UCL DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY NEWSLETTER

ANTHRO NEWS

ISSUE No. 3

Anthropology in the Professional World

Welcome Message

This issue of the Newsletter – like those to come later this year – is dedicated to a particular theme in our work. With the launch of a new stream in the Social Anthropology Masters next year, aimed at students who come to study here in order to use anthropological understanding in the professional world, we wanted to demonstrate some of the ways in which alumni and fellows of our department link their experience in academic research with their activities in environments where they are called on to make practical decisions day by day. We are very honoured to have a guest editorial, kicking off this special issue, from our Honorary Research Fellow and former Director of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Jonathan Benthall.

Meanwhile, the New Year has started on a good note here. Thanks to the relatively robust financial position we have been establishing – due to remarkable increases in Masters students over the past few years - we are advertising three new staff positions in Paleo-Anthropology, in Sustainability, Environment and Development, and in Medical Anthropology. On top of these new full members of staff we have also won Teaching Fellow positions in Culture, Materials and Design and in Applied Studies (see Newsletter Issue 2). These latter posts will be advertised shortly.

There have also been delightful but, I would say well deserved, omens wafting our way. UCL research office has recently asked an American company used to ranking American Universities to see where UCL as a whole and individual departments would be ranked in the US system using data from the last RAE. UCL as a whole came out 4th, and here is the delightful bit: UCL Anthropology (together with English and Neuroscience) came out above all Anthropology departments in the USA. This is a well deserved fillip to my hardworking staff and a pleasure to have our department in such good company.

As part of our ongoing work to demonstrate the connections between research and practice that we too often take for granted, or allow others to work out, we have started a new series of talks featuring anthropologists working in the professional world, ranging from Nokia and Microsoft to NGOs. We are also now enabling companies who are interested in hiring our students as researchers to introduce their work in dedicated sessions.

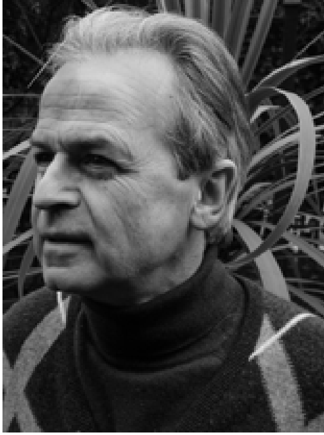
Our new website will be launched in February and the whole Department will receive a facelift with the hanging of a student led photographic exhibition and new photographs featuring the regional diversity of staff research. At the same time, the long standing practice of bits of paper covering every available space on doors and boards, announcing seminars and research group meetings will become a thing of the past: with the installation of a screen in the foyer, we will be able to advertise our work in a more ecologically-friendly fashion.

Our research groups are thriving and new connections between the sections along new and exciting themes are beginning to be talked about and even written into promising grant proposals. Judge for yourself by reading the pages of our newsletter, but make sure to come and experience the Department yourself.

Professor Susanne Kuechler, Head of Department

Guest Editorial

Jonathan Benthall, UCL Honorary Research Fellow and former Director of the Royal Anthropological Institute



Building Trust with a "Research – Intervention – Research" Cycle

Ethnographic field research is not always considered a relationship of exchange, but I think it is. In the old days, marginal groups were adequately won over by the novelty of visiting anthropologists and their aura of sophistication and/or association with power, supplemented often by material rewards to key interlocutors, and sometimes by intellectual acknowledgment. Now television and telephones are ubiquitous, as are aid workers and backpackers. Suspicion has spread more widely than before about the motives of anyone setting out to gather information outside ordinary tourist and commercial circuits, especially in politically turbulent regions permeated by intelligence services. 'What is in it for us?' people ask, and 'Who is behind it?' It is still fortunately possible sometimes for gifted individual ethnographers to gain people's trust through sheer charisma, but this is becoming more difficult. Money and gifts don't solve the problem.

Most groups, when the subject of research is their cultural heritage – for instance, music or visual art – are happy for it to be documented and made known to the world, so that the process of reciprocity is relatively easy to manage provided that a code of ethics is observed and their goodwill is not exploited. (This is not, admittedly, true of, say, Australian Aboriginals, who attach great importance to the secret or sacred quality of many of their traditions.) Bodies such as the Royal Anthropological Institute which possess archives of ethnographic photography have found a way to repay a photographer's original debt to the individuals whose lives were documented, by taking copies of the images to their descendants today and thus enriching knowledge of their ancestral history. Such encounters can feed back to give the visiting anthropologist insights into what is most valued by the group that he or she is studying. The principle can apply equally today to the world's many diasporas. Photographs taken by British political officials in Tibet between 1920 and 1950 are precious records of aspects of Tibetan culture destroyed during the Chinese invasion and later the Cultural Revolution. Electronic dissemination of these images by the Pitt Rivers Museum and the British Museum has made them available for Tibetans and scholars of Tibet, wherever they may be.

Anthropologists who specialize in medicine and health – a fast-growing subfield over the last thirty years - have an obvious opportunity and obligation to bring some of the benefits of their knowledge to the people among whom they gather data. Anthropologists who study elites – known in the trade as 'studying up' – are obliged to recognize that at any time their access may be arbitrarily cut off; therefore they have to be specially careful to offer some kind of a convincing quid pro quo. But there remain large sectors of anthropological research where the relationship of exchange is not so obvious. Typically, the researcher is studying groups of people poorer than him or her, and (if overseas) without the privilege of air tickets and visas. The researcher also has frequently to negotiate access with representatives of the security services and police.

The old idea of Applied Anthropology – that is to say, anthropology that sets out primarily to be of service to people, rather than just communicate to initiates – needs some readjustment, because of the implied opposition to 'pure' anthropology (as in pure mathematics). Thanks to the late Mary Douglas of UCL, author of the classic *Purity and Danger*, anthropologists know that all affirmations of purity need to be critically questioned. True, anthropological methods will inevitably continue to be 'applied', with more or less cynicism, towards all sorts of non-scholarly aims – whether to train soldiers to be more culturally sensitive, or to explore patterns of demand for consumer goods. But I am concerned here with an anthropology that aspires to high scholarly standards; and there is no reason why this should exclude an effort to benefit the people being studied in some way. I would go so far as to say that it is self-defeating to see social-cultural anthropology as a discipline that only has to justify itself to the professoriate – because the quality of the evidence that it gathers will be impaired unless the relationship of exchange is taken seriously.

Prerequisites for effective fieldwork, and hallmarks of good social-cultural anthropology, are access and trust. I suggest that we should try to build up 'virtuous circles' that start with a research exercise – maybe modest to begin with. High-quality research makes possible intellectually grounded interventions, which generate trust and contacts. These facilitate access to the

field and a stage of deeper, more extensive research, which can underpin more sophisticated interventions – and so on iteratively. What kind of interventions? Ethnographic museums and similar institutions are already experienced in building up relationships with overseas partners and interlocutors. I am thinking now of the whole field of humanitarianism and aid, economic development, human rights, women and minority rights, environmentalism, conflict resolution, advocacy, legal processes and the like. Prior research cannot guarantee the success of such interventions in achieving their aims, but they are an investment in maximizing their chances.

The intervention and the research should remain distinct activities with their own respective goals, rather than being merged together (as in the old-style concepts of Applied Anthropology and Action Anthropology). There should be some institutional mechanism to protect the integrity of the research from the undue pressures that can be exerted by sponsors to come up with the findings that they want. There is a particular difficulty in the ethnographic study of the work of Non-Governmental Organizations, which has expanded considerably in the last twenty years. Anthropologists, like journalists, depend on the NGOs for access to victims of conflicts and disasters. They risk becoming like 'embedded reporters' in war zones. There is a strong pressure to come up with findings that please one's hosts, especially hosts like NGOs who are ascribed a kind of secular sanctity; and the pressure must be resisted.

It is for others to decide whether this model of a virtuous circle is generalizable. But I offer here an example from my own recent experience. In the mid -1990s, a Swiss theologian, a French political scientist and I began quite independently to undertake research on Islamic charities – then a very obscure subject. Since 9/11, it has become a hot topic, with the whole sector under a cloud because of suspicions of its involvement in money laundering and terrorist finance. For instance, all US Islamic charities operating overseas except a few very small ones have been closed down and some of their directors have been punished by long prison sentences.

In 2005, the research already undertaken provided a base for the Montreux Initiative, organized by the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (GIIDS), Geneva, with funding from the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, Political Division IV, Human Security Division. The Montreux Initiative (recently renamed the Islamic Charities Project) set out to try to free bona fide Islamic charities from the obstacles put in their way by governments as part of the 'global war on terror': to do so by encouraging them to demonstrate their compliance with international standards of accountability and non-discrimination. It was conceived as a confidence-building measure to build bridges between Muslim and non-Muslim humanitarian organizations, and to influence governments.

The project has encountered considerable political turbulence and its original ambitious aims remain so far unfulfilled. However, the trust and contacts established over six years have facilitated research on one particular, highly controversial topic – the role and status of the Islamic charities, known as zakat committees, in the Palestinian Territories, held by the Israeli and US governments to be merely fronts for Hamas. New collaborators have joined the team. Two working papers have been published by the GIIDS and a third is in preparation. Though research in such a contested region on a sensitive issue has inevitably been difficult, it would have been impossible without the access gained through personal and institutional contacts. Translation of the working papers into Arabic helped bring them to the attention of new interlocutors, who have enhanced the research.

The working papers, apart from their academic contribution, helped in turn to underpin steps that the Islamic Charities Project has been taking recently to try to change the conversation in the United States, in cooperation with like-minded American organizations such as the Charity and Security Network in Washington, DC. Three American universities have given some attention to what is now seen by many observers as an overreaction by the US government against Islamic charities, in the interests of what it perceives as overriding security considerations; and this overreaction is a threat to the autonomy of the whole voluntary sector, which is now required to comply with draconian counter-terrorist regulations.

The Swiss project, despite its frustrations, is recognized as having identified and clarified a pressing issue: how can 'safe aid' be promoted? It argues that a healthy, locally rooted charitable sector, as far as possible depoliticized, is a protection against terrorism rather than a fomenter of terrorism. And now the GIIDS is extending its research interest in Palestinian zakat committees towards the comparative study of zakat in the Muslim world as a whole. Zakat, the obligation to give regular alms, is a pillar of Islam which, if it were put into practice as the religion dictates and with reduced political obstacles, could be a huge force for redistribution and economic development. There is an intellectual payoff too, for studying Islamic charities provides an opportunity to take a 'decentred' look, in classic anthropological style, at the unexamined assumptions of Western humanitarianism.

For other, more established, examples

of 'virtuous circles', we may turn to the careers of several anthropologists, such as the Africanist Alex de Waal, now with the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, whose critique of the 'humanitarian international' was first developed with the support of Save the Children Fund; or Marcus Colchester, director of the UK-based Forest Peoples Programme. But such individuals and the research teams they have built up tend to be outside the academic mainstream. John Davis has distinguished the anthropology of 'maintenance', which documents social structure and function, from the anthropology of 'repair' concerned with issues of policy and intervention. And actually, he said, the distinction may be a false one, because 'social organization hurts' (otherwise known as 'structural violence'). Davis went on to point out that whereas 'comfortable' anthropology is supported by hard money, 'hard' anthropology is supported largely by 'soft' money – i.e. ad hoc grants and contracts. This was some twenty years ago, and things have not changed much since then.

Is there not a case, then, for some institutional tweaking? Should not the major anthropology departments be giving more attention to the encouragement of teamwork, if at the expense of the bravura solo performances that were the glory of the discipline during the twentieth century? Anthropology has the unique capacity to subject ideas and hypotheses, drawn from a variety of sources, to the fiery ordeal of fieldwork, and return them in a refined state to professionals who can make use of them as well as to academic colleagues.

(Jonathan Benthall, UCL Honorary Research Fellow)

Interview - Emma Crewe

Emma Crewe is Executive Director of Child Hope, a charity that works to transform the lives of extremely vulnerable children by reducing child abuse and exploitation, assisting children affected by HIV and AIDS, improving child justice systems and ensuring that children are involved in decisions and matters that affect their lives. She has a PhD in Anthropology from Edinburgh University and currently teaches Development and Anthropology at London University's School of Oriental and African Studies.

We started off by asking Emma how anthropology has influenced the work she does now.

Anthropology tells you that knowing things about the social world is much more complicated than it seems. I can illustrate this with a story about an allegation of corruption made against against a particular NGO in Latin America. This NGO was facing something which is becoming quite common, an anonymous allegation was made against it via the Internet. The motive may have been genuine concern or revenge because someone been sacked… any number of reasons could have been in play. So from the start we did not know what was going on. An international auditing firm was commissioned to invesigate. I was asked to go with the donor's representative, a trained lawyer, to mull over the findings and decide whether to continue funding or not. At our first meeting the auditors told us: "here are the findings and they're pretty damning. What would you like us to do? Would you like us to tone them down and then you can recommend that the donors carry on working with this organisation? Or would you like us to leave them as they are, including all the worrying annexes, and you could recommend breaking off with them?" Trained to understand that 'facts' are always open to interpretation, I was not surprised but my colleague was absolutely horrified because he couldn't believe that there could be any interpretation. He wanted clear villains or heroes and to recommend appropriate action without any moral qualms.

So, while the auditors and I were assessing how serious the accounting problems were in the particular context, he became increasingly upset. It got worse for him when we left the meeting and I said I was worried that the auditors were too used to working with corporate clients and that some of their assumptions may have been flawed. I suggested we go back to the field and test out a few of the findings. He looked at me as if I had gone completely mad. We visited a hotel where this NGO had claimed they had had an event but the auditors asserted they must have lied about it because the hotel had no facilities for events. I went into reception and asked if they had any conference facilities. No, they didn't. My lawyer friend looked terribly relieved and thought, 'yes, nice and clear cut.' But I said, "do you ever have events?" And they replied, "no, we don't ever have events." And I thought, 'this is a bit odd.' I was sure that the auditors had got it wrong on this one. So I asked, "do you know this NGO?" They replied, "Oh, yeah they're good friends of ours. A few months ago we got them in and they had 50 children and we cleared out the tables from the restaurant and they had a big workshop." The lawyer went pink and silent.

Finally, we discovered that the NGO had been making profits from the foreign-funded projects and using them to subsidise locally funded ones. The quality of the work was exceptional, there was no personal corruption and they agreed to implement a demanding action plan to bring about improvements to their management. So eventually the lawyer was reassured; I had worked out enough about his legal way of thinking to determine what was needed to reassure him. We decided to encourage the donor to carry on with this project. Bearing in mind the lawyer's reluctance, this would not have happened if left up to him on his own and so many hundred thousand pounds would not have reached the children in a favela.

So, anthropologists tend to be good at understanding that knowledge is socially produced and contested. But this story also hints that anthropology sees ideas and practices within their cultural context and likes to unravel assumptions (e.g., of heroes vs villains or 'them' vs 'us'). This doesn't mean that the relativism that is a strand for anthropologists denies you the right, in my view, to take a moral reaction to things. As a social scientist you are continually aware of the hierarchies that you are trying to challenge and changing the status quo is inevitably morally charged. You have to react morally in order to make decisions. But this is diametrically opposite to the position of law, which can't see itself as morally relative. You know if somebody commits a particular crime, it's the same crime in any context, according to lawyers. The importance of context, hierarchy and relationships with people is always clear to anthropologists. So it did not surprise me terribly that the Latin American NGO staff had been free with their accounting considering the fact that they didn't know the funders. I think if they had had a closer relationship then some of this sloppy accounting might not have happened at all.

There has in the past been some scorn for anthropologists working 'in' development from academe. Is that different now?

People talk about anthropologists either being in or of development, which is unhelpful. The idea that you've got anthropologists 'in', who are unreflective, using anthropology in a superficial way and being co-opted into in an industry that's causing harm, as opposed to anthropologists 'outside', who are studying development, being reflective, saying critical things and not having much impact, is a caricature that doesn't stack up in my experience. Most anthropologists interested in development are hybrids, sometimes being reflective and sometimes trying to have an impact by influencing policy or doing a consultancy. I am involved as an NGO worker, a lecturer at SOAS, a researcher and a writer, and seen by NGO practitioners as overly critical and by academics as foolishly optimistic. But there is no reason to assume that practitioners necessarily lose their capacity for critical reflection.

It certainly helps to stay connected to critics, including other anthropologists. I came to this conclusion while studying the politics of aid after my PhD fieldwork. Twenty years ago I didn't know other anthropologists working in development and my research was rooted in a participatory form of observation, in that I was employed as an aid worker for two years in the organisation I was studying. As a result I became thoroughly socialised into its procedures. I started to make sense of the world in the way that they do so that when I tried to write up my PhD I divided up the material just as an aid worker would. I organised it in the same sorts of bureaucratic ways that you divide up initiatives into projects. It took about three months to distance myself from that process of socialisation and to get underneath things rather than just explaining the surface. But conversely, when sitting in an academic institution and aspiring to be more scholarly I have sometimes lost sight of how it is useful to convey your thoughts to non-academics. It is easy to get into extremely detailed or theoretical accounts, distracted from what the world of practitioners need, by the demands of responding to other theorists.

How did you choose to work in Child Hope?

When you are a professional anthropologist working in non-academic institutions, you have to decide what kind of institution you can stomach. I personally haven't got the stomach to work in a large aid institution – a government or a multi-lateral aid institution – not because I think everything they do is harmful but because there is too little room to challenge the prevailing paradigms and ways of doing things. So I chose the institution extremely carefully – it is small and the key people within it are open to anthropological perspectives. The capacity for critical reflection is much easier if you can maintain connections with other people who prize critical reflection and for whom it is a core part of what they're doing. Our Chair is a complexity theorist so we get on like a house on fire.

I have realised that one of the things that's absolutely necessary to cope with being an anthropologist outside of academia is to carry on networking with other anthropologists. To have the energy to keep challenging people and endlessly contesting things, I need to nurture my roots in the discipline.

What was your first experience of anthropology in the professional world?

One of the first things that I did for an INGO was as a consultant, a job I had

never done before. I got about 10 minutes training, didn't have a clue what I was supposed to be doing but it was probably the best evaluation I have ever done. I did what I was told, which was quite straightforward – you look at the objectives and see whether or not they had been met – but then I also did my own anthropological thing. I didn't know you're not supposed to do this but I thought it would be interesting to interview not only the beneficiaries but other people living in the locality. So I talked to all the people in their families, and even other families and women's groups, in a particular area of western Kenya. I encourage them to talk about development, poverty and inequality generally, not just the project objectives, and we all went completely off message because I didn't realise you weren't supposed to. In an evaluation you are supposed to conclude that the project was either a success or a failure but it became clear to me that it was both, depending on who you spoke to. Even the division between beneficiaries and developers seemed to me fuzzy as one of the members of the women's group became an employee of the INGO.

The annexes were the interesting bit of that evaluation because they revealed how the women's groups out of the project didn't want a project about energy they wanted to trade – something which the beneficiaries did not dare reveal – so they really wanted credit and business skills, completely different benefits to those being provided. There was also a huge amount of tension caused between the people who were (or were supposed to be) the beneficiaries and everybody else who lived in that area. And, the NGO was extremely interested in this and surprisingly receptive, encouraging me to write about 'non-beneficiary' perspectives in their newsletters. This report had an influence partly because by that time I had a good relationship with people in the NGO and it's much easier to have an influence if you've got a relationship of trust. You have a close relationship with people, not obviously just because of the content of what you convey, but because you have earned their respect and they'll listen to you.

What do you feel you bring to your iNGO?

It's extraordinarily rare for INGOs to have a really good understanding of governance and I think anthropologists have gotten better and better at understanding the different levels within a society and the encompassing state. This is one of the ways in which the discipline has vastly expanded in scope and understanding because we've got good at exploring the links between micro and macro. It means that our INGO is one of the few small ones that think very hard about which institutions to work with and why. There are a fair number of INGOs that just cruise around Africa and Asia and other parts of the world delivering services themselves without really thinking very much about what that does to local institutions. So we do nothing outside our own country without supporting the capacity development of civil society. The only reason we exist is to serve local organisations; we offer services to local and national organisations in the countries that we've identified because in the end we feel it's their responsibility to sort things out or, better still, promote social justice for children. Obviously, it's more literally the responsibility of states and families to fulfil children's rights but NGOs do have an important role in that and we work with NGOs that have a good understanding of governance themselves, about where all this is going and who should be doing what.

(Interview by Michael Stewart)

Research Grant

Anthropology and the Suburbs
Dr. Victor Buchli

Source:http://uclsstc.wordpress.com/2010/07/22/adaptable-suburbs-innovative-interdisciplinary-research-project-at-ucl/

Recently announced by the Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council, the Adaptable Suburbs research project will explore the factors and forces affecting suburban growth and development. The goal of the research is to improve the future sustainability of the suburbs by offering solutions for policy decision-making of the planning and design of the suburban built environment. The investigators on the project (Laura Vaughan, Bartlett School of Architecture (PI), Victor Buchli, Department of Anthropology and Muki Haklay, Civil, Environmental and Geomatic Engineering) have proposed to develop methods for integrating socio-economic data with information about urban area design, addressing the question of how local self-organisation, design interventions and functional changes impact large-scale networks of connections. This research will further benefit the public by improving the quality of local neighbourhoods. The research has a cross-disciplinary scope and involves three departments at UCL including: the Bartlett School of Graduate Studies, Anthropology and Civil, Environmental and Geomatic Engineering departments. The project partners are CABE, GLA Economics, Savills and Shared Intelligence.

Interview - Sara Skodbo

Sara Skodbo is the head of the Operational Delivery and Reintegration Team in the Reducing Re-offending Unit at the Home Office. As a former graduate of UCL's doctoral programme (2003) she firmly believes that it was here that she acquired key skills that she puts to use in helping devise and implement workable drug policy. This interview is given in a personal capacity and opinions expressed are in no way an official view of the Home Office, neither should they be considered an indication of Home Office policy.

Can you say a few words about your work in the Home Office?

My work at the moment is very much related to supporting the implementation of the Drug Interventions Programme. This locally implemented programme identifies drug misusing offenders in the custody suite, at court, or through self-referral and some other routes. Their needs are assessed by a drugs worker and if they require further support they will be taken on for case management by what are known as criminal justice integrated teams (CJITs). My work also involves the PPO programme – the Prolific and Priority Offender programme – as well Integrated Offender Management approaches, or IOM.

All these are interesting policy areas from a socio-political and historical perspective. Traditional crime reduction which focused on situational crime prevention and individual crime types has now been complemented by these innovative approaches that are more strongly focused on understanding the population of offenders and their journeys. This has led to exploring how the criminal justice system and local partners can work in a joined up way so that offenders are managed properly, end-to-end, and not being dealt with by different organisations or individuals who never join up.

That sounds quite anthropological in a way, I mean putting yourself in the offenders shoes, as it were.

Absolutely. I think that that's partly why working here appealed to me because a lot of the policy thinking behind it and the rationale behind the approaches that were developed are based on a strong grasp of the reality of the world of offenders. That's also one of the really fascinating things about working directly with police; in many ways they are ethnographers. They are there at the coalface day-to-day, they know an awful lot about the nature of criminal behaviour and offending groups. So one of the really rewarding things is having that two-way dialogue where you're able to help them think innovatively about their groups. But also you learn a huge amount because they have this deep ethnographic knowledge themselves.

But where's your anthropology in all this?

That is in dealing with all the analytical and intellectual challenges of understanding huge and varied populations, groups, across England and Wales, largely. My job is very much about problem-solving and making things happen in the real world. And in order to do that successfully you have to make use of your skills as anthropologist, if you like, which is about really understanding the nature of the problem, getting underneath what might appear in the first instance to be quite a sort of superficial problem. Once you get underneath it and understand the real drivers, there is a lot of enjoyment from identifying solutions that are quite innovative or that people without an anthropological background might not necessarily always see. So that's very satisfying.

How does that work in practice?

One of my interests when I was doing my PhD was around the agency of technology and looking at Alfred Gell's work on the agency of the art object and how that could help you think about technology. And after working at the Home Office for a couple of years I became very interested in the role of the drug test; the drug test is a technology that, if you like, joins or connects the police officer, the drug worker and the arrestee in the custody suite.

In around half of the custody suites in the country, if you are arrested for what we call a trigger offence – these are largely a range of acquisitive offences but also drug supplying/ possession offences – you are drug tested for opiates or cocaine or crack-cocaine. And if that test is positive, then you will be obliged to undergo an assessment by a drugs worker; a failure to attend is treated similarly to a failure to comply with a breathalyser test. So there's a sanction attached. If your test is positive you are assessed by a drug worker, and potentially taken on to the caseload, where drug workers seek to get you access to mainstream drug treatment and recovery services.

And, obviously a big concern is always the issue of value for money. Is it good value for money to drug test people? Does that investment produce results? Now that's quite a simple question you might think. You might look at how many positive drug tests are there, how many negative drug tests are there, how many drug misusing offenders have you got into treatment as result of a positive drug test, for example. Using these approaches you can begin to assess the benefits and the costs, estimating the numbers that would not otherwise have entered treatment. As an anthropolo-

gist though, I'm also interested in the less obvious things going on in terms of engendering relationships between the police and the offenders that they're working with, that I observe in the field. So for example, the police officers operating the test might interact with and start to get to know the users in a different way. Through the administration of this simple procedure with a swab you're actually developing a different type of relationship between the police and drug misusers, one that's based on greater knowledge, and greater understanding. You are also developing an expertise in the custody suite because the police using this technology are exposed to more learning and information about the nature of this group. And they're linking that with their local understanding. In addition, police and drug workers work together in the custody suite, and you have different professional groups who are brought together as a result of the testing activity. The drug test is a social agent generating the development of new competences and new relationships.

So when a decision is made about whether or not to use this kind of technology, it can be supported by this sort of fuller understanding.

Could you say what it was in your anthropological training enabled you to see that as well?

I think of anthropologists as the psychoanalysts of society in a way. They are trained to understand human society, human behaviours, in much deeper and reflective ways than most of us manage to do on a day-to-day basis. ...This probably sounds really poncy and pompous but in a sense it's true…as anthropologists we're concerned with the nature of the production of knowledge. So if used with a fair dose of caution and humility, it does open ways of approaching mindsets, thinking, disciplines that are around us in our society in a day-to-day basis. And that can be extremely powerful. It's extremely helpful to be able to make decisions on the basis of real facts and figures. Operational modelling, for example, is hugely important. Statistics, likewise. But the 'softer' social sciences provide an understanding of what lies beneath the facts and figures and what they actually mean and what they're limitations are, and what the real world that they refer to looks and feels like and how it works. So that you're able to understand what decision-making... what the consequences of decision-making are. More than that, my feeling is that anthropology is quite radical in the way that it asks these questions. It asks how do we know what we know and why do we think that's how we know what we know, going one step further in that discussion.

Is there a research project...if you were given a sabbatical from your job that you would like to carry out?

That's what I would like one of your PhD students to do please! ...It would be around drug testing...the interface between police, offenders, drug workers. To really understand the role that the police and criminal justice interface in the community plays in helping drug misusing offenders to desist and undertake their recovery journeys, if you like. This is something that we don't know enough about it. Whether it's an ethnography of a drug test or an ethnography of the custody suite, or CJITs, I would love to have had time to do that and I'm always half joking to my boss that she's got to let me take some time off to do it.

Your original fieldwork was in Norway – on governmentality and business. Is there a comparative project here too?

My PhD was indeed about genetic engineering innovation in the food industry in Norway. I was interested in why companies continued to develop (GM) technologies that provoked such huge resistance amongst consumers and political groups, especially in Norway. In the Norwegian setting you have consensus-based politics; you have a very flat political structure or apparently flat. And you have a very strong moral discourse...the political discourse is very moral. This contrasted at the time quite strongly with the UK where you have much more hierarchical structures. So you've got the Lords which is traditionally the place of expertise (and the aristocracy). And then you have the Commons which is….you know….well, the name says it all really doesn't it?

But my question was, what then are the consequences of those different traditions and cultures around political decision-making – what those differences say about values which in turn drive decision-making around technology. So in the UK, you would have expert-based, anonymous assessments of science. Whereas in Norway, you'd still have very face-to-face, almost pre-modern trust-based relationships around science and around decision-making, around what was allowed to take place and what wasn't.

In terms of drugs policy, where I am working now, Norway has a huge range of challenges and it would be wonderful to be able to revisit with drug treatment in my sight. You see in Norway, for all kinds of social and cultural reasons, the tendency is to classify drug users once and for all. "Once a 'narkoman' always a 'narkoman' ['junkie']." It becomes part of your social essence if you will. And of course they realise that this is not working… Anthropology is all built around taking the stance of 'the other' and I can see a way to address this issue here that could really move things forward.

What lessons should we who teach anthropology at UCL take back from your experience?

One of the things that was quite new when I was doing my PhD was doing anthropology in our own societies. It was still quite a new thing and I think that

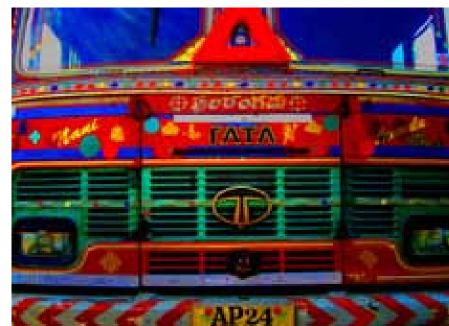
it's something we should be doing much more of and should be encouraging as much as possible because it's hugely valuable to decision-makers in this country. Being able to have that more complicated understanding, based on an understanding that life is very complicated and fuzzy and messy, and helping people to make decisions that take that fuzziness and messiness into account is something that anthropologists are particularly good at doing, I think. So having anthropological knowledge as one source of information for decision-makers I think will really add value.

So in terms of preparing your students today for work outside academia, I think it's important that anthropology holds onto its difference from other social sciences. There is no point diluting this. Part of your training as anthropologists, indeed the whole point is that you start of looking at 'the other'. I used to love doing the tutorial groups for first years looking at cannibalism – 'does it exist, doesn't it?', incest taboos, things like that – cultivating that intellectual fascination in such a way that you are enabled to learn about how knowledge is constructed. I think that is one of the most important things to focus upon in anthropological training.

For your postgraduates, once you are thinking about 'what next' and where do you want to use your anthropological knowledge in the making of decisions, I think that there are really key and very specific things that could be done to support that: training in how government works, what the key skills they are looking for in their research divisions – the Home Office had 400 researchers when I started and probably still have at least half that number. So there are jobs there!

The temptation for the anthropologist is always to be critical, the outsider looking in and it is this very fact of participant observation that accentuates that position. So we talk about 'entering' or stepping 'into' a field, and this highlights its otherness from our everyday life and this is something that you think about again quite carefully when as an anthropologist you enter the real world of work, as it were. I think having the opportunity to think about that while you are still doing your Masters or your PhD and grapple with that a little bit could be really helpful to people in making that transition – for instance to understand how the dynamic between universities and governments works. Universities may be these critical voices but are nevertheless enmeshed in these webs of connections with governments ESRC funding is set by central government and their priorities set its course – and this comes down to negotiations at very high levels about what are our national priorities. And anthropologists' support comes out of those conversations and so I think it is helpful to think quite explicitly about the relationship between Anthropology in the university and the broader state. So, there is fascinating stuff there about being a part of this society that you want to study and you have to engage with this if you want to work as anthropologists in places where decisions are made.

(Interview by Michael Stewart)



Profile - Dr. Martin Holbraad

What are you reading at the moment (not work)?

To be honest, we tend to read so much in our daily lives as academics that, during term time, I don't tend to read novels and so on - though I try to keep up with the Economist each week, as well as the Saturday Guardian. Before Christmas I started Moby Dick, but I'm afraid I'm still only at page 50 or something!

Why and how did you become an anthropologist?

As an undergraduate reading Philosophy, I had what felt rather like an epiphany when it occurred to me that some of the most abstract concerns philosophers like to think about (e.g. is the world 'one' or 'many'? is infinity graspable by finite beings? etc.) are also lived out very concretely in people's lives. I then found out that there's a discipline that dedicates itself to studying the vast variety of the ways in which people go about things and, ever since, I've been trying to carve out an intellectual space in which this kind of research can speak back to those more 'abstract' questions I fell in love with as an undergraduate. One of my favourite anthropologists, Roy Wagner, says that, while many anthropologists are very interested in how people carry ideas, he is more interested in how ideas carry people. I'm with him on that!

Who has been the greatest influence on your career?

I hate the word career. But I'm big on 'influence' (in Cuba I study magic, which is all about what 'influence' might mean). I think the two people who influence me most perceptibly in anthropology are Morten Pedersen (my best anthro-pal) and Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (an intellectual mentor, I guess). Also, Caroline Humphrey (my PhD supervisor) and Marilyn Strathern, (who was also my teacher and PhD examiner). The 'influence' takes concrete form in a lot of email traffic, visits to and from Denmark and Brazil (where Morten and Eduardo work respectively), reading each others' drafts, and so on. One could do an ethnography of it, in this sense.

Which anthropologist would you most like to be stuck with on a desert island?

Very easy: Levi-Strauss. Or, come to think of it, if I wanted to survive, probably my mate Rane 'the hunter' Willerslev (though I hear my colleague Jerome Lewis, who works with hunter -gatherers in the Congo, can also be pretty mean with a bow and arrow).

What do you do to relax?

Many things. Watching iplayer is only one of them.

What's your favourite song / piece of music?

I'm one of those sad people who go around imagining what pieces they'd choose if ever they were invited onto Desert Island Discs, and even then, with a choice of eight, I find it impossible! So there's no way I could single out one. It might well be something Greek. Or possibly Beethoven's Violin Concerto.

In the light of the current climate of funding uncertainty, what would you do if you lost your job? / were not an academic?

I love anthropology (obviously!), as well as my colleagues and our students here at UCL. But I find that university life (so called 'academia') is miles and miles away from the desires for creativity and scholarship that led me into it. Of one thing I'm sure though: even if I was not a paid up academic, I'd still be an anthropologist!

What drives you nuts about the state of our discipline?

The extent to which people (including myself) feel they have to collude with the systematic erosion of intellectual life by those who, while running it, either positively despise it, or simply don't care enough to understand what it may be about. I mean, for example, the people who have been cutting state-funded pure anthropology PhD studentships year on year over the past decade. (By the way, if you are an alumnus reading this, why not consider giving 0.5 percent of your salary to anthropology every month? We have a *hugely* talented generation of students coming through, and no money with which to help them fund their research.)

What was the most embarassing moment of fieldwork?

I was an impeccable guest.

What's the worst job you've done?

Like most anthropologists (not all), I come from a middle-class family, so it would be pathetic of me to talk about 'worst jobs.' Just to illustrate the point, I genuinely think the 'job' I most regret doing is an article of mine that got published last year which I find embarrassing - a real rushed, botched job of a paper, which I hope no-one will ever read. Goes without saying I'm not telling you the title!

What is the best thing about UCL?

Our students, graduate as well as undergraduate.

What historical figure would you most like to have met?

People say David Hume was a lovely man, and his philosophical prose moved me the most as a teenager (although I'd hardly call myself an empiricist, as per my responses above).

What do you most like or admire about the people you worked amongst?

I never 'fell in love' with Cuba, as many people do with their fieldsite. But what I respect most about Cubans as a 'people' is their revolutionary spirit, which, notwithstanding many caveats, is still alive in many ways and senses. I don't 'support' the Cuban revolution politically speaking, but I hugely admire the Cuban people for making it happen - it's their project.

Tell us one thing your students might not know about you.

If they don't know about it, there's probably a good reason.

(Interview by Michael Stewart)

Reading and Research Groups – A New Dimension to the Life of the Department

As reported in the last newsletter, this year has seen the launch of more than a dozen Reading and Research Groups (or, as we call them for short, 'RRGs') in the department. These regularly bring together staff and research students who share an interest in particular topics – from the role of migration and transnational flows in contemporary society, to recent developments in palaeontological research methods. With an emphasis on openness and informality (some meet over dinner or drinks in the pub, while others are structured as regular seminars), our RRGs have had an energizing effect on the intellectual life of the department.

A key strength has been to bring people together from the different strands of research within the department – biological anthropology, material culture studies and social anthropology – as well as fostering links with other departments within the College, and with colleagues and peers beyond UCL. For example, the Ethnographies of the Built Environment Group has been holding regular meetings at the Bartlett School of Architecture, in which our staff and research students have the opportunity to discuss research with architects. Similarly, the Anthropology of South-East Europe Group forges links between Anthropology and our neighbours in the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, while the Latin American Anthropology Group circulates its meetings between UCL, LSE and Goldsmiths and welcomes invited speakers from South America and elsewhere. For its part, based in the Institute of Archaeology next door, the Centre for Museums, Heritage and Material Culture Studies intensifies our longstanding relationship with Archaeology, complementing our buoyant joint Bachelors degree in Archaeology and Anthropology.

Valuing reading and thinking for their own sake, a spirit of collective intellectual adventure is very much part of the ethos of these groupings. RRG meetings provide a free space for developing thoughts in new and unexpected directions, reading texts that go beyond the immediate horizons of our research, and just enjoying each other's company in joint intellectual pursuit.

At the same time, RRGs are a prime forum for the development of more formal research ventures, including organised seminar series, workshops and debates, preparing doctoral and post-doctoral research projects, and developing funding applications for staff-led research activities.

Coming up, we have a high-profile workshop on 'Contemporary Cosmologies', held in the department on the 5th and 6th of May under the auspices of the Cosmology, Religion, Ontology and Culture Research Group (CROC). This will bring together a group of international scholars (highlights include Marshall Sahlins from Chicago and Eduardo Viveiros de Castro from Rio de Janeiro), to assess the relevance of cosmology – the diverse ways in which people imagine the world around them – to understanding contemporary societies. As of April, the Human Ecology Research Group (HERG) will have two new post-doctoral fellows: one working on issues around reproductive decision-making in the context of HIV and anti-retrovirals in Tanzania, and the other on the modelling of agent-based decision-making among East African pastoralists. And throughout the

coming term, the Cultural Pathologies, Indigenous Psychiatries, and Human Wellbeing Group will be organizing high-profile debates in collaboration with BioCentre. Highlights include a debate in the House of Lords on human organ trafficking (with Nancy Scheper-Hughes), one in UCL's Café Scientifique on bionics (with Kevin Warwick, the UK's first 'bionic man'), and a UCL Town Meeting for the new Science, Medicine and Society Network.

Future research ventures springing from our RRGs will be reported in coming issues of this Newsletter. If you want more information on this aspect of the Department's activities, please consult our RRG webpages at: http://www.ucl.ac.uk/anthropology/research/readinggroups.htm and feel free to contact Dr. Martin Holbraad (m.holbraad@ucl.ac.uk) for more information.

The 12th RAI International Festival of Ethnographic Film will be held at UCL in Central London from 24 - 26 of June 2011

Call for film submissions Deadline: 15 January 2011

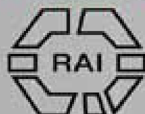
For guidelines please visit:
www.raifilmfest.org.uk
www.therai.org.uk/film/festival2011.html

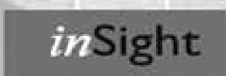
Events linked to the festival:

- Workshops and panels (archival film, education, and more)
- *Open City London Documentary* Weekend (16 -19 June 2011)
- A one-day Visual Anthropology Conference organized by Chris Pinney
- *MyStreet* interactive community project and competition

Visit www.raifilmfest.org.uk for upcoming programme details and registration

Sponsored by: University College London, Department of Anthropology
The Royal Anthropological Institute (RAI) and InSight Education





Royal Anthropological Institute | Film Festival Office | 50 Fitzroy Street | London W1T 5BT | United Kingdom
film@therai.org.uk or festival@therai.org.uk | Phone: +44 (0) 20 7387 0455 | Fax: +44 (0) 20 7388

Open City London Documentary Film Festival

As announced in previous newsletters UCL Anthropology has put itself at the heart of a unique experiment in digital media. The MyStreet national competition and digital panorama launches at the beginning of March and preparations for Open City London Documentary Film Festival - including the Royal Anthropological Ethnographic Film Festival - also proceed apace.

We are, in particular, incredibly grateful to an anonymous UCL donor who has given the first hand up to MyStreet and OpenCity with a three year seed donation of £90,000 in total. This, together with crucial backing from our faculty, has enabled us to expand the scale of the festival. If we are to grow both the Mass Observation-inspired MyStreet and the festival we will need to find much further funding but a team in the department are already hard at work on this.

Meanwhile the jury for the festival is beginning to read like a Who's Who of movers and shakers - Cristi Puiu, famed for his Cannes award winning Death of Mr Lazarescu, chairs the Grand Jury, assisted by Simon Chinn (Man on Wire and Project Nim), Pawel Pawlikowski (My Summer of Love and many BBC docs before that), Penny Woolcock (On the Streets), Dave Calhoun (Film Editor, Time Out London), Eddie Berg (Artistic Director, British Film Institute), Olly Lambert (Tea Boy of Gaza) and Nick Pearce (Director, IPPR).

The programme itself includes:
-200 hours of films followed by Director's Q&As
- an open air fringe event each evening,
- special surprise events including appearances and a film by one of the all time greats of documentary
- Jihlava in London - a selection of some of the best films from the leading eastern European festival
- curated days of films, including a cross-UCL 'City in Film' event

With yet more to come, we can already be assured that Open City London will put UCL on the London map in a quite unforgettable way.

As readers of the newsletter will know, both these projects are part of a broader long term goal to turn the University into a platform for the creation of digital content (programmes, in broadcast speak).

In the face of new geo-political tensions, conflicts over resources and a rapid redrawing of the contours of social life in all parts of the world, there is a profound need for common platforms which foster public reasoning and exchange. But during the past twenty years we have seen a radical decline in the amount and quality of factual, documentary content on terrestrial television. We are worried by this gradual withdrawal of the public service broadcaster from its traditional task to provide a place where the complexities and challenges of the world we live in can be intelligently explored.

Convinced that there is no way back to a golden age of broadcast, we have decided that other institutions need to take up the space being vacated by the great cultural factories of the 20th Century. There is still a profound need for complex cultural dialogues that sustain commonality, reciprocity and toleration, but these need to be created in a post-fordist way. One place to build this kind of novel platform is the University, the source in any case of so much of the best televised content in the past fifty years.

Watch this space!

(Michael Stewart with Andrew Steggall, Jessie Teggin, Olivia Bellas and too many UCL volunteers to name)

FOLLOW US ON FACEBOOK AND TWITTER at
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facebook.com/opencitylondon

MyStreet Documentary Film Competition

MyStreet, the nationwide documentary-making competition open to all UK residents to tell the story of their streets has moved ahead with gusto. UCL's development office have found a donor willing to provide all the support needed to run the education, DOCinaDAY workshop (in total for the first year and a proportion of the larger project in years two and three.) The website and competition are due to go live in the next four weeks.

Kodak have also got behind the education work by contributing 10 Kodak Playtouch cameras. This represents nearly £2,000 worth of sponsorship and makes a huge difference to our ability to deliver film training to the 300 young people we hope to work with by the end of this summer in inner London Schools - and above all in the UCL target schools (non-selective, state-funded secondary schools).

Thanks to other sponsorship so far raised we are aiming to offer a total in the region of £10,000 of prizes for the best MyStreet films made by the public in the main competition. The prizes will be awarded at the closing gala of the Open City Festival on 19th June 2011. With high profile prizes, we believe that the coverage and take-up of the competition will be extensive.

Meanwhile, Open Cinema, who work with homeless people in London are going to be making three MyStreet films directed by their homeless film-makers. These will be shown at the Open City London Documentary Festival hosted by UCL in June. We will also be hosting a MyStreet Kabul with ten films from Kabul and we are working on a MyStreet Beijing idea.

UCL Anthropology Film Programme
www.mystreetfilms.com
+44 (0) 20 7679 4907
+44 (0) 7866 849 837

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Reviews

Storyville, Secrets of the Tribe

This account of the anthropological study of the Yanomami in Venezuela is crucial watching for anyone interested in the recent history of anthropology, and where the field is or isn't going, even if it will probably make you want to give up anthropology.

It charts the stories of the first three anthropologists to work with the Yanomami in the 1960s – all of whom carried on their work into the 1990s. The best known and most widely read of the three is Napoleon Chagnon, a pioneer in ethnography, ethnographic film and evolutionary anthropology, and lately mired in controversy. He was the focus of the ' Darkness in El Dorado' debacle that resulted from the publication of a book of that title by Patrick Tierney in 2000. This led to Chagnon being castigated by the American Anthropological Association (AAA), in an attempt to fuel the flagging 'socio-biology wars', and later to him being feted by the Human Behavior and Evolution Society (HBES) in response to the AAA action, and Chagnon ultimately retiring from the field something of a broken man.

The essence of the accusations against him revolve around his collaborations with medical researchers and their attempts at measles vaccination, and other accusations about giving steel weapons to Yanomami (as in fact all three of the featured anthropologists did). These accusations are variously refuted or defended in the film, but the most fascinating thing is the realisation that the fury focused on Chagnon masked a far more serious stain on anthropology that the AAA does not appear to have been so concerned about.

Chagnon emerges from this film with the most credibility of the three protagonists, although it has to be said there was not much competition in this field. Jacques Lizot was an anthropologist and linguist put into the field as Levi-Strauss's protégé at the same time as Chagnon, and is well-known in social anthropology as the author of a 1976 french monograph translated into English as Tales of the Yanomami and long a standard introductory text in the field. The film recounts how his time with the Yanomami involved documenting the language and using the power his position afforded him to systematically sexually abuse, over three decades, the Yanomami boys he obtained access to through his work.

Allegations were ignored by missionary nuns (perhaps not surprising in the light of recent discoveries about practices elsewhere) but also by other anthropologists. In the end, it was the French editor of his Yanomami dictionary who asked why such a large number of his translations had obscene connotations. Lizot refuses to comment on these allegations in the film, but the Yanomami victims do speak and make clear what was going on – having to introduce new words into their lexicon to describe his acts.

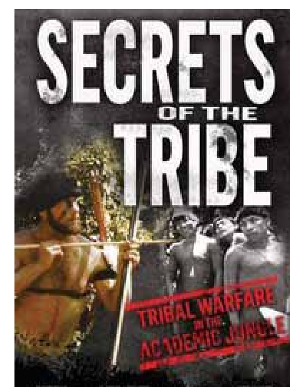
The third anthropologist featured is Kenneth Good, whose furious attacks on the other anthropologists were intermingled with admissions that he had sex with underage Yanomami girls – taking one of them (after she reached the legal age) back to the US with their children. Good resorts to arguments from cultural relativism to defend his sex with a child, and some kind of presumed genetic determinism to explain why it was difficult for his children in American schools when they could only count to 2!

There is some discussion of anthropology in the film, but mainly it throws further light on the division in the field, challenges the ethics of gift-giving and observation in the field, and raises questions as to how to introduce medical and other technology to such societies, leaving you wondering if anthropologists can ever work without their presence causing adverse influence on such groups.

The Venezuelan government clearly believes the answer to the last question is no. They have now banned all academic research on the Yanomami and many other studies too, including all studies on the genetics of anything including animals and plants, with the ban spreading way beyond anthropology to undermine all research in the area. Unfortunately this has not necessarily stopped the sexual exploitation of the Yanomami, who are thought to be interacting with workers on local mining concessions, their struggles with the inevitable encroachment and commercial exploitation of their territories, now unobserved by researchers.

(Ruth Mace)

Storyville- Secrets of the Tribe (BBC 4 Monday Jan 12th and available on iPlayer until March)



Source: http://www.facebook.com/pages/Secrets-of-the-Tribe/119126678099630

Wolf Hall

As an anthropologist who loves reading novels, I never seem to separate my day job from my pleasure reading. I recently read Booker Prize winning *Wolf Hall* (Hilary Mantel, 2009) and found myself deeply engaged in the plot of this hefty 672 page tome of a page-turner, but equally intrigued by themes that also come up in my research, writing and teaching.

Examining the social, sexual and political history of Tudor England through the eyes and experiences of Thomas Cromwell, issues such as social class, kinship, and gender relations all play central roles in Wolf Hall. Thomas Cromwell, the protagonist, is something of a Tudor superman - there are few things he has not found himself equal of, or has not in fact accomplished. Coming from a remarkably disadvantaged background it is all the more astonishing that he rises to assume the mantel of one of the most powerful advisors to a troubled Henry VIII. Yet his rise is far from unproblematic. He is never allowed to forget that his lowly class origins keep him forever apart. Social marginality, thus, is a pervasive theme running through the novel.

The author's informed, well-researched commentary on the mores and domestic lives of this period are extremely well-crafted and keep the reader's attention focused on the quality of the fabric imported from weavers abroad, to Hans Holbein's visits and struggles while producing his incomparable painting The Ambassadors (hanging at the National Gallery).

Against a background of King Henry's wish to divorce Catherine of Aragon, his lustful desire for Anne Boleyn and Cromwell's admirable loyalty to his powerful patron, Cardinal Wolsey, we ultimately witnesses the latter's downfall. Themes familiar to us from the anthropology of religion and politics come to the fore here, leading this reader through the morass of legal wrangling entailed in justifying the theological, social and political rationalisations of the historically monumental severance from Papal Rome.

Some of this is represented in the book by the personal rivalry and intellectual, legal and political sparring between Sir Thomas More and Thomas Cromwell (both captured by Holbein, but you'll need a trip to New York's Frick collection to see them in the flesh, perfectly hung on two sides of a fireplace). Domestic life and women's roles are expressed in nuanced and occasionally unexpected ways. The author skilfully creates fully three-dimensional characters and takes them through the range of life-cycle experiences, including not only marriages and children, but the ever-present threat of infectious diseases and epidemics. Many succumb. The emotional toll this takes is rendered with a subtle hand.

Kinship arrangements also serve as anthropological fodder. Cromwell informally adopts a young boy from rural England as his apprentice to be trained and trusted. Relations with affines and consanguinal kin over time describe complex networks of reciprocity and sociality.

Ultimately it matters not that we already know the ending. Here, it is the richness of the details and the implicitly cultural analysis that reveal new contours to historically otherwise familiar ground. A great read for all, but a particular pleasure when informed by anthropological understanding.

(Ruth Mandel)

From the Field – Notes from the Frontline of Doctoral Research

Vita Peacock is currently engaged in an ethnography of the professional world. Here she gives us some of her impressions from the field.

Firstly to the reader, a qualification: I write from the ethnographic "half-time" mark. This means, rather than sucking oranges breathlessly in an endorphin-primed group huddle, I must in fact retreat from a huddle of a different kind, that of my fieldsite, to obtain the distance Johannes Fabian suggested we anthropologists need to craft our research object. My 'thesis', in both senses of the term, a book-length document which will result from thorough investigation, as well as my analytical position, from the Greek word meaning 'place', are still therefore emergent.

As a result, reluctant to pluck from the bough too quickly and present the fruits of research unripened, this piece will walk through some of the processes involved in studying an institution from an ethnographic perspective. This institution is the Max Planck Institute (hereafter MPI), a largely publicly-funded research body with offspring across every province of Germany (with a handful elsewhere) which investigates nominally "basic" problems in the sciences and humanities. It was founded in 1948, although its social structure was modelled on a predecessor, the Kaiser Wilhelm Society, which began life in 1911. I am carrying out a comparative ethnography inside two departments of this sprawling entity.

Access

The ethnographic experience from start to finish is the bread-and-butter of research, and this is particularly relevant for the question of access. In my case, access has two definitions. The first is

an initial accession from an individual in a position of power that the anthropologist may spend a prolonged period of time studying the group. At the MPI, this is of course the Director of the department. It was formally granted six months before arrival, and thereafter, as part of a broader introduction to newcomers, I was warmly welcomed with an appeal to the traditional tropes of layman's anthropology, exoticism and the tribal unit, just as Stefan Helmreich put it in his (2001) study of scientists elsewhere: “We are a tribe, using funny equipment and Vita has come to study us!”. Sometimes the presence of an anthropologist can seemingly tighten the bonds of the informant group, as they become self-conscious of their cultural integrity through internalising the gaze of an observing outsider. This may be followed by further formalities, such as being handed an identity card and an electronically-programmed key to open the door to the assigned office, or having a medical check, or being taken on a “lab tour” to meet the key non-human actors within the Department.

However, the second definition of access which urges itself on me as the days and weeks roll by, involves a more subtle and capricious art, which has none of its sibling's bureaucratic straightforwardness. This is access to the kinds of information which constitute an anthropological study; not the personality-based tidbits of gossip which might what my interlocutors were expecting, which are subsequently playfully exposed or quietly hushed up, but rather the use of categories or imagery, anthropomorphisms, embodied practices, or the emotional content of a description. In institutions with a strong awareness of their own public face, a formal static interview may not be the best technique for gathering information, as it can encourage a self-conscious stance from the interviewee, presenting and selecting information in certain ways, blindsiding the blundering ethnographer in the process.

So, the second kind of access in this fieldsite occurs most readily in situations of movement. Movement can be understood in a literal or a figurative sense. Literally, this may be the travelling of a train carriage, three of which take me from my address to the periphery where the science park is located, a trip on which my informants sometimes join me. It may also mean walking to and from one of the off-site canteens, or even an organised “walk and talk” on the shores of the Baltic Sea at the annual retreat. Figuratively, movement may also mean following the line of travel of an experimental project, even if this involves sitting still. Here one is following the task non-invasively and informants may

be more comfortable to let one do so.

Insight-driven ethnography

Until the final couple of months, research in this setting has been pursued on a largely ad-hoc basis, referred to here as insight-driven ethnography, which hops between the stepping stones of new discoveries. Apart from the occasional proof-read of unpublished manuscripts, I am not formally employed in any real capacity. Other ethnographers have used alternative approaches. Annelise Riles, became intimately involved in organising the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, so her ethnographic role was in fact integral to producing the documents which became her focus of study. This rootedness in an institution, in assuming the position of employee, focuses but also delimits one's scope. The benefits and drawbacks of insight-driven ethnography are thus of an entirely inverted character to Riles' technique. In the beginning, the sensation of anxiety induced by the sheer potential of the enterprise, discussed by John Law in a study of British nuclear scientists, could be overwhelming. However, having the time and the space to carry out the necessary mental work which propels questions and their answers, means that new interests take shape. I somehow avoid being forced into an occupationally-shaped hole. This permits the productive re-interpretation of old data.

Re-interpretation

Part of the adventure of ethnography is the re-ignition of apparently insignificant details, already collected, in the light of new information or ideas. The folding of time in a synapse-firing flash permits the awareness, of what Ruth Benedict in 1934 termed “patterns of culture”, the connection between seemingly disparate instances which indicate a broader set of relationships. As she put it: “Taken up by a well-integrated culture, the most ill-assorted acts become characteristic of its particular goals” Her implication is that it is the ethnographer's job to join the dots. In this case, that is me.

I have encountered some “ill-assorted acts” at the MPI. In the courtyard of the science park, there is a tall metal sculpture some ten metres high. A stand fixed to the ground holds a long metal cuboid, which moves gracefully as the wind around it picks up speed. On another occasion, one scientist explains their intention to leave the Institute when their PhD comes to an end in a few months, to take up a non-scientific administrative job which they intend to do for the rest of their life. The response to this is a barely-concealed disgust, “that's so depressing” their conversant replies. Lastly, in reply to the question 'How long have you been here?' one interviewee replies “a year” before add-

ing that this is emphatically "a long time!". Now one could argue that a context in which a year is "a long time" to hang around, where the idea of a lifelong job is "so depressing", and where one is surrounded by material symbols which move with the wind, the "pattern of culture" here must be one of impermanence. And indeed when I consider the temporary contractual position of the vast majority of scientists within this institution, I see that this particular "pattern of culture" is consistent with a legal framework, i.e. one of the "particular goals" of the MPI: that almost all scientists should ultimately move on.

Conclusion

I wanted to give a meandering tour of what it is like to begin ethnography within an institution. The institution presents the question of access: after a successful arrival have I mastered this in its second more complex incarnation? How to maximise the advantages and avoid the pitfalls of "insight-driven" ethnography? All that remains is to attend to the crucial solvent in which all data must ultimately dissolve, what Malinowski termed, "the ethnographer's magic". It is this that will bring the culture of the Institution into being.

(Vita Peacock)

Research Grants / Projects

The Bray Leino-UCL Anthropology Intern Project

Building New Bridges Between the Department and the Private Sector

In the spirit of the department's ongoing commitment to bridging the gaps between the academy and the professional world, we are delighted to announce an exciting new collaboration with top 20 integrated marketing agency Bray Leino (www.brayleino.co.uk). Through this partnership, students from the Digital Anthropology program and the Applied Studies course will spend time learning about the working of the agency, exploring their own research interests for course projects and dissertations, and collaborating on a broader research project with Bray Leino staff, which ideally will lead to the possibility of co-publication of some of their research.

Dubbed the Dynamics of Choice project, the collaboration will conceptualize and create an integrated approach to communication strategy, taking into account such issues as the role of new media in defining personhood, viral marketing, self authoring/self- authorizing, the creation of new kinds of communities, and the relationship between identities as consumers and broader senses of personal identity.

The idea for the project emerged through discussions with Dom Lane, the firm's Director of Creativity, who now heads the initiative, in the course of my largely unrelated fieldwork. In the midst of our conversations, we both came to realize the intensity of the interconnection between anthropological interests and questions and Dom's desire to reconsider and reinterpret the classical models of consumption in the advertising industry. Although there has long been a model of how people choose what they buy, in the wake of new technologies and particularly social media, those models have largely become obsolete. The problem has been in figuring out "what's next?" And to answer that question, Dom realized that the expertise of anthropological knowledge and modes of inquiry might add a lot of value to the discussion.

With that goal in mind, through collaboration with Lane DeNicola and Rodney Reynolds, we have worked to construct a program to connect the firm with a select group of students from the anthropology department. Over the next few months, four postgraduate students, Luiz Rivera, Dale Simmons, Giustina Trevisi, and Peter Westman will intern in either the Bristol or Filleigh (Devon) offices of the firm, being embedded in the culture of the agency for several weeks over the course of the term, as they use the firm's resources to aid their anthropological interests and produce content that can be used by both them and their hosts at the agency. They will be integrated into all the aspects of Bray Leino's business, and the company will be covering their lodging and expenses as a part of the project.

In particular, the broader goal of the project is to set up an interdisciplinary space to bring new approaches to bear on questions with implications for both anthropology and marketing communications by uncovering new insights into ideas of personhood in today's technologically engaged world. We envision this year's class to the first step to a multiyear collaboration on this and related projects, and we are very excited about the possibilities of bringing anthropology to Bray Leino in innovative new ways.

(Erica A. Farmer)

Extreme Citizen Science (ExCiteS) 5-year project begins at UCL

Citizen Science – the participation of amateurs, volunteers and enthusiasts in scientific projects – is not new, with activities such as the Christmas Bird Watch or the British Trust for Ornithology Survey, in which volunteers observe birds and report to a national repository. Such projects date back to the early 20th century, and many of the temperature records that are being used in climate modelling today have been collected by amateur enthusiasts operating their own weather stations. Over the past decade, Web 2.0 technologies have led to the proliferation of Citizen Science activities, from SETI@Home, where people volunteer their unused computer processing power, to Galaxy Zoo, where amateur astronomers suggest interpretation of images from the Hubble telescope.

With a £1 million grant from the EPSRC, Muki Haklay (Geomatic Engineering) and Jerome Lewis (Anthropology) will build an international centre for 'Extreme Citizen Science' (ExCiteS) based in the Chorley Institute that seeks to build on existing UCL projects, and those of certain other researchers employing similar techniques, to push the boundaries of current Citizen Science practice.

Our approach differs from current Citizen Science practice and participatory monitoring approaches where participants are trusted only as passive participants (by donating CPU cycles) or as active participants who are limited to basic observation and data collection. In ExCiteS projects participants are central to problem definition, data set requirements, and ideally in the scientific analysis itself. In projects in Deptford (London, UK), Congo and Cameroon we spend the first part of the project defining the environmental problem or resource issues to be addressed with participants. Combining their local knowledge with our scientific knowledge we work out the data sets required to describe or evidence the problem. We then provide the participants with tools that enable them to collect this data (regardless of literacy levels if this is a limiting factor), and tools to collate data into scientifically valid presentational forms that both they and those they wish to influence can read and understand.

In all cases we have found maps to be the most effective way of translating the data collected by communities into formats that they and key decision makers can quickly 'read' and understand, and to our initial surprise, has resulted in the rapid integration of local concerns into management practices in ways that seek to avoid or address the problems identified. It seems that maps' potential for representing complex information graphically is as attractive to time-constrained decision-makers as it is to the participants in ExCiteS projects. Additionally maps are simply easier to read and thus more accessible to people with different linguistic and educational backgrounds. Indeed maps predate text as a form of human communication by many thousands of years and this may partly explain their effectiveness in this respect. UCL projects so far include avoiding damage to local peoples' key resources during logging operations in Congo, pressurising enforcement agencies in Cameroon to investigate sites of possibly illegal logging in community forest land, and to challenge the activities of a local scrap yard operator next to the Pepys Estate in Deptford (London) by community noise monitoring. The success of the Congo project has resulted in local non-literate hunter-gatherers requesting a new project to collect geo-referenced data on poaching and commercial hunting activities in their local forest areas in order to improve enforcement efforts.

This approach overcomes the limitations of other approaches to CS and participatory monitoring because it capitalises on local environmental knowledge and does not discriminate between participants according to their education. The literacy requirements of most Citizen Science projects result in them mostly happening in affluent or developed places. This effectively excludes most people living in areas of high biodiversity which, perhaps tellingly, tend to be undeveloped.

(Jerome Lewis)

Exploring and Protecting Nigeria's Biodiversity: 10th anniversary of the "Gashaka Primate Project"

A Biodiversity Hotspot

One of the premier wildernesses where monkeys and apes still survive in large numbers on this planet lies in the remote Gashaka region in north-eastern Nigeria.

Ethnic groups with ancient traditions call the rugged landscape their home. Many of them are Fulani, living a proud pastoralist life, others are Hausa speaking subsistence farmers. Islam is the predominant religion, and the Muslim of Nigeria's north co-exist here peacefully with Christians who tend to dominate the south. Few roads penetrate the expanse that stretches along the border with neighbouring Cameroon. Trips to the market and visits to a doctor can take days. On foot, that is, across trails, which snake through mountains and floodplains, with precarious crossings of turbulent rivers thrown in for good measure.

The area at the interface between the dry sub-Saharan Guinea savannah and the moist Cameroonian highlands is of considerable physio-geographical complexity. It thus supports a mosaic of biotopes such as evergreen and semi-deciduous rainforests, gallery forests, woodland-savannah and open grassland. But, as favourable as such habitats are for the development of a diverse flora and fauna - they are also good for humans. Consequently, there are very high human densities throughout much of this region and most original forest cover has been cleared and converted into settlements and farmland. Moreover, many Fulani clans have given up their traditional nomadic lifestyle, and cattle herds of these settled former pastoralists have turned vast stretches of land into barren moonscapes. Hunting for bush-meat is rife, and many animal taxa, especially large mammals, have already been driven into local extinction. The vast Gashaka Gumti National Park is the last remaining area where a rich assemblage of, often endemic, wildlife thrives - including carnivores such as civets, Golden cat and leopard, ungulates such as buffalo, bushbuck, duikers, waterbuck, hartebeest, red river hog and one of the last remaining populations of giant forest hog. Rare fresh-water fish, otters as well as sizeable crocodiles and even a few hippopotamus populate the translucent rivers. The presence of more than 500 feathered species led to the designation of the park as an "important bird area".

Primates constitute the reserve's flagship species. Choruses of black-and-white colobus resonate through the woodlands, the boom of the mona monkey rolls down from thickly forested slopes, hacks of putty-nosed guenons echo through the canopy, dense riparian vegetation will shake from a pandemonium of baboon barks. And the buttress roots of tall emergent trees make a perfect playing surface for "bira mai ganga", the "monkey with the drum" - as the chimpanzees are aptly nicknamed here. The Gashaka region is particularly well known in conservation circles as a refuge for chimpanzees, as they belong to a particular rare subspecies that has only recently been described: Pan troglodytes vellerosus (aka ellioti; www.ellioti.org).

The Gashaka Primate Project (GPP)

The area became a focus of systematic primatological studies when I founded GPP in the year 2000. The administrative centre of GPP is the Department of Anthropology at UCL. Studies that focus on baboons are coordinated and overseen by Dr. Caroline Ross, Centre for Research in Evolutionary Anthropology at Roehampton University in London.

Since its inception in the year 2000, GPP has developed an international network that spans three dozen institutions in a dozen countries (for example: Federal University of Technology Yola / Nigeria, Gombe State University / Nigeria, Universität Frankfurt / Germany, Universität Würzburg / Germany, University of Alabama at Birmingham / USA, University of Canterbury / New Zealand, University of Chicago / USA, University of Copenhagen / Denmark, University of St. Andrews / UK, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic Bron / Czech Republic, Deutsches Primatenzentrum at Göttingen / Germany, International Institut for Tropical Agriculture at Ibadan / Nigeria, Leibniz-Institut für Zoo- und Wildtierforschung at Berlin / Germany, Max-Planck-Institut für Evolutionäre Anthropology at Leipzig / Germany).

Over the years, students (at the level of undergraduate, masters, PhD), researchers (post-docs and senior) as well as volunteers have come from 21 countries of 5 continents to collect data or assist with capacity building within the GPP framework (Argentina, Austria, Cameroon, Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, New Zealand, Nigeria, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Taiwan, The Netherlands, United Kingdom, USA). The GPP project maintains a 5-room research station near Gashaka village, at the edge of Gashaka Gumti National Park. About 11 aerial km from Gashaka is the location of a 16-room field station at the site of the abandoned village Kwano, inside the park. A dirt road of 35 km, suitable for 4-wheel drive vehicles, connects Gashaka with the town of Serti and the national park headquarters at Bodel. The Kwano site, for more than half of the year, can only

be accessed on foot or by motorcycle, and the treck requires challenging river crossings. There is no mobile-phone coverage at the field-sites and the nearest internet-connection will often require travels of hundreds of kilometres. Permanent power-supply - otherwise unheard of in Nigeria - is available at the Kwano site since early 2005 when a team of German engineers erected a small power-plant, the so-called "power-island", which is a hybrid facility with solar panels supplemented by hydroelectric energy from a small nearby waterfall.

Focus on Research

The project employs about a dozen or so local field assistants that accompany researchers into the field. Individual students and researchers assist in the collection, compilation and analyses of long-term data (e.g., on climate; demography and basic activity pattern of two habituated baboon study groups; chimpanzee nesting pattern and tool use; pattern of flowering and fruiting as recorded along a forest phenology transect that covers 1000 trees and associated vines). In exchange, individual researchers can use parts of the long-term data set for their own purposes. The project enables original research for undergraduate and graduate students, leading so far to an impressive 36 dissertations - including 4 bachelor projects and 17 masters dissertations. The remainder are PhD theses, with 5 completions so far and another 10 PhD students working towards submission. The hard currency of science is, of course, research articles. GPP affiliates so far produced dozens of articles in edited volumes and peer-reviewed journals, including American Journal of Primatology, Animal Behaviour, Current Biology, Folia Primatologica, Hormones and Behavior, International Journal of Primatology, Journal of Zoology, Nature, Primates and Stress. Another 14 major contributions are collected in the volume Primates of Gashaka: Socioecology and Conservation in Nigeria's Biodiversity Hotspot. This publication is edited by Volker Sommer and Caroline Ross as part of the series "Developments in Primatology" by Springer-Publishers in New York, and scheduled to be released in November 2010.

Research covered within the GPP framework is – increasingly so – not restricted to "classic" ecological and behavioural field studies of non-human primates, but includes topics from a variety of disciplines such as taxonomy (in particular collembolae, flies, ants, frogs, birds), anatomy, genetics, biogeography, parasitology, endocrinology, nutritional studies, reproductive physiology, gestural and vocal communication, cognition research, developmental psychology, ethnobotany, botany, meteorology, geography, human-wildlife conflict, ethno-primatology ("folklore studies"), social anthropology, public policy, contemporary arts and philosophy. This is, of course, a reflection of a developing tendency to combine field work with laboratory research and aim for interdisciplinary.

Conservation Activities

The project closely coordinates its activities with the Nigeria National Park Service and cooperates with conservation-oriented organisations such as Wildlife Conservation Society, Great Ape Programme of the US Fish and Wildlife Service, Nigerian Conservation Foundation, WWF-UK and the Pan African Sanctuary Association. GPP's major partner is the Nigeria Biodiversity Programme of the North of England Zoological Society, an outreach initiative of Chester Zoo. The chimpanzee enclosures at Chester Zoo are fitted with extensive artwork and information banners that detail the substantial links with GPP. Chester Zoo provides the annual core funding for GPP in the order of £25.000 - £30.000. This income is supplemented by modest fees charged to students and researchers for accommodation and field assistants.

GPP's capacity building efforts include bursaries and supervision for African students, National Park Service employees, or local primary school teachers who seek to further their education. The project also works with the National Park Service towards major infrastructural improvements which are often funded by Chester Zoo and logistically supported by JBN (Julius Berger Nigeria), a construction firm with roots in Germany. These measures include the establishment of a repeater station on a remote hill that enables comprehensive radio communication throughout the vast park area. Of particular importance was the demarcation of the otherwise unrecognisable park boundaries by beacons and clear-cut corridors, stretching over hundreds of kilometres - another feast of advanced engineering. A major contribution is also the generation of maps based on remote-sensing images that document changes in the vegetation cover over the last decades and thus help to identify locations that need particular attention in terms of protective measures. This project is supported by a 33.000 $ grant from the US Fish and Wildlife Service. Currently, GPP helps the National Park Service to raise funds and design the facilities and curriculum of a nation-wide ranger training facility at Gashaka Gumti.

Looking Towards the Future

The Gashaka Primate Project has grown into one of the largest research and conservation acitivities in West Africa. An alternative legal and logistic structure will have to be found, if the project is to continue in perpetuity. This will requite not only high-calibre scientific management and reliable

management on the ground but also assurance of long-term core-funding. We are currently pondering ideas such as: turning the project into an NGO; integrating it with other research activities (such as the national park's research department); making it the field station of a regional university (such as the newly founded Taraba State University); handing the management over to a long-established nature conservancy (such as WCS); or convincing a world-class zoo (such as Chester) to dedicate itself to long-term in-situ conservation.

One would probably also have to think about a name-change, given that research topics have long developed into areas other than orthodox primate research. An obvious candidate would be "Gashaka Biodiversity Project". Our logo was designed with this idea in mind and a change from GPP to "GBP" would be easy.

In any case, I am thankful to the numerous dedicated people and institutions who supported this project - and also for the recognition that our work has found. This includes that I was made a member of the Section on Great Apes of the International Union for Conservation of Nature, and recently an Honorary Conservation Fellow of the North of England Zoological Society. Ten years by now: Let's hope that "the monkey with the drum" will join in the celebrations.

See also:
- www.ucl.ac.uk/gashaka
- "Protecting the primates of Gashaka". UCLTV Video: www.youtube.com/watch?v=VTAL2Txcf3g&feature=channel

(Volker Sommer)

News and Upcoming Events

Dr. Charles Stewart has been named Venizelos Visiting Professor at Deree College (The American College of Greece) in Athens during the current academic year. The Eleftherios Venizelos Chair was established in 2003 in recognition of the Greek statesman's contribution to the country and his support to The American College of Greece. The primary goal of this chair is to focus research, debate and attention on the most important and interesting developments in Modern Greek history.

Digital Anthropology Virtual Open Day

Wednesday, 9 March, 12.00-13.00 GMT, Staff Common Room

This novel experiment is designed for students who live far from London and, in particular, abroad. Our Virtual Open Day will involve a live webcast, 60 minutes in duration, with brief presentations on the programme and the research work of staff and their responses to your questions submitted via Twitter, Facebook, and email.

We will have postgraduates on hand fielding your questions on to us so we can keep up with you!

The entire webcast will also be recorded and stored on the department website so if you cannot make it that day you won't miss out totally on the fun! Details of how to "tune-in" to the webcast will be posted to the department website in early March.

UCL Social Anthropology, Visual & Material Culture and Medical Anthropology Masters' - Meet the Staff Day

Wednesday, 16th March 14.00-16.00. Followed by Films and Drinks.

Allen Abramson, Chris Tilley and David Napier warmly invite all prospective MSc and MA candidates for these three degrees to visit the Department and meet individual members of staff on Wednesday 16th March.

The programme we have put together for you includes brief talks by the Masters' Tutors, a visit of the UCL campus, including our own Department led by two current Masters Students and an opportunity to meet individual members of the teaching staff to discuss your particular interests. At 16.15 we will show a selection of the best films made by students in our department on our unique Documentary and Ethnographic Film Making modules. We invite you then to stay on for a drink and chance to chat with current students and other members of staff at the end of the afternoon.

UCL Anthropology Masters Open Day

We invite all applicants for any Masters Degree to attend an Open Day on Wednesday 15th June 14.00-18.00. All Master Tutors will give presentations and you will have the chance for detailed group discussions with them, tours of UCL and our department. The day will conclude with a surprise screening of one of the films from our film festival that opens that night.

Recently Completed PhD Theses (2010)

Julie Botticello “The materialisation of well-being among Yoruba-Nigerians in London”

Iside Carbone “China in the frame. Materialising ideas of China in Italy”

Andrea Carocci “The real issue is flying, not death: Dealing with risk in the subculture of Italian gliding”

Elena (Magda) Craciun “Fake Branded Clothing: An Exploration of its “Presence” in a European Periphery”

Damon Dennis “Migration and metamorphosis - On the power of the insignificant in a Moroccan city”

Jane Derges “Eloquent Bodies: Communicating Violence in Northern Sri Lanka”

Deborah Des Jardins “The Discourse and Practice of Sex Trafficking in Italy”

David Downing “Understanding Opposition to GM Food & Crops, Äì Tracing Networks Constructing, Maintaining and Reproducing Oppositional Dispositions in Dorset, UK”

Laura Fortunato “The evolution of marriage practices in Indo-European groups: a phylogenetic comparative analysis”

Fabio Gygi “Gendered Disorder(s): ‘Rubbish Houses’ and ‘Women who cannot tidy up’ in Contemporary Japan”

Konstantinos Kalantzis “Visualizing Identity on the Margins of Europe: Photography and the Geographies of Imagination in contemporary Sphakia, Crete”

Eirini Kampriani “Cultural Management of Genetic Knowledge in the Case of ‘Female’ Cancer. Embodied Risk and the Moral Landscape of Women’s Health”

Ioannis Kyriakakis “Christian Pluralism and Social Differentiation in an Nzema Village in Southwestern Ghana”

Nicola Levell “Museum Acts: The Performative Culture of the Museum of Anthropology at UBC”

Jessica Mozersky “The Social Meaning of “Population” in Populations Genetics”

Maurus Msuha “Human Impacts on Carnivore Biodiversity Inside and Outside Protected Areas in Tanzania”

Marjorie Murray “Defining the Self in an Informational Environment: Madrilenians Everyday Life with Computers”

Eugenia Roussou “At the Crossroads of Religion and Spirituality: The Evil Eye in Contemporary Greece”

Bettina Silbernagl ““Speak like a man!” - Affirmative Action for “youth” in Uganda”

Joseph Trapido “Congolese Migrants in the European Union”

Gretchen Walters “Savannas on Fire: Changing Resource Use in the Bateke Plateau of Gabon”

Anna Witeska “Passageways between the Underground and the Pantheon: a Gaze into One Memory Maze of Post-socialist Poland”

Contributors: Prof. Susanne Kuechler, Jonathan Benthall, Michael Stewart, Emma Crewe, Sara Skodbo, Victor Buchli, Martin Holbraad, Andrew Stegall, Ruth Mace, Ruth Mandel, Vita Peacock, Erica A. Farmer, Jerome Lewis, Volker Sommer, Charles Stewart, Lane DeNicola

Edited by: Michael Stewart, Olga Lupu & Beverley E. Langevine