. In 1943, in a school exercise book, she wrote 11 poems, the first of which is published for the first time here —

the editor's hand correcting only the one or two lapses in spelling which her English teachers later criticised:

Shem (a pony)
See that pony being led home,
Lathered in sweat and flecked with foam,
She won the first race in the point-to-point
By stretching and straining muscle and joint,
Lying back fourth to the last half mile
Then forging on in splendid style
Past the chestnut and past the bay
On to the favourite 'Springtime May';
neck and neck they leapt the water,
neck and neck and not a falter,
Galloping round the quarter bend,
straight and hard they fought to the end.
Then, with gallant response from all that was in her
To one touch of the whip she flashed the winner.

Rosemary brought the same energy and commitment that she gave to the world of Caspian horses to the parish Church in Thorpe. She served both as PCC Secretary, and as a school governor for over 20 years, in both roles seeing through periods of major physical and institutional change. As PCC Secretary she carried the burden of all the dealings with the Diocese of Guildford for faculties, first over major restoration works in 1990-94 which substantially gave the mediaeval church the character it has today; and then in all subsequent repairs and renovation work. This brought her into contact with Bishops, Archdeacons and Diocesan Authorities on a regular basis. The Rev'd Canon Dr Michael Hereward-Rothwell, who was Vicar throughout that time, recalls, 'To those who fell short of what was expected a Rosemary letter would follow which gave the lie to a belief that here was an elderly lady who was bound to be a "push over". The power of the pen became a mighty weapon when employed by one who was formidably articulate and of daunting intellect … Like many I have lost a very dear friend'.

Likewise at Thorpe Church of England School, Rosemary served with dedication and commitment as a governor — and for most of her time as Vice-Chairman. She saw the school through periods of upheaval, of renewal, and of change. The current Chairman of Governors recalls, 'The value of education and the impact it can have on the lives of both children and adults was very much at the centre of Rosemary's life. This was shown in the numerous ways she supported the school, was always available to the school and shared her experience in a self-effacing manner'.

So many times in the different aspects of her life and career, Rosemary both studied and found herself in worlds, societies and organisations which were undergoing some sort of struggle or conflict. While she was by no means always a neutral observer or impartial participant, she approached these situations always with an eye to identifying and facilitating the end of conflict, siding with the victims rather than the oppressors, and the peace-makers rather than the protagonists.

To her family, Rosemary was a 'great aunt' in both senses of the word. In their memories they recall how a conversation with her was a delight, not just because she could talk of so many things, but because she was a marvellous listener, pausing before giving a considered reply — a skill she had obviously honed during her working life. She used this at every level, with adults or youngsters: listening, then gently offering another point of view, invariably — or even grudgingly — accepted as the best or most sensible one.

With her much missed sister Muriel, and her more recent companion cousin Audrey, Rosemary always took a keen interest in her larger family, wanting to know how children were growing and their progress both in early years and as their education and careers developed. She was tremendously kind and generous towards her great nieces and nephews, helping and encouraging however she could, particularly when they were in poor health or need of financial help. She was very proud to be a godmother to more than one godchild, maintaining an active interest in them — as she did with all her posts and positions, taking this responsibility very seriously.

Another aspect of Rosemary's character was her stoicism: many a younger person would have shied away from the treatment and pain she endured whilst recovering from problems with her legs, the loss of the proper use of which infuriated her.

The Scripture teacher who wrote in 1946 that 'Rosemary makes interesting comments' had the first insight into what was to become a lifelong Christian faith, and an interest in seeking the signs of God and the story of his people, as revealed in the Scriptures and in the lives of those she studied, worked with and lived among. Over the years, Rosemary contributed thoughtfully to articles in Thorpe parish magazines, bringing together the insights the different parts of her life. Among those was an exposition in 1998 *On confidence in life after death* (Parish Magazine, Archives of St Mary Thorpe). In discussing the beliefs of the Mbembe people on this matter, she observes, 'The Mbembe were absolutely sure about the nature of life after death. They had a pretty rounded picture of what life for the Dead was like and about how, in due course they, as individuals, would fit into it. Without wishing to be culturally arrogant I have to say, in all honesty, that I think this conviction had, in detail, little relation to any likely actuality — the life of the world to come does not, I devoutly hope and believe, centre round yam farming'.

With Rosemary's passing, those who knew her from conversation or correspondence, or only through her published work, will miss her wit, her wisdom, her incisiveness and clarity of thought and word, and her faithfulness as family, friend and colleague. We have all lost a very dear friend.

BOOK REVIEWS

Margaret F. Brinig and **Nicole Stelle Garnett** (2014). *Lost Classroom, Lost Community: Catholic Schools' Importance in Urban America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Brinig's and Stelle Garnett's book is a timely and insightful look at Catholic schooling in America. Until now there has been little written about the history of Catholic schools in urban America that not only documents their history but also focuses on the complexity of their societal contributions and dilemmas. This book reasonably contends that the closure of Catholic schools negatively impacts social capital in urban areas throughout the United States. One of the most noteworthy facets of the book is its in-depth chronicle of Catholic schooling in America. It is only through understanding and appreciating the history of Catholic schools and their struggles that it is possible to mourn their decline, which the authors carefully document. The political, cultural, religious and economic intricacies of urban Catholic schools are carefully explained while the impact of current educational trends such as school choice and charter schools are thoughtfully entwined into the chapters.

The insights gleaned about the expansion, adaptability (or sometimes lack thereof) and closure of Catholic schools and the context in which the authors relate the schools as sociocultural institutions makes this book an informative read for scholars interested in Catholic schools and researchers concerned about school administration in changing times. This text can give practical lessons to Catholic educators, historians or administrators as well as any policy maker or researcher studying urban anthropology and seeking to read about the evolution and now decline of the largest private education system in the world. This book is a must read for any Bishop considering closing a Catholic school.

As a Catholic reader, this book reminded me that Catholic schools in America are the largest private school system in the world and are therefore noteworthy of study in higher education; they should not be dismissed based on the laws guiding separation of state and religion. The authors chronicle the rise of Catholic schooling during the Common School era. Catholic bishops promoted Catholic schools at the time due to the lack of separation of church and state actually inherent in a the text that was being used in Common Schools. In public schools all children, including Catholic children, were being made to read the King James Bible, a Protestant Bible. In 1852, in the spirit of protest, Catholic schools began as an alternative to public Common Schools as a place where Catholic children would no longer be forced to read the Protestant Bible. Before this, few Catholic schools existed in the United States. These former schools were mainly to serve the very rich and the very poor. Widespread Catholic schooling was started as a sign of protest because Catholic children were being discriminated against in public Common Schools and being forced to read a religious text that was not from their own religion.

This book takes a critical look at why Catholic schools prospered, why declining in enrolment, and most important the legacy of community they have given to

neighbourhoods, which is lost when they shut down. The intricacies of sociocultural factors at play as they interact with religion, ethnicity, infrastructure, music and languages are presented and how these factors have contributed to the rise, sustainment or fall of Catholic schools are analysed and discussed.

The 1950s saw Catholic schools strained beyond capacity in terms of enrolment and approximately one third of all Catholic children were being educated in Catholic schools. Enrolment demand was so high that there was a shortage of teachers for Catholic schools and often there were no fewer than forty-nine students per classroom. Diocese schools became strained due to unsafe conditions, high costs (tuition was often minimal or free to parishioners), and the scarcity of teachers caused many schools to begin to close. This first wave of closings happened in the 1960s. The suburbanization of Catholics, as well as the radical transformation of the Catholic Church through Vatican II, also led to the decline in enrolment in urban Catholic Schools; parish communities were decimated as parishes were lost and schools either adapted to changing demographics or closed.

As Catholic schools close, the authors document that charter schools may indeed be trying to fill the void that is being left by them academically as well as in terms of building and sustaining community. Charters Schools are publicly funded and the authors point to the fact that there are quasi-religious charter schools, which are currently receiving government funding. For example, there are twenty-six notable ones in Minnesota,

which are authorized by religious institutions. The debate therefore ensues as to whether Catholic schools should be funded through school choice vouchers. Much like charter schools, Catholic schools do not rely on a relationship with the government, but the authors also point out the autonomy within and amongst the different Catholic schools as they receive little to no financial or curricular support from the diocese. If Catholic schools were to receive this same type of funding as charter schools, the authors' hypothesize, then enrolment would no longer be a challenge at urban Catholic schools.

School choice is presented as a possible saviour per se for Catholic school although separation of church and state prevents government monies from funding religious schools. The authors point out that there seems to be a continued bias against Catholic schools and for this reason, school choice monies may never fully fund or save Catholic schools. Brinig's and Stelle Garnett's argument is commendable, that while Catholic schools cannot save urban America the social capital they supply is substantial and should not be overlooked. This book is highly recommended.

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Victor Buchli (2013). *An Anthropology of Architecture*. London: Bloomsbury.

Social scientists have had an eternal curiosity for the built environment of the past and present, and yet no work specifically addresses architecture quite as extensively as this book by Victor Buchli.

This is an appealing and necessary work that is neither about space, nor about place. It is about the built structure — the hut, the house, the home, the institutional building, the construction that once was and the construction that is — seen through the lenses of anthropology with a focus on technologies, social life, the formation of the individual, gender, kinship, artefacts and culture.

Buchli leads his readership on a deep excursion into anthropology, ethnography, archaeology, philosophy, phenomenology and material culture studies, and he takes for granted that they have the knowledge and the academic reading experience to undertake such a journey. Readers who are not too familiar with those disciplines should not jump on-board, as they are likely to be discouraged right from the first chapter. However, readers who are steeped in the concepts of the philosophy of science and processes, material culture studies and qualitative discourse of ethnography will find themselves comfortably navigating through different timeframes, space relationships and cultural ontologies which, combined, generate a new understanding of the built environment. In this regard, the book does a fantastic job by theoretically linking anthropological knowledge in a way that is rarely seen elsewhere. For once, anthropology is not evoked in order to present an assortment of non-Western testimonies through unique ethnographies that will support another discipline's proposition. On the contrary, Buchli unpacks and analyses the theoretical propositions behind strong ethnographically grounded cases studies (from the contemporary hospital to the

Mongolian yurt) in order to elevate our understanding of the built environment. If only for this reason, the book is a great contribution to anthropology as a science, and to architecture as an engaging and experienced form of social life.

The question underlying the work is, 'How does the materiality of built form in its great variety make people and society?' (p. 2). The author addresses this question in an unconventional way by using a book structure that is not easy to classify. While the theoretical foundation is predictably laid down in the introduction, as expected, the following chapters are either devoted to disciplinary explorations (Chapter 2: Architecture and Archaeology; Chapter 5: Consumption Studies and the Home; Chapter 6: Embodiment and Architectural Form), focused on a particular theoretical framework and its theoretical or conceptual heirs (Chapter 3: […] Lévi-Strauss; Chapter 7: […] Decay and Destruction), immersed in historical perspectives (Chapter 1: The 19th Century), or engaged in an exploration of meaningful concepts (Chapter 4: Institution and Community). One important thing to note (and a word of caution) is that the book is not so much about domestic space (Chapter 4), as presented in the blurb on the back cover, or on buildings, forms or spaces, but rather it is about the many registers of built material.

As described in the Introduction, the different registers of built form can be grasped '[…] as text, sign system, embodied experience; visually, tactilely, aurally, and so on; and in its variously configured material forms, lived building, construction tradition, text, visual image, sound-scape, model, and so on' (pp. 6-7).

The focus on the registers of materiality comes from the need to shed light on an underanalysed domain of human experience with the material of built forms; so far, the 'immaterial abstracted social processes' (p. 6) (such as space and place) and the 'social within material culture studies' (p. 10) have received all the attention. In contrast, the book explores the different registers of architectural materiality as seen through the eyes of anthropology with the aim of proposing not an innovative theoretical perspective, but a first draft of principles on which to build future knowledge. Of all the concepts defined in the introduction, the cornerstone concept of this book is the 'illusory objectification' of Carsten and Hugh-Jones (1995) following the concept of 'fetish' as inspired by Marx and Lévi-Strauss. Buchli thus defines the built form and its multiple registers as a shared object produced by the conflictual encounters of opposing values and understandings of materiality and immateriality within a social system (p. 7).

The first chapter gives an account of this 'illusory objectification' as it relates to the hunt for the original hut, as undertaken by scientists from ancient Rome to the 19th century, with backgrounds as diverse as French sociology, British-American anthropology, and Russian archaeology. The author demonstrates how and why the historical research forms an ambivalent collection of work that (unsurprisingly) exudes racism, imperialism and ethnocentricity, but he also reevaluates their various contributions in order to underline the eternal search for universal values and the essence of humanness through analysis of the built form. These

tensions between diversities and universalities are further explored in Chapter 2, which focuses on archaeology (and by extension on evolutionism, language and structuralism, and ethno-archaeology). Thanks to new concepts such as the permanence of objects and artefacts, to the palimpsest metaphor, and to the emergence of context as a variable of analysis, architecture emerges as an active component of social relationships. Chapter 3 dwells on Lévi-Strauss' house society concept to deepen analysis of the idea of house, of built form as an 'illusory objectification.' A great number of case studies, distributed across wide and diverse locales and material registers, are presented by association of ideas, within a very thick theoretical framework that links the cosmological and human body, social relations, and conflicts with diverse material registers. The focus on institutional buildings in the second half of the 20th century, discussed in Chapter 4, raises new concerns about regulation, control, management and power relations in the experience of built forms, of the alternatives generated by these material forms, and also, significantly, of the immaterial architecture of the virtual era. The home is brought back to the heart of the analysis in Chapter 5, as an object but also as a container and as content associated with movements of, creations of, and crumbling of social relations and identities. Chapter 6 draws on Heidegger phenomenology of dwelling (and its feminist critics) and Bourdieu's habitus to give a very short account of the entanglements of the body and the material form. This chapter introduces (only) four major cases studies, and concludes with an

off-road ending on consumption-oriented works. What seems like a (regrettably short) presentation of built form as an extension of human life serves as a basis for the following chapter, Chapter 7, which explores the death and decay of the multiple registers of built forms. This chapter is certainly the most innovative, but also the most challenging, as the author readily admits, as it relies on ethnographies of disappearance. But Buchli is able to bring to light some unexpected dimensions of various registers of material, such as its permanence and its conflictual nature, as well as architecture as the animate. What is exposed here is only a glimpse of a new and mind-opening perspective, which is deeply grounded in the present moment and relies on what is lost-and-gone, hence bringing our mind to the limit of the known. The postscript is not a traditional recapitulation of the previous lines; the author continues his exploration of the material registers, throwing in the migrant experience of dwelling, the notions of flows, unremarkableness, instability and endurance of the material artefact in the context of the confluence of antagonist ontologies that form architecture.

In less than 200 pages, Buchli offers a very intense dive into human science theories and perspectives with the aim of revisiting our understanding of the relationship between the registers of the material form and humans as social beings, both being multiple and co-constitutive. Because of its very specific niche, the book leaves unaddressed some issues that have already been extensively discussed elsewhere (nature versus the built environment, space and place, etc.), but which would have been fascinating to

redefine from the fetishist perspective of the built form proposed here. I am personally doubly indebted to the author (firstly) for his amazing use of anthropological theories and empirical cases (and secondly) in order to push back the frontiers of our understanding of the human experience of architecture.

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Laurence Ralph (2014). *Renegade Dreams: Living Through Injury in Gangland Chicago*. University of Chicago Press,

Laurence Ralph's book '*Renegade Dreams: living through injury in gangland Chicago*' is a rich account of life in a Chicago neighbourhood troubled by violence, drugs and poverty. It takes an ethnographic approach to analysing urban disadvantage, which will be interesting to anthropologists and sociologists, as it wrestles with questions of agency, social relations and embodiment. Urban planners and local governments will also learn from Ralph's exploration of the de-humanising nature of some community engagement and urban redevelopment approaches.

As an anthropologist, Ralph values 'going to the particular', and he tells in detail the stories of individuals he meets while living in the neighbourhood for several years. We learn about Mr Otis, who is one of the oldest living members of the local gang — the 'Divine Knights — and who is seeking to establish a museum highlighting the gang's early community-

building efforts; about Amy who has recently been diagnosed with HIV; and about Blizzard, an ex-drug dealer struggling to develop a new career as a hip hop artist. In order to preserve anonymity the name of the gang and key people in it has been changed, with the neighbourhood being rechristened Eastwood. While Ralph weaves conceptual analysis in and out of the stories, much of this discussion is retained for the footnotes, while in the main text he attempts to '*grapple with what Eastwoodians already know*'. While this is an interesting approach, in the end it is clear that Ralph's conceptual framework draws as much from anthropological, philosophical and psychological understanding as it does from the thoughts of the people themselves, highlighting the age-old difficulty that anthropologists have in achieving 'objectivity'.

The book has five main chapters, entitled Development, Nostalgia, Authenticity, Disability and Disease, interspersed with excerpts from field notes. The themes of nostalgia and historical story telling will be of interest to many readers, particularly as Ralph highlights more positive histories of gang life that are not normally heard. Another key theme that runs throughout the book is that of 'injury'. Ralph insists that local residents are injured by many different processes, including not only drugs, HIV and violence, but also state processes such as redevelopment and gentrification. This broader notion of injury is interesting in that it helps to highlight the longer-term impacts of unjust and harmful social processes. However it introduces a 'psychological' or medicalising

perspective that some might find problematic.

What, for me, is most interesting in Ralph's analysis is the focus on 'renegade dreams'. In particular, the book explores the processes through which people retrieve a sense of agency from within the heavy burden of social networks. While many commentators portray poorer neighbourhoods as being somehow disconnected, excluded or isolated, Ralph makes the point that in fact Eastwood residents have a broad web of social relationships. Family ties and political allegiances criss-cross with networks associated with commerce and gang membership. Networks with the 'outside' are also strong, with government actors regularly connecting to individuals through, for example, the prison and medical systems. Commercial networks often have a global reach, particularly those associated with drugs.

While some of these relationships appear to be enabling (Ralph for example describes the positive influence of grandmothers on younger relations), in many cases they seem to perpetuate the negative situation in which people find themselves.

The social relationships built around gang membership are strongly territorial. Hillier and Hanson (1984) identify that people generally have both spatial and transpatial relationships. The first are based around local relations of proximity, the latter go across space and are based on common identification, economic ties, kinship ties, religion and so on. In Eastwood spatial networks appear to be particularly strong and binding, becoming embodied into particular streets that

become 'owned' by particular gangs. Hillier and Hanson describes how in more functional parts of cities, streets are public spaces which support a through-flow of people, both strangers and residents. When streets start to become 'private' and owned by one particular group this creates isolation and reduces healthy pedestrian movement flows. By pinning social relationships to a particular network of streets they also become very fragile, having to constantly be re-defended.

In Eastwood, territories are defended through reciprocal relations of violence. Ralph describes 'the crippling currency of obligation upon which gang life is built'. Every time there is a violent act by a rival gang, the onus is on the victims to retaliate, with neither side able to 'snitch' and bring in outside forces. The irony is that it is this endless cycle of violence that keeps relations between the rival gangs alive. I am reminded of Malinowski's analysis of the Trobriand Islands (1920), where it was gifts and delayed reciprocity that maintained such longer-distance relationships as opposed to violent crime.

The relationships which Eastwood residents have with outside authorities are also dysfunctional in that people are often rendered passive. While the area is 'awash with help' and redevelopment strategies, many local residents are not given a voice, with decisions being made 'for them'. They are even denied the possibility of looking out for each other and carrying out 'self-policing' of the streets. The urban economist Jane Jacobs (1961) points out that one of the basic preconditions for a sense of local community is the ability of people to provide 'natural surveillance'. Local residents, café owners and passers-

by provide 'eyes on the street', policing bad behaviour and ensuring a set of common behaviours that keep street life civil. In Eastwood, local people have even been deprived of the ability to provide this service to each other by the 'blue light' cameras that put surveillance in the hands of security forces that watch from elsewhere. Mr Otis sits on his stoop and strains his eyes to see ghostly shadows in the blue light, unable to either see people or exert any day to day authority over them.

To complicate things further, mixed up in all this are the very commercial set of relationships associated with drug dealing, which sometimes mimic social relations of empowerment and solidarity, but which are in fact based on self-interest and profit. Ralph points out that the local drugs hierarchies provide people with an alternative mechanism for 'achieving dignity' — as people rise up the ranks they achieve political capital. Through their profits, people are able to make small investments in the future, by for example purchasing material objects such as sneakers. At the same time the need to defend local patches and thereby reach customers is one factor in reproducing the 'territorialisation' of the neighbourhood and its seemingly endless patterns of violence.

When Ralph sets out his vision of 'renegade dreams' therefore, he would appear to be talking as much about how people break out of these dysfunctional sets of relationships as about their dreams for a different future for the neighbourhood. Ralph notes that 'a renegade dream is to imagine a different future even when living a life that is at

odds with the dignity of your aspirations' (p. 194). He draws on ideas from Deleuze and de Certeau to argue that people are constantly 'becoming' and recreating themselves in the everyday, and while government agencies such as the Development Corporation have 'strategies', the Eastwood residents have 'tactics' that they use to throw these strategies off course.

One aspect that Ralph explores is the strangely empowering nature of disability. When gang members are disabled through gun violence they are suddenly disconnected from the web of social relations in which they have been embedded, no longer useful to the drugs hierarchies or to the gang. This provides them with a new position 'outside their networks' from where they can inspire others into planning new lives, and taking different trajectories. There are moving accounts of disabled ex-gang members speaking to groups of young men about the likely consequences of their violence and the indignities of living with injury. Here I am reminded of the work of Kapferer (1997), who explored how people reclaim agency after having been caught in webs of negative social relations through sorcery rites in Sri Lanka. In Eastwood, it appears difficult to retrieve agency without first becoming the victim of violence or disease − with Ralph seeing injury itself as the source of new trajectories. The reader is left hoping for other mechanisms that might help people to escape their networks of obligation and forge new futures, but which do not rely on violence and harm.

For me the book represents a challenge — to understand better the power of social relationships in

reproducing situations of disadvantage, and to explore the imminent agency of the residents in difficult neighbourhoods, and how this may be harnessed to create social transformation. An easy lesson is for urban authorities to work with what is already there, building on the capacities, dreams and resources of local residents, to help people to help themselves. At the very least the book is a reminder that empowering people is always better than 'doing for'.

> Please note that the content of the review does not represent the views of the OECD, but are those of the reviewer.

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Christine J. Walley (2013). *Exit Zero. Family and Class in Postindustrial Chicago.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Exit Zero deals both with a personal journey and a collective one. The personal journey started for the author when her father lost his job in the working class

demise of the Steel Workers of southeast Chicago that began in the early 1980s, and ended with her current comfortable living as a college-town middle-class professor. The collective journey deals with the dramatic circumstances of the Steel Mill Workers who lost their jobs without any hope of recovery. This is also a book about a central issue in American post-industrial cities and the broken *American Dream* of moving up in social and economic terms. Walley argues that 'in order to understand this kind of contemporary inequality, we have to go back and rethink deindustrialization' (p. x). And furthermore: 'this book is not only about my family; it is also for them, as well as for others who have shared similar experiences of deindustrialization' (p. xi).

The Introduction presents the analytical and theoretical frame of the book, in which the author deals and defines the complex issues of class and inequalities in the United States and how they are connected with ethnicity and race. By dealing with these issues she challenges the disjuncture of the different class worlds the author has experienced during her life, as well as the alienation she felt in the academia using theoretically sophisticated perspectives that did not account for her experiences and those of her family as working class. For that reason this is a book that offers an analysis of how the working class experienced and understood a broken world, using rich counter-narratives of her family and neighbours of southeast Chicago, to challenge the hegemonic ones.

'But the reason I can't let go of this history is not simply personal. It is because this journey illustrates in unusually stark terms something larger and more troubling. It reveals the costs of both the class divisions that have long existed in the United States and those associated with the increasing economic inequalities of more recent decades' (p. 2). In this book the author shows what the statistics do not convey; for example, how the industrial 'jobs that are left are far less likely to serve as a rung up the social ladder to middle-class life for working-class and poor people' (p. 3).

The structure of the book is clear; she portrays the world that was as a family album. The narrative is built in a sensible and meaningful way, by showing the world they lived in.

In chapter one, we follow the author's remembrances as a daughter to make sense of a landscape made up of community, personal memories and a dense network of family ties. She carries us to a specific place in time by deploying her contrasting family's stories. This approach strikes me: settling in her (extended) family worldview and way of living, skipping the moral dimension so usually projected by ethnographers on their topic of research. Here the point is not to justify a world foreign to the reader, but to narrate and make sense of how the working-class life was and how it was left drifting to poverty with no access to middle-class. The author feelings are used as 'ethnographic "data" to be respected' (p. 15), and the stories she tells help her document a way of life disrupted by the shutdown of the steel industry of southeast Chicago.

Chapter two moves from the stories to the history of the demise of Chicago's steel industry, playing in the background

her father's destruction and suffering, in order to challenge the dominant narratives that account for the end of the industrial activity in this area.

In chapter three her attention is focused on her own journey, from a working class teenager to a middle class professor in a College Town. Her auto-ethnography offers the reader much more than a glimpse to a story of success and upward mobility. She deals with the pain and insecurities of leaving the disrupted world of her family for a life, she feels, of undeserved privilege. The pages about education are extraordinary, as she shows why she became an anthropologist and how academia is not an easy world for persons of working class origin.

Chapter four moves from counter narratives as the main thread of the ethnography, to an exploration of southeast Chicago's environment and future, exploring issues such as how the toxic pollution of such is embodied in southeastern Chicagoans, limiting the 'future possibles for the region' (p. 129). Here again Walley deals with the distinct worlds experienced by working- and middle-class people and how they promote and create different kinds of environmentalist movements. She suffered cancer as the daughter of a working class family and heals having access to middle class medical treatments. This experience directs her attention to the consequences of the industrial world, with all the ambivalence of a cherished, rough, lost world, and the polluted, dangerous environment they lived in.

The conclusions take us to the end of her journey. Christine Walley comes full circle by narrating her middle class world:

the adoption of her son, the future he will experience and the ties that bind us to the place and ways of life. She is deeply concerned because 'The path of upward mobility has now been shut off for many Americans' (p. 158). The once assumed American principle of upward social mobility, progress and increasing common prosperity has been shattered for some people by the end of heavy industry. The conclusion updates what has happened in the area since the eighties: the new developments and plans for a post-industrial southeast Chicago and the dangerous expanding social divides of American society. She wonders if the new jobs 'can foster a society that pays living wages and that supports families and communities' (p. 168).

This book is not just about a journey and a personal catharsis, it is also, and mostly, an excellent urban ethnography of southeast Chicago. One that spares us the romanticism and the usual moral ground of middle class, politically correct academia. Excellent food for thought about the worlds — and the people — we left behind, and the society the United States and the West are developing now. Nonetheless, the book offers a well-elaborated and sensible approach to class studies, immigrant narratives that do not fit into the hegemonic ones, and the painful side of upward mobility through education.

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FILM AND VIDEO REVIEWS

Playing with Nan. Directed by **Dipesh Kharel and Asami Saito**. 2012. 88 minutes. Colour. Distributed by The Royal Anthropological Institute. DVD.

The film's synopsis describes the story of a young man from Nepal who migrated to work in a Nepali restaurant in northern Japan. His name is Ram, and he lives with his colleague Raju, who also works for a Nepali boss. As we watch the film, we get to meet Ram's family in Nepal – his wife, son, parents, grandmother and sister. The narration of Ram's story frequently shuttles back and forth between Japan and Nepal. One of the film's main themes is exploitation. We see it at all levels. Ram and Raju are being exploited by their Nepali employers who run a network of poor Nepali workers desperate to find a way out of a life of poverty at home. Trying to find a solution, they become entangled in a web of debts and loans. And while the villagers think that the men are doing well in Japan, they and their families know the true price of realizing this Japanese dream.

Exploitation is also visible in Nepal. It is visible in Ram's parents' life, where they toil in their fields and yet do not earn sufficient to live on. It appears in the life of his wife in urban Kathmandu, where she has to work hard to survive in the city with her young son. It is also clear when Ram tells how he left school to be able to buy simple comforts in life, like proper clothes. Deprivation therefore seems to be part of the globalization processes that allowed Ram, unfamiliar with the Japanese language, to work and live in Japan for two

years. One of the consequences is the separation of families. Cheap forms of communications are available, but this is not enough. Family members remain apart. While Ram gets to joke around and talk to Japanese women on a daily basis, he is unable to talk to his own family or be with them that often.

The theme of gender lies at the core of this movie. It is called *Playing with Nan*, because Ram and Raju often make nans, a South-Asian bread, while working in the restaurant. This raises a very important question: would they make nans in their own homes? Ram and Raju are seen cooking and cleaning their rented room every day, but would they do the same in their own homes, back in Nepal?

The patriarchal nature of Nepalese society is evident throughout the film. It appears, for example, when Ram's father speaks of his daughter-in-law's 'tantrums' and his criticism of women's use of mobile phones. Ram's wife is perceived as a bad daughter-in-law for trying to obtain a better life by moving to the city. Ram's father even admits that he had married his son off just to obtain another pair of hands to work in his fields. Women are objectified as no more than a means of reducing the family work load. Moreover Ram's wife is accused by his family of spending most of his earnings, when most of his income is actually spent by his family, including his brother.

In many ways, then, this film shows how poverty is a vicious circle. It tells us how poverty leads to school drop outs and illiteracy, low wages and exploitation, and how each of these in turn perpetuates the other problems. Finally, it is interesting to hear how Ram and Raju like Japan's

'systematic' society. Would they be willing, though, to correct the 'disorder' that characterizes their own society? This is a very important question, one left unanswered.

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Under the Palace Wall. Directed by **David MacDougal**. 2014. 53 minutes. Colour. Distributed by Royal Anthropological Institute. DVD.

This film is an outcome of the Childhood and Modernity Project, based at the Research School of Humanities and the Arts of the Australian National University. The project's aim was to provide insights into children's lives in contemporary India and, more generally, into children's ways of looking at the world.

This film brings the village of Delwara in southern Rajasthan into the viewer's living room. This village was part of the Kingdom of Mewar during the sixteenth century. The former palace to which the title refers is now a luxury hotel. The film depicts the village life through the children's eyes. There is no narration, no background music and no protagonists, only impressionistic imagery: cows, flies, school lessons, prayers and meals, paintings on the walls depicting scenes from the Rajput tradition.

One of the most striking sequences begins with a girl using her left hand to write. The school songs include the patriotic song *Vande Matram* and the revolutionary *Le Mashaale Chal Pade Hai* (we have taken our torches and

started marching for justice). A teacher addresses a class and tells one student, Areeb Khalid, a Muslim child, to write an essay on *Diwali* or *Holi* – both Hindu festivals. The moral of the story: 'In times of crisis, it is the mother tongue that instinctively comes out'. One scene shows a bicycle repair shop-owner with deeply hennaed hair. Temple construction, painting a name plate, children making i-cards, adults playing a game of dice in the street, a man making tea and another cooking meals, fetching well water to irrigate the fields, the large expanses of wheat fields. And then a sunset as the backdrop to an ancient temple and the ritual called the *aarti*, offering prayers to the local female deity.

A life that continues under the palace's wall. The film has the intrinsic quality of taking us along the small by-lanes of a village called Delwara. David MacDougall is known as an observational ethnographic filmmaker. He uses just one camera, only goes where invited, avoids using set-ups and films people at their own pace and in their own terms. He purposefully shies away from narration or dialogue.

The goal of the film is to introduce something entirely mundane into the elitist discourses of academia. We see the simple, everyday life of the Indian village of Delwara. Anthropologists, especially ethnographers, who try to build on the exotica of the Asian world will surely learn a lesson or two from David MacDougall's sensitive and non-partisan view. The question of the film's accuracy does not arise since there are no sets, no storyline, no script, no actors, just a day in the life of the villagers of Delwara. And

this is the filmmaker's strong point. Like a portal, it allows itself to be viewed by differently contextualized viewers in distinct ways. After all, Delwara, located in the southern part of Rajasthan, with its distinct cultural nuances and rich historical past, is not widely known to the rest of the world. For some, the grime and poverty may dominate the film's imagery, others may take religion to be the dominant motif, and others still may see particular gender constructs through the *purdah*-wearing women going about their daily chores. Yet many others will see the village from the children's eyes, as I have been led to see.

The film is much more than what it promises on its back cover. The work follows on from MacDougall's film SchoolScapes, which adopted a similar methodology, exploring impressionistic motifs to tell the tale of Rishi Valley School, which is run on the principles of J. Krishnamurty, the great Indian philosopher and educationist. This film's use of everyday impressionistic motifs, which symbolize a multitude of facets and evoke a subtle and deep range of imagery, is a lesson to be learnt not only by filmmakers but also by researchers in the fields of sociology and anthropology.

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Delhi At Eleven. Directed by **Ravi Shivare, Anshu Singh, Aniket Kumar Kashyap and Kumar Dalsus**. 2013. 82 minutes. Colour. Distributed by The Royal Anthropological Institute. DVD.

This film began as a school project at the CIE Experimental Basic School in New Delhi. Four young filmmakers – two boys and two girls – participating in a video workshop offer four different video clips. An anthropologist was also involved, though unfortunately the audience is left unaware of what his role in the process was.

The DVD brings together the four video clips, presenting them as New Delhi as seen through the eyes of the four eleven-year-old children. It introduces each part by showing the filmmaker with his or her camera (an example is found on the cover), telling us what they wanted to do and why. In so doing, the DVD offers both the final products and the ideas behind each small film, and the creative tension between the two.

The four parts are very different from each other, and their diversity evokes two ideas: the complexity of the city and, at the same time, the fresh perspective from which we are able to observe it (placing the audience in the middle of the action).

My Lovely General Store (by Ravi Shivhare) covers a single day at a tiny general store, beginning and ending with the opening and closing of a rusty rolling door. It shows us both staff and customers, paying special attention to their interactions. The narrative follows the products: their delivery to the store, classification and shelving, selling, bookkeeping, the final delivery to customers, and cleaning up any waste left on the streets by closing time.

Why Not a Girl? (by Anshu Singh) asks boys and girls what boys are allowed to do but girls are not. It ends   with the

filmmaker filming herself on the roof (against her father's orders), wondering why girls are not allowed to do the same things as boys, and announcing that should she become someone one day, she will challenge this unfair treatment.

My Funny Film (by Aniket Kumar Kashyap) is about friends and family. It shows the filming process itself by recording both before and after the actual take is shot (unknown to the others being filmed). This allows us to see how people get ready in front of the camera, what they choose to perform, how they develop their performance, how they finish, and their reactions to the eventual outcome. It includes interruptions by other people who decide to appear in front of the camera, generating conflicts and sometimes altering the initial project.

Children at Home (by Shikha Kumar Dalsus) follows a boy through a single day, from the moment his mother tries to wake him up until the family gathers at night to play a board game, showing us a series of detailed tableaus at home and school. The filmmaker includes herself in the film and family life by catching her own image filming in the mirror.

The DVD ends with one of the children editing his own footage. Aside from this image, there is no conclusion or bonus material to wrap up the four parts. I think this has the intention (or the effect) of downplaying any process between filmmakers and audience, giving us the impression that we are watching New Delhi through the windows opened and created by the children, and generating the powerful illusion that we, as ethnographers, have been there.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS

Annual Conference of the Commission on Urban Anthropology

The Global Financial Crisis and the Moral Economy: Local Impacts and Opportunities

Venue & Date: Brooklyn College, CUNY Brooklyn, New York, June 18-20, 2015

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Conference Outline
Both individuals and groups in local urban settings have been impacted by global economic forces, international regulations, and flows of capital and people. The global financial crisis has also created scenarios that directly bear on urban research methods and theory. For example, in Europe, the local effects of the crisis have been exacerbated by the imposition of the Maastricht parameters among most of the countries that have adopted the Euro. There as elsewhere, such as in the USA, the crisis has dramatically impacted on neighbourhoods, provoking catastrophic housing and job losses and, as a by-product, setting in motion dynamic urban social processes such as the relatively peaceful 'Occupy Wall Street' movement as well as bloody street demonstrations in Greece.

By and large, governments have failed to constructively meet the complex challenges posed by these global phenomena, thus raising critical issues of both legitimacy and legitimation. The current crisis has apparently established the supremacy of economics over politics. Comparative ethnographic analyses can document in detail local effects of this crisis such as unemployment, informal employment, foreclosures, homelessness, bankruptcy, suicide and crime. It can also bring to light how local cultures are coping with this situation.

Urban Anthropologists and other Social Scientists have studied in depth the empirical realities of the widening gap between the distribution of rights and access to them, and the attendant processes of societal inclusion and exclusion. A major task of this Conference will be to reflect on how this affects ordinary people. Urban ethnographers have demonstrated the moral and cultural complexity of individual action, highlighting the social value of individual and local community action.

Through ethnographically-based analyses, this Conference will bring together 20 to 30 scholars to explore these complex

issues in Western and non-Western settings, Specifically, the Conference will discuss how legal, semi-legal and illegal actions draw on community resources to defy global and state power. Ethnographically-based analysis has an important contribution to make to our understanding of how all institutions in urban neighbourhoods are changing as a result of the global financial crisis and that these transformations demonstrate the complex effects of economic decline.

For further details and updates, see: www.urban.anthroweb.net

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IUAES Inter-congress 2015:

Re-imagining Anthropological and Sociological Boundaries

Thammasat University, Bangkok,
15-17 July 2015
http://socanth.tu.ac.th/iuaes2015

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

P1-02 Fear, or Better Fear Not: Challenges in Data Collection
http://socanth.tu.ac.th/iuaes2015/2014/10/p1-02-fear-or-better-fear-not-challenges-in-data-collection/
Convenors: Marcello Mollica and Kayhan Delibas

P1-07 Migration and Urbanization: the Role of Ethnicity in the Contemporary World
http://socanth.tu.ac.th/iuaes2015/2014/10/p1-07-migration-and-urbanization-the-role-of-ethnicity-in-the-contemporary-world/
Convenor: Talbot Rogers

P2-01 Decline of Small Towns and Growth of Megacities: an Universal Phenomenon?
http://socanth.tu.ac.th/iuaes2015/2014/10/p2-01-decline-of-small-towns-and-growth-of-megacities-an-universal-phenomenon/
Convenor: Sumita Chaudhuri

P7-07 Underground Scenes and Practices in Urban Life and Beyond
(Commission on Urban Anthropology and proposed Commission on Anthropology of Music, Dance and Related Practices)
http://socanth.tu.ac.th/iuaes2015/2014/10/p7-06-underground-scenes-and-practices-in-urban-life-and-beyond/
Convenor: Rajko Mursic

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The page includes information **For Authors** and **For Advertisement**.

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