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Vážení čtenáři,

přestože číslo, které se vám dostává do rukou, rozvíjí především téma různých pohledů antropologie na studium náboženství a náboženských jevů, nejde v pravém smyslu slova o monotematické číslo. Obsahová blízkost jednotlivých statí je spíše výsledkem shody okolností, kdy se nám v redakci sešly právě texty k tomuto tématu, než cílenou snahou redakce časopisu. O to více pak patrně překvapí, jak se hlavní články tohoto čísla z různých teoretických i výzkumných pozic dotýkají obdobných témat. Texty Agaty Ładykowské (*Celebrating Womanhood in Russia: post-Soviet school teachers embracing Orthodox*), Johna Eada (*Pilgrimage, the Assumptionists and Catholic Evangelisation in a Changing Europe: Lourdes and Plovdiv*), Waldemara Kuligowského (*A Relay of Youth of the 21st Century. A Re-enactment of Ritual or a Grotesque Performance?*) a Tatiany Bužekové (*Posvátná ženskosť a moc: rodová stratifikácia neošamanských skupín*) ukazují, v jakých specifických polohách se lze v prostoru střední a východní Evropy vztahovat k obecným tématům post-socialismu (Ładykowská, Kuligowski), a post-sekularismu (Eade, Bužeková). Zároveň tyto texty také představují paletu různých stylů antropologického psaní: od etnografického textu Ładykowské, přes spíše komparační text Eadův a analyticky vyčerpávající text Bužekové, až po skicovitě črty Kuligowského.

K textům, které by neměli uniknout vaší pozornosti, patří i článek Łukasze Kaczmarka a Pawła Ładykowského *Ethnographic Training in Borderland*. Českému čtenáři přesvědčivě ukazují, že očekávání a limity produkované organizací našeho univerzitního vzdělávání, výrazně překračují mezinárodní hranice a že polští kolegové čelí ve vzdělávání studentů antropologie obdobným strukturálním problémům. V neposlední řadě bych rád upozornil na rozhovor s Jeffrey Schonbergem, který se zapsal do povědomí mnoha čtenářů jako spoluautor knihy *Righteous Dopefiend* (spolu s Philippe Bourgois). Tomáši Ryškovi, který s ním vedl rozhovor, se podařilo plasticky představit jak pozadí vzniku této knihy, tak, na pozadí debaty o podobách současné severoamerické antropologie, některá témata současné antropologické diskuse o sociálním vyloučení.

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Jakub Grygar

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Orthodox Women's Day under Construction: Ruptures and Accommodation in the Development of Post-socialist Ritual Life in Russia

Agata Ładykowska

Abstract: On the example of an attempt to introduce a new holiday, Orthodox Women's Day, the article describes the peculiarities of ritual life in post-socialist Russia. In the Orthodox milieu there is a need to substitute Soviet era International Women's Day with the Orthodox Women's Day. However, many features of the new holiday show affinities with the previous one. The article discusses the main feature of post-socialist ritual life: mutually constitutive interrelation between the secular and the religious, and the way it articulates with the uses of the present in the past. The problem discussed is the way in which post-Soviet and post-atheist Russians imagine and use ruptures, as well as how they perceive continuities.

Key words: Russian Orthodoxy, post-socialism, education, ritual, women

After state atheism was abandoned in 1991, Russia entered a phase in which the political, the secular and the religious became reconnected in new ways.¹ Russian Orthodoxy experienced a “rebirth”: today around 82% percent of ethnic Russians, or 75 – 85 million people, name Orthodoxy as their religion². One of the obvious results of this ‘religious revival’ is the empowerment of the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC); the symbolic potential of which has not gone unnoticed nor unrecognized by the state. Although the constitution of the Russian Federation proclaims a separation between Church and state, in fact, they both reinforce each

1 This article draws on 12 months of fieldwork conducted in one of the major cities of the Russian South in 2006-7. The fieldwork was conducted within the framework of the project “Religion and Morality in European Russia in the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in Halle/S., Germany. The analytical part was partly developed within the *Centre for Anthropological Studies on Orthodox Christianity*, Warsaw, Poland (a project financed by the National Science Centre - Narodowe Centrum Nauki, decision DEC-2011/03/D/HS3/01620.)

2 However, it must be noted that these figures should be considered with caution, as they include people with extremely diverse degrees of religious knowledge and commitment (see Filatov and Lunkin 2006).

other intimately. In reality, the state has played a central role in facilitating the return of the ROC into public life: the Church has regained an enormous amount of real estate, renovated buildings, and monastic and educational institutions. Similarly, the ROC is a strong supporter of the state.

This mutually constitutive interconnection between the secular and the religious in Russia becomes even more complex – and, in an anthropological perspective, even more challenging – when analyzed in reference to the people's relation to the past. The problem in question is the way in which post-Soviet and post-atheist Russians imagine and use ruptures, as well as how they perceive continuities. In this sense, the problem presented in this paper is in line with Joel Robbins' (2003; 2007) call to examine both continuity and discontinuity with a critical gaze. However, continuity and change in Russia have a very distinct articulation. Robbins points out in his analysis that Protestant converts stress radical change in their lives, a phenomenon to which anthropologists find it hard to give credence, and argues that this dimension is therefore neglected in scholarly expertise which tends rather to focus on continuities. Such an opposition of continuity and change does not seem to occur in post-socialist Russia, where people apparently combine the two. The prominent feature of this interconnection is the Church's emphasis on, and people's subjective view of, an encompassing continuity straddling the period of transformation³ (cf. Benovska-Sabkova, et al. 2010; Ładykowska 2011). For example, many biographies I explored revealed trajectories from atheism to religious commitment, though the individuals in question did not see themselves as undergoing any fundamental change. Former Communist Party and Komsomol activists who had converted after *perestroika* thought of themselves as consistently moral persons. There is a general discourse, reproduced by both believers and non-believers, that Russia has always been Orthodox: "The Moral Code of the Builder of Communism is nothing other than a disguised Ten Commandments," I was told many times. The idea that the communist system was built on a religious pattern, and was actually an inverse form of religion, was a common conviction repeatedly articulated and illustrated with examples of how communist rituals drew on Orthodox precursors. Whenever people were asked about transformations, they pointed to the structural similarities between communism and Orthodoxy (for example they stated often that 'there was one Party like there is one God'), and sometimes ideological ones too, such as the frequently invoked values of sharing or justice. This perspective on the continuity of Orthodoxy seems to

3 For Robbins (2007) this discrepancy is founded on the fact that anthropological and Christian (one should specify: ideal-typical Protestant) models of change are based on different models of time and belief. In the case of Orthodoxy, however, the idea of encompassing continuity does not prompt such a conclusion. Rather, it is an attempt to assert that some moral fundamentals remain unchanged, despite the tragedies and dramatic transformations of 20th century Russian history (Benovska-Sabkova, et al. 2010: 17).

be a general feature of post-Perestroika attitudes to religion, which are otherwise in flux (Ładykowska 2011).

Such a connection between the secular, the religious, and the uses of the past in the present finds interesting expression with regard to education. In the aim of producing the "New Soviet Man", Soviet educators developed and maintained a distinctive approach to what they referred to as *vospitanie* – "moral upbringing", "social education". *Vospitanie* – as one of the major parts of an educational project (along with instruction) – corresponds to the concept of socialization. However, the official abandonment of Soviet ideology caused many educators to turn their gaze in search of new sources of morality. The potential of Orthodox ethics quickly gained recognition, a result of which was the submission of a creative curriculum proposal for a new subject⁴ that would be suffused with Orthodoxy, but would be eligible for adoption in nominally secular schools. The adoption of the subject has been voluntary, but the general situation in most of the European part of Russia is such that the inclusion of the subject in the curriculum seems to have as many advocates as opponents, among teachers as well. The lines of division in this 'struggle' do not necessarily coincide with teachers' personal attitudes towards religion. While many remain atheist (as they were officially required to be during the socialist period), others have readily accepted an Orthodox identity (which still does not make all of them automatically proponents of religion in schools). The latter often have drawn on their social capital and organizational skills to establish Orthodox schools and courses (Benovska-Sabkova, et al. 2010: 19). Luehrmann (2005) describes a similar phenomenon with the help of the term 'recycling', which she uses to refer to the process by which people transform skills, habits and spaces, and make them usable in a context for which they were not intended. In her study, she gives an account of how cultural workers and pedagogues in the Russian Republic of Mari-El reuse their Soviet-era skills and resources for new ethno-religious purposes. I believe such 'recycling' serves not only to create a smooth link between the secular and the religious, but also to connect the Soviet past and the post-Soviet present into a seamless harmonious entity. It is also a reminder that socialism and post-socialism – though forming distinct analytical frames of reference – cannot be clearly isolated in people's experiences (cf. Kaneff 2004).

It is against such a background that I would like to bring to the fore the case of a school ritual, which will be examined in the next sections of this article. I believe it might be a useful example to look at as the character of a ceremonial practice in a school might be an important indication of those features of educational ideology considered to be central by the members of the school. If we conceive of rituals as symbolic performances that have meaning over and beyond their specific situational meanings (Bernstein 2003: 54), then they can provide us with powerful

4 This new subject has been given a variety of names, but the most widespread and popular is 'The Foundations of Orthodox Culture' (*Osnovy pravoslavnoi kul'tury*).

insights into the problems outlined so far as embedded in a wider social perspective. On the other hand, a study of rituals understood as a tool of cultural management and political socialization in modern society may shed some light on the debate on ritual itself.

Ritual and education. The school as a social form

In literature on education, schools tend to be depicted as monolithic institutions with educational projects: policies, plans, goals and the organizational means of achieving them. Such projects may vary from one society to another, from one community to another, and from one school to another. (Public) schools act as agents of the state, offering not only instruction, but also promulgating the values and attitudes which the government was created to maintain and serve. A clear answer to the question as to which exactly are the values that the Russian government would like to transmit is not easy – but perhaps this does not concern Russia alone. The constitutional separation of Church and state means for schools that they cannot teach religion. The school is supposed to be a secular space, but one engaged in a spiritual upbringing, for which Orthodox ethics nonetheless seem to have a great potential. The confusion resulting from such a conflation needed to be reconciled, and ceremonial occasions were recognized by teachers as an exceptionally useful circumstance for the restitution of what was perceived as the 'proper' symbolic order of schools. A ritual is a didactic mold, and teachers seem to be aware of this function of ritual much more than any other social group. This fact and the practices resulting from such an understanding of ritual also prove that teachers' roles and agency within a school as an institution carrying out a certain project cannot be overlooked.

The educational reforms of the '90s in Russia concerned structure and governance in schools, as well as the curriculum. The removal of the state from the educational scene (*razgosudarstvlenie*, "de-statization") was supposed to encourage de-ideologization, decentralization and regionalization, and diversification. The latter was referred to as the creation of an educational market of varied educational outcomes, degrees of regionalization, ethnicity, internationalism, and independence (Karpov, Lisovskaia 2005). The reform of the curriculum involved pluralism and initiative from below: it was now the educators who should somehow exercise independence, and contribute and offer their ideas on moral upbringing.

In my field site (though it should be stated that this was a general rule), schools prepared their own, special projects which were to be approved by the local division of the ministry of education. Having received the ministry's approval for their projects, the schools became *pilotnye ploshchadki* – "pilot projects" for special education. The schools which were carrying out special education in the area of moral upbringing (*dukhovno-nravstvennoe vospitanie* is the emic term here)

would have different agenda, expressed in each of their "original programmes" – *avtorskie programmy*.

Becoming a "pilot project", entitled to carry out an "original programme", is a process which varies from one school to another. In the schools in which I conducted my fieldwork, I was told that it were the "pedagogues-innovators" (*pedagogi-innovatory*) who would come up with a project and elaborate it. Their devotion to the task and charisma, as well as the visible efficiency of a given project would gain the acceptance of the rest of the school community, which would then wish to take the project as an expression of the entire school's values, and make it "a school project", its brand⁵. In fact these school projects resemble brands, especially when the school acts on the outside, vis-à-vis the ministry of education or vis-à-vis another school (e.g. during conferences where different schools exchange their experiences in the implementation of their projects). My own observation was that, regardless of who the initiator of the idea which would build the school's project was, teachers were not able to achieve a common consent with regard to the approval of the project. Often the authority of the director (and his or her ideas about what a school should communicate to children, as well as to other schools and the ministry) played a significant role. I will come to these observations further.

In a situation of a lack of general consent, individuals engage in efforts to instill their own ways of interpretation, expecting others to accept them. A ritual is recognized as an especially good occasion to build such social agreement and integration around certain interpretations. Basil Bernstein, following such a Durkheimian perspective, claims that the symbolic function of (school) ritual is to relate the individual to a social order, to heighten respect for that order, to revivify that order within the individual and, in particular, to deepen acceptance of the procedures which are used to maintain continuity, order and boundaries, and which control ambivalence towards the social order (Bernstein: 2003: 54). He emphasizes the meaning of the consensual ritual especially for the socialization project (what in his rhetoric is called the "expressive order" or the "expressive culture" of the school). The "expressive culture" is considered as the source of a school's shared values and therefore is cohesive in function. It is also prone to ritualization. Such consensual rituals "function so as to bind together all members of the school, staff and pupils as a moral community, as a distinct collectivity. These (...) rituals give the school continuity in time and place. They recreate the past in the present and project it into the future. These rituals also relate the school's values and norms to those held by, or alleged to be held by, certain dominant groups in non-school society. Consensual rituals give the school its specific identity as a distinct and sepa-

5 It is also in the interest of the school to become a brand. The ministry encourages schools to be innovative and creative and to present new projects. Schools then are forced to look for any idea worth presenting "outside", and are grateful to individuals who are able to develop such programmes.

rate institution. They facilitate appropriate sentiments towards the dominant value system of the wider society. They assist in the integration of the various goals of the school within a coherent set of shared values, so that the values of the school can become internalized and experienced as a unity" (Bernstein, et al. 1966: 429-430; Bernstein 2003: 55).

An interesting example, which seems useful as a point of departure, is provided by an article by Judith Kapferer (1981), who also deals with the socialization aspect of school in a study of the rituals of two private secondary schools in Australia. Socialization, dealing with the inculcation of culturally defined ways of perceiving the world and acting within it, being concerned with ideas – that are often conflictual – is a largely "covert" operation, the author claims. The ideas communicated by teachers – at the behest of the wider community served by the schools, include "truth, justice, liberty, the moral and philosophical ideas underpinning the secular state, and the proper mode of conduct for its citizens" – and form an area of teaching and learning "fraught with conflicts and contradictions, not only between teachers and pupils, but also and more significantly *among* teachers and *among* their clients. This is particularly true of schools that cater to heterogeneous groups, drawing pupils from disparate social backgrounds, and schools where the relation between teachers and clients is characterized by wariness, suspicion, and a lack of shared perceptions and understandings of the intent and purposes of formal education and the wider society in which they participate as citizens" (Ibid., p. 259). Her argument is that private schools in Australia – unlike public ones – appear to be much more successful in committing their clientele to the advancement of the school project, and in socializing students into acceptance of and support for the culture of the school because they serve a clearly delineated client community, a group in which there are basic agreements regarding the nature of society. "Having agreed-upon goals for their children's upbringing, such groups are also likely to evolve techniques whereby the goals are to be validated and commitment to them obtained and reinforced" (Ibid.). It is precisely the symbolic order: rituals and ceremonial practices, which are able to express ideas around which this agreement is centered and to validate it. The fact that such practices are absent from public schools is, in Kapferer's opinion, what makes them distinct from private ones in Australia. The public schools, over which the state has absolute control with regard to the appointment, dismissal, and transfer of teachers, the development of curricula, the provision of textbooks, etc., are bureaucratically organized, and characterized by a multiplicity of views about education, views reflective of the social heterogeneity of their clienteles. The "consumer patronage" – the parental body, whose commitment to the stated goals of the school needs to be established and maintained by the school, is what makes private schools' situation different from that of public ones, as described in Kapferer's case. The import of the symbolic modes of representation and ceremony in the organization of school life

lies in the way that they are capable of eliciting the unity of all those directly connected with the school in its educational and socialization project, and thus facilitate a commitment. Kapferer argues that the fact that state schools do not incorporate an elaborated ritual and symbolic order is significant for understanding why these schools fail to engender a collective commitment on the part of their members and clients to the socializing goals of the schools themselves. The author supports her argument with the analysis of two case studies of school rituals.

This setting is quite the opposite to what may be said about the Russian case; nevertheless, it highlights several important points, which are worth taking into consideration. The frequency of ritual occasions in Russian state schools is high, and seems to be similar in number to that which existed before *perestroika*. Certainly, their content has changed – as ritual is to represent, reflect and express the moral and social order, it is understood primarily as a didactic mold. The potential arena of conflict, however, is the interpretation of what the "Foundations of Orthodox culture" should be like: where are the limits of the secular interpretation of religious culture? What is exactly the role of and place for such culture within the school walls? And who exactly is discerned as the object of religious (or cultural) socialization in this case?

In my field site schools, conflicting visions tended to arise mainly among the teachers themselves. They enjoy a certain degree of independence, and potentially anyone has the power to offer an idea which could be elaborated and turned into a school project. It is precisely teachers whose relationships are characterized by wariness, suspicion and a lack of shared perceptions and understandings of the intent and purposes of an education in Orthodox culture.

In order to highlight how these conflicting visions could interact and what attempts to reconcile the conflicts are sometimes undertaken, I provide a description of one unusual ceremonial occasion encountered in school during my fieldwork: "a ritual that failed".

Larisa Ivanovna

The occasion, the account of which I provide below, was initiated, invented and designed entirely by Larisa Ivanovna.⁶ She was in her late forties when we met. Recently, she had completed an additional education at a Theological University; she was an Orthodox believer and an excellent teacher with a long professional career, holding a high position at the school (*zavuch* – *zaveduiushchii uchebnoi chastii*, i.e. deputy/assistant head) where she was teaching, which included an English language course and the "Foundations of Orthodox culture". She had been work-

6 A pseudonym. I have preserved the formality of names that is standard in colloquial Russian, giving to the individuals (especially of a generation older than my own) a name and a patronymic.

ing in the school for some years when we met. Before that, she had been teaching in another school – and this was the time when her newly discovered religiosity became more and more important to her. During these first years of practicing her newly discovered Orthodoxy, she went on a pilgrimage to monastery in remote Valaam that is famous throughout Russia. The bus trip from the Russian South took a long time, and the group of believers traveling together got quite close, as she recalled, largely due to the friendly atmosphere created by a young man, one of the participants. The young man, who unexpectedly turned out to be a priest, travelled with his mother, also a teacher, and Larisa Ivanovna made acquaintance with them both. The pilgrimage nevertheless had a tragic conclusion: on the way back the bus had an accident, and two passengers sitting at the front were killed. One of them was the young priest. This tragic experience brought Larisa Ivanovna and the young priest's mother together. The mother was not just a teacher, she was a school director. Soon after the accident Larisa Ivanovna moved to the school administrated by the priest's mother, and this had been her work place from then on. They never seemed to me like friends: the director was quite an official person, withdrawing from gossiping, tea drinking and other socializing activities of the staff room; in a bigger company she was quite distant, but seemed to treat everyone equally. This picture was a bit warmer whenever I saw Larisa Ivanovna and the director together, with no other witnesses from the school, but still it could not be called a friendly relationship. Nevertheless, both were devoted Orthodox believers, and Larisa Ivanovna, as a graduate of a Theological University and author of numerous publications on Orthodox upbringing enjoyed great authority on the part of the director. I do not know if these facts and the shared experience from the past were publicly known to other school teachers, but I am sure that the position of Larisa Ivanovna in relation to the director (as created through this dramatic experience) was clear to everybody.

Larisa Ivanovna told me about one more experience from her life which seemed very unusual for an Orthodox believer. She seemed to be a person of great influence and energy – on becoming a believer she became a very active parishioner. She initiated a “Club of Orthodox pedagogues” in the parish, where she elaborated the agenda of the club, attracted people, and ran the entire business. Also, she taught religion to children. As an Orthodox intellectual she was also responsible for the parish's “public image”: wrote books and articles reporting on the parish's activities. As such she became a very precious parishioner to the priest – yet, they had come into conflict and the priest had “banished her from the parish”. She then moved to another one, and started to build her position from the beginning, but this, apparently, was not so difficult. When we met, she was already very influential and known to the parish community, where she was engaged in teaching in the Sunday school – both to children and adults. To come into conflict with one's parish priest is a very unusual situation – a parishioner is supposed to be obedient to

the priest. This is a crucial obligation of a parishioner, regardless of his education and the status he or she has in the world outside of the church community. This fact, which I came to know rather late during my fieldwork (from her directly), revealed that she was a very independent person, and that she was the one who defines what her relations to other people should be like.

When asked about the religious content of “Orthodox culture”, Larisa Ivanovna used to answer that “We cannot teach religion at school. A ‘pedagogue’, from Latin, means ‘the one who leads’: we can only lead a school-child to the church's door, and leave him or her there, for the church people”. This statement, it must be stressed, was frequently evoked by other teachers of her profile, in exactly these words. This etymology was widely known⁷. I think that it is exactly this understanding of the role of a teacher in promulgating the professedly secular “Orthodox culture”, which allows them to act as agents in implementing their (religious) interpretation of the idea, even if they overtly state that they cannot do this. In the case of ‘Orthodox culture’, the secular pedagogue leads a child to the church door, where someone else is waiting to take over the burden of religious instruction. Only that in many cases it is the same person.

“The Day of Flowers”: a ritual that failed?

Two weeks after Easter, I was invited by Larisa Ivanovna to come to the school for a special *prazdnik*⁸ – the “Day of Flowers” (*Den' Tsvetov*). She did not want to tell me at the beginning what it was going to be about (“Come and you'll see”). I kept asking her to tell me at least what I should expect, and then she answered that it would be a celebration of the Orthodox Day of Women – a Day of the Women-Myrrhbearers (*Den' Zhen-Mironosits*). “It is such a pity”, she said, “that we celebrate (*my prazdnuem*) 8th March, a secular holiday (*svetskii prazdnik*), while we have an Orthodox one. We are supposed to show to people that women are important, and we should do it in the Orthodox way”. We were talking over the phone and she did not want to say anything more – I was supposed to come to the school on Wednesday, 25th April, on the third week after Easter 2007.

International Women's Day – 8th March, as it has come to be called – is one of the most popular holidays in Russia. Officially established in 1910, it came to be recognized as a symbol of the Soviet struggle against inequalities, and in fact contributed to the foundation of Soviet rule: the women textile workers' demonstrations that started on International Women's Day in Russia culminated in the February Revolution of 1917 and the establishment of the Provisional Government

7 Pedagogue, from Latin *paedagogus*, from Greek *paidagōgos*, slave who escorted children to school, from *paid*-ped- + *agōgos* leader, from *agein* to lead.

8 Russian word *prazdnik* means etymologically “non-working day” and is applied to one-day calendar festivals, but also, more vaguely, to any special celebration (cf. Binns 1979: 587).

(Lapidus 1978: 49). The holiday was enormously popular in the Soviet period, and was celebrated in all of the socialist countries (to the best of my knowledge).⁹ The main agenda for the day is to celebrate with panache Soviet-type femininity, embodied in the ideal of the *'samaia obaiatel'naia i privlekatel'naia'* – 'the most charming and attractive', to quote the title of one of the most popular Soviet romance comedies. On this day, men and boys usually greet women and give them flowers and sweets. Though celebrated in the family too, it is first and foremost a public holiday, one especially accentuated in the workplace. Television on this day is full of old Soviet comedies and romances (held to be beloved by women), which is thought to be a (state's) gift to women. Radio broadcasts remind all men to greet "their" women and give them flowers, all day long. In Larisa Ivanovna's school, there were no "universal public events" on that day – within each class, boys prepared something (usually staging small scenes or sketches) for the girls, and gave each of them a flower.

The popularity of the holiday speaks in a way about the place of women in Russian society. The women's emancipation, proclaimed in the early decades of Soviet rule, turned out to be only a partial success (if not a complete failure), and the postwar period witnessed a strong reinforcement of gender inequality in Soviet Russia (cf. Lapidus 1978; Engel 2004; McMahon 1994). In practice, not only were women grappling with the double burden of taking responsibility for reproductive matters, childrearing and house-keeping, and of participating in labour, they occupied the least desirable positions and the most poorly paid jobs. Despite the strong promotion of technical and scientific training, which indeed created an unusually high concentration of women in such fields, sex-stereotyped valuations persisted and the humanities – especially culture and education – remained women's main preoccupation¹⁰ (Lapidus 1978). As early as in the 1930s (and then in the 1950s), a discourse developed that placed emphasis on the particularities of women's nature, and also on their physical attractiveness. As Engel – a feminist historian – reminds, biology was believed to determine a woman's role and to shape her personality. Motherhood and perfect house-keeping were announced to be a woman's "natural" vocation (not so very different from what tsarist officials had decreed a century earlier); at the same time, women were expected to attain or to regain their femininity, lost due to the hardships and shortcomings of Soviet

9 For a discussion on reinstating International Women's Day in other countries of the post-socialist region see e.g. Kapusta-Pofahl (2011).

10 Teaching became a highly feminized profession. As a matter of fact, among all the clusters of professional workers with higher education where the proportion of women was extremely high in the Soviet Union, teachers constituted the largest group (Lapidus 1978: 143-147; 172; 185-187). At the same time, economic sectors where women were dominant were among the most poorly paid, and this was especially true for education, where wages were gradually decreasing in comparison to the national average (Lapidus 1978: 190-191). The wage level decline complicated recognition of social status.

life (Engel 2004: 180-181, 239-240). Since the Brezhnev era, the weakening of the family began to be acknowledged, as well as a range of other serious social problems, among them men's alcoholism and demoralization. For both, women were to blame: either for their failure to be yielding, gentle and feminine (Engel 2004: 246-247), or for their excessive engagement in work outside the home. As Engel concludes, women became convinced that their difficult lives were the result not of incomplete emancipation, but of emancipation itself (Engel 2004: 249-249). The Gorbachev period, and what came after it, did not bring any improvement in women's situation (cf. Pilkington 1996). Deepening economic crisis, accompanied by the growing acuteness of already existing social problems, brought about the need to cut the workforce – the observation of all those facts led Gorbachev himself to suggest "that the way to deal with the social problems stemming from a weakening of the family was to return women to their 'purely womanly' mission" (McMahon 1994: 63). Economic changes brought hardship and a "feminization of poverty": women largely withdrew from the workforce, and the majority of those who stayed continued to dominate professions low in status and in salary (Engel 2004: 250-268). Similarly, the images of womanhood developed earlier, persisted. The essential woman was understood as a "Woman with a Capital W", warm, attractive, with grace, charm, and elegance (cf. Kay 1997).

As influential as they may be in household matters, women as powerful figures are almost nonexistent in public life in Russia. The popularity of this one-day occasion for celebrating – the Day of Women – must be taken against such a backdrop, and the essence of the celebration – "Femininity with a Capital F" – must be understood in line with historical patterns that have built up over the last decades.

The Day of Women-Myrrhbearers is an Orthodox Day of Women. Today, there is no specified agenda for celebrating it. Before the Revolution of 1917, especially in the countryside, it was known also as *Babii Prazdnik* (Baranova, et al. 2001: 343). The Women-Myrrhbearers were the women who came to the tomb of Christ early in the morning on the third day after the burial, in order to wash His body with myrrh. They were the ones who found out that the tomb was empty, and became the first witnesses of the Resurrection (Lk 24: 1-12). The Orthodox Church celebrates it as a "Week of Women-Myrrhbearers", in the third week after Easter.

The question of whether Orthodox people should keep celebrating 8th March is a topic of a heated debate in the church press.¹¹ The usual conclusion is just like

11 Perhaps it is not insignificant that one of the popular explanations is not at all connected to the Soviet roots of the day. A very popular Orthodox deacon, Andrei Kuraev, well recognized in Russia for opinions often considered controversial, a representative of the Orthodox intelligentsia, argues provocatively, that 8th March was established by Jewish communists. In his book "How they make an anti-Semite of you" (*Kak delaiut antisemitom*) he "reconstructed" the origins of the holiday as Jewish Purim, and, as such, would not recommend it

the one asserted by Larisa Ivanovna – “let’s switch to the Day of Women-Myrrh-bearers”, but with no indication of how it should be celebrated. The only indication that follows is that the church *prazdnik* should replace the public, Soviet one, although potentially much could also be said about Orthodox images of womanhood. Even though, in stressing a woman’s vocation for family matters, they do not contradict the secular image at all, they do emphasize modesty in their feminine outlook. This aspect, however important and prominent in general Orthodox discourse, does not appear in the discussion on the necessity of celebrating the Women’s holiday.

The Day of Flowers was introduced and designed completely by Larisa Ivanovna. It took the form of a public performance, staged in the school corridor. The walls were decorated with balloons and children’s drawings of flowers, and a big sign saying “the Day of Flowers” (*Prazdnik Tsvetov*). Under the windows, along the corridor, there were tables with chairs for the audience – just like in a café or a club. The tables, situated across from the wall, which was supposed to be an imaginary stage, were prepared for all classes: with a class teacher in the middle, surrounded by her pupils. When I showed up at 12 o’clock, when the *prazdnik* was supposed to begin, Larisa Ivanovna told me unexpectedly that the Day of Flowers now had the meaning of “a day of class teachers (*klassnye rukovoditeli*), because all of them in our school are women. And children should respect their class teachers and show them love. And they do it today”.

During the official opening of the “Day” there was no single word about what it was initially meant for (as Larisa Ivanovna had stated to me in our earlier conversation) – i.e. no word about Orthodox Women’s Day. Instead, the school director greeted everybody on the occasion of the Day of Flowers, especially the teachers, and expressed the hope that teachers’ work would gain respect and appreciation. Then a representation from each class would step out into the middle of the corridor – the imaginary stage, and would first perform a song or recite a poem, and then give their teacher their best wishes. The poem or (more often) song for the class teacher was necessarily about flowers, or at least in some clear way linked with them. The most popular songs were Soviet hits from the 80s, the years when most of the middle-aged women teachers were in their twenties. The performance was sometimes supported with karaoke music, or even a video clip shown on a TV-set. The karaoke video would also show the lyrics, which enabled

others to join in the singing. Some especially famous songs were sung by all the children and teachers. Then the class representation would give the teacher a big cream cake and a bunch of flowers. Occasionally, the children would give a flower to every other grown up woman present there (this way I was also greeted on that occasion). Each performance was met with applause. Everybody seemed to enjoy the show very much. The excitement reached a crescendo with the performance of another school’s *zavuch* (instead of children performing in front of teachers). *Zavuch*, an elegant lady in her forties (high heels and a lot of makeup), had a strong voice and, with the help of karaoke, sang Alla Pugachova’s hit “*Milliony alykh roz*” (“Millions of scarlet roses”). The other adult who performed was a third *zavuch* who sang another hit of the 80s, “*Gorodskie tsvety*” (“Flowers of the city”). The audience became animated by the thrill of the song and, with the help of TV-set showing the lyrics, sang together with the teachers. After 1,5 hours (and around 20 such children’s performances), the entire show came to an end, and the children were dismissed, free to go home.

The class teachers (about 20 people) started to reorganize the tables, joining them together, in order to make it more practical for sitting together and eating. All the cakes (20!) were unpacked and shared. The atmosphere seemed to be very relaxed: we ate the sweets, had sweet wine, and some of the teachers present there still kept singing the songs we had just heard. People were chatting, discussing some problems of the working day or the pupils’ performances. I was expecting to hear something about the Women-Myrrh-bearers, but nothing of the kind was mentioned. I asked Larisa Ivanovna to explain how I should understand it – was it a secular day of women-teachers or was it in any way related to the Orthodox day. As an answer she repeated what she had said before, “it’s important to celebrate our, Orthodox traditions”. I started the “Orthodox topic” with the other teachers sitting next to me, but apparently it was not very popular, and all I got were the quizzical looks. One of the “singing *zavuchs*” told the story of how she went on a pilgrimage trip to venerate the relics of a popular saint. The story itself was very interesting, but had nothing to do with the celebrations we had just seen. No one sustained the topic of Women-Myrrh-bearers. We were eating, drinking, and singing and after about an hour everybody began to leave. When the two of us finally were left alone as the last ones to depart, Larisa Ivanovna told me how angry she was about “this whole Day of Flowers”. None of the teachers had helped her in organizing it: she was left alone with distributing and synchronizing the tasks, and with rehearsals of the children’s presentations. She bemoaned that she had introduced something for the class teachers, and that they were so ungrateful and did not contribute to help. She said the whole *prazdnik* was a failure, and she would never engage herself in similar enterprises again.

to Christians for celebrating (cf. *Chto otmechat' pravoslavnyim 8 marta?*, <http://www.sedmitza.ru/text/396303.html>). It is a provocative and (only a little bit) ironic commentary, but as Kuraev is a great authority in explaining religious paradoxes, people read him, even though some of his arguments seem to be too sophisticated to be understood by believers. Kuraev’s conclusions are repeated in bits and pieces of information about 8th March found in the internet, without going into the details of his argument. Nevertheless, in local discourses in my field site this discussion never appeared.

“Homeopathic opposition”: a little bit of poison to prevent the illness?

There is no particular “Orthodox way” of celebrating “the Day of Women”. Some ethnographic data give descriptions of the way it used to be practiced before the revolution, mainly in villages (e.g. Baranova, et al. 2001: 342-343), but apparently no one has cared to reach back to these sources, or simply they were not found to be useful for re-creation. The Day of Flowers, as designed by Larisa Ivanovna, was mimicking the typical programme of the Day of Women held on 8th March: a gift of flowers and performances, songs, poems, films, and sweets. Moreover, as one learns from the media, such a model can also be encountered in some parishes. For example, the church press covered the case of the church of St. Panteleimon in Yekaterinburg. On this day, men together with children were giving their best wishes to their “mothers, *babushkas* and sisters”, and, after the liturgy, also the clergy of the church greeted all the women present there with roses. “For the women-parishioners the church of St. Panteleimon prepared not the flowers alone”, states the author, and explains that the major part of the celebration constituted a big concert in honour of the day of Women-Myrrhbearers, given by the local folk band (<http://www.sedmitza.ru/news/303017.html>).

Larisa Ivanovna's intention was through this celebration to create a religious alternative to what already existed. She did so, at least by choosing the Orthodox date. In doing so, she acted similarly to the Soviet state, which, in an attempt to abolish the religious rituals existing earlier, invented new secular substitutes. Such an observation justifies seeking help in sources discussing the proliferation and patterns emerging in the process of the production of Soviet rituals. Christopher Binns' analysis appears especially stimulating in this case. Binns notices that some ceremonies stressed autonomous identity, by recreating Bolshevik history; others, however, “were deliberately opposed, in date and form, to religious equivalents, often borrowing some of the «folk» features of their rivals” (Binns 1979: 588). He calls the latter method a “homeopathic opposition”. The events created in this process would assimilate some of the “positive” folk customs involved, but give them a new interpretation. As an example he brings the case of “Komsomol Christmas”, with “Komsomol trees topped with the red star”, or the new substitutes for religious life-cycle rites, such as “Red Weddings” and “Red Christenings”, etc. (Binns 1979: 594). The idea of opposing religious ceremonies with secular surrogates certainly gained ground and the method proved to be very effective, as numerous studies show (e.g. Binns 1979, 1980; Lane 1979, 1980; McDowell 1974).

This argument was set forth explicitly in Soviet ethnographic writings, containing instruction with regard to how “new traditions” should be built. Soviet ceremonial practice was supposed to follow the features commonly ascribed to traditional Russian *obriadnost'* (ritual life): 1) a degree of symbolic and emotional expression; 2) a stereotyped traditional form; 3) regularity and force of custom; 4) the active participation of a group of people; 5) an association with “special”, re-

current occasions of change in the lives of individuals or communities and their central values (Binns 1979: 586; Kryvelev 1977: 36-38, 44-45). As the Soviet ethnographer I. Kryvelev continues – “the ritual (*obriad*) cannot come into being nor can it exist outside of tradition and custom, for it develops thanks to the power of existing traditions and customs” (Kryvelev 1977: 36-7). “It is clear”, states Kryvelev, “that even an absolutely «new» ritual cannot be created in an entirely empty space, it has to be concerned with existing tradition” (Kryvelev 1977: 43), be it an ethnic or regional one. However, it is only the form that may be kept, as “the content and meaning must be completely socialist” (Ibid.). In search of especially popular rituals which could be transformed and adapted to the Soviet ceremonial life, an ethnographer should not overlook the role of tradition and emotions. These should not be treated as an “unavoidable evil”, but as important elements, securing the new ritual's ability to adapt (*prizhivaemost'*) and succeed, concludes Kryvelev (1977: 43-44).

Such ethnographic knowledge regarding the methods of production of rituals and holidays is by no means confined to specialists. The fact that in Soviet times nearly every religious holiday was countered, on the same day or on the one before or after, by a state/secular holiday is one that is publicly known, but above all among the Orthodox intelligentsia. Precisely the arguments about “the religious character of communism”, or about religious patterns of the Soviet way of celebrating or of the forms of ritual prominent in philosophical and political writings¹², are very often publicly known and discussed¹³. Ironically, the efficacy of such a “homeopathic” method is also publicly acknowledged. The anonymous author of the above mentioned press coverage from St. Panteleimon church concludes his account of the Day of Women-Myrrhbearers with such a commentary: “this is the most reasonable way (*naibolee rozumno*) to instill (*privivat'*) the right understanding of traditional Russian holidays, wonderful, but, unfortunately, forgotten and replaced (*podmenennykh*) with dubious bolshevist dates” (<http://www.sedmitza.ru/news/303017.html>). Ironically, the replacement here appears to take place at least twice, and the result shows that simplistic notions of reversal are not sufficient to account for contemporary ritual practice.

Christel Lane (1981) discusses Soviet ritual life in terms of political power relations, embodied in the title: “The rites of rulers”. Ritual activity occurs in social

12 Nikolai Berdiaev is a classic example here. Berdaev was an émigré Russian philosopher who was the first to give a thorough rendition of the thesis. His 1955 volume was reedited in the 1990s, and became more and more popular among the intelligentsia, especially its Orthodox sections.

13 And many of the local believers would insist that the Soviets were in fact conducting religious rituals, albeit in ignorance, which in turn would be an argument to prove the continuity of Orthodox tradition. This is also being transmitted in schools during lessons. In a somewhat similar vein goes Ina Vogelsgang's argument about the relation between Soviet ideology and religious practices in Simferopol (Vogelsgang 2004).

contexts where there is ambiguity or conflict about social relations, and it is performed to resolve or disguise them (Lane 1981: 11). If we adopt Lane's definition of ritual, then in regard to the Day of Flowers, the question arises: What was the final resolution of the conflict between the secular and the religious? And how do we account for a ritual failure acknowledged by Larisa Ivanovna?

Lane proposes to look at ritual through Geertz's concept of "a model of" and "a model for" (Geertz 1968: 7). She contends that insofar as ritual always entails the enactment of a social relationship between groups (or an individual and a group), the relationship is shown in such a way that it both portrays and subtly alters the relationship framed in the ritual act (Lane 1981: 12, emphasis added). Ritual then provides both "a model of" and "a model for" that relationship. Lane suggests that the emphasis given to these two properties of ritual will vary according to the social context in which the relationship is set. If the social context has merely blurred that relationship and the resulting ambiguity has to be removed, the "model of" aspect will predominate. If, however, the social context is also one of conflict, that is if there is a great discrepancy between the ideological definition of the relationship and the relationship as it actually affects the actors, then the "model for" aspect will be more prominent, asserting the ideological definition with varying degrees of consciousness (Ibid.).

Keeping this in mind, let us now turn to Larisa Ivanovna's disappointment with her endeavour. Perhaps Larisa Ivanovna was satisfied with the way everything went, and was complaining about the lack of help only. Perhaps something else happened, of which I do not know. But, perhaps her words were only a secondary, *post factum* rationalization, and her genuine distress was related to her inability to mobilize the others to celebrate the Orthodox version of womanhood. To an external observer, the entire event seemed to proceed smoothly. The party which followed reflected a good mood. The fact that everyone had a good time watching, singing, and eating would prove that the ritual's function of social integration was fulfilled. This fact makes the case much different from the other studies of ritual failure that have appeared recently (Coleman 2006; Engelke 2006; Bornstein 2006; Tomlinson 2006), but, just as in the case of some of these studies, it requires us to take a look at the issue of intentionality in ritual (Tomlinson and Engelke 2006: 13-15). The most fruitful insight in this context is provided by Christel Lane, who brings attention to the category of ritual specialists in the context of Soviet ritual. These are, in her words, "all those who devise new, or adapt old, rituals to uphold their definition of social relationships" (Lane 1981: 14). In conflictual social contexts, "the creation of ritual becomes a conscious effort, although the very nature of ritual puts limits on the *independent* creativity of ritual specialists" (Ibid.). The author advises, however, that the decision as to whether the researcher focuses on the motivations of the ritual specialist or of the other participants affects the approach and interpretation. The "model of" aspect of ritual is often empha-

sized in social contexts where value consensus is strong and where all members of the group have a major interest in keeping conflicts at bay. Ritual here strengthens or restores the pre-existing value integration. The "model for" aspect of ritual is emphasized in social units that are complex and internally differentiated, "where a marked discrepancy between the ideological definition of social relations and their actual state has not yet led to *open* conflict. Ritual, in such a context, is a tool of political elites in their effort to perpetuate the political *status quo*. Which of the approaches becomes dominant in an analysis depends not only on the social context in which the ritual is being performed, but also, in a conflictual context, on whether the researcher is focusing on the motivations of ritual participants or ritual specialists" (Lane 1981: 15-16). Keeping this remark in mind, in what follows let us consider all the parties involved in the organizing and performing during the Day of Flowers, and their possible motivations.

Despite the original intention and the chosen date, the meaning was strictly secular to all the participants, including the other teachers. The overt message was that it was a day for teachers, during which children would express their respect, appreciation and love. At the same time it has to be remembered that the children are being given courses of Orthodox culture, and they are not seen as a partner with whom to negotiate the boundaries of "Orthodox (secular) culture". Possible conflicts never appear here, and certainly they did not appear during the performances.

The ritual brought solidarity within the group (excluding perhaps Larisa Ivanovna, but this observation constitutes another thread in the analysis which will be expanded on further). That ritual can help create a sense of unity within a group is its most recognizable feature and function to teachers in the first place, and this was also Larisa Ivanovna's objective for this event. Her attempt was addressed primarily to the other teachers: to convince them of her own interpretation of Women's Day. Thanks to her great authority in the school (and, as one may guess, the ability of making alliances with the headmaster), she was able to introduce the entire idea, and execute it. That the other teachers were the ones to whom the didactic aspect of ritual was addressed, is part of the hidden agenda¹⁴ here. This case, to a certain extent, resembles the case of holiday celebrations in Israeli kin-

14 This term is in a sense analogous to the "hidden curriculum". Although there are many definitions of this and it is still a debated issue, it is agreed that "covert", "latent" or "implicit" curriculum points to "by-products of schooling" or "non-academic outcomes of schooling" or perhaps better phrased "non intended effects of schooling" (e.g. Cornbleth 1984; Martin 1976; Snyder 1971; Overly, 1970; for anthropological analysis cf. Gearing and Tindall 1973). However, instead of stressing the outcome-oriented aspect of this, I will follow Handelman's (1998: 288) notion in which he underlines the contested relationship between the parties that is implicit in the context of rituals analyzed by him. In my case, the contested relationship between the teachers, and between the teachers and the Church, is implicit in the project of *vospitanie* in the spirit of "Orthodox culture".

dergartens described by Don Handelman (1998: 162-189). The task of formal education in Israel is less the replication of social order than the construction of an ideological blueprint that contributed to the very creation of the state. The celebrations that were created in Israeli kindergartens were designed primarily in order to influence the maturation of youngsters "who were the future generation of citizenry", and were linked directly with the nation-building project (Handelman 1998: 162). Many of these occasions explicitly celebrated versions of the tradition and history of the Jewish people, of the renewal and coherence of the Jewish state, and of their integral and consensual synthesis (Handelman 1998: 163-164). In the beginning of the Israeli statehood, education in kindergartens was conceived of as an instrument of national purpose: one that would help to transform the child into an Israeli person different from that of his parents, who in the main were recent immigrants from diverse cultures. Moreover, through the child the parents too were to be re-socialized. The parents were integral to these celebrations, and the implicit effect of these didactics was to bring parents and children together under the tutelage of children.

Similarly, as in the case of Israeli kindergartens, the implicit agenda of the Day of Flowers was to bring *the teachers* to Orthodox values. It is the teachers who form the most heterogeneous group with different views on education, particularly on the place of religion in a secular school. That the conflict between the parties is latent is in fact a precondition for the ritual enactment of that relationship: in situations of open conflict, when both parties are aware of a difference in interests, ritual is not practiced at all (Lane 1981: 13). As Lane reminds, "participants in the ritual must not have a full awareness of all the social implications of the ritual. Therefore conflict is not necessarily acted out in the ritual but may be merely implied by it, in that the assertion of one principle of social organization necessarily precludes the expression of another" (Ibid.). The claim that one principle precludes another is in congruence with the popular assumption that ritual can be either secular or religious¹⁵. But what if these two principles do not dismiss each other entirely? Perhaps Larisa Ivanovna was content with the other teachers celebrating 8th March on an Orthodox set date, and expressed disappointment only about their unsupportive attitude with regard to organizing?

The Day of Flowers produced a special sort of solidarity and unity, but it is hard to make an arbitrary statement as to whether it was actually centered on the Orthodox values that Larisa Ivanovna was initially attempting to instill. However, to say that Larisa Ivanovna would object to the content or form of the ritual, that she herself had after all designed, would also be a serious overstatement. Has the ritual created by her worked towards the maintenance of the *status quo* or towards

the transformation of the social order then? Both, although on different levels – would be perhaps an answer worthy of Solomon. But in making such a conclusion we find support in Lane's work, who, as already mentioned, emphasizes that the ritual employed in times of social change provides both "a model of" and "model for" social order, serving as a mechanism that might contribute to social cohesion despite the divisions. It is also Richard Quantz's (1999) contention, that ritual does not necessarily need to be understood in either/or terms: it may both maintain the *status quo* (as would be in the Durkheimian notion) and make transformation possible (as is visible in Turner's work). It is Quantz's reading of Victor Turner's work that allows us to make a similar conclusion: if society is a dynamic entity in constant flux, then ritual provides contradictory moments that reinforce structure while permitting the possibility of transformation (Ibid.). A socially underestimated womanhood proves to be a powerful symbol, which everyone engaged in this feminized profession holds dear, and which therefore transcends the possible divisions between the Soviet and the religious by embracing both.

Turner's recognition of symbols as "multivocal" and "polysemous" (1967), i.e. as representing more than one cultural idea, opens up the understanding that "the system of meaning" created in ritual is not fixed and, therefore, able to change as internal and external demands change (Turner 1964, quoted in Quantz 1999). That different individuals and different times may emphasize one possible meaning of a symbol over others also creates the possibility that any particular performance may be read in multiple ways. In this way, ritual can help create a sense of unity within a group even when participants hold different understandings of the meaning of the ritual: "We can see how the same dominant symbol, which in one kind of ritual stands for one kind of social group, or for one principle of organization, in another kind of ritual stands for another kind of group or principle, and in its aggregate of meanings stands for unity and continuity of the wider Ndembu society, embracing contradiction" (Turner 1964, quoted in Quantz 1999). The multivocality of symbols (i.e. the variety of different meanings attached to the same symbol, cf. Turner 1967) is an especially important trait in the use of ritual to build political solidarity *in the absence of consensus* – as was recognized by Larisa Ivanovna in her attempt at creating the Day of Flowers. But the solidarity produced by a ritual is an ambiguous issue in itself. The Day of Flowers/Women was a failure to its author while to the participants it seemed successful, and what divided them was the lack of the same, shared understanding of the ritual. According to Durkheim the key to understand the ritual lies in "necognitive effects of participation rather than in the cognitive per se of the symbols round which rituals are performed. This is to say, it may be more important, or at least just as important, that we realize that participation in ritual helps create a nonrational feeling of connectedness to other individuals and the group as a whole and feelings of commitment to specific symbols rather than attempt to analyze rationally the possible referents of

15 In her discussion of Soviet ritual, Lane refers to Durkheim and his division between the sacred and the profane (not to be mistaken with the secular and the religious), and contends that "the new Soviet ritual is not completely secular either" (1981, p. 36).

those symbols" (Quantz 1999). Such an approach implies that ritual can serve by producing bonds of solidarity without uniformity of belief. For this reason we may follow James Fernandez (1965) and distinguish between two kinds of consensus produced in ritual: a social and a cultural one. While with the former term, Fernandez refers to general agreement about the appropriateness of certain actions in particular circumstances, by the latter he means agreement among people on the meaning of an action. He argues that it is social consensus that holds a cult together rather than a cultural one (Ibid.). It is the very ambiguity of the symbols employed in ritual action that makes the ritual useful in fostering solidarity without consensus – so, perhaps in the case of the Day of Flowers, Larisa Ivanovna became unified with the other teachers around the bare fact that they were Russian middle-aged women, not necessarily ostentatiously Orthodox ones?

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Pilgrimage, the Assumptionists and Catholic Evangelisation in a Changing Europe: Lourdes and Plovdiv

John Eade

Abstract: The rapid development of academic research into pilgrimage in Europe has encouraged an exploration of the growing links which have emerged between west and east Europe after the collapse of the 'Iron Curtain' in 1989. This recent development has to be set within a longer historical perspective, however, and analysis must consider not only religious contexts but also the influence of political, economic and cultural processes at local, national and international levels. These related processes are examined here through an analysis of the development of a major Roman Catholic in the south-west corner of France – Lourdes – and the ways in which the Assumptionist Order and the Vatican sought to link this shrine to an evangelising mission in south-eastern Europe during the late 19th and early twentieth century. This leads on to a discussion of the Bulgarian Catholic Church during the Communist period, Vatican policy and the revival of links between the Bulgarian church and Lourdes after 1989, focussing on the Assumptionist's role in Plovdiv, Bulgaria's second largest city. These links between Lourdes and Plovdiv are part of a wider process where the shrine's officials seek to respond to global forces, cultural diversity and geopolitical change.

Key words: pilgrimage, evangelisation, Europe, Lourdes, Bulgaria

Pilgrimage across Continental Europe

Between the 1960s and 1980s the anthropological study of pilgrimage in the English-speaking academic world was largely undertaken outside Western Europe. Highly skilful ethnographies were undertaken on non-Christian pilgrimage in the Indian sub-continent and N. Africa, for example, or on Christian pilgrimage in Latin America. The anthropological neglect of West European pilgrimage reflected perhaps the implicit assumption that post-Reformation secularisation was reducing the public significance of religion. Even though millions of Roman Catholics flocked to pilgrimage shrines across the West European region, most anthropologists ignored the pioneering, if brief, study by Robert Hertz of the St Besse pilgrimage in the Italian Alps (1913). We can see a link between Hertz's article and the explorations of the political dynamics and contested character of European Christian religion by Eric Wolf, William Christian Jr. and Mart Bax which

developed from the 1960s - see Christian's classic ethnography, *Person and God in a Spanish Valley* (1972). However, their work focussed on fairly secluded rural communities or, in the case of Mart Bax, beyond Western Europe in the Balkans. Scant attention was paid to large scale, well established pilgrimages and there was no anthropological equivalent of the wide vision shown by the geographer, Mary Lee Nolan, with her husband Sidney in their invaluable mapping of West European pilgrimage published in 1989. Furthermore, although an extensive literature by local scholars on pilgrimage in Eastern Europe was available, Anglophone anthropologists lacked the linguistic skills and disciplinary interest to access studies written in the Central and East European academic traditions of ethnology and folklore studies.

Yet, Anglophone studies are gradually appearing on pilgrimage in Eastern Europe and Russia. They focus on both Eastern Catholic and Russian Orthodox cults (see Buzalka 2006, Rock 2007, Kormina 2004, 2010), thus complementing work already published on Greek Orthodox pilgrimage (Dubisch 1995). Increasingly close ties between West and East Europe, associated partly with the expansion of the European Union, have encouraged scholars to contribute to these emerging networks, even if research is still constrained by stereotypes, and linguistic and disciplinary boundaries (see Hann 2011, Hann and Goltz 2010, Eade and Katic 2014).

As boundaries between disciplines and research regions have begun to weaken, so scholars have become more aware of the similarities in pilgrimage beliefs and practices around the world. In the European region, there has developed an awareness of the ways in which global migration has enabled non-Christian pilgrimages to emerge and the increasing cultural diversity of Christian congregations, particularly in Western Europe, has seen Old Christian shrines being revived and reinterpreted together with pilgrimage routes. (see Hermkens, Jansen and Notermans 2009, Jansen and Notermans 2012, Eade 2013).

However, we must be careful to avoid seeing these developments within a narrow religious context. This expansion was also driven by the diversification of tourism leading to the emergence of an interweaving of tourism and pilgrimage, i.e. heritage and ecotourism and religious tourism, linked to improvements in transport, the rapid expansion of virtual communication, the growth of leisure time and greater longevity (see, for example, Collins-Kreiner 2010, Stausberg 2011, Reader 2013).

Pilgrimages in the West were also influenced by the growth of more complex social and cultural identities, the encouragement of greater individualism bound up with reflexivity and a focus on self-development and fulfilment. An educated, literate middle class was keen to 'pick and mix' from different cultures: thus many are attracted to go on pilgrimage as a form of self-discovery, whilst also being suspicious of institutional forms of religion. These changes have encouraged major pilgrimage shrines to adapt if they are to remain attractive destinations. The rela-

tionship between pilgrimage, tourism and travel has become even more complicated and requires us to be sensitive to political and economic forces as well as to religion. To explore these changes more closely, I will focus on Europe's most popular shrine – Lourdes in the south-west corner of France. Although we start in this remote area, we very quickly are brought into national and international contexts and quite quickly – and surprisingly for me at least – to Bulgaria and its second largest city, Plovdiv.

Lourdes: The development of a modern Roman Catholic shrine

The 19th century saw a remarkable ebb and flow of Marian shrines in north-western Europe. Some already established shrines revived their fortunes, but the ones which caught the public eye for both religious and political reasons were new – La Salette 1846, Lourdes 1858, Pontmain 1871 in France, Oostakker 1873 in Belgium and Knock 1879 in Ireland. The Vatican approached these novel cults with typical caution, but through a centuries-old process of investigation and control it eventually approved those mentioned above, and employed them within its religious mission and its dealings with secular authorities. The creation of pilgrimage shrines, and pilgrimage in general, was inextricably involved in politics as an exercise of power therefore – both through political struggles within the Roman Catholic Church and between the Church and the state.

Lourdes developed not only as the most popular of these new shrines, but as one of the most visited places in Europe, rivalling such long established pilgrimage attractions as Rome, Assisi and Padua. Given the obscurity of this small Pyrenean town, such popularity was a formidable achievement and was the result of various factors – not just religious, but also more broadly cultural, as well as political and economic. As several fine analyses have shown (see Harris 1999, Kaufman 2005, Claverie 2008), Lourdes' popularity was driven by the public controversies concerning miraculous healing. Supporters of the shrine and its critics (within the Church as well as among secularist politicians, journalists, intellectuals and doctors) focussed on claims by pilgrims that they had been dramatically cured through the spring water which was central to the cult, or during the ritual celebrations held there.

Lourdes' fame was also established through its vigorous development as a thoroughly modern shrine whose religious and business leaders used the latest technology to promote the destination (see Kaufman 2005). The media has played a crucial role in maintaining the shrine's high profile with television, film and more recently the internet keeping Lourdes in the public eye. The shrine's developers have also looked beyond France to an international audience and so Lourdes' fortunes illustrate very clearly the cultural and politico-economic vicissitudes of Europe more generally.

The cult developed after 1858 when a local girl, Bernadette Soubirous, had a number of *séances* at a grotto by the river Gave outside the town with an apparition which was eventually established as St Mary; the Mother of Jesus Christ, popularly referred to as Our Lady. Among the several messages given by the apparition, the Vatican threw its weight behind one which Bernadette reported in her local Bigourdan dialect - 'Que soy era Immaculada Concepciou' ('I am the Immaculate Conception'). In 1854, Pope Pius IX had proclaimed the centuries-old controversial belief that St. Mary had been born immaculate, i.e. conceived without sin, one of the few dogmatic teachings of the Church. Hence, the message had immediate consequences for those promoting the dogma among Roman Catholics, as well as for the Church's relations with outsiders. Yet, what caught the popular imagination was another message concerning a spring she had uncovered during another *séance*. *Aquero* or 'that thing', as Bernadette initially referred to the apparition, told her to: 'Go and drink at the spring and wash yourself in it' (Laurentin 1979: 60). Claims that miraculous cures had occurred at the spring or through the use of ' Lourdes water' quickly spread and established the shrine's fame as a national and then an international centre of healing.

Lourdes was founded around two themes therefore – one referring to ecclesiastical authority and theology, while the other involved people's everyday concerns about health and healing. These themes have remained in tension with one another and reflect age-old entanglements between official and popular beliefs and practices, between the figures of Jesus Christ and his mother Mary and between worldly and spiritual concerns.

Claims concerning the healing powers of 'Lourdes water' led to intense debate between the religious and medical professionals associated with the shrine and their secular opponents (see Harris 1999, Kaufman 2005). The Lourdes' authorities moved swiftly to control access to the water by providing taps near the grotto and began to test healing claims through a rigorous process of medical scrutiny. Bathing in the spring water soon became organised and a bathing house for pilgrims was built next to the Medical Bureau where people's claims to be cured were assessed. Volunteers also provided assistance to pilgrims at the local station, within the shrine's precincts (*domaine*) and at the Notre Dame de Sept Douleurs hospital in the new town which had grown up between the *domaine* and the old town.

Lourdes and the Assumptionist Order

Lourdes' emergence as a leading Marian healing shrine was surrounded by political controversy involving the French state and internal divisions within the Catholic Church. Here I want to focus on the role of the Assumptionist Order since the history of this organisation provides a crucial link to the later discussion

of the connection which the order forged between Bulgaria and France, especially between Plovdiv and Lourdes.

The Augustinians of the Assumption – popularly known as Assumptionists – were founded in Nîmes, south-west France, by Fr. D'Alzon in 1845. He came from an aristocratic and deeply religious family and his early years as a priest were devoted to evangelisation, particularly with Protestants who constituted approximately a third of the local population.¹ Encouraged by his life-long collaborator, Mother Marie-Eugénie de Jésus, who had founded a female order, the Religious of the Assumption, he established his own order with the particular aim of 'education, publication of books, works of charity, retreats, and the foreign missions.'²

The organisation of pilgrimages neatly fitted Fr. D'Alzon's mission and he took a keen interest in the emergence of two Marian shrines in particular – La Salette, in the Alpine region near Grenoble, and Lourdes. However, La Salette was sidelined after the success of the first national pilgrimage to Lourdes in 1873, organised through a collaboration between the Assumptionists and a lay organisation of women, Notre Dame de Salut, based in Paris. A division of labour emerged between the two organisations with regard to Lourdes and pilgrimage more generally. The Assumptionists focussed on political campaigns and religious journalism as part of their national and international evangelisation strategy, encouraged the growth of organised pilgrimages to Lourdes and other French shrines and orchestrated the major public ceremony held at the shrine, while Notre Dame de Salut concentrated on organising the most important pilgrimage to Lourdes – the French national pilgrimage held in the middle of August around the Feast of the Assumption. A third organisation, the Little Sisters of the Assumption, was also set up to care for sick pilgrims during the train journey to and from Lourdes and at the shrine's hospitals and grotto.

The rituals introduced by the Assumptionists at Lourdes had both a religious and political function. A crucial change was made in 1888 when the daily Blessed Sacrament procession was introduced. Attention shifted away from the grotto, the baths and the intimate relationship between Our Lady, St Bernadette and the pilgrim towards the miraculous potential of the Host as the Body of Christ held before the serried ranks of *malades* in the Esplanade, a kind of religious parade-ground set apart from the grotto and the baths. Here the ceremony could build towards a crescendo where there was a potential for very dramatic and public claims of healing. When *malades* came forward with such claims, it bolstered the Assumptionists' defence of miracle – in alliance with the medical bureau which examined these claims – against their anti-clerical and republican opponents.

1 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emmanuel_d'Alzon [Accessed 20 April 2013.]

2 Ibid.

Differences within the Catholic Church concerning Marian devotion and the central position of Jesus Christ overlapped, therefore, with tensions between the Assumptionists' religious mission and secular republicanism. The conflict with the state reached a climax during the 'Dreyfus Affair' where a Jewish officer was falsely accused of treason. The Assumptionists engaged in bitter, anti-Semitic attacks and dissident activities against the Third Republic, which led to the order being expelled from France in 1905.

Lourdes after the First World War: The expansion of its international role

As the shrine became more organised it began to build, around the highly visible French National Pilgrimage in August, a calendar of regular diocesan pilgrimages extending far beyond France's borders. Although the shrine remained open throughout the year, the pilgrimage season began in earnest during May and lasted until October. The Hospitality of Notre Dame de Lourdes emerged as the principal lay organisation which looked after the bookings made by these large pilgrimages and controlled the shrine's key areas (the grotto, baths, esplanade, station and, much more recently, the airport). The large pilgrimages were supplemented by a host of smaller groups raised, for example, through parishes, while those arriving to discover more about the shrine were catered for through the Hospitality's 'Pilgrimage for a Day' service.

Lourdes' expansion as a pilgrimage destination between the First World War and the 1960s was partly driven by the close relationship between the shrine and the town. This relationship was marked by ambivalences reflecting local and national social and cultural tensions. Initially, the shrine was seen as the town's possession – Bernadette was, after all, a local girl and the local parish priest, Fr. Peyremale, played a key role in the validation of the apparitions. However, the shrine's rapidly expanding fame, the arrival of outsiders, such as the Assumptionist Order and the Garaison Fathers, and Bernadette's departure to a convent in Nevers, in central France, broke down these local boundaries. A new town emerged between the shrine and the old town which serviced the growing throng of visitors. The creation of the Hospitality organisations promoted this process, since the helpers ensured the rapid transfer of pilgrims from the station to the shrine, by-passing the old town.

The 1905 laws separating Church and state – the foundation of France's contemporary *laïcité* policy – in the aftermath of the Dreyfus Affair not only hit the Assumptionists hard, but also led to the shrine's property being transferred to the town in 1910 (Harris 1999: 365). This move further deepened the divisions between the anti-republican sympathisers associated with Lourdes and their secularist antagonists. Yet attempts to make Lourdes a conservative, bordering on fascist, bastion were weakened by political forces outside France, especially the

Vatican. Hence, while the far right Action Française probably had many admirers among conservative Catholics at Lourdes, the organisation was condemned in 1926 by Pope Pius XI who, ironically, had declared Bernadette blessed a year earlier and then went on to canonise her as a saint in 1933.

As the Vatican sought to respond to the rise of Communism and Fascism during the 1920s and 1930s, pilgrimage shrines like Lourdes were firmly tied to papal policies, which from the late 19th century onwards built pragmatically on papal responses to industrial capitalism, urbanisation and political and military conflict. Lourdes was to be celebrated as a place of healing – in physical, spiritual and social terms – where visitors could be reminded in a variety of ways about the Church's teachings concerning faith in an increasingly secular world. Among the various messages Bernadette received during her apparitions, the one referring to Our Lady's immaculate conception greeted all those who visited the grotto, while Catholic teaching concerning transubstantiation and Jesus Christ's redeeming sacrifice through His crucifixion was acted out daily through the Blessed Sacrament procession and the 'blessing of the sick' in the esplanade. Despite Bernadette's complex personality and ambivalences – or perhaps because of them – the Church chose to emphasise her humility, obedience and patient suffering (see Laurentin 1979). Significantly, the only figurative representation of her in the *domaine* is a statue of her as a simple young shepherdess on the procession route to the esplanade – a site easily missed.

The play of ambiguities, tensions and contradictions inherent in a site such as Lourdes, where so many religious, political, economic and social interests are at play, have been noted by several commentators (Harris 1999, Kaufman 2005, Claverie 2008, Harris 2010, 2013, Eade 2013). They were reflected at the grotto through the sticks and other paraphernalia which were proudly hung up in rows opposite the statue of Our Lady in the niche where the apparition had appeared. These momentoes expressed the fame of Lourdes as a healing shrine and people's hopes and desires, rather than papal dogmatic teachings. Their disappearance during the 1970s indicated the Church's desire to emphasise the incarnational/experiential character of bathing rather than miracles, while changing beliefs and practices concerning health and illness were encouraging visitors to adopt a more everyday and less spectacular interpretation of miracle (see Harris 2013). These changes were also reflected in the re-asserted stress on penance and healing through the priestly laying of hands on the afflicted.³

From the 1980s, the development of the meadow across the river from the grotto enabled the authorities to emphasise once again devotion to the Blessed Sacrament by erecting a tent for the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. Increasing attention to youth activities also led to the construction of a more permanent

3 I am grateful to Alana Harris for pointing out these changes in a personal communication.

building on the meadow, in turn leading to the more recent Stations of the Cross site.

Pilgrimage and evangelisation in South-East Europe: The Assumptionists' international mission and Bulgaria

Roman Catholic interest in the evangelisation of South-East Europe has a very long history, of course, extending both before and after the break with the Orthodox Church in 1054 C.E. Emissaries had been sent to the territories which became part of contemporary Bulgaria as early as the 9th century with scant success. The Vatican renewed its evangelisation efforts during the 17th century through the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith founded in 1622 as part of Rome's response to the Protestant Reformation. One of their first successes involved the conversion of some members of a heretical sect, the Paulicians or Paulini, who lived in the northern area of the Ottoman Empire near the towns of Plovdiv in what is now central Bulgaria and Nikopol on the Danube. As Perkowski notes:

The Orthodox considered them apostate and excommunicated. The Paulini felt themselves to be true Christians and when they came in contact with an 'apostolic visitor', Bishop Pietro Cedolini, in 1580 some of them requested affiliation with the Vatican. Thereafter, and especially during the second half of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, there was intense Catholic missionary effort among these latter-day Paulicians (Perkowski 1994: 104).

This evangelisation of areas, which were later incorporated within an independent Bulgaria, reflected important changes in the regional balance of power as the Ottoman Empire weakened. In the Treaty of Karlowitz of 1699, Austria and Venice acquired control of Ottoman territory in the Western Balkans and 'granted freedom of religious practice to all Christians in the remaining portions of the Ottoman Empire, thus ending a 300-year Greek Orthodox monopoly' (Ibid: 103). Rome sent Franciscan and Passionist missionaries 'first to care for established Ragusan [Croatian] trading colonies, then to proselytise wherever possible' (Ibid.: 104).

By the mid-19th century, Rome's development of an 'Eastern mission' had become embroiled in France's aspirations as the protector of Christian congregations and pilgrims in a weakening Ottoman Empire. In 1848, Louis Napoleon revived an agreement made in 1525 where France had been acknowledged as the formal protector of all Christians there, including those belonging to Orthodox communities. This claim was contested by other European powers and played a role in the conflicts leading up to the 1853-1856 Crimean War. However, the 1856 Treaty of Paris confirmed France's historic rights and Russia formally abandoned its claim to protect Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire.

This was the geopolitical context in which the Assumptionists sought to contribute to the Vatican's 'Eastern mission'. Fr. D'Alzon was eager to use pilgrimage and schooling as two prime weapons in the Catholic Church's evangelising mission and in 1862, during one of several visits to Rome, he was encouraged by Pope Pius IX to concentrate on the conversion of Orthodox communities within the Ottoman empire. Fr. D'Alzon's 1862 visit to Rome was also highly significant in terms of where the Assumptionist mission was to begin, since various Bulgarian activists had taken their grievances to the Vatican between 1859 and 1861. These activists were inspired by both religious and political considerations. They chafed at Orthodox controls wielded by the Greek Orthodox officials in Constantinople, especially the refusal to permit the use of Bulgarian in church ritual and education. One of its leading figures, Dragan Tsankov, was closely allied to France and he joined the delegation of Bulgarian religious and secular leaders which resulted in Pope Pius IX recognising the formation of the Bulgarian Uniat Church in 1861. Although Joseph Sokolsky was appointed as the first Archbishop, his abduction by Russian agents meant that the Assumptionist mission had to wait until Raphael Popov, his successor, arrived in 1863 and established his base at Adrianople, where the first Bulgarian Uniat gymnasium was built.

The Eastern Catholic churches were natural, albeit controversial, allies in the Vatican's strategy. They were in full communion with Rome and were represented at the Holy See through the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, but followed their own non-Latin rites. In Bulgaria and other East European countries where the Orthodox Church held sway, their hybrid character made them subject to suspicion and hostility. They were often seen as the Vatican's Trojan Horse for the conversion of Orthodox congregations to Catholicism – a perception encouraged by periodical migrations of Orthodox groups or individuals into Eastern Catholic churches or Roman Catholicism. These religious boundaries and the movements across them became more urgent during the growth of nationalism in the 19th century Ottoman Empire.

The emergence of the Bulgarian Eastern Catholic Church grew out of the discontent with the growing Hellenisation of schools and church ritual during the early 19th century. By the 1860s, this discontent was expressed in two different ways – through moves towards autonomy from the Patriarchate at Constantinople and through alliance with Rome. The second development leads us back to the Assumptionists and their international mission and to how a French shrine □ Lourdes □ could become linked (surprisingly perhaps) to Bulgaria.

Fr. D'Alzon visited Constantinople in 1862 – six years after the Treaty of Paris – and sent one of his trusted Assumptionist colleagues, Fr. Galabert, there to pursue his missionary strategy. Fr. Galabert acted as an important link between the emerging Bulgarian Eastern Catholic Church, Rome and the Assumptionist Order. He became the theological adviser to Archbishop Raphael Popov but also es-

established schools across the region, including the primary school of St. Andrew in Plovdiv during 1864. His efforts were supported by an order of female helpers – the Congregation of the Oblates of the Assumption – which Fr. D'Alzon created in 1865.

The Plovdiv mission was a key node within the expanding network of Assumptionist centres across Bulgaria, Romania, Russia, Yugoslavia, Turkey and the 'Holy Land'. The primary school was followed by the creation of the celebrated St. Augustine College in 1884. This French medium college played an important role in the strong links which the Assumptionists developed between Bulgaria and Western Europe. The career of Fr. Kamen Vichev, one of their leading members and a beatified martyr, clearly illustrates these connections. He was born into an Orthodox family but converted. After training at a seminary in Karagatch and Pharanaki in what is now Turkey, he spent two periods of study in Belgium 'interrupted by periods of teaching at St. Augustine College in Plovdiv and at the alumnate (minor seminary) at Kum Kapu (Turkey)'.⁴ He was ordained a priest in Constantinople on December 22, 1921 in the Oriental rite and then proceeded to study for a doctorate in theology at Strasbourg and Rome. From 1930, he was based at St. Augustine College and when the latter was closed by the new Communist regime in 1948, he was appointed provincial vicar of the Assumptionists with responsibility for five Eastern Rite and four Latin Rite parishes in the Plovdiv area.

His links with France and other West European countries helped to make him an object of suspicion for the regime and he was arrested in 1952, tried and executed, together with two other Bulgarian Assumptionist colleagues (Burns 2005: 262: a Capuchin priest and Vincent Bossilkov, the Catholic bishop of the Nicopolis diocese in northern Bulgaria. While Roman Catholic congregations and their clergy bore the brunt of the new regime's hostility, the Eastern Catholic Church was less harshly treated. Although one of the three Assumptionists was an Eastern Catholic, the Communist regime preferred to impose strict controls on Eastern Catholics rather than abolish the Church altogether.

The Roman and Eastern Catholic Churches began the Communist period as very small, but well organised institutions. Between 1888 and 1944 Catholic numbers had increased from 18,505 to 48,000 (Assenov 1998: 130 and Bokova 1998: 262), but they still constituted less than 1% of the total population. Despite the high aspirations of the 19th century western missionaries, very few local inhabitants were converted after the creation of an independent Bulgaria. The parishes that did convert were centred around the descendants of the Paulicians and Croatian traders, as well as settlers from the Banat region in the Habsburg Empire, Eastern Catholics from Western Thrace displaced during the 1912-1913 Balkan Wars and those who migrated from Macedonia between 1912 and 1918. De-

spite the minute size of the Catholic population by the beginning of the Second World War:

[T]here were approximately one hundred and fifty churches and two hundred priests (fifty of them Eastern-rite), a few dozen teaching brothers and several hundred nuns belonging to ten congregations. Through its schools and libraries, its two large hospitals in Sofia and Plovdiv, and its orphanages and old people's homes, the Catholic Church of Bulgaria was making a social, educational and cultural contribution out of all proportion to its size, less than one percent of the population (Broun 1983: 311-312).

Rebuilding Catholicism in Bulgaria after 1989: The Institutional Level

Despite the Communist regime's attempts to eliminate religion in Bulgaria as part of a general secularisation strategy across eastern Europe, Catholicism only weakened rather than faded away completely. Church attendance declined in common with religious observance generally and by 1983 church life was described by Broun as generally stagnant, while the community was 'paralysed by fear and depressed by ghetto conditions and poverty' (1983: 314). At the same time, churches in the Catholic villages near Plovdiv remained active and the development of Black Sea tourism ensured full congregations in the seaside towns of Varna and Burgas during the summer at least (Ibid). Links were also maintained at a formal level between the Bulgarian government and the Vatican. In 1975 - the year that the Communist Party had set for the final elimination of religion in Bulgaria - the Prime Minister, Todor Zhivkov, visited Rome and in 1981 a Bulgarian Catholic delegation also arrived at the Vatican to celebrate the anniversary of the 'Apostles of the Slavs', Cyril and Methodius. A delegation was even allowed to attend the Eucharistic Congress at Lourdes in the same year.

So, after the collapse of the 'Iron Curtain' in 1989 the Roman and Eastern Catholic Churches emerged much weakened but able to pick up the institutional pieces. The numbers of religious functionaries had declined, those still active had aged, properties had been lost, the seminaries had closed and recovery was hampered by the severe economic disruption of the 1990s. Yet, because Catholics were disproportionately represented in Bulgaria's cities and towns or the neighbouring countryside, they were less severely hit by the de-collectivisation of Bulgaria's farms and the resultant rise in rural unemployment. Their religious leaders could also call on institutional and financial support from Western Europe, even if this led secular and religious opponents to revive the stereotype of the Catholic Church as 'foreign'. However, local hostility was largely directed at Protestant and Muslim missionaries, associated with various forms of religious revivalism and 'fundamentalism' (see Ghodsee 2010).

4 <http://assumption.us/about-us/cassadaga-seminary/34-assumptionists?start=5>. [Accessed 30 August 2013.]

The morale of the two Bulgarian Catholic Churches was also strengthened by the much publicised visit by Pope John Paul II in 2002. His arrival in Bulgaria provided an opportunity to publicise the healing of both historical and personal wounds. In 1999, he had made the first papal visit to a majority Orthodox country since the schism of 1054 when he arrived in Romania and in 2001 he visited Greece and Ukraine. Historical divisions were confronted through meetings with the Patriarch of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and a visit to the Rila monastery, for example. Much attention was given to the pope's own wounds suffered in the attempt on his life by Mehmet Ali Agca in 1981 and claims that the Bulgarian secret service had been involved. According to Solomon Passy, who was Foreign Minister at that time, John Paul II assured the Bulgarian Prime Minister at a private meeting that he did not believe the claim.⁵

The visit was also an opportunity to honour the Assumptionists who had been executed fifty years before. However, in a ceremony at Plovdiv, attended by Orthodox and Muslim representatives, John Paul II took care to mention those 'who were sons and daughters of the Orthodox Church and who suffered martyrdom under the same Communist regime'.⁶ In this inclusive vein he also referred to the ways in which the three Assumptionists had reached across religious and social boundaries by describing how their courage had been acknowledged by 'their former students - Catholics, Orthodox, Jews and Muslims - by their parishioners, the members of their religious communities, and their fellow prisoners'.⁷ At the same time John Paul II was mindful of the separate institutional structures of the Roman and Eastern Catholic congregations. Hence, during his stay in Sofia he visited the headquarters of the Eastern Catholic Exarchy, but also laid the foundation stone of a new Roman Catholic cathedral.

In terms of ecumenical relations, John Paul II's visit appears to have followed three key principles – demonstrate respect for local traditions, involve representatives from other faiths and heal historic wounds. Although this strategy was welcomed by most commentators, putting the principles into practice was not easy. Involving representatives from other faiths encountered the general problem evident in West European secular multicultural policies – how representative were those invited? The attempt to heal historic wounds was also constrained by long established antipathies and suspicion. Russian Orthodox leaders, in particular, remained suspicious of his overtures and may have lobbied against John Paul's expressed wish to visit Russia. His successors, Benedict XVI and Francis I, have con-

tinued his strategy, albeit at a less hectic pace.

Renewing networks across Europe at the local level – Plovdiv and Lourdes

John Paul II's visit highlighted the growing institutional ties between East and West Europe after 1989. These ties were strengthened by Bulgaria's refusal to get embroiled in the conflict across the border in the former Yugoslavia during the early 1990s, entry into NATO during the late 1990s, and its application to join the European Union, which led to membership in conjunction with its northern neighbour, Romania, in 2007. By 2013, Bulgaria's political and economic fortunes had become even more closely tied to the 'European project,' as it sought to recover from the 2008 economic recession and align its political and legal institutions more closely to regulations devised in Brussels and to policies pursued by the dominant European players, especially Germany.

At the local level these closer ties between East and West Europe were illustrated by the ways in which the Assumptionists sought to foster pilgrimage to Lourdes. As we have already seen, Plovdiv and its neighbouring villages constituted one of the few centres of long established Catholic life. The town contained a Baroque Roman Catholic cathedral, which had been built between 1858 and 1861, was dedicated to St. Louis of France and made a clear physical statement of its congregation's ties to western Catholicism. The Church had lost such prominent centres as the St. Augustine College (now Plovdiv University, named after the Orthodox monk, Paisii Hilendarski, who wrote the first history of Bulgaria) and its hospital. However, the Eastern Catholics had retained the church next to the university and it was here that the Assumptionists publicly took up their mission after 1989, crucially assisted by its sister organisation, the Oblates of the Assumption, and later by the Missionaries of Charity founded by Mother Teresa in Kolkata.

As mentioned above, links between Bulgarian Catholics and Lourdes had not been completely broken by the Communist regime, as evidenced by the delegation being allowed to attend the Eucharistic Congress in 1981. Nevertheless, the revival of the Assumptionist mission in Plovdiv enabled its male and female members (recruited largely from outside Bulgaria) to plan a more grassroots pilgrimage. Hence, in 2006 – a year before Bulgaria became a full member of the European Union – the Assumptionists helped to organise an ecumenical group to attend the August French National Pilgrimage. Two Assumptionist clerics and two Oblate sisters joined 50 Catholic pilgrims, while two Bulgarian Orthodox priests and their wives accompanied the same number of Orthodox pilgrims.⁸ The ten-day trip was made by coach and financial support was provided by various benefactors including German-speaking pilgrims.

5 <http://www.fjp2.com/en/news/world/19585-bulgaria-marks-10th-anniversary-of-historic-pope-visit>. [Accessed 4 September 2013.]

6 http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/homilies/2002/documents/hf_jp-ii_hom_20020526_beatification-plovdiv_en.html. [Accessed 4 September 2013.]

7 http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/homilies/2002/documents/hf_jp-ii_hom_20020526_beatification-plovdiv_en.html. [Accessed 4 September 2013.]

8 http://assumption-orient.org/actualites/archivio/francia06/lurd_06_fr.htm. [Accessed 2 November 2013.]

The journey was hard since they had to sleep in the coaches with only one stop at a town near Milan, where an Italian member of the Plovdiv Assumptionist community had been raised. On arriving at Lourdes, they checked into the capacious hostel overlooking the Domaine run by the Italian pilgrimage organisation, UNITALSI, and joined the large crowds attracted by this annual French celebration. The highlights of their own celebrations included, not surprisingly perhaps, the Stations of the Cross, the torchlight procession and the afternoon Blessed Sacrament procession where the father of one of the Assumptionist priests received divine unction. These traditional Roman Catholic rituals were also accompanied by an Orthodox ceremony held in one of the Domaine's new churches named after St Bernadette.

The group then left for Nevers in central France, where Bernadette's preserved body has also made her convent a place of pilgrimage. The description of the journey comments:

The celebration of Mass in the Byzantine rite, the visit to the monastery (sic) where the saint's body is to be found, and a walk through the town filled our day right up to the time for our departure in the afternoon. A new overnight journey awaited us.⁹

Their next stop was Padua and the shrine of St. Anthony – a day where spiritual and tourist activities were nicely blended.¹⁰ The pilgrimage ended with another journey through the night, but the commentator ends by looking forward to the next adventure:

The frontiers, the waiting, the border controls, the tiredness, the languages closer and closer to Bulgarian, accompanied us almost to Plovdiv ... Tired, yes ... But we only needed a little bit of rest before dreaming, the next day, about a new pilgrimage.¹¹

The dream was indeed realised, since pilgrimages have continued to be made to Lourdes. In 2009, the Assumptionist website was pleased to announce that the three Assumptionists executed in 1952 were to be commemorated in the massive underground basilica at Lourdes. Large banners of the Church's saints were to be accompanied by portraits of the martyrs who had been beatified by John Paul II during his 2002 visit. This time there were no Orthodox companions and as the coach could not take all the 70 pilgrims, some were going to fly to France and then take the train to Lourdes. The organising committee consisted of two Assumptionists (one of whom was a young Bulgarian recruit, Brother Martin Dulchev), an Oblate nun, a Slovak missionary from the Salesian order and a young French-

9 Ibid, translated from the French (J. Eade).

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

man training for the priesthood.¹²

Br. Martin Dulchev followed the Assumptionist tradition by leaving Bulgaria to study at Lille and by 2011 was well equipped to lead an international group of young people to Madrid for the 2011 World Youth Day, visiting Lourdes on the way. Like the 2006 pilgrims, he chose to arrive at the shrine during the annual French National pilgrimage and he was fully aware of the historical significance of Lourdes for his order:

The Assumptionists are the ones who initiated modern, large-scale pilgrimages to Lourdes some 135 years ago and this holy site is somehow part of the fabric of our spiritual make-up. We are part of Lourdes' history and Lourdes is part of ours. Faithful to our tradition, we thought it would be a good idea to include this pilgrimage as part of our overall journey of faith this summer — walking with Christ, helped by Mary.¹³

He also sought to link his band of pilgrims to the changing, multicultural character of both the Assumptionist order and the Catholic Church as a result of the 'positive dimension of globalization':

Just look at the make-up of our planning team: a Vietnamese brother, a Romanian, and me, a Bulgarian..... This very fact demonstrates that the Church and the Assumptionists today reflect human diversity and the positive dimension of globalization, i.e. openness to the Other. This is what we had in mind when we made this decision. The group that will join us are coming from: the Philippines, Chile, Argentina, Bulgaria, Vietnam, Africa, and the USA.¹⁴

Although the organised shrines continued to be located predominantly in Western Europe, the Bulgarian case shows how the collapse of the 'Iron Curtain' has enabled East European Catholics to visit Lourdes much more easily. Not surprisingly, visitors from East European countries with strong Catholic traditions have come in much larger numbers. By 2013, pilgrimage groups from Poland and Slovakia had become a part of the regular Lourdes calendar, but perhaps the most politically significant pilgrimage from the former Communist Europe was the Croatian military and police pilgrimage, which began in 1992 during the bloody break-up of Yugoslavia. The date was significant because Croatia's break-away from Yugoslavia had begun only a year before and the fight for independence lasted until 1995. However, the European Economic Community (now the European Union) recognised Croatia in 1992 as did the United Nations so the arrival of this pilgrimage

12 http://www.assomption-orient.org/actualites/archivio/inglese_09/plovdiv_july_09.htm. [Accessed 2 November 2013.]

13 http://www.assumption.us/news/394-assumptionists-organize-lourdesworld-youth-day-event_ [Accessed 9 September 2013.]

14 Ibid.

was both a religious and a political statement. By 2007, the pilgrimage had grown to around 1,800 members and the Croatian government was represented by the Vice-Premier and three ministers.¹⁵ The Croatians sought to cement their relationship not only to the shrine, but also to the secular authorities, formally presenting to the Mayor of Lourdes in 2007 a bust of Aloysius Stepinac, Archbishop of Zagreb between 1937 and 1960, who had been beatified by John Paul II in 1998 as another victim of a Communist regime.

New pilgrimages from Eastern Europe were very welcome since, although Lourdes enjoyed the image of a thriving international shrine, like any other destination it was also susceptible to wider economic currents. The flow of visitors fluctuated with the changing fortunes of the West European countries which still provided the majority of its visitors – France, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Britain, Ireland, The Netherlands, Germany and Austria. To offset declines in the traditional sources of visitors, the shrine's promoters had to be as inclusive as possible. Besides attracting East European Catholics, Lourdes also sought to reflect the increasingly multicultural character of West European Catholicism shaped by global migration (see Notermans 2009). As the Plovdiv group demonstrated, visitors from non-Catholic traditions were also welcomed. As early as 1982, a Ukrainian Greek Catholic church had been built near the railway station to serve the growing numbers of migrant workers in Western Europe, i.e. a year before John Paul II visited the shrine for the first time. In July 2013, when I returned after a twenty-one year absence, Hindu and Buddhist visitors with origins in Sri Lanka were much in evidence and came to the baths in substantial numbers. This strategy of inclusiveness has also engaged with the global expansion of tourism as visitors arrive from India, South Korea and Japan on package tours.

Conclusion

This article has sought to contribute to the anthropological study of pilgrimage by analysing the role which Roman Catholic pilgrimage has played in a changing Europe, through an exploration both of the development of Lourdes from the mid-19th century and the little known relationship between this French Marian shrine and Bulgaria, especially Plovdiv. It is the Assumptionist Order that provided the key link in the chain between Lourdes and Plovdiv since its members helped to develop the shrine and forge links between Catholic Europe and Bulgaria throughout the turbulence of political conflict and radical transformations. The Assumptionists were instruments of a papal evangelisation strategy which has been pursued over many centuries. They sought to deliver the Vatican's 'Eastern mission' through schools, colleges, hospitals, publishing and scholarship, along

15 <http://dalje.com/en-croatia/some-1800-pilgrims-leave-for-lourdes/41997>. [Accessed 2 November 2013.]

with other Roman Catholic organisations – such as the Passionists, Franciscans, Capuchins and Salesians.

The strategy has also involved pilgrimage as both a journey and an engagement with a particular place. Marian shrines like Lourdes have been places where popes can remind vast numbers of visitors about the traditional teachings of the Church and obedience to papal authority. At Lourdes, two key dogmatic pronouncements – the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption – could be reaffirmed throughout its ritual calendar which involved spectacular events, everyday religious celebrations and a wide array of material symbols. The Assumptionists were vigorous advocates of these papal teachings as they sought to spread the faith in Bulgaria and other emerging nations across South Eastern Europe.

This missionary activity made the Church many enemies. In Bulgaria, the Orthodox Church shared the hostility of Orthodox communities across Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, as well as Russia, towards these Roman Catholic missionaries. Secular politicians, especially socialists, were also alarmed by the Assumptionists' activities, their links to the Bulgarian monarchy and their confrontation with the Third French Republic. This was a history which came to haunt the Order after the Second World War and the establishment of the Communist regime.

The Roman Catholic mission in Bulgaria was also complicated by the emergence of the Eastern Catholic Church during the 1860s and the triangular relationship which developed between the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, the Eastern Catholic Church and the Roman Catholic missionaries. The Assumptionists sought to resolve any tensions between Eastern Catholic and Roman Catholic communities by providing missionaries to both. Hence, while two of the three Assumptionists executed in 1952 worked within the Roman Catholic tradition, the third was a member of the Eastern Catholic Church. After the 1950s, the balance between Eastern and Roman Catholic communities tilted in the former's favour. It was less fiercely repressed during the Communist regime and has benefitted from the Vatican's encouragement of Eastern Catholic traditions after the Second Vatican Council.

The Vatican's strategy has encountered a range of local resistances, contradictions and ambiguities. In Eastern Europe and other areas of the globe, the papal strategy has encountered the inherent problems of multicultural representation, deeply rooted suspicions and contradictions between the centralising and decentralising forces which have operated within the Catholic Church for centuries. However, after the Second Vatican Council this strategy has attempted to be more sensitive to local traditions within the Church and to build ecumenical alliances with those outside the Church. John Paul II pursued this strategy with particular vigour, but his successors have continued in the same vein.

Despite its determined efforts at evangelisation and its well organised structure, the Bulgarian Catholic community was minute even before Communist repres-

sion. Bulgaria has remained a predominantly Orthodox country where interest in formal teachings is low and the observance of sometimes contradictory or heterodox practices far more significant. After 1989, both the Roman and Eastern Catholic communities have restored many of their institutional structures and the Assumptionists have played a key role at the local level, as we have seen in the Plovdiv case study. Links with West Europe have been revived and pilgrimage to Lourdes has become one way in which those links can be regularly maintained. The international ties, which the Assumptionists had established from the beginnings of the order, enabled the Plovdiv parish to operate at both local and more global levels as visitors passed through and parishioners went on pilgrimage.

At Lourdes this opening up to more global forces had developed at a far grander scale as the shrine sought to maintain its position as one of the Catholic Church's most important locations. Here the process of evangelisation could embrace a world beyond Western Europe, where even non-Catholics could find spaces to express their own beliefs and desires. Yet, Lourdes remained more than just a religious centre. From the early disputes over miracle healing to the arrival of the Croatian military and police pilgrimage in 1992 and its growth into a large, officially sponsored group, Lourdes has been embroiled in political contestation. For many millions of visitors this contestation is irrelevant, but if we are to understand Lourdes 'in the round' we need to examine the political developments which link it to the Vatican's global mission and to secular nation-states. As we have seen, the Assumptionists have played an important role in these religious and political developments, seeking to contribute to Rome's 'Eastern mission' even if in Bulgaria their efforts have failed to achieve the high hopes of their founder, Fr. D'Alzon.

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A Relay of Youth of the 21st Century. A Re-enactment of Ritual or a Grotesque Performance?

Waldemar Kuligowski

Abstract: In this paper I would like to present some kind of political ritual. I focused on public holiday in former Yugoslavia called "Day of Youth" (Dan Mladosti), namely the federal festival of the youth. The holiday was one of the largest and most important performative practices related to the ideology of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. "Day of Youth" was a specific form of a state-licensed political ritual and become a key element in the symbolic expression of the "new", post-war and socialist Yugoslavia. Officially established in 1957, the holiday survived the death of Marshal Josip Broz Tito (then officially dubbed "Tito's Holiday without Tito") and had its last edition in 1987. What might be surprising in this context, therefore, is the restitution of this holiday in the early 21st century. 20 years after the last official celebration of this holiday, people who wanted to reactivate it emerged in public spaces. An article not only discusses some dimensions of Youth Day and especially Youth Relay, but also provides few examples of its new functioning. An attempt at comprehensive interpretation of this phenomenon will be based on the use of the concept of political ritual and in context of "performative turn".

Key words: Yugoslavian "Day of Youth", Relay of Youth, political ritual, performative turn, Tostalgia

In 1987, in Belgrade, a commission reviewing the works submitted in a contest promoting the Yugoslavian Day of Youth (Dan Mladosti) debated as to who should be awarded the prize. A great favourite of the jury was a project titled "Youth Day" prepared by an artistic group from Slovenia called Novi Kolektivizem. The entire jury concurred that this work should be awarded first prize. Only then did somebody observe that the work was almost a perfect replica of a Nazi poster made by Richard Klein, one of Hitler's favourite artists. However, the purpose of this article is not to remind of the activity of Neue Slovenische Kunst (of which Novi Kolektivizem was a part), a body of work that still enjoys interest and which had different dimensions and contextualised its meaningful existence variously depend on time and place (Kuligowski 1999). The focal point of my attention rather is a holiday called "Youth Day", namely the federal festival of youth.

The holiday was one of the largest and most important performative practices related to the ideology of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Officially established in 1957, the holiday survived the death of Marshal Josip Broz Tito (then officially dubbed "Tito's Holiday without Tito") and had its last edition in 1987. No doubt, the above-described artistic scandal of the year made a significant contribution to the fall of this holiday and the disintegration of its meaningfulness. Mark Thompson, one of the western commentators of the dramatic process of the fall of Yugoslavia said that "The end of Dan Mladosti did more real damage to the SFRY than any number of discontented nationalists or dissident pamphlets" (Thompson 1992: 233). What might be surprising in this context, therefore, is the restitution of this holiday in the early 21st century. An attempt at comprehensive interpretation of this phenomenon will be based on the use of the concept of political ritual.

In the vocabulary of studies on society and culture, the word 'ritual' is to be numbered amongst the most commonly used terms. Today, contemporary theories have significantly transformed its meaning. On one hand, ritual has ceased to be a way of life or a system of social values, an issue generally failed to be brought to attention, but rather has become a specific field of symbolic battles, an object of pride and adoration and an element in national and ethnic politics. As David Kertzer has suggested, ritual structures our experience. Or even more – ritual guides our perceptions and channels our interpretation of those perceptions. "Through ritual (...) we not only make sense of the world around us, but we also are led to believe that the order we see is not of our own (cultural) making, but rather an order that belongs to the external world itself" (Kertzer 1988: 85). Paraphrasing Clifford Geertz's definition of culture, Kertzer defined ritual as "action wrapped in a web of symbolism" (Kertzer 1988: 9). This assumes that ritual has – among others – a communicative role. Another role is connected with ideology. Maurice Bloch saw ritual in this context as a form of ideology which provides an alternative to "normal" everyday life (Bloch 1989). Bloch uses many examples to illustrate his formulation, of which indicate that ritual is essentially conservative or mystifying. This is a common point: Kertzer described a "ritual election" staged in El Salvador "to demonstrate to the world that El Salvador was indeed ruled by the democratic masses" (Kertzer 1988: 49). Political ritual does not merely represent social structure, but acts upon it and becomes the significant site of political contest between different social groups. Because political rituals involve symbols, they can lead to change as much as they can evoke tradition and continuity. In this paper I would like to interpret the Yugoslavian Relay of Youth as specific form of action "wrapped in a web of symbolism", which has a communicative and also an ideological function, and through the category of a cultural game with a particular history and local tradition.

Richard Klein was one of Adolf Hitler's favourite artists. He designed Hitler's famous post stamp likeness and the right profile of the führer was printed in mil-

lions of copies. In addition to these stamps, the artistic output of Klein included a number of projects used by the state offices of the III Reich, such as special occasion medals (e.g. the Anschluss Medal), trophies and emblems. 1937 marked Klein's greatest public success – the design of a poster advertising the "Great Exhibition of German Art" presented in the newly opened Munich Haus der Kunst (the poster was later used as a cover of the new art magazine titled "Kunst im dritten Reich"). The picture is a combination of realistic and mythological elements; it is a composition presenting the profile of Pallas Athena (the goddess of war, wisdom and art), the Nazi eagle, Promethean fire and a swastika (Michaud 2004: 92-93). The picture depicts struggle, determination, confirmation of one's greatness and all the values regarded as the perfect artistic expression of Nazi ideology. It is worth emphasising that the aforementioned exhibition was opened by Hitler himself on the eve of the official public opening of another art exhibition, Entartete Kunst (the First "Great German Art Exhibition" 2012). The collection presented works of degenerate and sick art that questioned the spirit of National Socialism. Together with Hermann Gradl, Adolf Wissel, Karl Leipold, Heinrich Knirr and many others, Klein openly supported art line with the discourse then prevailing in Germany.

The memory of Klein and his court art would have lasted probably only in narrow circles of art and ideology historians were it not for a certain event, apparently, very remote from the times of the III Reich and its aesthetics. In 1987, in Belgrade, a commission reviewing the works submitted in a contest promoting the Yugoslavian Day of Youth debated as to who should be awarded the prize. A great favourite of the jury was a project prepared by a small, yet popular, artistic group from Slovenia called Novi Kolektivizem. The poster simply titled "Youth Day" was different from other works. It was harsh in appearance as it used a limited number of colours, i.e. white, black and different shades of grey. It represented an athletic, naked young man carrying a torch and a fluttering banner with a star on it. The young man was boldly marching forward without paying attention to obstacles rising up under his feet. He looked into the future and his entire posture was a manifestation of determination and dedication to the cause. The entire jury concurred that this unusual work should be awarded first prize; moreover, the poster had already been reprinted by a number of magazines. Only then did somebody observe, with horror, that the work was an almost perfect replica of Richard Klein's picture created nearly half a century earlier. The changes introduced into the original work were only slight: the swastika on the banner was replaced with a five-pointed star, while the black eagle (the national emblem of the III Reich) on the flagpole had turned white, with the title "Dan Mladosti" being the only new element. The case was soon condemned as a scandal giving rise to fierce discussions not so much devoted to the general condition of art, but rather to the condition of a state, where the most appropriate embodiment of its prevailing ideology had turned out

to be a poster submitted to its largest propaganda festival, that in fact reproduced signs fascist totalitarianism. The alleged comparison of Tito to Hitler gave rise to outrage and the imprisonment of the poster's authors was even considered. In the end, after the matter - had seen the light of day, the prize was awarded to a work which left no room for any doubt - it was a green leaf (green as the colour of hope) on a red background with a socialist star integrated into its composition.

The Day of Youth in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was a great event with many ideological and cultural meanings. Although the Day of Youth became an official holiday in Yugoslavia in 1957, the origins of the relay race can be traced back to 1945. At that time, a youth organisation from Kragujevac organised an event called Tito's Relay ("Titova štafeta") (*Slovenici prvi prestali* 2005), with Croatian Kumrovec, the place of Tito's birth, as its starting point. Its distinctive features would, in the years to come, become a distinguishing signs of the youth relay races. The first characteristic was the route combining all the key geographical points in the geography of Tito's system into a symbolic network "all the historic cities and battlefields of our revolution" [*Titova štafeta – Štafeta mladosti* 1986]). The second was the special hollow batons in the shape of a torch, holding a greeting card for Comrade Tito. And the third was a festive culmination in the presence of the leader on May 25th (regarded erroneously as Tito's birthday). In 1945, over 12 thousand participants, with young people constituting the majority, were engaged in the race. The runners covered a distance of over 9 thousand kilometres. At the finish of the race, Tito was given the first 9 batons and a specially prepared book with 15 thousand signatures of young people from the region of Šumadija. 10 years later, the number of participants was estimated at 14,000, with the entire route reaching nearly 100 thousand kilometres (Čolović 2012: 19).

Each year, the relay race would start in a different city of the federation, one that would stand out in the recent history of the new state. It is worth mentioning that until 1956 the final of the relay race and hand-over of the batons would always take place in Zagreb. The running of the previously determined route could take up to a few months. Engaged in this collective effort were different professional groups; the relay batons were carried to mountain tops, across rivers and lakes, were given to scuba divers and parachute jumpers and their miniature replicas were carried by post pigeons. Statistics show that over the first 12 years of this ritual, over 10,200,000 thousand runners covered a distance of 877,000 kilometres, carrying 20,000 batons (*Danas je 25. Maj* 2012).

An interesting point about the beginning of the ritual is its social context. The building of a new socialist state took place within the framework of a discourse of unity and joint effort. An official document justifying the need for industrialisation and collectivisation was the Act on a "Five-Year Plan of Economic Development for Yugoslavia" (1947-1951). What were its practical implications? In 1947, within

less than a year, 6 thousand young *junaks* built a 242 km long Šamac-Sarajevo railway line. Another team drilled through the Montenegro scree between Nikišić and Titograd (now Podgorica), while another tunnel was forged between Doboj and Banja Luka. It was the youth who built the ironworks in Železnik, a rolling mill in Savojna, a steam boiler plant in Zagreb, and a metallurgical region in Bosnia. The statutory five-year term was concluded with frequent transfers of working brigades of young swashbucklers to new places of employment in coal mines, tasks related to road hardening, forest clearing or maize harvesting (Walkiewicz 2000: 157, 201). At that time, collective effort, competition and the fulfilment of obligations were elevated to the rank of a praiseworthy duty. Young people traversing new sections of a route around the country became a perfect element of an ideology-pervaded work landscape. The relay race was also a kind of labour.

1957 was the year of a breakthrough in the moulding of the image and cultural meaningfulness of the race. By decision of the Marshal, the relay race, previously treated as a birthday present for the leader, was integrated into the celebration of Youth Day. A new state holiday and a day off work was thus established. Its most lavish manifestation was still the Youth Relay ("štafeta mladosti"). From this point, the holiday thus defined and having the form of a state-licensed political ritual became a key element in the symbolic expression of the "new" Yugoslavia (Bringa 2004: 156-157). The relay race would start a month earlier and its finishing line was no longer in Zagreb but in the federation's capital, Belgrade, in the largest stadium of the Yugoslavian national army. The race ran across the republics and autonomous districts of Yugoslavia, mobilising students, young workers, learners and members of youth organisations. Stops were established at universities, factories and culture clubs. Local celebrations were held in each of the cities and towns along the relay route. Their scenario would vary in details, but in the majority of cases it was similar: the ceremony was opened by reading greetings for Tito. The ensuing cultural and artistic part included songs dedicated to Tito, guerrilla songs and the folk dances of a given region. Once the ceremony was over, the race was continued until the next town and ritual stop.

The culmination of the relay was in Belgrade. The final ceremony of the Day of Youth was held in the presence of Tito, his wife (whoever she might be at the time) and party officials. A huge open air show with thousands of performers and spectators was organised in the stadium. The performance would include folk and gymnastics shows presented by young athletes, soldiers and students. Special groups prepared clichés such as: "Tito, we love you", "Youth is the future", or "Happy Youth Day". Songs performed en masse thundered with refrains like "Tito is our heart, Tito is our sun". And all was accompanied with a veritable forest of flags and, in the final years, firework shows.

Children would present the Marshal with greetings in the form of poems or personal letters. Teachers would select the best wishes composed at schools and

Tito received a selection from each school and each republic. Some of them were read aloud during the ceremony. Naturally, the key moment of the holiday was presenting Tito with the baton. The person who was granted this honour was pre-selected from a group of the most active members of youth party organisations. As the appointment was regarded as a token of prestige, we know the names and surnames of these last runners in the relay race. They were from different regions of the federation, e.g. Nish, Titograd, Pristina, Skopje, Bihac, Zagreb and Sarajevo. Red pioneer scarves around their necks, each of the chosen ones ran up to the rostrum where they were met by the Marshal in the company of other officials. In 1979, when Tito participated in the Youth day for the last time in person, Sanjija Hiseni, a student from Pristina, had the privilege of meeting him and delivering a laudatory speech in which she praised socialism, Yugoslavia and Tito in Albanian, later switching to Serbo-Croatian. Tito returned the favour with a series of kisses and handshakes. Finally, the whole stadium applauded and chanted the name of their leader.

The ritual of Youth Day was broadcast throughout Yugoslavia; first on the radio, and later on TV. The show enjoyed vast popularity and had millions of viewers. The race continued until 1980, when it was interrupted for the first time as it was passing through Croatian roads. »Comrade Tito is dead!« - the sentence pronounced on 4 May that year reverberated throughout the media and literally shocked the people of Yugoslavia. The leader of the Federation died in Ljubljana. Thousands gathered along the rails along which his body was transported to Belgrade. Given the circumstances, the continuation of a race in the honour of Tito, or the following of the well-know scenario of Youth Day, was no longer possible. Tito's death did not however put an end to the festival.

The already well moulded ritual was successfully converted from a celebration of the leader's birthday into a commemoration of his death. On May 9th, 1980, at 11 a.m. sharp, the door to the building of the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was drawn slightly open. Inside, placed on a podium and covered with the national banner was a coffin holding the body of Josip Broz Tito. Eight young people: seven boys and a girl, each clad in black, approached the casket. They represented all the »constitutive elements« of Yugoslavia: Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Metochia and Vojvodina. This was the last change to the 36th Relay of Youth, disrupted unexpectedly a few days before by the death of the Marshal. As usual, Tito received the greetings from the young people and relay batons, except that this time purely on a symbolic level. A representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the republic which the relay race failed to reach, placed a decorative baton at the base of the coffin. Inside, there was a letter with a message from Yugoslavian youth. The final wishes of the pioneers and young people of Yugoslavia were not noticeably different from those of preceding years: »Youth was close to you. You created the future for the

youth. You have made the world closer to us. Our dearest and kindest friend... We will continue your work«¹.

Indeed, despite Tito's passing away, the idea of the ritual relay race was still practiced. In the years following 1980, the organisation of Youth Day was continued preserving the key elements of the usual scenario. What needed correction was the final ceremony in the stadium. Again, with batons in their hands, young people would run up to the rostrum, but now the batons were no longer handed over to the Marshal, but to the head of the organisation called the Young Communist League of Yugoslavia (Savez socijalističke omladine Jugoslavije), which was the youth extension of the ruling party. The last runner reported the completion of the relay race which was a symbol of love for comrade Tito. In 1987, a twist was added to the final; with the benefit of hindsight, this could be regarded as an attempt at adjusting the old ritual to new circumstances. The baton handed over by the runner emerging from a crowd of young people making up a five-pointed star on the grass of the stadium was passed from hand to hand (this time with two bunches of yellow flowers). It was finally handed over to a student, Rejmonda Broćaj who, quite conventionally, announced the conclusion of the »Tito trail« thanking the late leader in all the languages of the federation. It was, we have to add, the final Yugoslavian Youth Day combined with a relay race traversing the entire country².

The Youth Relay was held for the last time in 1987; the same year in which Slobodan Milošević took power in Serbia (shortly afterwards, in place of the relay symbols of political power, brotherhood, and unity of another type would appear: relics of saints and poets [Čolović 2012: 19]). At that point, it seemed that the Youth Relay would finally be laid to rest in the history of the collective rituals related to the cults of great leader. By then, Tito had been dead for a few years. Also, the Federation of Yugoslav Republics he had ruled was gradually disintegrating. It was first exposed to ridicule three years after Tito's death; when scientists, writers and columnists who gathered in Zagreb (not so long ago swearing an oath that they would follow the path set by the Marshal) spoke of »mandarins of consciousness« and »heirs of Stalin«. In 1987, the foundations of the federation were being questioned (and exposed) by the artists from Novi Kolektivizam. On May 4th, 1990, at three o'clock, the hour of Tito's death, sirens went off for the last time; later, his mausoleum was simply closed for a couple of years. In 1991, the values, essence and territory of Yugoslavia were veiled in a shroud of disintegration and ruthless war. There was no reason for continuing a ritual which could become absurd in the new political social and cultural environment. The cultural and social history of

1 See: Štafeta mladosti na odru druga Tita 4.maj 1980, video (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TkzD51JOV6g>, 08.03.2012).

2 See: Dan Mladosti 1987. - predaja štafete - Druže Tito mi ti se kunemo, video (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8bC_PpGj8Jg&feature=relmfu, 30. 3. 2012).

Youth Day could therefore be embraced in three consecutive scenes: (1) Tito's Relay, "Титова штафета" (1945-1956); (2) Youth Day, "Дан младости" (1956-1980); (3) After Tito-still Tito, "И после Тита-Тито" (1956-1987).

The relay race accompanying Youth Day more than any other holiday in the Tito calendar of rituals embodied the idea of "Brotherhood and Unity", which was key to the ruling of the multinational federation. In the official discourse, the race was synonymously referred to as the path to "Brotherhood and Unity"; in virtually every city of the multinational federation, squares and streets were named after it (Borowiec 1977: 27). Its function was therefore to baste multi-cultural Yugoslavia together, a role manifested not only through propaganda clichés but also through the physical act of the relay race across all the republics. Naturally, the stadium culmination is reminiscent of other political rituals, so well known from other Eastern Bloc countries: May Day, harvest festivals, the celebration of Nicolae Ceaușescu's birthday at the end of January³; it also imitated ceremonies that accompany, for example, the opening of the Olympic Games or other notable sports events. It was this mass spectacle that was to become the carrier of ideas, a festive and community manifestation of ideological precepts.

Surprising in this context were the reports of information agencies which on May 4th, 2008 relayed the news of thousands gathering in Belgrade ... on the occasion of Youth Day! 20 years after the last official celebration of this holiday, people who wanted to reactivate it emerged in public spaces. What is more, in each consecutive year the demonstration grew in size, attracting more and more participants. 2010 was particularly important - it was the year of the 118th anniversary of Tito's birthday and the 30th anniversary of his death. Among the visitors to the Marshal's grave were representatives of all the post-Yugoslavian states. In front of the entrance to the House of Flowers, guests from Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, Hercegovina and Macedonia gathered. A group of motorcyclists came from Novy Sad, and the legendary footballer of Crvena Zvezda Belgrad, Dušan "Dule" Savić, also appeared. Old Yugoslavian banners were flown and some of the participants were clad in uniforms commemorating the Second World War. Songs associated with the fallen state and its community and guerrilla image were sung, e.g. "Po šumama i gorama", "Od Vardara pa do Triglava", or "Zzivela Jugoslavija" (they are recognized by participants as "Yugoslav", "war", "partisan", "revolution", or "Tito's" songs (Hjemdahl, Alempijević 2006: 165). The organisers of the ceremony were the Josip Broz Association and the recently formed Communist Party with Josip Jozzka Broz, the grandson of the late Marshal, as its leader. In his speech to the gathered crowd, Tito's grandson said that Youth Day should reinforce the relationships between people from all regions of the former Yugoslavia; relationships destroyed as a re-

sult of the war in the 1990s. "The crowd listened to records of Tito's speeches with reverence," reported a journalist. "Subsequently, his grandson and namesake took the floor. (...) To the accompaniment of long lasting applause, he welcomed a delegation from the embassy of Libya and ensured everyone that a united Yugoslavia would rise from the ashes and that Serbia would never join NATO" (Dérens 2011: 33).

Tito's grandson is a person of symbolic significance. He declares his interest in uniting all Serbian communists into a single party. His intentions and words do not fall on barren soil. Over the past few years now, a number of associations openly alluding to the traditions of the former Yugoslavia have been established, such as the General Consulate of SFRJ in Tivat, Montenegro; the Association of Yugoslavians in Zagreb (struggling for the right of members to call themselves Yugoslavians), the Josip Broz-Tito Association in Bihac (coordinating the activity of 48 communal branches), and the Our Yugoslavia Association with branches established in all the states of the former Yugoslavia (Herman-Milenkovska 2010). These facts indicate that Yugonostalgia is not a sufficient concept to explain an increasingly manifested longing for life in Tito's Yugoslavia. Slovenian sociologist, Mitja Velikonja, was the first to describe this phenomenon; he said that in parallel with Yugonostalgia, we are witnessing the development of "Titostalgia" (Velikonja 2009). What do these terms refer to? "Titostalgia" has a few coinciding and complementary dimensions: it is a political symbol, an artefact of pop culture and an element of discourse but also a part of current social and political practice. This nostalgic discourse includes melancholy, drama and kitsch. It revives a symbol which is so important for the visual culture presented by museums, graffiti, tourist souvenirs and portraits. Naturally, "titostalgia" can take different forms depending on the local context: republic, district, protectorate, enclave or, as Velikonja ironically puts it, "banana" or "mongrel" republic. Sometimes it can be associated with freedom, at others with occupation. "Titostalgia" is being quickly adopted in Serbia; its best-known manifestations include the museum and park in Kumrovec named after Tito, the recently re-opened House of Flowers in Belgrade, or a museum in Drvar. However, limiting the influence of the phenomenon only to Serbia is not justified. There is "Tito" cafe in Sarajevo, "The Maršal", a luxury restaurant in Podgorica, "Tito" bar in downtown Umaga, "Broz" cafe in Skopje, and "Tito" and "Nostalgija" eateries in Ljubljana. Despite different forms of artistic expression, Tito is idealistically represented in all these venues as a symbol of friendship, solidarity and security. This new contextualisation of the late leader predetermines his attractiveness in a world which is distant from solidarity and full of risk.

Commemorations related to the consecutive anniversaries of Tito's birth and death, taking the forms described above, could easily be regarded as a specific political folklore, as picturesque as it is marginal. The festival was organised without the parades, shows or live TV broadcast, so popular years ago. There is how-

3 "If you tell the worshippers of Tito that Stalin's birthday was celebrated by organizing relays, and Hitler's birthday with stadium drills, and that only Kim Il Sung was showered with flowers as much as Tito was, the answer you will get is: he was different" (Jančar 2012: 32).

ever one fact that makes us look at the assembly gathering in front of the Belgrade House of Flowers from a different perspective. For the celebrations were accompanied by a Youth Relay. The organisation responsible for the re-enactment of this ritual is "Titova republika" from Rijeka, the organisation responsible for re-enacting the festival for the first time in 2008. The Marshal's grandson, as his father before him, was there to provide the final culmination. The original ritual, which began in 1945, was thus continued well over 60 years later!

The 2010 relay race came to Belgrade from 6 locations of the former Federation - Umag, Rijeka, Bačko Gradište, Podgorica, Skopje and Sarajevo and represented 4 former republics: Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro and Macedonia (*Danas je 25. maj* 2012). Having reached the finishing line of the race, all the participants laid wreaths and flowers on Tito's grave. As in the relay's previous incarnation, wooden batons with the red star image and the "Brotherhood and Unity" motto were carried by the runners. The participants also evoked a mood long gone by wearing red pioneer scarves on their necks and "titovkas", small red hats, on their heads. Some of them had small badges with the image of the ex-leader of former Yugoslavia on their lapels. One of the race leaders, 49-year-old Štefica Srića Žic, declared: "We have brought our baton from Croatia and Slovenia. The baton covered the distance from Umag to Belgrade in eight days, travelling by train, car and on foot" (Janjatić 2012). The scale of the 2010 relay race is certainly much smaller when compared with what it was in the past and so is the number of participants and the logistic momentum. It is also worth emphasising that what is described in this paper is a process. Over the two subsequent years, the number of cities, or starting points, grew in number to include Tivat, Subotica, Nish and the villages of Rumenke (in the region of Novi Sad) and Kolut in Vojvodina. Observers notice that the ritual is accompanied with growing enthusiasm. It is estimated that in 2011 the finish of the relay race in Belgrade was welcomed by a crowd of about 20,000 people. Also, locally-organised relay races attract growing crowds. 10,000 thousand spectators watched the relay start in Tivat, at the headquarters of a non-government organisation called the General Consulate of the SFRJ, which issued passports of the former Yugoslavia to interested applicants (nearly 5,000 applicants submitted their requests).

The reenactment of the relay race consists of an as close as possible copying of the old ritual scenario. Let us examine this using the example of the race to Belgrade starting in Umag (Fable 2012)⁴. In the very heart of the city situated in the Istria peninsula is situated "Tito's" cafe. Members of the local "Josip Broz Tito" association and the earlier mentioned "Titova Republika" Association from Rijeka gathered in the vicinity. At around 13.00, they jointly started the Croatian and Slovenian relay race of brotherhood and unity. The former iconography was re-

constructed with great care, i.e. pioneer uniforms, batons with the image of Triglav, the Croatian chessboard and portraits of the Marshal. The race was initiated with the passage of an open-top Mercedes which made possible the presentation of the baton to all passers-by. The car, designed as a medium of the future, was decorated with pictures of Tito and slogans written on the bonnet, such as "Tito je u nama", "Tito legenda" and "Socijalizam ne umire". Gathered around the vehicle were several people holding portraits of the leader. Their statements leave no doubts as to the nature of the event; its essence is the nostalgic memory of a time when life was better, when apartments were readily available, bills lower and moods optimistic. The relay race had to cover a distance of 650 kilometres covering, among others, such places as Rijeka and Kumrovec. The objective was to arrive at the Tito Mausoleum in Belgrade on 25th May.

From the point of view of social and cultural anthropology, as inspired by the works of Victor Turner, Erving Goffman and Richard Schechner, the contemporary re-enactment of the Youth Relay Race appears to be a manifestation of a specific social process falling within the realm of the "performative turn". This trend in the humanities makes us look at culture as a semantically open, change oriented and performative process, as opposed to textual approaches which often led to an a-historical "freezing" of the meanings explored. Key terms in this approach include rituals, social drama and, naturally, performance and performativeness. The above-described events are also an interesting example of stage politics. Taking into account these few features only, i.e. repeatability, a festive nature, detachment from simple direct utility and symbolic comment on the values making up a certain outlook on life, the relay race can be defined according to the category of a political ritual that sensitizes viewers to the existence of social mythology, propagates political myths, creates, or reinforces, political symbolism, legitimizes historic/religious/folk/cultural traditions, evokes the effect of political community and creates an atmosphere for achievement of certain goals presented as 'supra-party' elements (Naumović 1999: 216-217).

In an attempt to understand the motives encouraging the residents of different countries to participate in the organisation of a holiday to honour the late leader of a non-existent state, let us refer to the proposal of Denis Jeffrey (Jeffrey 1998: 111-125). Jeffrey argues that a ritual should perform three key functions: (1) security, (2) transition, and (3) transgression. The first is intended to marginalise the sense of uncertainty and being lost, the second one is activated during crises and transformation in an attempt to ritualise social emotions, while the third aims to facilitate a breaking with the *status quo*, negotiating changes and introducing an element of risk. Jeffrey emphasises that contemporary ritual must fulfil all three functions, lest it become boring or fall into the realm of preposterousness. I have no doubts that the re-enactment of the relay race satisfies these functions and faces the dilemma which Jeffrey so accurately pointed out. The boredom of non-pro-

4 See also: Udruga Josip Broz Tito Umag", video (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dOotUzl8kuk>, 17.06.2012).

ductive recurrence and falling into the realm of puppet performance are but two extremes that titostalgics have to face.

Political ritual as defined by David Kertzer not only has a cognitive influence on the general definition of political reality, it also has a persuasive emotional effect, which is extremely important in mobilising people and groups to undertake specific actions. The theatrical and performative nature of rituals usually has a broader social effect than argumentative debates (Kertzer 1988). Naturally, the re-enactment of the relay race is far from the lavish, state authority licensed official ritual organised in the times of Tito. Its social reintroduction is, however, a fact not to be underestimated. In the former Yugoslavian republics, a very specific dialogue with the Federation's heritage taken up by writers, poets, columnists, playwrights, architects and creators of monuments continues. This post-Yugoslavian debate (post-modernistic and post-feministic in other contexts, too) is an attempt at giving second thoughts to what has become a failure, understanding why the great project turned out to be disaster and why the great narrative of Yugoslavia proved ultimately to be so short-lived. The Youth Relay is merely one of the topics of this debate. The near future will show whether it was but a grotesque component of social life, or a serious ritual signifying political mobilisation.

In the end of my paper, I would like to formulate some working conclusions. Firstly, ritual, especially political ritual, is not a traditional subject of anthropological studies. Rituals today carry enormous political and ethical potential. Their political dimensions are realised in many different forms. We should take note of the reflexive nature of the traditions that surround us and make increasingly active attempts to co-create a common, culturalised world. This is – in my view – the essence of contemporary political ritual that raises a challenge for the work of anthropologists. The chief problem presented by the new meanings of the Youth Relay phenomenon is how to place it within other forms of common life: democracy, human rights, domestic law, freedom of speech, national policy, etc. In this light, the most important question is not still “What is ritual and what is grotesque?”, but rather “When, where, how, for whom and under what conditions is it so?”.

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Posvätná ženskosť a autorita: rodová stratifikácia neošamanských skupín

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Abstract: In all western countries neo-shamanic groups share an important characteristic: statistics demonstrate significant prevalence of women. On the other side, neo-shamanic groups have an inner power dynamics related to gender. Some authors argue that in small religious groups without charismatic leaders strong personalities may appear charismatic and occupy positions of high status. Such gender dynamics have been historically associated with a positional advantage to males, although in such settings charisma might be decoupled from gender characteristics that tend to disadvantage women. The article presents the results of research conducted in a neo-shamanic group in Bratislava belonging to the FSS (Foundation for Shamanic Studies). In this environment charismatic authority has been for a long time absent: according to the concept of core shamanism, being a shaman does not mean to have a 'gift' and a leader is usually represented as a person who is just more skilled than other group members. However, during recent decades there was a process of group stratification that resulted in a formation of new groups and an emergence of male charismatic leaders who initially did not represent themselves as charismatic. Current male leaders' self-representations usually refer to inner qualities related to a combination of the particular stereotypical gender characteristics. I argue that this image corresponds to (1) intuitive way of knowledge/ emotions related to female characteristics and (2) an active position of urban shamans related to male characteristics. This combination follows from the specific ideology of urban shamanism as a kind of alternative healing aimed at the transformation of individuals and the society.

Key words: neo-shamanism, gender, charisma, gender stratification, alternative medicine, CAM

„V každej žene je bohyňa a princezná“.
(Milada, šamanka)

„On je, dá sa povedať, ako my, ženy – moc citlivý,
moc láskavý a je taký chápavý“.
(Dušana, šamanka)

Úvod

Pre mnohé náboženské hnutia súčasnosti je príznačné, že v nich početne prevládajú ženy. Na druhej strane, náboženskými vodcami sa stávajú skôr muži (Coakley 2006). Otázky rodovej stratifikácie náboženských skupín sú aktuálne aj pre

spirituálne prúdy, ktoré sa zvyčajne zaraďujú do širšej kategórie hnutia New Age. Jedným z nich je neošamanizmus alebo mestský šamanizmus, ktorý predstavuje pokus o obnovenie duchovných tradícií kmeňových spoločností v súčasnej západnej kultúre. Cieľom tohto príspevku je zamyslieť sa nad otázkou rodovej stratifikácie neošamanských skupín pôsobiacich v slovenskom prostredí a nad možnými faktormi v pozadí ich rodovej dynamiky.

Do 60.-70. rokov 20. storočia zostávalo skúmanie náboženskej sféry voči rodovým aspektom takpovediac „slepé“; viaceré štúdie náboženstva ešte stále tieto aspekty ignorujú (Warne 2000; Scott 1988). V ostatnom čase sa však rodový rozmer náboženského konania stal predmetom intenzívneho záujmu v spoločenskovedných disciplínach. Rôzni bádatelia pritom používajú rozličné teórie a prístupy: skúmajú, ako sa konceptualizujú muži a ženy v rôznych kultúrach; ako sa konštruje a predváža maskulinita a femininita v náboženských tradíciách; ako vyzerajú rodové vzorce zodpovedajúce hĺbkovým štruktúram náboženského života stojace v pozadí konania; a aké sú rodové perspektívy, cez ktoré bádatelia vnímajú sakrálnu sféru (Calef 2009).

Otázka, prečo ženy prevládajú v rôznych náboženských hnutiach súčasnosti, súvisí s často diskutovanou témou: sú ženy religióznejšie než muži, a ak áno, prečo? (Clark-King 2004; Frances 1997) Viacerí bádatelia sa sústreďovali predovšetkým na ženy a snažili sa zaplniť medzery v spoločenskovednom bádani, z ktorého boli ženy po dlhú dobu väčšinou vylučované. No aj tí vedci, ktorých primárnym záujmom boli ženy, uznávali, že je nemožné skúmať rodové aspekty religiozity bez toho, aby sa brali do úvahy muži a rodová socializácia oboch pohlaví. Väčšina bádateľov venuje pozornosť mocenským vzťahom: sociálna konštrukcia rodových rolí je priamo ovplyvnená distribúciou moci. Keďže náboženstvo samo o sebe je mocenským systémom, prispieva k pochopeniu vzťahov v celej spoločnosti vrátane rodových aspektov sociálneho života (pozri napríklad Woodhead a Heelas 2000).

Rodové otázky sa stali významnou oblasťou bádania v prípade súčasnej spirituality, najmä hnutia New Age, a to aj vďaka jeho alternatívnej povahe, teda odmietaniu existujúcich etablovaných štruktúr vrátane náboženstiev s dlhou historickou minulosťou, ale aj konvenčných rodových postojov (Woodhead 2006; *Aupers a Houtman 2006*). Ezoterické koncepcie New Age majú spoločné presvedčenie, že ľudstvo, ale aj celý vesmír, žijú v období radikálnej zmeny kultúry a blížiaciho sa nového veku. V tomto procese jednotlivci, podobne ako celá spoločnosť, prechádzajú transformáciou – tak tela, ako aj duše. Dôležitým aspektom spomenutej transformácie a prehodnotenia existujúcich kultúrnych rámcov sú otázky rodu a sexuality: všeobecný prístup k rodu v rámci hnutia New Age znamená kritiku marginalizácie žien a negatívneho postoja k sexualite či alternatívnym rodovým identitám, ktoré sú príznačné pre náboženské systémy a konvenčnú spoločnosť na Západe.

Neošamanizmus sa v odbornej literatúre často interpretuje ako výsledok romantizujúcich tendencií etnografov v 19. a 20. storočí pri interpretácii duchovného

života kmeňových spoločností, mystickej náboženskej skúsenosti, emocionálnych rituálov a vzťahu k prírode (Stuckrad 2002). Toto dedičstvo epochy romantizmu sa v mestskom šamanizme transformuje do konkrétneho konania, pri ktorom sa šamanské praktiky využívajú pre vytvorenie osobných rituálov a svetonázorov ako alternatívy k západným kultúrnym kategóriám a hodnotám. Inšpirácia romantickými ideami prvotnej blízkosti k prírode v protiklade k mestskému životu – inšpirácia všetkým prirodzeným, až „divokým“ – vedie aj ku kritickým postojom voči prísne vymedzeným rodovým identitám a rolám, príznačným pre západnú industriálnu spoločnosť. Podobne ako väčšina smerov New Age, aj mestský šamanizmus je teda v otázkach rodu „demokratický“: jednotlivec má prijať akúkoľvek sexuálnu a rodovú identitu, ktorá mu vyhovuje a ktorá prispieva k jeho duchovnému vývoju. Ženy v neošamanizme nielenže nie sú marginalizované, ale v istom zmysle hrajú dôležitejšiu úlohu než muži: neošamanské skupiny na celom svete demonštrujú výraznú prevahu žien (Lindquist 2001a: 3, 2001b: 24).

Môj doterajší výskum neošamanizmu prebiehal od r. 2009 v rámci dvoch skupín neošamanov, pôsobiacich v Bratislave.¹ Prvá skupina, v ktorej som sa pohybovala, funguje pod záštitou Nadácie pre šamanské štúdiá (Foundation for Shamanic Studies, ďalej FSS)² organizujúcou semináre pre vyučovanie takzvaného jadrového šamanizmu na celom svete; druhá skupina vznikla okolo osoby duchovného liečiteľa a praktizuje v súkromí (Bužeková 2011; 2012). Medzi týmito skupinami existujú výrazné rozdiely. V tomto príspevku sa budem venovať rôznym skupinám fungujúcim v rámci pôsobenia FSS.

Podobne ako inde, aj v Bratislave neošamanské skupiny pozostávajú prevažne zo žien. Avšak v súčasnosti v prostredí neošamanských skupín FSS na Slovensku prevládajú mužskí lídri, hoci chronologicky prvými vedúcimi osobnosťami boli ženy. Numerická prevaha žien je teda len jedným aspektom rodovej stratifikácie náboženských či spirituálnych skupín: dôležitým problémom je ich celková rodová dynamika. Môžeme si položiť otázku, akým spôsobom lídri neošamanských skupín legitimizujú svoju autoritu z rodového hľadiska.³

Dôležitým momentom je v tomto zmysle charisma vodcu (v tomto príspevku ju chápem v zmysle Weberovej legitimizácie autority, teda ako typ autority, ktorá sa zakladá na osobnej sile vodcu priťahujúcej stúpencov, ktorá navyše často nadobúda mystické črty). Charizmatický liečiteľ sa pri liečení zvyčajne odvoláva na osobnú vnútornú silu, ktorá sa môže interpretovať ako dar od vyššej moci. V skupinách FSS sa od lídra v zásade neočakáva, že bude mať takýto dar, keďže podľa koncepcie jadrového šamanizmu, ktorú FSS šíri, šamanské schopnosti má každý

1 Viacerých respondentov, vrátane troch súčasných vedúcich osobností, poznám už od r. 2004, kedy som po prvý raz prišla do styku s neošamanskými skupinami.

2 <http://www.shamanism.org/> [5. 5. 2013]

3 Otázkam legitimizácie autority v neošamanských skupinách zo všeobecného hľadiska som sa venovala v predchádzajúcej práci (Bužeková 2011).

človek – sú len viac alebo menej rozvinuté. Avšak mužskí lídri slovenských skupín FSS sa v súčasnosti reprezentujú ako osoby s výnimočnými schopnosťami, zatiaľ čo v prvej fáze vývoja neošamanských skupín sa tento „dar“ nezdôrazňoval.

Z výskumov malých náboženských skupín vyplýva, že skupiny s charismatickým vodcom majú rodovú dynamiku odlišnú od skupín bez charismatického lídra. Podľa Levi Martina a kol. (2001) v skupinách s charismatickým lídrom je charisma (špecifické esencionalizované vlastnosti) zbavená rodových charakteristík, a teda pri stratifikácii skupiny majú ženy rovnaké šance ako muži. V skupinách bez charismatického vodcu sa môžu silnejšie osobnosti javiť a prezentovať ako charismatické a zaujímať vyššie pozície; v tomto procese vďaka stereotypnému uvažovaniu majú muži väčšiu výhodu než ženy. *Dôvodom prečo sa ne-charismatický vodca začína javiť ako charismatický je, že tento typ legitímnosti implikuje najsilnejšiu lojalitu zo strany stúpenecov.*

Domnievam sa, že pri legitimizácii pozície ne-charismatického vodcu, ktorý sa postupne začína prezentovať ako charismatický, hrajú istú úlohu rodové aspekty: náboženské reprezentácie sú často rodové zafarbené. V prípade neošamanizmu je jednou zo základných ideí posvätnosť ženy, vyjadrená aj v uctievaní Matky Zeme. Okrem toho, v neošamanských skupinách byť vodcom znamená predovšetkým byť zručným liečiteľom, a to liečiteľom alternatívnym. V západnej spoločnosti sa však alternatívne, prípadne tradičné liečenie, patriace do neverejnej sféry, asociuje predovšetkým so ženami.

Preto sa od lídra dajú očakávať špecifické ženské charakteristiky zodpovedajúce konkrétnemu náboženskému kontextu. No sociálny kontext môže vyžadovať od vodcu aj vlastnosti, ktoré sa stereotypne pripisujú mužom. Cieľom tohto príspevku je teda priblížiť výsledky môjho výskumu ohľadne (1) rodovej stratifikácie neošamanských skupín; (2) súvislosti medzi reprezentáciami šamana/šamanky a rodovými stereotypmi. Táto pilotná štúdia si však nekladie za cieľ vyčerpávajúcu analýzu materiálu: mojim zámerom je uviesť predbežné výsledky, ktoré môžu slúžiť ako východisko pre ďalší výskum v tomto smere.

V prvej, prehľadovej časti príspevku sa budem venovať antropologickému skúmaniu tradičného šamanizmu a jeho súvislosti so spoločenským kontextom. Je to dôležité pre pochopenie rodových aspektov neošamanizmu, keďže ten vychádza z etnografických opisov, z ktorých sa rodové predpoklady akademických bádateľov dostali do neošamanských reprezentácií. Druhá časť príspevku je venovaná spoločenským hodnotám neošamanov, ktoré súvisia s rodovými aspektmi tohto hnutia. V súčasnej západnej spoločnosti môže byť neošamanizmus zaradený aj do širšej domény alternatívnych techník liečenia, pre ktoré je rodový aspekt nesmierne významný, a preto sa v tretej časti pokúsím dať do súvislosti neošamanské praktiky s takzvanou komplementárnou/alternatívnou medicínou. Štvrtá, záverečná časť príspevku je venovaná vývoju vybraných neošamanských skupín na Slovensku z hľadiska ich rodovej dynamiky. Pokúsím sa ukázať, že vlastnosti mestského

šamana korešpondujú s: (1) ženskými charakteristikami v rozšírenej rodovej schéme „žena-cit/intuícia verus muž-rozum/racionalita“; (2) aktívnou životnou pozíciou/nezávislosťou, asociovanou so stereotypnými mužskými vlastnosťami. Tieto súvislosti sú dôležité aj pri reprezentácii charizmy mužských vodcov, ktorí sa pôvodne neprezentovali ako charismatickí: charisma tu teda nie je rodovo neutrálna, ale skôr sa asociuje so špecifickou kombináciou vlastností, stereotypne pripisovaných ženám a mužom.

Rodové aspekty bádania tradičného šamanizmu a neošamanizmu

Neošamanizmus predstavuje pokus o obnovenie duchovných tradícií kmeňových spoločností v súčasnom urbánnom prostredí. Ako ukazujú viacerí bádatelia, toto hnutie je do veľkej miery produktom západnej vedy, konkrétne etnografického a antropologického bádania kmeňových spoločností, čo našlo vyjadrenie aj v metaforickom názve „šamantropológia“, ktorý navrhol Jan Svanberg (2003, cit. v Stuckrad 2005: 126-127).⁴ Preto pre pochopenie rodových aspektov neošamanizmu je dôležité pozrieť sa na bádanie takzvaného tradičného šamanizmu.

V rámci etnografického skúmania kmeňových spoločností sa v tomto smere pozornosť venovala predovšetkým (1) téme duchovného manželstva, (2) zmene rodu/šamanskému transvestizmu/takzvanému „tretiemu pohlaviu“, a (3) sexuálnym vzťahom s duchovnými spojencami. Všetky tri aspekty priamo súvisia s podstatou šamanizmu – koncepciou liečenia, kde hlavnú úlohu hrá kontakt so svetom duchov. V odbornej literatúre venovanej rôznym šamanským tradíciám sú zaznamenané dva základné druhy takéhoto kontaktu:

- mimotelesná skúsenosť/šamanská cesta do sveta duchov, pri ktorej šaman koná ako duchovný subjekt, zatiaľ čo jeho telo zostáva nehybné/nezúčastnené;
- posadnutie: šamanské liečenie prebieha prostredníctvom tela šamana, do ktorého sa dostáva nadprirodzený činiteľ (Atkinson 2004).

V etnografických opisoch existuje výrazná korelácia medzi konkrétnym politickým kontextom, v rámci ktorého prebieha šírenie reprezentácií tradičného šamanizmu, a rodovými aspektmi týchto reprezentácií. Ako ukazuje Jane Atkinson vo svojej prehľadovej štúdii skúmania šamanizmu, v opisoch etnografov šamani muži prevládajú v tradíciách šamanskej cesty, zatiaľ čo šamanky-ženy v tých, ktoré obsahujú koncept posadnutia. V kultúrach, kde podľa etnografov prevládajú šamanky-ženy, bol šamanizmus potláčaný politickou alebo náboženskou mocou. Na druhej strane, typickým modelom šamana v malých spoločnostiach bez cent-

⁴ Pozri napríklad Znamenski 2007, Stuckrad 2002, 2005. Genéze neošamanizmu a jeho vzťahu k etnografii sa podrobnejšie venujem vo svojej predchádzajúcej štúdii, pozri Bužeková 2011.

realizovanej mocenskej štruktúry je charizmatiký muž (Atkinson 2004: 127-128, Winkelman 1990).

Atkinson uvádza viacero príkladov takýchto etnografických štúdií. Napríklad podľa Walravena (1983, cit. v Atkinson 2004) kórejské šamanky (väčšinou ženy v domácnosti), nepodnikajú šamanské cesty a sú pri liečení posadnuté duchmi, zatiaľ čo sibírski šamani (muži v tradičnej kočovnej spoločnosti) sa na šamanských cestách stretávajú s duchmi a bojujú s nebezpečenstvami. Lewis (1981, cit. v Atkinson 2004) pripisuje tento vzorec deprivácii a marginalizácii žien. Ďalej ukazuje, že tam, kde ženy-šamanke prevládajú, je šamanské remeslo na okraji spoločnosti a často sa podriaďuje politickej moci a štátnej centralizácii. Balzer (1987, cit. v Atkinson 2004) opisuje podobný proces v spoločnosti Chantov, kde bol úpadok šamanskej prestíže vďaka procesu modernizácie v bývalom Sovietskom zväze sprevádzaný vzrastom počtu žien-šamaniek.⁵ Bourguignon tvrdí, že socializácia mužov v loveckých spoločnostiach bola zameraná na nezávislosť a spoliehanie sa na vlastné sily, čo súviselo aj s existenciou šamanského tranzu, ktorý bol predovšetkým mužskou skúsenosťou. Na druhej strane v poľnohospodárskych spoločnostiach sú ženy počas socializácie vedené k poslušnosti a podriaďovaniu sa. Posadnutie, pri ktorom vonkajšie sily nútia človeka k istému správaniu, je teda charakteristické pre ženy v poľnohospodárskych spoločnostiach, pretože skôr zodpovedá ich rodovým rolám (Bourguignon 1979: 264).

Inými slovami, etnografické opisy rôznych kultúr naznačujú, že v spoločnostiach, kde šamani patrili k uznávaným autoritám, sa šaman/ka reprezentoval/a ako *aktívny/a činiteľ/ka* (koncept šamanskej cesty) a skôr ako muž. V spoločnostiach, kde šamanská autorita bola nahradená a potláčaná autoritou štátu/cirkvi, sa šaman/ka reprezentoval/a ako *pasívna bytosť* (koncept posadnutia – aktívnym činiteľom je tu nadprirodzená bytosť) a skôr ako žena. Podľa Taussiga (1987) však musí skúmanie dialektiky šamanskej autority vo vzťahu k rodu brať do úvahy nejednoznačnosť a mnohorakosť šamanských schopností, ako aj relevantné aspekty rodových predstáv a praktík v danej spoločnosti.

V súčasnej literatúre, ktorá je zameraná na prehodenie predchádzajúcich etnografií, sa poukazuje na to, že akademické opisy šamanizmu v rôznych kultúrach mali tendenciu trivializovať alebo marginalizovať úlohu žien a zahmlievajú ich pôsobenie v rôznych tradíciách (pozri napríklad Kendall 1985; Hollimon 2001). Niektorí bádatelia pritom venovali pozornosť subjektívite etnografov v zmysle rodových presvedčení (napríklad Tedlock 2005). Tieto úvahy súviseli so spochybňovaním samotného termínu „šaman“ ako analytickej kategórie: je dôležité si uvedomiť, že pojem „šaman“ sa nepoužíva v domorodých kultúrach, ktoré majú vlastné termíny pre duchovné liečiteľstvo; reprezentácia šamana/šamanke v akademick-

5 Viacerým aspektom „feminizácie“ tradičného šamanizmu v republikách bývalého ZSSR je venovaná publikácia „Žena a renesancia šamanizmu“ (Charitonova, Pimenova, Pitserskaja 2005).

kom diskurzu sa vzťahuje skôr na duchovné liečiteľstvo v širšom zmysle slova (pozri napríklad Francfort, Hamayon a Bahn 2001; Bužeková 2010). V tejto súvislosti sa poukazovalo aj na to, že vedecké konštruovanie kategórie šaman vychádzalo zo silných rodových predpokladov. Tie sa z akademického diskurzu dostali aj do reprezentácií mestského šamanizmu, avšak v špecifickej forme, zodpovedajúcej kontextu povojnovej transformácie západnej kultúry.

Táto transformácia súvisela okrem iného aj s tým, že štrukturálne podmienky v západnej (najmä americkej) spoločnosti sa v povojnovom období zmenili. Podstatným faktorom bolo zlepšenie životnej úrovne, dôsledkom čoho bolo aj vytvorenie špecifických alternatívnych životných štýlov. Podľa Boekhoven počínajúc 50. rokmi tieto nové podmienky priniesli „posun vo vnímaní autority, nové životné aktivity, nové politické presvedčenia, nové rodinné vzťahy, sexuálnu revolúciu, nové morálne, etické a estetické štandardy, nové spoločenské siete a nové vzorce konzumu“ (Boekhoven 2011: 164). Okrem toho, v 60. rokoch 20. storočia nastal úpadok veľkých koloniálnych impérií a vzostup národných hnutí v krajinách tretieho sveta. Na politickú scénu sa dostali národy „bez dejín“, ktoré po dlhý čas zostávali v tieni západnej civilizácie. Súčasne v očiach mnohých vzdelaných ľudí sa „tradičné“ západné hodnoty pokroku, vedy a racionality začali spájať s kolonializmom a útlakom. V sociálnych a humanitných vedách viedla nedôvera voči hodnotám doby osvietenstva k zavrhnutiu akademických abstrakcií a explanačných schém, v ktorých ľudia vystupovali ako beztvárna masa. Do popredia vystúpila individuálna skúsenosť a duchovné tradície, ktoré sa predtým pokladali za iracionálne či obskúrne. Čoraz častejšie používanie výrazov „šaman“ a „šamanizmus“ bolo podľa Andreja Znamenského dôsledkom práve tohto posunu v intelektuálnom ovzduší západnej spoločnosti: v celkovej atmosfére tej doby sa šamani začali vnímať ako analógia západných psychiatrov. V Inštitúte Esalen v Kalifornii, ktorý sa stal ústredím alternatívnej americkej kultúry, sa šamanizmus dostal do zoznamu spirituálnych metód, ktoré mali príslušníkom západnej civilizácie pomôcť pri hľadaní duchovných hodnôt – spolu s jogou, terapiou drámy a rôznymi ázijskými technikami (Znamenski 2007: 168-169, xi).

V alternatívnych duchovných prúdoch tohto obdobia sa šamani interpretovali ako „zranení liečiteľia“ (*wounded healers*), ktorí vďaka svojmu utrpeniu nadobudli schopnosť uzdravovať nielen iných ľudí, ale aj celú spoločnosť. Zasluhou etnografických opisov a vyššie spomenutých predpokladov súvisiacich s príslušnosťou k určitému rodu, ktoré v nich boli prítomné, boli asociovaní nielen s kmeňovými spoločnosťami a rezistenciou voči kolonializmu, ale aj s marginalizovanými skupinami vrátane žien. Šamanizmus ako forma spirituálneho liečenia tiež dobre zapadal do ekofeminizmu, kde „sa ženy vnímajú ako prirodzené liečiteľky, ktoré sú naladené na prírodu, v protiklade k mužskej časti spoločnosti, ktorej cieľom je prírodu si podriaďovať. Zásadou ekofeminizmu je, že ženy zastávajú hodnoty zeme, a teda sú vo svojej podstate šamanke, ktoré majú viac schopností liečiť Zem ako muži.

Viac než to, pri troche predstavivosti sa dá spojiť podriadený status žien v dejinách Západu a bolesť, ktorá tým bola spôsobená, neviditeľnej polovici, s rituálnou chorobou a šamanskou iniciáciou. Z tohto uhla pohľadu sú ženy prirodzené šamanke. Ako zranené liečiteľky povstávajú, aby vyliečili svet z patriarchátu, racionalizmu a materializmu“ (Znamenski 2007: 253-254).

Vznik mestského šamanizmu v inštitucionalizovanej podobe sa spája s menom amerického antropológa Michaela Harnera, ktorý bol inšpirovaný ideami Mircea Eliadeho a pokladal šamanizmus za najstaršiu formu spirituality. Obrátil sa k etnografiám z rôznych oblastí sveta a vytvoril špecifický systém spirituálnych techník – takzvaný jadrový šamanizmus (*core shamanism*). Jeho cieľom bolo znovuobjaviť pôvodnú duchovnú tradíciu ľudstva a doniesť toto poznanie širokej verejnosti, predovšetkým na Západe. V roku 1979 sa rozhodol šíriť tieto idey na celom svete a s týmto cieľom založil neziskovú organizáciu, ktorá neskôr dostala názov Nadácia pre štúdium šamanizmu (Foundation for Shamanic Studies). Prostredníctvom vyučovania jadrového šamanizmu na kurzoch FSS mali archaické korene spirituality pomôcť duchovnému uzdraveniu súčasnej spoločnosti.

Pri vytvorení koncepcie jadrového šamanizmu bol Harner inšpirovaný predovšetkým etnografickými opismi kmeňových egalitárnych spoločností, kde – ako bolo povedané vyššie – sa šamani väčšinou reprezentovali ako aktívni činitelia. V jadrovom šamanizme sa teda liečenie odohráva prostredníctvom šamanskej cesty do sveta duchov a vďaka Harnerovej vízii obrody západnej spoločnosti má sociálny rozmer.⁶ Inými slovami, mestský šaman/ka sa reprezentuje ako aktívny činiteľ/ka a má poslanie liečiť svet.

V mestskom šamanizme, podobne ako v tradičnom šamanizme v centralizovaných spoločnostiach, ženy prevládajú, no mestskí/é šamani/ky tu vystupujú v aktívnej úlohe. Podľa môjho názoru je v súvislosti s prevahou žien potrebné vziať do úvahy aj to, že šaman/ka sa reprezentuje predovšetkým ako liečiteľ/ka – v západnej spoločnosti liečiteľ/ka alternatívny/á, v protiklade k etablovanému systému biomedicíny. Alternatívne liečenie tu patrí do „ženskej“ – neverejnej sféry, a aj preto sa šamanské remeslo asocjuje predovšetkým so ženami.

Inými slovami, rodové stereotypné predpoklady o liečení ako tradičnej činnosti ženy v neverejnej sfére sú v neošamanizme kombinované s reprezentáciou aktívnej pozície šamana/šamanke ako verejnej osoby. Pokúsim sa ukázať, že táto aktívna životná pozícia mestských šamanov korešponduje so sociálnym zložením neošamanských skupín a spoločenskými hodnotami mestských šamanov. V dôsledku špecifického chápania šamanského liečenia ako sociálne prospešnej činnosti môže byť šamanizmus prítlačivý pre ženy aj mužov z istých spoločenských vrstiev, ktoré v ňom hľadajú sebarealizáciu a aktívne zapájanie sa do sociálneho diania.

6 Ku genéze jadrového šamanizmu viď Znamenski 2007: 165-232; Bužeková 2011: 89-94. Podrobnejšie o šamanských cestách v prostredí vybraných skupín na Slovensku pozri Bužeková 2012.

Mestskí šamani a spoločnosť

V strednej a východnej Európe súvisí šírenie neošamanských ideí s pádom železnej opony, po ktorom do tohto regiónu začali prenikať nové duchovné prúdy. Na Slovensku a v Čechách sa neošamanské skupiny začali formovať v 90. rokoch minulého storočia, hlavne vďaka úsiliam pobočky FSS Europe so sídlom vo Viedni. Prvými lektorkami, ktoré po absolvovaní príslušných seminárov dostali certifikáty oprávňujúce vyučovať v rámci kurzov FSS, boli psychologička Alena a filozofka Zuzana.⁷ V roku 1999 otvorili v spolupráci s astrologičkou Centrum šamanských štúdií na Slovensku a odvtedy sa venujú seminárom a iným aktivitám súvisiacim so šamanskou činnosťou. Okrem Bratislavy, pôsobia neošamanské skupiny aj v ďalších slovenských mestách, predovšetkým v Banskej Bystrici a vo Zvolene.

Na začiatku 90. rokov 20. storočia začali prostredníctvom masmédií na Slovensko prúdiť rozmanité nadprirodzené reprezentácie, ktoré mali počas socializmu len obmedzený prienik do tunajšieho prostredia. Masmediálny „výbuch“ spirituality⁸, príznačný pre všetky postsocialistické krajiny, bol bezpochyby posilnený informačným hiátom počas predchádzajúcich dekád, záujmom o nové duchovné cesty a hladom po nových duchovných zážitkoch, ktorý bol dôsledkom uniformity slovenského kresťanského prostredia. Viacerí moji respondenti stredného veku⁸ spomínali obdobie 90. rokov ako rozhodujúce v ich duchovnom vývoji a zdôrazňovali všeobecný záujem o ezoteriku a duchovné prúdy, ktoré sa v tom čase dostali na Slovensko (Reiki, Silvova metóda, joga a i., pozri Bužeková 2011). Šamanizmus predstavoval špecifickú cestu, ktorá bola kompatibilná s inými ezoterickými koncepciami, no okrem toho mala exotickú príchuť „primitívnych“ národov a evokovala „prastarú múdrosť“ ľudstva a blízkosť k prírode. Pokiaľ ide o konkrétne tradície, v slovenských skupinách FSS prevládala tradícia severoamerických Indiánov, ktorá je dominantnou zložkou jadrového šamanizmu v rámci FSS.

Zloženie neošamanských skupín FSS je špecifické, pretože je obmedzené dôležitým faktorom: aby človek dosiahol šamanské poznanie, musí platiť. Hoci FSS je nezisková organizácia, každý seminár či kurz stojí značnú sumu peňazí. Ceny závisia od krajiny, kde prebiehajú kurzy, a tiež od úrovne príslušných seminárov. Peniaze však nie sú jediným faktorom vplyvujúcim na sociálne zloženie neošamanských skupín. Aby sa človek vôbec dostal k informáciám o šamanizme, musí mať k ním prístup (predovšetkým cez literatúru a internet) a istý stupeň vzdelania v kombinácii so záujmom o duchovný vývoj. Neošamanizmus teda primárne oslovuje špecifickú sociálnu kategóriu: vzdelaných ľudí, ktorí majú záujem o idey du-

7 Všetky mená respondentov sú pozmenené.

8 V mojej výskumnej vzorke prevládali ženy stredného veku (35-58). V tomto príspevku však ponechávam stranou vekovú stratifikáciu neošamanských skupín, keďže tento aspekt si vyžaduje osobitnú pozornosť.

chovného rastu, prístup k informáciám o nich a prostriedky pre naplnenie svojich duchovných záujmov. Snaha o spirituálny vývoj súvisí aj s istými spoločenskými hodnotami, ktoré participantí zastávajú. Sú v jadrovom šamanizme kombinované s Harnerovou víziou univerzálneho liečenia a premeny sveta.

Základnou premisou jadrového šamanizmu je, že svet je jeden celok. Všetko na svete predstavuje niečo ako pavučinu, a naše činy a myšlienky tento celok ovplyvňujú. Ľudské bytosti pritom svetovú pavučinu nevytvárajú; skôr sa podieľajú na jej fungovaní takým istým spôsobom ako akákoľvek iná forma existencie. Podľa Galiny Lindquist sa tu prejavuje „demokratická“ dimenzia neošamanizmu, ktorá by sa v tomto prípade dala vyjadriť nasledovne: všetko živé má rovnaké postavenie; človek nemá právo pokladať sa za nadriadenú bytosť; všetko, čo existuje, je živé a má dušu; ľudské bytosti pritom majú viac príležitostí k ovplyvňovaniu svetovej pavučiny, a preto majú za povinnosť chrániť a liečiť slabších. Poslaním šamana je uzdravovať prostredie, komunitu a seba, a tým podporovať existenciu sveta (Lindquist, 2004: 87).

Podobné názory som zaznamenala aj u neošamanov na Slovensku. Predovšetkým, je pre nich príznačný ekologizmus, myšlienka prepojenosti všetkého živého, návratu k prírode a liečenia Zeme prostredníctvom nastolenia rovnováhy:

Nemyslím si, že sa deje na Zemi to, čo sa deje, bez príčiny. Tá voda a tá Matka Zem nám ukazuje, že živly majú väčšiu silu, ako si predstavujeme, a že nie my sme tí páni, ale že živly nám môžu ukázať, čo oni dokážu. Ale to je len také jemné upozornenie. A myslím si, že keď v určitých oblastiach tie živly by... by som povedala, nie že vyčítajú, ale že sa správajú tak, ako sa správajú, to znamená, že tá oblasť nie je naladená na to univerzum tak, aby tí ľudia boli na sto percent oddaní. Buď tam drancujú, alebo tam robia niečo, čo nie je v súlade ani s Božími plánmi, ani v súlade s tou ekológiou. Takže si myslím, že to je také upozornenie. Určite aj tie cunami a všetky tie problémy, ktoré sa tu vyskytli za posledné roky, sú upozornením aj pre nás. Ja si myslím, že na každého to vplývalo, až ma úplne mrazí, pre mňa to bolo šokujúce, že sa takéto niečo môže naozaj udiť, ale som si uvedomila aj to, že sa to udialo v nejakej oblasti, a čo sa deje tam, ako sa tí ľudia správajú. Že nemôžu iba brať z toho mora, ale oni sa musia naučiť tej tvorbe, chovu, pestovaniu, o tom ten život je, že my začneme určitú prácu, voľakedy boli rybári, že chodili loviť tie ryby, ale čím bol svet vyspelejší, tak si vedeli zarobiť tie rybárske farmy, a je kopa tých, čo pestujú, chovajú tie ryby, a naučili sa... dokonca vypúšťajú do riek pstruhy a, ja neviem, lososy. Takže na jednej strane sú ľudia, ktorí to robia, ale na druhej strane sú ľudia, ktorí iba berú. Nedá sa iba brať. Ja mám také porekadlo, že dáš, dostaneš, nie je to opačne, že zoberieš, a potom dostaneš, to nefunguje, tak proste svet, ani vesmír, ani nič tak nefunguje. Vždy musí tá iniciatíva prísť od nás, to znamená, že my keď dáme žobrákovi, tak dostaneme. Jednoducho z nás to musí ísť, tá iniciatíva. (Kornélia)

My sme sa oddelili od prírody. To, že kúpime našim deťom plyšového medveďa, plyšového leva, sovu a všetko, to je to, že sme sa oddelili. Takže tie naše deti dostanú aspoň tých plyšákov, a aspoň idú do tej zoolologickej, aby sa priblížili k tomu svetu. Šamani v tom svete žijú, oni žijú v tej préríi, oni majú kontakt s tými svojimi zvieratami, priamy. [...] Chodím pracovať [dobrovoľne – pozn. TB] do ZOO. Ale, poviem príklad, minule som išla, nikto tam nebol, lebo pršalo, tak som si mohla dovoliť ísť k šimpanzej kletke, a on začal so mnou komunikovať, kričal na mňa, tak som kričala aj ja, tak sme si trochu pokričali, a bolo to neuveriteľné. Pochopila som, že tá jeho energia, ja naozaj neviem, čo mi chcel všetko povedať, ale tá energia, tá vo mne ostala, ja som mala zo seba neuveriteľný pocit, radosť. Zvieratá nás učia práve tej radosti, práve tomu, aby sme sa nebáli tej svojej zvieracej podstaty, asi. (Dušana)

Podľa Lindquist perspektíva prepojenia všetkého živého a vízia spoločnej práce na nastolení prirodzeného poriadku oslovuje západných šamanov aj vzhľadom na ich politické názory: egalitárne sociálne usporiadanie, občianska angažovanosť, ekologický štýl života, individualizmus a sloboda voľby, rodová rovnosť (Lindquist, 2004: 87). Okrem ekologického štýlu života, ktorý je vlastný všetkým mojim respondentom a respondentkám, viacerí/é z nich sa aktívne angažujú v spoločenskej sfére (napríklad dobrovoľnícka práca). Ich hlavným prínosom sú podľa nich špecifické vedomosti, ktoré im poskytujú praktizovanie šamanizmu, pričom práve v tom vidia svoju zodpovednosť voči spoločnosti. Zdôrazňujú sociálny rozmer ich pôsobenia ako liečiteľov:

Myslím, že šaman je liečiteľ, ale aj na tej duchovnej ceste je, jeho tam vlastne duchovia držia, dávajú mu silu a ukazujú mu veci, čiže oni ho aj vzdelávajú. Jeho základ, ja to tak vidím, je v tom liečení, v predpovedaní, v tom, aby vedel, ako to bolo niekedy, povedať kmeňu: „Áno, tak teraz budeme siať to, a tam budeme loviť, a vtedy musíme urobiť to, lebo inak bude zima a nebudeme mať čo jesť.“ [...] Takže v komunite je zaradený do bežného procesu, nikto výnimočný, ani taký, čo by mal nejaké zvláštne postavenie v tom, že by nemusel okopávať svoju záhradu a pozval na to duchov, to nie. To v žiadnom prípade. Je to taká služba spoločnosti. Komunita ako takej. Určite áno. (Róbert)

A vlastne je to aj o tom, že to robíme spoločne, že každý je tam, nikto nie je hore, nikto nie je dolu, že sme všetci rovní, že aj sedíme naproti, kruh je vlastne o tom, aj o tom zdieľaní, aj o tom, že vlastne každý dostane obraz, a my vytvoríme niečo, z čoho sa potom stane rituál, my ho aj spoločne spravíme, tú spoločnú prácu. A ona má vlastne úžitok nielen pre nás, ale aj pre našu rodinu, proste pre všetkých, pre celý svet. (Tereza)

Vo viacerých výpovediach myšlienka rovnováhy – tak prírodnej, ako i sociálnej – je prepojená s ideou práce, ktorá má zmeniť svet. Vzorom sú pritom duchovné

osobnosti rôznych tradícií, ktoré vďaka eklektickému charakteru neošamanizmu môžu byť chápané ako šamani v širšom zmysle slova. Napríklad jedna z mojich respondentiek, Milada, nedávno úspešne završila štúdium sociálnej práce (začala študovať po päťdesiatke) a je rozhodnutá venovať sa bezdomovcom. Tvrdí:

My patríme medzi tých úžasných 5 % planéty, ktorí sme milionári, máme kde bývať, máme strechu nad hlavou, máme teplo, máme vodu, máme úplne luxusný život, ale ľudia si to neuvedomujú, že sú milióny ľudí, ktorí naozaj nemajú kde bývať. Myslím si, že ľudia by mali dávať, podporovať, lebo pre tých, ktorí nemajú, je to nádej, ale nemali by to robiť z ľútosti, ale tak, aby sa v tom človeku vytvorila tá úcta, aby pochopil, že je to normálna práca. Ja veľa prispievam, kupujem Nota bene. Teraz, ako chodím na tú vysokú školu, aj tam chodím pracovať, chodím to sledovať, ja ich roky sledujem, že prečo tam ten problém vznikol, prečo sú tí ľudia na ulici. Je to celosvetový problém. Rada dávam, a veľa dávam, ja roky prispievam na určité organizácie a dávam toľko, koľko je v mojich silách, toľko, koľko mám. Ja mám okrem tarotových kariet všetky karty, aj svätcov, ktorých si nesmierne vážim, lebo si myslím, že svätci, aj sme sa to v škole učili, to boli tí, ktorí začali počas celej histórie ľudstva robiť sociálnu prácu. To je sociálna práca. To znamená, že oni ukazovali ľuďom, že je dôležité dávať, boli neskutoční, ja mám neuveriteľný vzťah od malička a vždy som úplne dojatá. Ja milujem Matku Terezu. Mne je fuk, či ona je tu, alebo je vyššou bytostou, ja ju milujem. Nesmierne si ju vážim a viem, čo tá jej práca priniesla. To znamená päť alebo šesť tisíc útlukov, pomáhať ľuďom, tým najchudobnejším, aby neklesli úplne na dno.

Mimoriadne dôležitá je pre neošamanov sloboda voľby, čo sa okrem iného prejavuje aj vo voľbe konkrétnych praktík, na ktoré sa v rámci neošamanizmu nekladú žiadne obmedzenia. V rámci jadrového šamanizmu totiž nejstávajú jediné správne výklady a jediné správne techniky: „Ak spirituálna technika funguje pre niekoho na osobnej úrovni, stáva sa prijateľnou“ (Znamenski, 2007: 251). Táto sloboda voľby sa však neobmedzuje na šamanské techniky: týka sa aj takých zásadných zmien v živote ako zmena povolania, či rozhodnutie ísť znovu študovať nový odbor. U mojich respondentov a respondentiek som zaznamenala viacero takýchto prípadov, napríklad už spomenutá Milada a ešte jedna respondentka, Elena, sa v strednom veku rozhodli pre nové štúdium; Róbert zmenil svoje profesionálne pôsobenie z práce vo firme na prácu maséra, pri ktorej aplikuje šamanizmus; Mirka zanechala prácu v banke a začala sa venovať maliarstvu. Hodnota schopnosti slobodne sa rozhodnúť o vlastnom živote a nepodliehať spoločenským tlakom korešponduje s celkovým alternatívnym zameraním mestského šamanizmu. Moji respondenti, podobne ako neošamani na Západe, zdôrazňujú pritom svoju individualistickú pozíciu, spojenú so samostatnosťou a zodpovednosťou. Inými slovami, kolektívna práca v prípade neošamanizmu nevylučuje individualitu, práve nao-

pak: typickým správaním v rámci praktizovania šamanizmu je nezávislosť a individualizmus:

Až to bolo v jednom období, že ja som bola sponzor asi dvesto ľuďom, a mala som organizáciu, a tam, ja neviem, bolo 50 ľudí, ktorí robili aktívne marketing. Ale ja som si potom uvedomila, že ja to už nechcem robiť, že ma to unavuje, a ja som vlastne aj predložila nebesiam moju požiadavku, že sa chcem stretávať s ľuďmi, ktorý každý robí sám na sebe, samostatne, a nie sme zaviazaní jeden na druhom, nevisíme jeden na druhom. A nejako potom ma to dostalo k tomu šamanizmu. Ja som pochopila, že ľudia, ktorí pričuchnú k šamanizmu, alebo ho začnú robiť, svojím spôsobom sú veľmi samostatní, nie sú závislí na druhých, sú schopní samostatne pracovať, to je jedno na akej úrovni, ale nie sú takí tí, že sa zavesia na teba, a denne ti stokrát telefonujú, ako majú toto urobiť, že potrebujú guru a potrebujú to alebo ono. To sú ľudia, ktorí sú takí samostatní. A to mi vyhovuje. Ja si potrebujem s nimi pohovoriť, oni potrebujú so mnou, ale stretne sa len vtedy, keď chceme, že sa do toho nenútime, ani nelipneme na sebe. (Nina)

Samostatnosť sa zdôrazňovala aj vo vzťahu k ekonomickej sfére, či už na individuálnej, alebo na spoločenskej úrovni. Viacerí moji respondenti podnikajú (a využívajú šamanské techniky pri voľbe stratégií v podnikateľskej sfére, viď nižšie). Na druhej strane, svetová ekonomická kríza bola počas seminárov častou témou. Boli jej venované jednotlivé stretnutia, pričom táto zložitá situácia bola interpretovaná ako „choroba“ – porušenie rovnováhy v spoločnosti – ktorú je potrebné liečiť spoločnými silami. Situácia na Slovensku sa v tomto zmysle niekedy interpretovala ako výsledok nedostatočného úsilia, pasívneho postoja Slovákov ako národa – v protiklade k tomu, čo je v danej chvíli potrebné a s čím korešponduje aktívny postoj šamanov:

A ináč Slováci tú črtu majú hlboko zakorenenú, lebo oni stále fňukajú, stále plačú, stále sa ľutujú, je to vo všetkých pesničkách, je to v celej tradícii, 1500 rokov alebo koľko, všetci fňukali, všetci plakali, všetci boli nahnevaní na toho pána, všetci chceli byť zbojníci, aby radšej zobrali... Všetci ťažko pracovali, to je pravda, o tom vôbec nemusíme polemizovať. Ale teda zdvihnúť sa, začať okolo toho makať, to je už horšie. A tá drvivá väčšina, ktorých nás tu je, to naozaj nemáme zvládnuté. Takže veľmajster šaman už má zvládnuté tie základné veci. A peniaze sú základ, bez peňazí môžeme, ale to už potom budeme pútnici, chudobní. To už môžeme ísť rovno do Santiaga de Compostela na púť alebo čo, bez peňazí... alebo skúsiť si to ináč, s peniazmi. (Mirka)

Ekonomickej situácii bolo do istej miery venované aj budovanie takzvaného medicínskeho kruhu, ktorého som sa zúčastnila v lete 2010. Téma pôvodnej slovenskej tradície a slovanských bohov bola počas tohto stretnutia významná: hoci

seminár mal pomôcť jednotlivým účastníkom v riešení ich osobných problémov a priniesť im nové poznatky v oblasti šamanských techník, jedným z výsledkov práce šamanského kruhu malo byť uzdravenie Slovenska, najmä oblasti, kde účastníci seminára postavili medicínsky kruh s posvätným stromom (pozri Bužeková 2011). Róbert, jeden zo súčasných lídrov v prostredí FSS, prejavuje výrazný záujem o rekonštrukciu a revitalizáciu starej slovanskej tradície: slovanskí bohovia majú podľa neho prispieť k celkovému uzdraveniu Slovenska, a staré slovanské liečiteľské techniky by mali byť preskúmané, aby sa používali v súčasnosti (pozri Bužeková 2011).

Pokiaľ ide o náboženstvo, neošamanizmus, podobne ako iné hnutia New Age, kritizuje monoteistické náboženstvá, najmä kresťanstvo, kvôli viacerým spoločenským problémom (v neposlednom rade kvôli popieranu sexualitu, podceňovaniu úlohy žien a posilňovaniu heterosexuálneho patriarchy). Ani kresťanstvo nie je voči neošamanizmu priateľské; a keďže je v slovenskom prostredí dominantným náboženským systémom, pozície mestských šamanov, ktorí chcú aktívne pôsobiť v spoločnosti, sú vratké. Okrem toho, že sa môžu vnímať ako čudáci, zaoberajúci sa bizarnými záležitosťami, prípadne „blázni“ (podobne ako aj ďalší „ezoterici“), ich spoločenskú reputáciu zhoršujú ostré útoky kresťanských autorov v médiách (vrátane internetu), ktoré im pripisujú paktovanie s démonmi, vzývanie temných síl a duší zomrelých, uctievanie Satana atď.⁹ Viacerí rodinní príslušníci mojich respondentov teda nie sú pozitívne naladení voči šamanským praktikám, čo vedie buď k utajovaniu praktizovania zo strany šamanov, alebo ku konfliktom v rodine. Počas môjho výskumu som bola neraz svedkyňou aj nepriateľského správania voči konkrétnej šamanskej skupine. Ako príklad uvediem víkendový seminár, počas ktorého sme bývali v chatovom areáli, kde našimi susedmi boli školáci na výlete. Pozvaná lektorka (Indiánka) sa stala terčom ich verbálnych útokov; no hoci učitelia zasiahli, ani oni neboli voči skupine priateľskí. Ďalej, spomenutý medicínsky kruh, ktorý šamani stavajú v okolí Belušínskych Slatín, je po ich odchode vždy zničený, takže celá práca sa každý rok musí začať odznova.

Preto viacerí moji respondenti sú skôr opatrní pri zverejňovaní svojej príslušnosti k šamanským skupinám, čo nie je problematické, ak človek praktizuje v úzkom kruhu priateľov. Zložitejšie je to však pre takých šamanov, ako je Róbert – teda takých, ktorí robia poradenstvo a ktorých cieľom je rozšíriť okruh svojich klientov. Okrem osobných kontaktov vyhľadávajú potenciálnych klientov cez internet, teda zvyčajne majú vlastné stránky, podobne ako mestskí šamani z iných západných krajín. Typickou stratégiou pri legitimizácii šamanských liečiteľských techník je odvolávanie sa na tradíciu (pozri Bužeková 2011). Róbert hovorí:

9 Vzťah neošamanizmu a kresťanstva je samostatnou témou, ktorej v tejto štúdii nevenujem zvláštnu pozornosť.

Párkrát sa mi stalo, že ľudia vyhľadali pomoc cez to, že som na internete, že si tam môžu prezrieť tieto veci. Ale myslím, že táto forma moc nefunguje, lebo mnohí, ktorí nepoznajú reálny význam toho slovíčka „šamanizmus“, si to častokrát pletú s niečím iným a sú dosť nedôverčiví. Preto ja sám, keď o tom rozprávam, poviem, že to sú staré liečiteľské techniky. Ja to proste viem a oni nech si majú o tom akýkoľvek názor, ja im potom vysvetlím, že pracujeme s tým, pracujeme s tým, teraz chvíľu zabubnujem, urobíme to, privoláme duchov, prosím, neľakajte sa, to nie sú duchovia zomrelých, to sú duchovia súcinní, naši pomocníci. Úplne od začiatku im to vysvetlím, aby nemali pocit, že sú v nejakom ohrození.... Takže potom sú spokojní. Niektorí sa ku mne vracajú, niekoľkokrát konzultujeme nejaké sny, konzultujeme nejaké záležitosti ohľadom budúcnosti alebo vzťahov. Niektorí prídu, skúsia, zase odídu, veci nedokážu. To je asi ako všade.

Dá sa povedať, že pozícia mestských šamanov je v slovenskej spoločnosti marginálna. No hoci sú často vnímaní negatívne, ich vlastný postoj je aj napriek opatrnosti voči zverejneniu ich identity skôr orientovaný smerom k aktívnemu pôsobeniu. V súlade s cieľmi FSS byť šamanom je totiž poslanie – znamená to napomáhať celkovej zmene spoločnosti, ktorá má viesť k vytvoreniu zdravšieho, krajšieho a šťastnejšieho nového sveta. Je potrebné zdôrazniť, že väčšina mojich respondentov používa šamanské praktiky skôr pre riešenie vlastných, predovšetkým zdravotných, problémov. No nijako to neprotirečí celkovej vízii spoločenskej zmeny, práve naopak: liečenie na osobnej úrovni sa v mestskom šamanizme chápe ako súčasť liečenia spoločnosti.

Neošamanizmus a CAM

Vo všeobecnosti v hnutí New Age duchovná transformácia súvisí tak s praktizovaním magických techník, ako aj s použitím alternatívnej medicíny, ktorá nemusí byť nutne spojená s mágiou. V oboch prípadoch liečenie – či už je to liečenie tela, alebo duše – prebieha v rámci holistickej perspektívy. Neošamanizmus je však v tomto smere špecifický: liečenie je *hlavným cieľom* mestských šamanov. Holistická alternatívna medicína tu teda zaujíma oveľa dôležitejšie miesto než v iných prúdoch New Age. V kontexte neošamanizmu sa interpretácia telesných chorôb ako fyziologických porúch – teda interpretácia, zodpovedajúca modelu biomedicíny – totiž nepopiera, ale rozširuje: fyziologické poruchy sa chápu ako dôsledok porušenia duchovnej rovnováhy, pričom špecifickým fyziologickým symptómom môžu zodpovedať určité neošamanské koncepty – strata duše, ignorovanie vnútorného dieťaťa atď.¹⁰ V širšom zmysle neošamanské praktiky liečenia teda patria

10 Primárnu úlohu pri takejto extrapolácii hrá psychológia, najmä jej psychoanalytický smer. Podrobnejšie o vplyve psychoanalýzy na formovanie koncepcie jadrového šamanizmu pozri Znamenski 2007: 79-120.

k takzvanej komplementárnej a alternatívnej medicíne (*Complementary and Alternative Medicine*, ďalej CAM).

V Európe, Severnej Amerike a Austrálii má použitie terapií CAM pomerne dlhú tradíciu, pričom ženy v tejto oblasti prevládajú (Harris a Rees 2000). Popularita CAM súvisí s mnohými faktormi vrátane postmoderných hodnôt a transformácií osobných svetonázorov, prípadne sklamaní sa v biomedicíne a vo vzťahoch medzi lekármi a pacientmi (Astin 2000; Furnham a Vincent 2000; Kelner 2000). Otázkam CAM sa venovali aj feministické autorky a autori. Nissen (2011) sa napríklad zaoberala otázkou, prečo ženy pri používaní techník CAM prevládajú, a skúmala súvislosť medzi použitím CAM, osobnou transformáciou a sociálnymi zmenami. Podľa nej praktizovanie CAM podporuje snahu žien o rovnosť; jednotlivé prístupy sú pritom ovplyvnené osobnými skúsenosťami a hodnotami. Pre ženy predstavuje CAM príležitosť naplniť, ale aj konfrontovať tradičné rodové roly a dominantné diskurzy femininity. CAM prispieva k sociálnej zmene, pretože mení sociálne praktiky biomedicíny a vytvára nové epistemologické paradigmy a alternatívne komunity. Pritom sú dôležité otázky mocenských vzťahov, kontroly a zodpovednosti, pre ktoré je charakteristické napätie, podobné tenziám v biomedicínskych praktikách. Ženy praktizujúce CAM využívajú isté ideologické postupy, aby legitimizovali konkrétne druhy alternatívneho liečenia, a pritom menia svoje identity a životné štýly. CAM teda môže byť charakterizovaná ako „progressívny individualizmus“, ktorý rezonuje s feminizmom.

Osobná transformácia v súvislosti s praktizovaním šamanizmu je častým motívom vo výpovediach mojich respondentiek. Napríklad, ako som spomínala vyššie, dve z nich podnikli odvážny krok – začali študovať v strednom veku. Ďalšie začali podnikáť a tešia sa úspechu, ktorý pripisujú práve použitiu šamanských techník. Ženy stredného veku pritom zdôrazňujú, že v ich mladosti za socializmu by to nebolo možné a spájajú svoju osobnú transformáciu so spoločenskými zmenami – nielen so zmenou politického režimu, ale aj s väčšou náboženskou slobodou a tolerantnejšou atmosférou (podotýkam, že moje respondentky žijú v Bratislave a jej okolí, teda v mestskom prostredí). Viaceré z nich pritom vnímajú svoju transformáciu aj v súvislosti s emancipáciou na osobnej úrovni, konkrétne s rozvodom – či už rozvod viedol k osamostatneniu sa a zmenám správania, alebo, naopak, zmena správania viedla k rozvodu, keďže manžel ju nebol ochotný tolerovať. Napríklad Lýdia bola vydatá za známu osobnosť a žila v podstate v tieni svojho manžela. Hoci vždy inklinovala k spirituálnemu vývoju, od istého momentu začala aktívne pracovať na zmene svojho života, čo napokon viedlo k rozvodu – manžel zmenu jej správania neakceptoval.

Osobná transformácia sa môže týkať aj zmeny životného štýlu, predovšetkým smerom k zdravšej strave a praktizovaniu východných umení, či už jogy a tai-či, alebo aj bojových umení. Vďaka eklektickej povahe mestského šamanizmu a eko-

logickej perspektíve viaceré moje respondentky tieto praktiky spájajú so šamanskými konceptmi:

Šamanizmus mne pomohol spojiť sa so zemskými energiami a uzdraviť sa. Ja keď som si robila všetky cesty a všetko, tak vlastne tým, že ja som vzduch, ja tú zem potrebujem bytostne, a tým, že som zistila, že 99,9 % ľudí nie je uzemnených, ani nevedia, čo to je, ja som dva a pol roka cvičila tai-či a či-kung, kde som sa trochu zaoberala aj I-t'ingom, a tam mi stále vychádzalo uzemniť sa, a tie východné národy stále o tom hovoria, že uzemniť sa, uzemniť sa, uzemniť sa a uvoľniť sa. To znamená, keď sa uvoľním, nemám blok, a keď sa uzemním, tak vidím tú realitu, aká je, to znamená, že nemusím vidieť len to pozitívne. To je len o tom, že ja to prosto nezamietnem a nebudem tomu odporovať a nebudem to chcieť nevidieť. Takže moje oči to nevideli a teraz je to lepšie. (Soňa) [Soňa má vážne zdravotné problémy s očami – pozn. TB]

Niekoľko mojich respondentiek nielenže zmenilo životný štýl na osobnej úrovni, ale aj podniká v korešpondujúcich sférach: napríklad, Liza vedie kurzy power jogy; Milada vedie kurzy spirituálneho maľovania na hodvábe a predáva hodvábné šatky, ktoré sama vyrobila; Eva si otvorila čajovňu a mieša čaje a bylinky podľa tradičných techník.¹¹ Simona vytvorila internetový kurz zameraný na výživu a diéty, pričom svoj postoj k diétam dáva do protikladu k biomedicíne, a tak ponúka alternatívu alebo doplnok k existujúcemu modelu:

Chcem otvoriť kurzy na chudnutie, na zmenu stravy, výživy. Budem robiť aj iné, všelijaké také motivačné kurzy. Budem viesť ten kurz na internete, že sa ľudia budú môcť prihlásiť, bude to trvať niekoľko týždňov a ja vlastne zúčroím tam všetky moje skúsenosti so stravou a s jedlom. Ja som bola pred pár rokmi na jednej prednáške jedného slovenského doktora, ktorý robí výživu, a bola som šokovaná z toho, ako brojl proti tým diétam. A ja som zistila, že ja som snád' vyskúšala všetky diéty, ktoré ku mne prišli. A tie diéty ma vlastne naučili hľadať, pozorovať seba samú, až do toho najmenšieho detailu, či mám kožu s pupákmi alebo nie, či mám vyrážky, aké mám vylučovanie. A to je to šamanské hľadanie v samej sebe, začalo to tou stravou. Pre mňa tie diéty, a myslím si, že pre každú ženu, sú požehnaním, lebo ona sa začne zaoberať svojím vnútrom, nie vonkajškom. Takže ja mám k diétam maximálne pozitívny vzťah. Ja som vyskúšala naozaj asi všetky, lebo ja som chcela vedieť, ako to funguje, a či to vôbec funguje, vrátane trinásťdňovej hladovky, ktorú som držala s mojou kamarátkou, ktorá mala nádor na maternici. Nechcela ísť na operáciu, tak si povedala, že ide na hladovku so šťavami. A ona mala mať dvadsaťjedenáždňovku

11 Téma ezoterických čajovní je veľmi komplexná a v danom kontexte odkazuje na viacero zaujímavých a relevantných pod-tém – napríklad, otázky konkurencie a tenzií, podobných tenzií v biomedicíne. Avšak na tomto mieste jej kvôli nedostatku priestoru nebudem venovať zvláštnu pozornosť.

a ja som si povedala, že zo solidarity idem vyskúšať aj ja tú istú receptúru, tak som vydržala trinásť dní. Na piaty deň som myslela, že umriem, ale potom sa to prehodilo, a trinásť dní som v podstate zvládla. Bola to neuveriteľná očista. Tak som sa aj začala zaujímať, čo to očista je, prečo je hladovka vôbec dôležitá, a prečo je dôležité čistenie. A tá kamarátka nešla na tú operáciu, nádor sa jej proste vstrebal. Nezmizol, vstrebal sa.

Sointu a Woodhead (2008) spájajú rastúcu popularitu CAM, najmä u žien, s trendmi v modernej spoločnosti, ktoré vedú k holistickej konceptualizácii osoby: spirituálne holistické postupy pri liečení majú za cieľ dosiahnutie úplnosti a zdravia tela, duše a mysle. Podľa autoriek holistické spirituality ponúkajú ženám, ale aj niektorým mužom, spôsoby negociácie súčasných dilem chápania osoby vrátane kontradikcie „žiť pre iných“ a „žiť pre seba“ (Sointu a Woodhead 2008: 268). Neošamanizmus rezonuje s takouto holistickou perspektívou a prepojením individuálnej a spoločenskej roviny. Je však potrebné zdôrazniť, že väčšina mojich informátoriek začala praktizovať šamanizmus kvôli osobným problémom, hlavne chorobám, či už svojim, ale chorobám blízkych ľudí. Počiatkový postoj pri hodnotení tohto nového prúdu mohol byť skeptický či opatrný, no postupne ho ženy začali vnímať ako užitočný doplnok k biomedicíne. Neskôr pôvodnú motiváciu – teda zdravie tela – nahradil záujem o duchovný rozmer a holistické vnímanie vlastnej osoby; šamanizmus okrem toho inšpiruje ženy v hľadaní nových techník uzdravenia a nových možností sebarealizácie. Ako ilustráciu uvádzam príbeh Eleny:

Ja som chodila vlastne na brušné tance a taká D., neviem, či ju poznáš, ona má v Ružinove také centrum. K nej som chodila na brušné tance a ona robila také „babince“, prednášky. Nevie, mne to bolo vždy také nesympatické, že „babinec“, ale raz bolo, že šamanizmus. Tak som si povedala, že to je také uletené, že to musím vyskúšať. Tak som išla na [Alenu] prednášku, vieš, [Alena] je taká presvedčivá. [Alena] tam mala prednášku, vtedy ešte, tuším, nemala ani žiaden seminár, to bolo ešte pred tými seminármi a ja som si [Alenu] overovala nás v robote cez A., oni spolu chodili na ten rogeriánsky výcvik [...]. Lebo som sa bála: bubnovanie – šialenstvo. Okrem toho aj hovorila, že to spúšťa všelijaké choroby, keď to niekto má v sebe. No a potom som ochorela a [Alena] mi vtedy hodne pomohla. A išla som na seminár, a to bol vlastne druhý seminár. To bol ten základný, a potom som už vlastne chodila na všetky. Ona mi robila liečby, ja neviem koľkokrát, veľakrát. Trebárs dvakrát som bola na operácii a ona ma vždy tak na tú operáciu pripravila, lebo ja som to ťažko psychicky znášala. Napríklad druhýkrát, keď som išla... Ona mi vtedy povedala, celá bola taká zmätená, že niečo veľmi nepríjemné ma tam bude čakať, ale nie z hľadiska choroby, ale z hľadiska buď nejakého prístupu... A fakt to bolo tak, že ten doktor, jeho žena zomrela na takú istú chorobu, ako som mala ja, on to neustriehol, takže ten

doktor sa choval veľmi prehnane a niekedy... No vieš, chirurgovia nie sú psychológovia, čiže oni prídu k tebe, a povedia ti, že za týždeň zomrieš. A presne toto bolo, teda nie takto, ale strašne ma vystrašil, neopodstatnene. No a potom [Alena] so mnou robila, celé som to tak ľahšie prekonala. Potom som chodila na tie semináre a robila som to sama. [...] Teraz ja chodím k jednej babe, ktorá žila dvadsať rokov na Havaji a učila sa tam. A učí to od základov, že toto je toto, lebo je to takto, a v podstate sú to ako keby šamanské cesty, len sa nebubnuje. Je to taká meditácia, alebo ja neviem, ako sa to volá, oni ako to volajú, ja neviem, ale mne to príde ako šamanská cesta bez bubnov. A tak mi to aj funguje. A je to podľa mňa úžasné.

Vo väčšine prípadov sa moje respondentky nevnímajú ako profesionálne liečiteľky. Šamanské techniky vnímajú skôr komplementárne k iným spôsobom individuálneho liečenia tela. Používajú ich predovšetkým na riešenie problémov, ktoré sa síce v šamanizme vnímajú ako choroby (porušenie rovnováhy), ale z hľadiska biomedicíny chorobami nie sú.

Bubnujem sama, ale napríklad keď potrebujem pre seba niečo. Nerobím s klientmi, lebo si nemyslím, že je moja cesta robiť pre klientov. Jedine, keď niekto chcel zo skupiny od nás, že prišiel ku mne domov, alebo kamarátka, alebo tak. Ale nemala by som odvahu pustiť sa do úplne cudzieho človeka, lebo... neviem, ja to beriem príliš vážne. Ja si naozaj myslím, že niektorí ľudia majú fakt taký problém, ktorý by som nemusela so svojimi skúsenosťami ešte zvládnuť. Šamanizmus používam skôr na také, keď si chcem pomôcť inak, keď neviem, ako sa mám rozhodnúť, alebo keď mám niekomu pomôcť. Napríklad keď bol syn na prijímačkách, tak som mu hodne pomáhala. Vždy sa tak spýtam, čo by bolo pre mňa asi najlepšie, ale choroby nechávam na akupunkturistku. No ale akupunktúru neberiem ako nič alternatívne, to beriem ako normálnu medicínu, len nie západnú. Myslím si, že je dôležité, aby si každý v tom živote našiel to, čo mu vyhovuje, či už je to šamanizmus, Silvova metóda alebo internista. Zo zúfalstva volám aj svätcov, keď sedím u lekára, tak aj toho archanjela Rafaela, a myslím si, že naozaj to tak je, len ja ti to hovorím, že to preto nepoužívam, lebo o tom nič neviem. Závisí od toho, aká je to situácia, to naozaj neviem. Niekedy sa stane, lebo vieš, ja robím takú robotu, to účtovníctvo, keď niečo pokašlem, tak to má aj dôsledky, tam žiadna iná sila za tým nie je. Ale niekedy si naozaj pomáhám, aby veci lepšie dopadli. (Linda)

Dá sa konštatovať, že liečenie *tela* šamanskými praktikami figuruje v príbehoch mojich respondentiek ani nie tak vo vzťahu k nim samotným, ale skôr vo vzťahu k lidom šamanských skupín. Tí sa však v kontexte FSS oficiálne interpretujú ako *učitelia*, nie *liečitelia*. Napriek tejto oficiálnej interpretácii vedúci skupín v skutočnosti požívajú autoritu skúsených liečiteľov a pracujú s klientmi nielen pri riešení problémov, ale aj pri liečení tela.

Rodová stratifikácia neošamanských skupín na Slovensku a rodové stereotypy

Šamanom sa podľa koncepcie jadrového šamanizmu môže stať ktokoľvek: aby sa človek stal šamanom, potrebuje sa naučiť určité techniky poznania/liečenia, ktoré sprostredkovávajú kurzy FSS. Koncept jadrového šamanizmu pritom poskytuje základ, na ktorom moderní šamani vytvárajú individuálne praktiky a využívajú akékoľvek kultúrne tradície, ktoré rezonujú s ich vnútornými presvedčeniami. Pozícia lídra (autorizovaného lektora) v interpretácii FSS znamená len to, že daná osoba sa v dostatočnej miere tieto techniky naučila – ovláda „šamanské remeslo“ – a má na to certifikát. Autorita lídra je primárne podporovaná formálnym vzdelaním v jadrovom šamanizme s príslušným osvedčením spôsobilosti (Bužeková 2011; 2012).

Donedávna dvoma autorizovanými lektorkami na Slovensku boli ženy – Alena a Zuzana. Avšak v Banskej Bystrici a jej okolí pôsobili dvaja lektori (Ján a Karol), ktorí organizovali vyučovacie semináre podľa vzoru FSS, hoci nemali certifikát FSS. V ostatných rokoch prebiehal vývoj neošamanských skupín predovšetkým cestou formovania individuálnych kruhov, ktoré podľa mojich vedomostí pozostávali prevažne zo žien. Zároveň v rámci kurzov FSS prebiehala príprava ďalších autorizovaných lektorov. V dôsledku toho vedie v súčasnosti jednu z bubnovacích skupín v Bratislave autorizovaný lektor Róbert, ktorý obdržal certifikát v minulom roku. Pôvodne bol členom bubnovacej skupiny Aleny, ale teraz je jeho skupina samostatná; je potrebné poznamenať, že pozostáva prevažne zo žien. V procese vývoja neošamanských skupín FSS na Slovensku teda väčšinu vedúcich pozícií postupne zaujali muži, ktorí sa nateraz prezentujú ako charizmatičtí liečitelia.

Ako som ukázala inde (Bužeková 2011), na rozdiel od skupiny charizmatického duchovného liečiteľa, pozícia autorizovaného lektora/lektorky FSS nie je spojená s jej esencIALIZÁCIOU, teda s vnímaním lektora ako príslušníka zvláštného druhu so špecifickými schopnosťami. Koncept jadrového šamanizmu nepredpokladá špecifický dar, ktorý sa prisudzuje šamanom v tradičných kultúrach. No hoci sa od mestských šamanov neočakávajú zvláštne schopnosti a hoci samotná pozícia lektora FSS nie je esencIALIZOVANÁ, vo viacerých prípadoch osoba, ktorá túto pozíciu zastáva, sa javí ako charizmatická: všetci traja muži-lídri (Ján, Karol a Róbert) sa v súčasnosti prezentujú ako osoby, ktoré majú dar alebo silu.

Počas výskumu som prichádzala do kontaktu predovšetkým s Róbertom, ktorého som poznala od r. 2004. Keď sme sa zoznámili, bol jedným z účastníkov Aleninych seminárov; spoiatku som nezaznamenávala nijaké výroky o jeho osobitnom dare, ani sa podľa mojich vedomostí nesnažil o založenie vlastnej skupiny. Táto snaha prišla oveľa neskôr a vyvrcholila odštiepením od Aleninej skupiny v minulom roku. V súčasnosti má Róbert ako vedúci novej skupiny „legalizovanú“ pozíciu autorizovaného lektora, ale súčasne sa reprezentuje ako osoba s darom. V tejto súvislosti si môžeme položiť otázku: prečo „zručný“ šaman s certifikátom spôsobilosti zdôrazňuje „dar“, ktorý nepatrí k „povinnému vybaveniu“ vodcu skupiny v tomto prostredí?

Podľa Carol MacCormack legitímnosť alebo oprávnenosť systémov liečenia je určená ich zmysluplnosťou vo vzťahu k širším doménam významov a k dominantným štruktúram poznania a moci. Táto legitímnosť môže byť spochybňovaná najmä vtedy, keď v danej spoločnosti koexistujú viaceré systémy liečenia a viaceré medicínske inštitúcie, ktoré súperia o klientov a príjmy a využívajú média pre svoju propagáciu (MacCormack 1986). Ako poznamenáva Galina Lindquist, „v tejto situácii sa diskurzívne a performatívne stratégie legitimizácie stávajú súčasťou presvedčivosti tak individuálneho liečiteľa, ako aj ideológie v pozadí istej terapie“ (Lindquist 2001a: 16). Zdôrazňovanie osobného daru, ktorý poskytuje liečiteľovi mimoriadne schopnosti, patrí k takýmto stratégiám, čo som ukázala inde (Bužeková 2011). Ako som naznačila vyššie, v istom zmysle neošamanizmus kopíruje systém západného vzdelávania, kde certifikát autorizovaného lektora zodpovedá diplomu špecialistu v určitom odbore. No ako geniálny lekár nie je geniálnym preto, že má diplom, ale preto, že má špecifické vlastnosti, ktoré podporujú jeho zručnosti v lekárskom remesle, tak aj výnimočne dobrý šaman môže mať nadanie, ktoré zlepšuje jeho zručnosti v remesle šamanskom. Sám o sebe dar nemá konkrétne charakteristiky – je to akási neurčitá esencia; avšak zvýrazňuje isté schopnosti liečiteľa a poskytuje mu autoritu kvalitatívne iného druhu v porovnaní s diplomom.

Ak teda predpokladáme, že reprezentovanie charizmatických vlastností je spôsobom legitimizácie autority, aké špecifické charakteristiky posilňujúce autoritu a mocenskú pozíciu podporuje šamanova charizma? Podľa môjho názoru sa pri odpovedi na túto otázku musíme obrátiť ku konkrétnym náboženským reprezentáciám, súvisiacim s rodovými rozdielmi:

- posvätnosť ženy ako matky;
- reprezentácia šamanského poznania ako ne-racionálneho/intuitívneho.

Ženskosť z perspektívy neošamanizmu je posvätná a mnohé nadprirodzené entity sú feminizované. Dôležitým pojmom v mnohých praktikách je Bohyňa – univerzálne ženské božstvo, ktoré sa môže manifestovať v rôznych kultúrach rôznym spôsobom. V šamanských víziách nadobúda konkrétnu podobu, ktorá zodpovedá imaginácii participantov. Táto posvätnosť ženskosti môže výrazne zvyšovať sebavedomie účastníčok šamanských rituálov a podporovať pocit ich aktívnej participácie na chode spoločnosti. Súvisí predovšetkým s reprezentáciou ženy ako matky – nie nutne v zmysle biologickej reprodukcie, ale v zmysle všeobecného symbolického princípu. Vyjadrením toho je jedna z ústredných bytostí neošamanizmu – Matka Zem, ktorá je matkou všetkého živého, vrátane ľudí. Ako je Matka Zem láskavá voči svojim deťom, tak aj jej „staršie deti“ – ľudia – sa majú správať materským spôsobom voči všetkému živému. Také vlastnosti ako láskavosť, starostlivosť a pochopenie považujú šamani – ženy aj muži – za dôležité v každodennom živote; na druhej strane hrajú úlohu aj pri rituálnom liečení, či už svojich vlastných

problémov a chorôb, alebo problémov a chorôb iných ľudí; alebo aj Matky Zeme – najdôležitejšieho objektu šamanského liečenia.

Napriek takejto „femininnej“ ideológii neošamanizmu nie je toto hnutie vymedzené pre ženy, práve naopak, skôr sa zdôrazňuje harmónia a jednota ženského a mužského princípu – v súlade s Jungovou psychoanalýzou. Neošamanizmus je príznačlivý aj pre mužov, ktorí sa nachádzajú v istých životných situáciách. Prvotná motivácia zapojiť sa do praktizovania, ako som ukázala inde, súvisí vo väčšine prípadov s chorobami a problémami a/alebo hľadaním duchovnej cesty (Bužeková 2011; 2012). Prevalha žien môže súvisieť s tým, že v alternatívnej sfére ženy vidia pre seba viac možností seberealizácie.

Jedným z vyjadrení symbolickej ženskej „prevahy“ v kontexte FSS v Bratislave je existencia samostatnej ženskej skupiny, v ktorej prebiehal môj výskum (samo- statná mužská skupina neexistuje). Jej charakteristickou črtou je zameranie predovšetkým na „femininné“ aspekty liečenia ľudí a spoločnosti. Pre túto skupinu je príznačný koncept „sesterstva“, teda kolektívnej skúsenosti žien. Niekedy bol vyjadrovaný explicitne (napríklad v úvodných prejavoch hlavnej lektorky), no zvyčajne bol prítomný implicitne – v interpretáciách zážitkov a taktiek v rituáloch, počas ktorých boli posilňované emocionálne väzby medzi účastníkmi. Na konci každého stretnutia sa totiž konal rituál, ktorého cieľom bolo pomôcť jednej z prítomných žien. Nemal predpísanú formu: „plán“ rituálu sa vytváral *ad hoc* bezprostredne pred jeho vykonaním, podľa konkrétnej situácie a konkrétneho problému. Jedným z mojich najsilnejších zážitkov „sesterstva“ počas výskumu bol rituál, ktorého cieľom bolo vyriešiť citové a rodinné problémy dvadsaťpäťročnej Katky. Na konci sa všetky prítomné ženy spojili v objatí okolo nej; emócie boli natoľko silné, že ani jedna z nás nemohla zdržať slzy. Napokon, nik to od nás ani nevyžadoval, práve naopak – vyjadrenie pocitov k liečeniu patrí a emócie ako také sú dôležitou súčasťou života. Platilo to, pravdaže, aj o mužoch: ako bolo neraz zdôrazňované počas seáns v iných, rodovo zmiešaných skupinách, slzy u mužov sa pokladali za prejav oslobodenia a sily osobnosti.

Žena sa vo svojej esencionalizovanej podstate v mestskom šamanizme reprezentuje ako skôr vnímavá, chápacá, empatická, intuitívna než racionálna bytosť – súbor vlastností, ktoré tvoria základný a nevyhnutný predpoklad k tomu, aby osoba mohla dosiahnuť špecifické šamanské poznanie. Muži v rámci neošamanizmu majú v sebe rozvíjať práve tieto stereotypné ženské vlastnosti – na rozdiel od každodenného diskurzu, kde sa od nich vyžaduje skôr racionalita a pribojnosť, zatiaľ čo intuitívne ne-racionálne konanie a citlivosť sa považujú za prejav slabosti. Inými slovami, neošamanizmus obracia naruby *hodnoty* istých stereotypných rodových charakteristík: podobne ako v romantizme, aj v neošamanizme s jeho romantickými koreňmi má ne-racionálne uvažovanie, pocity a blízkosť k prírode väčšiu váhu než logické, abstraktné, racionálne, „suché“ poznanie, odmietajúce emócie, ktoré je príznačné pre modernú západnú civilizáciu. Cit-

livosť a intuícia sú z tohto hľadiska silou, nie slabosťou, pretože vedú k špecifickému poznaniu.

Reprezentácia mestského šamana teda zahrňuje aj stereotypné ženské, aj stereotypné mužské charakteristiky v špecifickej kombinácii. Tab. 1 prezentuje predbežné výsledky induktívnej obsahovej analýzy výrokov mojich respondentov vzťahujúcich sa na charakteristiky „dobrého“/„zručného“ šamana. Rozdelila som ich do dvoch kategórií zodpovedajúcich dvom stránkam mestského šamana: šamanský spôsob poznania a aktívna životná pozícia. Ako vidíme, prevládajú charakteristiky prvej kategórie, ktorá zodpovedá ženským vlastnostiam vo všeobecnej schéme „žena-cit verzus muž-rozum“; avšak „mužské“ vlastnosti zodpovedajúce aktívnej životnej pozícii v spoločnosti sú nemenej dôležité.¹²

Tab. 1

Vlastnosti dôležité pre poznanie	Aktívna životná pozícia
„vedenie srdcom“, nie rozumom	sila osobnosti
intuícia	cieľavedomosť
pochopenie	aktívnosť
empatia	tvrdá práca
tvorivosť	nezávislosť
emocionalita	samostatnosť
vnímanie krásy sveta	
starostlivosť	
láskavosť	
pomoc iným	
slobodné vyjadrenie pocitov	
opatrovanie všetkého živého	
láska k zvieratám a rastlinám	
chápanie spoločnosti ako rodiny	

Pri analýze seba-reprezentácie Róberta som zaznamenala viaceré odkazy na jeho spôsoby šamanského poznania a liečenia, ktoré považoval za podstatné pre

12 Všeobecnej rodovej schéme žena-cit verzus muž-rozum je venovaná pozornosť vo viacerých štúdiách zaoberajúcich sa rodovými rozdielmi, pozri napríklad Archer a Loyd 2002: 1-5, 19-26.

svoju liečiteľskú moc. Vo všeobecnosti sa dajú zhrnúť ako odkaz na „vnútornú silu“, ktorá sa prejavuje:

- v schopnosti spontánneho poznania intuitívnym/emocionálnym spôsobom („vedieť srdcom“, „pocítiť“, „dostať vnuknutie“);
- v schopnosti spontánne „vidieť“ (choroby, príčiny chorôb, spôsoby nápravy) v zmysle skutočného telesného videnia;
- v schopnosti nepretržitého kontaktu so svetom duchov (nielen počas šamanských ciest);
- v schopnosti liečiť dotykom („dobré ruky“, „silné ruky“, „vyžarovanie“, „cítiť rukami“) mimo rituálu.

Ako vidíme, „bežné“ šamanské schopnosti nadobúdajú v tejto reprezentácii extrémnu podobu: to, čo mestský šaman zvyčajne dosahuje pomocou rituálneho konania v kruhu, Róbert môže robiť stále a spontánne (podobne je tomu aj v prípade Petra, charizmatického vodcu skupiny, ktorá nepatrí k FSS, pozri Bužeková 2011; 2012).

Reprezentácia výnimočných schopností šamana priamo nadväzuje na vyššie spomenutú schému, kde „dobrý“/„zručný“ šaman má v sebe pestovať isté vlastnosti, zodpovedajúce stereotypným ženským vlastnostiam, predovšetkým neracionálny spôsob poznania/intuíciu a citlivosť/emocionalitu. Paradoxne teda mužský vodca v kontexte neošamanizmu musí manifestovať isté „ženské“ charakteristiky, aby legitimizoval svoju pozíciu šamana s „darom“. Neznamená to však, že sa ako žena správa či oblieka. Hoci isté vonkajšie atribúty ako amulety vo forme prsteňov, náhrdelníkov či náramkov môžu korešpondovať so stereotypným ženským vzhľadom, sú súčasťou všeobecného štýlu, príznačného nielen pre mestský šamanizmus, ale aj pre iné alternatívne spirituálne hnutia.

Šamanský dar v kontexte mestského šamanizmu nevedie teda k transvestizmu v zmysle tradičných spoločností: skôr je akýmsi „intelektuálnym“ transvestizmom, ktorý má prispievať k úplnosti modernej osobnosti a k jej spoločenskej sebarealizácii. Je taktiež potrebné zdôrazniť, že v porovnaní s tradičným šamanizmom sa špecifické šamanské poznanie v mestskom šamanizme dosahuje iným spôsobom. Aj napriek tomu, že termíny „tranz“ a „extáza“ sa v odbornej literatúre často spochybňovali (pozri napríklad Hamayon 2007), vo väčšine prípadov sa uznávalo, že pre tradičných šamanov/šamanky boli príznačné práve extatické stavy, ktoré boli kanálom do sveta duchov. No v mestskom šamanizme nemôžeme hovoriť o extáze v zmysle zmenených stavov vedomia, vedúcich k výraznej zmene fyziologických procesov. Moji respondenti/respondentky napríklad pri bubnovaní neupadali do tranzu (ako bol opísaný v etnografickej literatúre): hoci reportovali zmenené stavy vedomia, boli schopní kontrolovať svoje pohyby a reagovať na prostredie. Na rozdiel od „divokých“ extatických rituálov v tradičných spoločnostiach sú rituály v mestskom šamanizme vo väčšine prípadov mierne a skôr pripomínajú medita-

tívne cvičenia. Aj preto podľa môjho názoru citlivosť a emocionalita – ktoré absentovali v typických charakteristikách tradičných šamanov – predstavujú v neošamanizme nevyhnutnú súčasť dosiahnutia šamanského poznania.

Záver

V tejto štúdii som sa snažila ukázať, že významným aspektom neošamanských skupín, podobne ako v prípade iných druhov alternatívnej medicíny a spirituálnych hnutí, je ich rodové zloženie: početná prevaha žien na jednej strane a výrazné zastúpenie vedúcich pozícií mužmi na strane druhej. Prevaha žien môže zodpovedať obmedzenému pôsobeniu žien vo verejnej sfére spojenej s inštitúciami a štátnou mocou. Alternatívne liečenie a spirituálne praktiky sa vnímajú ako oblasť, kde ženy nachádzajú priestor pre spoločensky i individuálne prospešnú realizáciu. Súčasne neošamanizmus korešponduje so spoločenskými hodnotami neošamanov.

V procese rodovej stratifikácie neošamanských skupín môžu podstatnú úlohu hrať špecifické náboženské reprezentácie. Na jednej strane, chápanie ženy v mestskom šamanizme môže zvyšovať sebadomie účastníčok, pretože zdôrazňuje posvätnosť ženskosti. Na druhej strane neošamanizmus poskytuje legitimizáciu „ženského myslenia“ – „ženskej“, iracionálnej logiky a emocionalite, ktorá je v rozšírenej rodovej schéme protikladom „mužského“ zdravého rozumu a racionality ako jediného vhodného spôsobu poznania. Necharizmatický vodca neošamanskej skupiny teda môže legitimizovať svoju pozíciu tak, že sa začína reprezentovať ako zručný liečiteľ so zvláštnym darom/silou; tento dar odkazuje predovšetkým na špecifický spôsob poznania korešpondujúci s vlastnosťami, ktoré sa v našej spoločnosti pripisujú skôr ženám: intuíciou, citlivosťou a emocionalitou.

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Interview with Jeffrey Schonberg

Tomáš Ryška

Jeff Schonberg is a medical and visual anthropologist. He received his doctorate in Medical Anthropology from the Joint University of California, San Francisco and Berkeley program. Currently Jeff Schonberg lectures in the Joint Medical Program at UC Berkeley and in the Department of Anthropology at San Francisco State University. As the co-author, (with Philippe Bourgois), of the book *Righteous Dopefiend*, is Jeff Schonberg winner of the 2010 Leeds Prize from the Society for Urban / National / Transnational and Global Anthropology. He has worked on projects in the U.S. on homelessness, addiction, gangs and inner-city violence, the drug economy and HIV; in Latin America on social upheaval and street youth. He is currently working on a manuscript on violence and homicide in his Oakland, California community and will soon be starting a project on the effects of housing on homeless young adults in San Francisco, California.

*The Czech anthropological community knows your name through the work you have done with Philippe Bourgois that has materialized in the book *Righteous Dopefiend*. How did the project start?*

The project was originally started by Philippe and a needle exchange volunteer who was actually a student at San Francisco State in 1994. I was just leaving my job in a homeless non-profit, where I had worked for many years as an advocate, consultant and community organizer. At that time, I also organized a union. Because I was excited about the organizing effort and the success of it, while I was researching graduate programs I discussed my union organizing effort with a professor, and he put it into his head - unions equals urban. I think he was just trying to get rid of me. And he said there is a guy, Philippe Bourgois, who is involved in something called the Urban Institute. So why don't you go talk to him. And so, I made an appointment and went to see Philippe and he asked me about what I did and I told him. And he then told me about this project he has just been working on for the last few months. He asked if I could help and if I had any information. And I said, sure. And so one night I went down with him and the needle exchange volunteer and I hung out with Hogan, one of the guys in the book. Hogan was in his tent and he spoke about his life, much of which is detailed in the book. I brought my camera with me and took a couple of portraits of Hogan.

Philippe had no idea I was a photographer. Then I made these very nice prints. It was still the time of darkrooms. They were fine prints on expensive paper actually and I brought them to Hogan and gave them to him. And you know, he was totally touched by the photos and I decided that maybe I would hang out with him on my own and continue to photograph. Eventually Philippe offered to pay my photo fees and soon I decided to pursue my masters degree at San Francisco State, creating my own program of study by combining anthropology, education and photojournalism. After Phillippe saw my thesis, he asked me if I would co-author a book. My masters' thesis on homeless heroin users grew and further developed into the project for Righteous Dopefiend. And so that is actually how my engagement started..

What were the roles you both played in the relationship? It is not too common for two anthropologists to work on a project together.

Yeah, and we talk about the importance of doing collaborative ethnography. You know, that is something I will always take with me. To me, collaborative ethnography needs to be promoted. You have opportunities to triangulate, discuss experiences, you have different relationships with different people and this allows you to broaden your community. It provides you with different opportunities than being the single anthropologist - the paradigm of the discipline - the lone anthropologist who has to be lost in this world. And that still is the paradigm. As I work on my own project, I really miss the collaborative effort. I think what you see in the book is a fair representation of the fieldwork experience.

What you have just described is one part of the work behind this book. There is also the part of the ethnographic analysis. How did that work in your team project?

Philippe was already very embedded in a certain theoretical perspective. He established himself as a bourdieuan, in *In Search of Respect*, and I of too had been introduced to this work as a graduate student and found it productive, as well as the work of other theorists, such as Foucault and Marx and the violence literature. But our working environment allowed us to debate and discuss —“that’s not working here...., no no no but that’s what Foucault’s doing there,” blah blah blah. “That is not what Tina (one of the main protagonists of the book) means or that is not what I am seeing.” It would get intense, but never tense. This is another benefit of doing a collaborative ethnography. We had the priveledge of discussing both different ethnographic experiences, and the same fieldwork moments and analyzing them together. And I, of course, brought a completely new theoretical lens to his work, that of the visual - something he was entirely ignorant of. The fact that we each had our unique expertise helped temper the typical hierarchy intrinsic in such a relationship and open up the collaboration from me to him and from him to me. We had a very functional and healthy working relationship, and the fact that

we are still quite close after the years we spent locked in rooms together is pretty remarkable.

Is there any connection between your previous life experiences, your dispositions and your decision to work with poor people, street people?

I come from a middle class background. There is wealth in my family going back through three generations. Then it sort of comes down from there [laughing] - a scenario unfortunately not atypical in the United States today.

It reminds me of these middle-class European kids that travel to third world countries with the idea they will get involved in some humanitarian aid or something. These very romantic dreams that they live because their middle-class background allows them the experience. Is it something like that?

Similar to that but the power dynamic is pretty different, a nuance I won't get into now. I graduated from an elite liberal arts college. I was interested in making documentary films and a friend of a friend was running a non-profit organization and asked if I wanted to be involved and I accepted her offer. I was already doing some volunteering and worked on a film about a Salvadorian guerilla. I do come from a middle-class bourgeois, suburban American background. Che Guevara, his father was a doctor, right? He was going to go into medicine too. That's the weirdness. Philippe too comes from an upper east side New York family. My parents are classic Democrats—Jewish, social liberals but believers in a capitalist, economic model. They weren't critiquing capitalism by any means. In Europe, I could imagine their politics moving towards more of a social democratic model, but in this country that option does not really exist. The next step is to be politically progressive and to be able to critique. That's why I really appreciate anthropology, it is our role to be critical in the moment, no matter where you may stand ideologically, if that is possible. Or at least to make a good-faith effort. If you're not critical of yourself and your ideology then you're not, in my opinion, doing anthropology as it should be done. Or at least the kind of critical anthropology as Nancy Schecker-Hughes would describe it. Growing up in Florida, growing up in the South - it was incredibly racist.

Could you be more specific?

I will never forget the first, and only time - outside of an academic and critical analytic context - that I used the “N” word, nigger. I was in second grade and had just moved to Florida from New Jersey. I was seven years old. I was talking about an African-American schoolmate of mine and used the “N” word. My mother looked at me and scolded me, “don't you ever use that word again”. I thought, “What do you mean? What did I say? White people are honkeys and black people are “N's”, niggers.” Those were the words being thrown around the classroom and

the playground in the most common sense way. There was nothing mean or insulting about it, or so I thought. And I was able to be critical of that growing up, and see that as I got older and to question such experiences, and then I started anthropology as a way of developing an understanding of how such stances are formed. I had acquaintances from middle school through high school who were using these words as common language. When I was in sixth grade, I saw a van load of Ku Klux Klan members. Because I am Jew I would be called Kike on the soccer field all the time. Especially if I was succeeding. This is just a part of being in the United States. As I started to grow older, I started to look back on it and to really understand and question why this was the case. And I also questioned the privileges that we had. We had someone who cleaned our house and she was an African American. When I was young, I didn't question that relationship. I remember my mother talking about being raised by a nanny, an African American woman. We were discussing prejudice and the imbalance of servitude and she said, "I never thought of it that way. She never seemed unhappy." She might not have been unhappy, even on the contrary, she was possibly grateful to be employed, and by a family that treated her well. This is how symbolic violence works. I don't blame my mother: rather, I appreciate the fact that she really cared for the people who cared for her. These are the reflections of growing up and seeing white people on one side of the tracks and African Americans on the other. Florida is the segregated South. I think through the whole process you become conscious, in the terms that the radical educator Paulo Freire uses to talk about conscientization: one becomes conscious of the conditions surrounding their predicament, their lives. So, yeah, I came from a bourgeois background and this is part and parcel of my engagement in the work that I do. But, eventually, this becomes an agentic, ethical stance. I know plenty of people who go the other way..

Before I came here, my image of Berkeley anthropology was closely linked to an activist or engaged approach. What I found here was quite the opposite. Many people standing against any kind of engagement or activism. They think about it as either silly or that it brings negative values into the field. These are the people who actually, to a greater or lesser extent, influenced your anthropological education.

You know, I have been lucky enough in that, to a certain degree, they haven't altered too many of my beliefs. The concern of some is that to have an engaged or activist approach compromises the theoretical or intellectual process. Maybe being an anthropologist forefronts being an engaged citizen. For me, anthropology provides me with the tools to enact that engagement. Anthropology is a tool, whether as analysis, writing or photography: anthropology is about an exploration of what it can do to make me be a better citizen. And if that being a better citizen means being engaged, being critical, then it serves that. If it no longer serves that, if anthropology, photography, ethnography, or anything else, no longer serves that role

then I am going to go do something else. Which is why I never did go into journalism - especially as a photographer, since I found the institution to be pretty constraining. Anthropology provides me with the reflective tools to form a deep and erudite critique, and opens a space to learn from those who I find to be somewhat theoretically distant from my own perspective. In some places, this causes rancor and can be polarizing, but it does not have to be so. Maybe that, as its own sort of telos, describes a large part of the process. I have been lucky because the people who influenced me the most are not necessarily those who are pushing anthropology solely for the sake of anthropology, but those who engage it in an effort to effect public and popular discourse.

We discussed the issue of conflating an ethnographic character with Stanley [Brandes] at the dissertation writing seminar. In this regard, Leah [Lowthorp] mentioned Charles Briggs, who told her that conflating is fine for an anthropologist with tenure, but definitely not for a thesis. As you have told me before, you have conflated some characters in Righteous Dopefiend. How do you defend this methodologically and ethically?

This is something, I have to say, I followed Philippe on. Because coming from my background of documentary, within a journalistic framework, I was very much inculcated in the notion of the reality of the moment, the truth of the moment. In no way could it be tampered with. It happened initially with my photographs. Philippe would take a picture and create an analysis separate to the time and space of the moment in which I tripped the shutter of my camera. But the time and space of the moment of a picture has a lengthy history within a Western discourse. Pinney does an excellent job articulating this history. Anyhow, when it first happened, I was resistant. But then eventually I started to warm to the idea, or as I like to believe, my thinking on the topic became more nuanced, because I started to deconstruct it within an analysis of structural dynamics. First of all, it's got to be tempered. What I mean is, nothing happened to someone like Carter or Tina or to certain main protagonists in the book that we conflated. We didn't do that. We actually kept them pure - whatever that means. But, once in a while, there would be a moment and we would contribute that to a certain character. There were two people who had a very similar background, a very similar history, who grew up together and were of the same ethnicity and same age. So we were trying to figure out a way to incorporate certain events, certain occurrences and certain moments without necessarily confusing the reader by bringing in a bunch of different characters; and these incidents could be relocated specifically within ideas of certain conditions of possibility, within a particular milieu, as Foucault discusses them. That there are these particular brackets of social structural power, and that what we were doing was recognizing that within the social structural dynamics something like this occurs and it's not uncommon. Especially if we saw things that very

much reverberated with other themes that were happening to different people. Again, we did it in order not to confuse our readers. But the points are there, and it is important to recognize that the points have a place within the brackets of a certain social structural milieu which we are describing. When I was taking a class, an introduction to medical anthropology during my first year at the grad program of UC SF and UC Berkeley, I noticed in one of the articles we read that the author revealed that she had done this. And I brought it up in class and my professor said, "Yes, it happens all the time in anthropology." I said, "I know, but don't we need to discuss it," but no one seemed to want to pursue it. My professor who is well published said, "Yeah, you know, it happens." This discussion really harkens back to how Clifford, in *Writing Culture*, likens ethnography to fiction in that they are both "partial—committed and incomplete."

Your recent project is again related to social issues of social suffering, urban marginalization, drugs and poverty. Why did you choose to study violence?

My current project is very personal. It's about where I live, about my home, it's about where I have put down roots. The idea of home ownership in the United States is the American dream par excellence. The normative structure is: we work, we hope to move up the ladder of success so that we can have a home, our own property and raise our kids in a safe environment. But I don't buy it as a road to happiness. [laughing] I actually bought my house, because at that time it was cheaper for me to buy my house and to pay the mortgage than it was for me to rent an apartment in Berkeley. So, I raise my children and put down "roots" in Oakland, California, which is, in much of the public imaginary, at least here in the US, associated with violence. In fact, the FBI says it is the fourth most dangerous city in the United States. My neighborhood in Oakland is one of the places responsible for this reputation. There is a lot of violence, both historical as well as current. So the project is my way basically to understand what was going on around me. Really, fundamentally, it was about locating my ethnographic project from home. The violence I am discussing is a murder to which I was privy. It happened across the street from me while I was putting my, at the time, two year old son down for a nap. I am trying to compare that to another murder that happened to a young man who I knew growing up on my block and who was eighteen when he was shot around the corner. The one who was killed across the street from me was a twenty-six year old white guy and the other one was an African American. I am white, my wife is Mexican American and we live in a very racially charged neighborhood, with a rich and important African American history, not just in terms of California, but in that of the whole United States. My block and those that surround my house says a lot about African American subjectivity formation, particularly in the West, but also in the wider United States. I am trying to see these murders through the phenomena of gentrification occurring in my neighborhood, of which I can-

not but be a part given my skin color. The murder that happened across the street from me had a very profound effect on my family life and therefore I am just trying to turn a negative, very difficult experience into something productive. It is my coping mechanism.

There is an interesting methodological moment in your research. In Mallinowski's diaries we can read that he actually did not like his informants, and after he finished his fieldwork he simply returned to Europe and that was it. There was no contact with his informants any more. In my case, I often have really nice relationships with my Akha informants from which, because of new communication technologies, I am not able to escape even in the moments I wish I could. So sometimes I am overwhelmed by their emails and text messages that create a pressure on me to be involved in the problems they face. To overstate the case a bit, I was actually quite sorry for myself until the moment I met you. You actually never leave your field, because it is where you live. How does this work in fact?

I find it very difficult and find myself looking for ways to contain the ethnography, both in terms of fieldwork and in writing. Much of the time doing the fieldwork for Righteous Dopefiend I was bored. You know, sitting against a wall in a corner talking about nothing. Like the conversation between Felix, Max, Spiderbite, and possibly Frank, about how many peanuts were in their Snickers bar and who got more peanuts. And of course, they're talking about hunger, but still it is an hour plus conversation about the peanuts in a Snickers bar and other Snickers bars they'd had in the past. One thing I learned from photography is that the banal is extremely difficult to represent. This fact is rightfully critiqued. It seems as though the oppressed are often victims of this problem and that it promotes the reification process. The spectacular violence I am talking about doesn't happen all the time. But when it does happen it takes over everything: it is a definition of trauma. The murders and violence that happen overwhelm. But, on the whole, we are all just neighbors. Then there are the experiences where things happen and you see your neighbors, and you think they are going to form a joint reaction, who talk about, "Yeah, we are all here together, we are neighbours...", blah, blah, blah. But when this experience of violence comes on, some of those people shut their doors. The situation is complicated. What the fuck are you doing?! Why aren't you engaging? Why? Because their experiences have pushed them to protect themselves, since the experiences they have had with the institutions that are supposed to protect them, prove that these institutions do not protect them. These systems hurt them. They don't want to get hurt, and they know that if you see something then you might become infected with deadly, poisonous knowledge (to borrow Das' term). These things happen. Living it and analysing it is exhausting. When I first moved to my house, my wife and I photographed a friend's family wedding and he happens to own a nursery. So for photographing his wedding, which we did as a wed-

ding present, he gave us some trees that we could plant at our house. And some guy fucking stole our trees. Literally, dug them out of the ground and then went and sold them. I know where he sold them and I know who he sold them to. But eventually this thief and I became friends. That incident became just water under the bridge. And the reasons why we became friends are 1. because his daughter was murdered and we helped him and his family out, and 2. we engage in the community - we don't hide. We go to neighbors' parties and funerals. But now we are no longer friends. He and his brother violently beat-up one of my other neighbors with a metal pipe in front of my kids. My 9 year-old son even tried to intervene. Now, I may be forced to testify against him.

Was it different when you were working on Righteous Dopefiend?

Yeah, I left the field all the time. There was a moment, you know, when Carter was sitting in my car, saying, "Man, it's warm in here," and then me letting Carter literally go out and sleep in the street in the rain and I get to drive home. I had a place to be warm. This is the privilege to do anthropology. And it's an absolute privilege. You talk about the fact that you really like your informants. You know, I love the guys in Righteous Dopefiend and the girls, and I miss them dearly. At the same time, I love my neighbors. The main crack dealer who the eighteen year old used to deal with has done some fucked up things. He's been arrested for violence against women, but we have become friends. Those are the weird dichotomies in life and another difficult part of doing this type of work. He has told me of his violence and I have told him of my disdain.

Nancy in one of her books, it was the one on her research in Ireland, writes about what happened after the book was published and how she was chased out of her field when she returned. Did you ever think about what is going to happen after you publish your work?

Everyday. I thought about it everyday. These people who are so generous to me. Specifically in Righteous Dopefiend, Carter often saw our relationship as that of a mentor and protégé - he was very conscious of teaching me "the streets." I'd say less so now because I already have a role prior to "doing research". Hank, at times, saw himself as my protector in that world. In that respect, I absolutely worry that revealing the cold truth was compromising the trust that they gave to me. Absolutely. Tina's story about her abuse? What it means for that story then to be revealed further? I've lost Tina. I am not able to discuss this with her. I don't know where she is. I have given the book to Hank. Talking about Hank not being a Vietnam Vet? We analyze this in a way that clearly locates him as a true victim within the social and political sphere in which he has lived, but I've never confronted him on that. Why would I confront him on that? What good would that do? It's important to him, to his identity, to who he is. And we have a friendship that's real. I don't

know how to say it. The truth discourse is a difficult one to crack. Betrayal is not black and white, but that does not mean that I'm not leery.

Aihwa Ong is critical towards the concept of social suffering during her lectures. As she says, she was raised by Catholic nuns in Malaysia and because of this, she argues that this concept comes from Catholicism. What is your understanding of this?

I must say that I'd never been one of her students and so have not heard this directly. As I said earlier, anthropology provides us with excellent tools to critique mechanisms of power such as the legacy you say she proposes. But that doesn't mean that people still aren't suffering and that there aren't social structural dynamics that are perpetuating, that are creating, that are reproducing that suffering. And so whether it comes from this legacy, or another, I believe morally that this must be confronted. So we can say that maybe sometimes the discourse might move in the direction of a generalized or hierarchical Catholic discourse. That it is an effort to use the master's tools to dismantle the master's house. That's fine. That needs to be critiqued. But outside of that doesn't mean that social suffering doesn't exist. And the word social itself. We can go back to Durkheim, but we are not going to do a specific close reading of Durkheim. These social practices that lead to oppressive hierarchies - racism, gender, issues of ageism, homophobia, these are all politics, all that is a part of a social. And that's what I take the term social to be about. It's about all these different institutions, these different organizations, these different practices, different ways of being that are outside of the individual agent. The milieu.

My understanding of Ong's critique of the concept is related to a critique of the Western middle class way of thinking.

In a perfect world there would be no anthropology, no "other"; or at least one created without the colonial ghost. We would leave people the fuck alone. I think that the critique of the Western middle class, that paternalism, that condescension is spot on. But what is one supposed to do? Is it more ethical to ignore it? I believe that is what the people who look at "social suffering" are trying not to do.

Tomáš Ryška

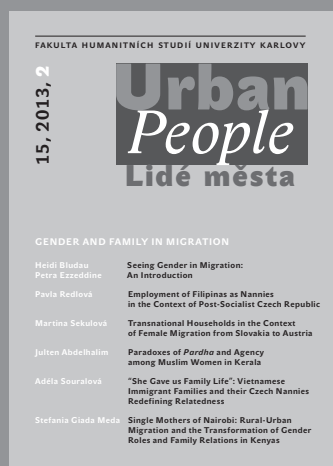
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Ethnographic Training in Borderland: Students Fieldwork, Serendipities, and Tight Limits of Polish University System

Łukasz Kaczmarek, Paweł Ładykowski

“Anthropology can be practised in many different ways, the science is a pluralistic and historically variable project. We do not have to, or even we should not follow life sciences, as our task is to create local knowledge affecting a very specific constellation of cultural meanings.” (Lubaś 2011:35)

Introduction

In the spring of 2009, in late April and May, by the Głębokie lake situated right next to the northern city gates of Szczecin, a group of students departed on their first two-week ethnographic fieldwork training session. Laden with backpacks and with saddlebags strapped to their bikes, they headed off towards the nearby *terra incognita* that for many research seasons - up until the spring of 2011 - was to become their place of scientific exploration for several years of research.

In order to be able to set off from Głębokie lake, the students had spent the whole academic year preparing. They had participated in a series of lectures and tutorials on methodology of ethnographic research, as well as in seminars informally called Ethnographic Laboratories. These were the most important elements of our academic strategy of education aiming to prepare students to practise ethnography outside the university walls. Laboratories as a research teaching class is nothing new in Polish ethnographic academic centres. It occurred for the first time in the programme of ethnographic studies at Warsaw University.¹ In the scheme of the laboratories we created in Szczecin, we tried to combine strategies to com-

1 This form of work where 'research is accompanied by an educational experiment involving the inclusion of ethnology students in fieldwork expeditions, prepared for this purpose over the course of a two-year "Ethnological Laboratory"' is described in detail by Łukasz Smyrski (Smyrski 2005, 9-20).

municate with students by taking inspiration from the Manchester School of Max Gluckman (Barnard 2006: 128-131) and from the style of discussion of Bronisław Malinowski. As Fredrik Barth explained, “in his seminars Malinowski was famous for demanding a *problemstellung* – a concept he claimed was untranslatable into English, but that embraced both the question that was asked and the manner in which it was framed” (Barth 2005: 28). These provocatively raised questions, publicly discussed at the London School of Economics, were the core of Malinowski’s course and were definitely a benchmark for the development of our own propaedeutic key: the key through which we finally created our course’s shape. This model was characteristic only for the laboratory seminars on the emerging Polish-German borderland which we conducted in our Szczecin centre. Unfortunately, its wider implementation proved impossible on account of a lack of personnel and finances for student training – a prosaic feature of the centralised machinery of money allocation within the Polish academic system (the dean knows better what to do with the means available for students’ practical training: this money is needed for faculty expenses, such as pipe-fixing and enlarging employees’ parking areas, for instance).

Szczecin ethnology and its direct background: borderland, town, transborder suburbanization

The Chair of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at Szczecin University is a small entity founded in 2006. Since the very beginning, our ambition was to carry out extensive field studies on the resurging Polish-German borderland after EU and Schengen Zone enlargement. Ethnological or anthropological research in this area has not developed in a greater degree in spite of a growing interest stimulated by the animation of economic grass-roots relations and the reactivation of settlements in the neighbouring country, specifically Polish settlement in towns and villages in Germany. It seemed also obvious to us - Warsaw and Poznań dwellers - that the basic and first area for any ethnographic training would be students’ own region of origin. Most of them were raised in the Polish-German borderland with its ‘borderland identity’ and dramatic settlement history; an area with its own cultural heritage, noticeable in the area, but marginalized in public conscience (Ładykowski 2011a, 2011b; Kaczmarek, Ładykowski 2012a, 2012 b).

Among our numerous motivations, the most important is the fact that it is now, at this very moment, that we can witness how a new social space, a multi-ethnic borderland, is being created right outside the western outskirts of Szczecin. This is a phenomenon not occurring in any other part of the German-Polish border. The special characteristic of this phenomenon comes from the size and localization of Szczecin, the only large Polish town situated to the west of the Odra River. Moreover, it occurs in the new socio-economic situation which occurred in the German

province in the immediate vicinity of Szczecin, an area that after German reunification is characterised by a relatively low GDP, a high rate of permanent unemployment and a declining population caused by low birth rate and a large increase in young generation emigration towards much wealthier western Lands and large German cities. German municipalities in the vicinity of Szczecin are among the poorest in the country. At the same time, on the Polish side of the border - despite equally significant socio-economic problems, mainly poverty and unemployment – the prevailing atmosphere of ‘neoliberal dynamism’² distinguishes the region from East German stagnation.

This area is currently a unique place of the settlement and economic infiltration of the Polish population accompanied by the phenomenon of a growing activity of German citizens on the Polish labour market in Szczecin. Thus, Szczecin is likely to become a transnational labour market playing an important role in relation to the whole area of historic Pomerania not limited to its Polish part. The constant increase in the West Pomeranian agglomeration is the consequence of a rapidly growing status. Szczecin suburban growth is having a direct impact on the changing ethnic structure right behind the western border of the country. Shrinking East German villages and towns accept new Polish residents who resettle from Szczecin into its direct vicinity. Thus the emerging Polish-German borderland (without any historical prototype in the region) has become a transborder suburb. And this may slowly turn it in the future into not just a transborder, but a transnational city.

Designing the laboratory

While creating our new formula of an ethnographic laboratory, we drew inspiration from our own student experiences gained in our home academic ethnology centres. Łukasz Kaczmarek, during his ethnological studies at the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology AMU in Poznań, twice took part in research entitled ‘The German stereotype as seen by Polish citizens from the borderland’ conducted under the supervision of Jacek Schmidt in the form of practical ethnographic classes in Ośno Lubuskie and Gryfino. Paweł Ładykowski, a Warsaw University alumni, had a two year laboratory course (Smyrski 2005:9-20) supervised by Lech Mróz during research in the Vilnius region of Lithuania and Lauda

2 ‘Neoliberalism’ is understood here metaphorically, similarly to how this ideology is treated by the ‘neoliberal’ politicians governing Poland for years who, by referring to ‘free-market values’, ‘democracy’ and of course ‘solidarity’ only when it is convenient for the interests of their political parties, effectively blend ‘Friedmanism’ and ‘Keynesianism’ in a nationalistic-populist mixture, while continuing to avoid whenever possible any public consultation with citizens, or turning it into a parody. Therefore, this peculiar ‘neoliberalism’ we would treat as a manifestation of ‘economic axiology’ (Kaczmarek 2012) in social perception.

(Czajkowski, Ładykowski 1993: 58-65). Next he led his own student research labs in Latvian Latgale and Estonian Setumaa (Ładykowski 2001). The rich experience gained from student courses on the ethnographic methodology of fieldwork research and the traditions of the two ethnological centres, supplemented by our own experience of research work,³ enabled us to create foundations for the entirely new course at the Szczecin ethnographic laboratory department.

In the academic year 2008/2009 at the Chair of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, we started a series of classes in the form of a Laboratory. It consisted of purely seminar classes, in other words the Ethnographic Laboratory, in combination with lectures and tutorials in the realm of methodology of ethnographic research. More importantly, all three of these elements were practised in parallel in the almost two week research trips held every semester during the course. We were responsible for the subject matter of the course, and arranged it in such a way that it was then practised and researched by the students. Also the logistics of the whole project and the gaining of financial resources for its implementation from outside the university were also our own responsibility.

We then faced an important task of teaching students how to practise ethnography directly in the research field. The issue is not trivial, as you need to combine many mutually contradictory aspects; there are at least a few hot spots in this topic also.

Ethnography in Academia

One of the fundamental matters that usually become an issue in this kind of projects is a chronic lack of financial resources to carry out fieldwork. The cause of this is a total misunderstanding of the specificity of ethnographic field study by the Polish academic authorities, including Szczecin University. The modern perception of ethnography in Poland does not help either; for over 50 years, it has been perceived as unscientific and not a proper foundation for research, not only by society but, sadly, also by academics. This is because

‘(...) ethnology, which has retained the ethos of long term fieldwork based on a prolonged investigator’s stay in the reality explored by him, was relegated to the role of folklore and could be associated with traditionalism and backwardness, with its typical ethnographic research method becoming associated with

3 Łukasz Kaczmarek specialises in political anthropology and ethnic studies. He has conducted research on plural society and identity constructing in Fiji (2000-2005, Kaczmarek 2008), and research dedicated to postcolonial society power relations and social mobility in Jamaica (2009-2012).

Paweł Ładykowski, in addition to researching the Polish-German borderland which is the base for his habilitation work, for many years has been specialising in the anthropology of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and the subjects of former USSR countries.

the pure monographic description of a village, ‘counting the rails in the fence’ and writing about cultural relics and superstitions, in other words about problems having very little in common with the present and therefore that are not really important.’ (Straczk 2011: 264)

What has been omitted and ignored is what has long ago changed in ‘(...) the basic paradigm of the discipline, which was based on encountering cultural foreignness and building (not always equal) relations “us - them”. Anthropologists have embarked into areas that used to be only explored by sociologists (in Poland - author’s note), and this blurring of formerly existing differences has started debates on ‘sociological’ issues such as: state, politics, authority, bureaucracy’ (Straczk 2011: 262). The value of running research in the form of an ethnographic student-workshop is not appreciated by the academics, causing it to be perceived as secondary and of very little value in comparison to the rich array of sociological research methods dominated by surveys.⁴ In ethnography, on the other hand, this is considered the worst possible tool. In this discipline, ‘field research experience is the essence of anthropological work: there is no anthropology without empirical knowledge since all theoretical conditions come from an ethnographic encounter with a man who is granted the right to think and construct his world in a different manner than we do’ (Straczk 2011: 266).

In ethnographic practice a researcher faces his interlocutor directly. Not only that, but also, as Justyna Straczk notices:

‘in ethnographic encounters, the relation between an investigator and his respondents is reversed: an investigator is not an expert who knows better and sees more, because from the “scientific” perspective the one who investigates ‘from the point of view of the absolute’ (Bourdieu, Wacquant 2001) is transformed into a figure as ‘naive as a child in dense darkness’, left at the mercy and grace of people encountered on the way, asking the dumbest questions possible, exposing themselves to misunderstandings and awkwardness’ (Straczk 2011: 268-269).

4 The return of sociology to the scientific and academic world after 1956 in Poland was evidenced by a great enthusiasm for quantitative methods, which carried the positivist promises of a modern, objective and reliable research method. As Antoni Sulek pointed out, the ‘surveying’ of sociology had an impact on the nature of the discipline not only on a methodological level, but also an epistemological one. Survey was a ‘comfort that did not require the investigator (as the field researcher) to personally contact a sometimes embarrassing or burdensome reality - a sociologist could remain at his desk, while at the same time interviewers were travelling to different parts of the world’ (Sulek 1990: 9-10 as cited in Straczk 2011: 263). Since then, research questions have actually been adjusted to methodology, and therefore the issues investigated have tended to become those that could be explored by survey, which is mostly human responses to standardised questions formulated by the sociologist. In this way most often, instead of investigating reality, it is the researcher’s vision of it that was tested’ (Sulek 1990: 15 as cited in Straczk 2011: 263-264).

Time and its significance in ethnographic fieldwork

Another extremely important issue that affects students' fieldwork and therefore its quality is the limits of time that can be dedicated to this activity. Formally, degree programmes provide research fieldwork only to a very limited extent. Fieldwork is expensive and therefore university authorities carefully monitor that its duration does not exceed 4 weeks, the minimum educational standard as defined by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education. On many occasions, when in vain we tried to get funding for our students' practical classes, we were suggested to give up the idea of fieldwork outside the city and to work around the law through fulfilling the formal education requirements by organising fieldwork locally, that is in Szczecin. The authorities then claimed that they would not need to finance these practical classes, since it was enough simply to pay their tutors. Because of such an approach, research practices in various and frequent cases become more of a tourist trip, in substantial part paid for by the students themselves, during which they can only get to know some local differences/cultural attractions and are not able to try to conduct proper ethnographic research.

Although we were limited by the same time restrictions, we tried to create a multi-sited research project. We wanted to teach students not only the techniques of doing research, but also those necessary for constructing an entire project and create the ability to conceptualise research questions. We were aware that this first experience in creating a research project can become a point of reference or have far-reaching instructive value for students. Therefore, the students were 'constantly' involved in the issues associated with the project and not just in the 'hot' period during the research travels. Fieldwork and the issues it involves were discussed in a number of classes, with debates concerning both the methodology and theory of research, as well as the issues that stemmed directly from their personal experience of fieldwork.

Our first moment of serendipity⁵

During the preparations for the first departure the proposed discussion issues were quite universal, of the kind one can always debate and in addition be sure they should cause a lively reaction from students. The localisation of our academ-

5 "Serendipity means making a discovery by accident or the ability to make happy and unexpected discoveries by accident. The author of this term is British writer, Horace Walpole (1754). The construction of this neologism was based on a story described in an old Persian tale 'The Three Princes of Serendip', in which the princes were permanently making discoveries which they had not sought. Serendip is an old name for the island Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) derived from the Sanskrit «Sinhādvīpa», the Lion Island." The term "Serendipity" in: Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable, Sixteenth Edition, revised to Adrian Room, HarperCollins, 2000; see also Merton, Barber, 2004: 1-2 and Shapin, 2004)." (Konecki 2005:27).

ic unit was helpful in the selection of the topics presented for discussion. Szczecin is a city that only from 1945 by dint of a decision of the Potsdam Conference became Polish (Ładykowski 2011: 173). We only discovered the importance of the consequences of this fact while discussing issues in the labs with students, the majority of whom originated from Szczecin and the surrounding areas, therefore - as opposed to us, from our own areas of interest - from the borderland. The purely accidental raising of the issue of contemporary Polish - German relations and a preliminary analysis of the evolution of the present day identity of Szczecin residents caused extremely different and emotional reactions from students. These ranged from declaring clear negativity towards their neighbour, to its culture and language, through a total indifference to their home town (Szczecin), to expressing a desire to leave the city as soon as possible and settle down in other urban agglomerations in Poland. A very few exceptions were students who presented an open attitude towards neighbouring cultures, especially German, and showed interest and some knowledge of their own city and region. In many cases, these opinions were not expected by us to be those of anthropology students who had consciously chosen their field of study and passed courses inculcating them in the assumptions of a discipline that seems to be imbued with cultural relativism. In addition, through these discussions we learned more about Poland and the young Polish generation, since we both come from cities where "local patriotism" is widespread, often in an insufficiently critical way.

In the course of the debates conducted by us, we managed to unveil some of the reasons that could cause such declarations on the part of future ethnographers from Szczecin. One of the several important causes of the status quo occurring in Szczecin appears to be a well entrenched legacy of the historical narration that dominated in communist Poland (Ładykowski 2011a). Its philosophy was based on two pillars. First of all, it was aimed at maintaining a continuous reluctance to and fear of the western neighbour. The deep trauma in Polish society caused by the war and its effects was not without significance here. Secondly is the issue of the ideological legitimacy of the Polish presence in the Western Lands, referred to as the Recovered Territories. Post-war Polish Szczecin and its new residents were exposed to this historical propaganda politics. (Kaczmarek, Ładykowski 2012b). Although more than 20 years have passed since the change of socio-economic system in Poland, Szczecin remains in many aspects a town that awaits its own locally initiated transformation. Only then can the contemporary Szczecin identity be re-defined: until that moment it remains suspended (Kubicki 2011).

Polish - German micro-research teams

This first unexpected discovery, which was actually made during academic debate, strengthened our enthusiasm for the idea to invite German partners for

the research and create mixed nationality micro-research teams, so that students could establish relations with both Polish and German borderland residents. We believed that this research project on the emerging Polish - German borderland was an opportunity for a cultural “therapy” for our students, and also an interesting didactic experiment for both of us. We started to look for partners with whom, at least partially, we would be able to establish cooperation in order to lead a joint research project.

A German ethnologist Hannah Wadle from Western German Freiburg came to our help when she volunteered to conduct research. Shortly after, Franziska Barthel from Meklemburg joined, a student of prof. Peter Dehne from Neubrandenburg University of Applied Science who was terminating her work on a thesis on Polish citizens’ immigration to the Uecker-Randow district (Barthel 2009). These two took part in the first fieldwork organised by us in Eggesin in spring 2009. Later in our multi-sited research we were supported by a group of Slavic Philology students under the supervision of Ph.D. Marek Fiałek and a Social Geography group supervised by Nikolaus Roos from Greifswald University. During the whole process of organising the project and building a strategy to acquire the means essential to fund the entire project, we were advised and accompanied by Kamil Lis, an Economics and European Studies’ student at Szczecin University, who shared knowledge that was significant for us while working at Regionalen Agenda 21 Stettin Haff, an agency promoting citizenship and civic attitudes among the people of the region.⁶

Thus, we started to go ‘out’ into the field with these young people. We believed that mixed teams will give our Polish students a better chance to have a more natural relationship with their German peers. Also, according to our assumptions, their work would be more effective because Polish students would serve as ‘translators’ for German partners when talking to new Polish borderland residents. Their task was not only to render residents’ statements, but also to explain the entire context. The German students had a similar role to be ‘translators’ for our Polish students when talking to German residents of the borderland. We wanted this fieldwork to be multi-dimensional, to force them to constantly take the initiative in bilateral relations with their German partners. It was during the first research travel, which we treated absolutely as a pilot project, that the students were to communicate in a more or less natural way with their German partners (mostly in English)

⁶ It is worth noting that in the meantime, that is within a few years of the entire research project, our young partners, such as Franziska Barthel (2009), finished their dissertations. After graduating, Nikolaus Roos entered a doctoral programme in Tuebingen where he is currently working on the project “TransBorder Szczecin”. Hannah Wadle after a yearlong research in Masurian Szynort, began her anthropological doctoral studies in Manchester. Kamil Lis after graduating managed to get a place for a doctoral programme both in Szczecin and in German Tuebingen.

as well as with local residents (in their native languages). We felt that was a chance for them to get to know the area better, to recognise its nuances, to learn how to navigate through it, and with whom and how to communicate. Simply, they would start to understand and visualise the space of the borderland. We also hoped that the company of German peers would be an incentive for interaction, and even if there were no spectacular research achievements (interviews), everyday communication with their German partner would be a milestone in getting to know each other. Our expectations worked well in the cases of many, including those of German project participants.

Our second moment of serendipity

As we tried to create mixed micro-research teams, it turned out fairly quickly that many of our students were not enthusiastic about the idea.⁷ The great amplitude of emotions started from clear manifestations of reluctance, through indifference, to a mild interest in this form of cooperation. Nevertheless, hostile and indifferent attitudes prevailed. What really helped to break the ice was the fact that among the German students there were many interesting and open personalities. No less important was also the fact that many German students could speak Polish pretty well, or at least had a communicative working knowledge of the language. Had we tried to follow the traditional structure of field studies, we believe we would not have achieved as much as we did in the first research trip; despite the fact that it did indeed turn out to be the time when the two groups could start slowly, and not without some problems, to get used to each other.

First of all, we accidentally revealed how students perceive their German neighbours before they even entered the homes of their informants for the first interviews. In this way, we were able to make them realise how important our own approach and cultural background are for researching and interpreting cultural phenomena, and why it matters to realise what our cognitive categories are in order to be able to appropriately distance ourselves from them. Secondly, we were surprised how differently we imagined young ethnology students from what proved to be the truth, as it turned out that they often not only present a lack of openness to culturally diverse neighbours, but even a very closed and reluctant attitude. It should be noted that our students who expressed prejudices and a lack of interest in their neighbouring culture were, according to our observations, much more open and interested in cultures and communities much more remote and very often very ‘exotic’. Their unhurried entry into the field gave us both time to adjust and to get used to a situation that was new for all of us. Stu-

⁷ Within three years (2009-2011), we organised nine research trips for 3 lab groups recruited from the consecutive years of students. In these took part about 40 Polish and nearly 20 German students.

dents were brought into a direct confrontation with their stereotypes and ideas about German culture in a situation of 'smooth coercive measures': in other words, they had to pass the course for which they had enrolled according to the rules that we set. Of course they wanted to do the best they can in order to get good grades, knowledge and experience, and to do it all in a positive atmosphere. So they tried and, willy-nilly, they had to open up.

For most of them, this field research was their first travel to Germany, despite the fact that it is only 20 km from Szczecin city centre to the border. Only a few of them had visited Berlin (about 150 km away), or other German towns on short trips, such as a school exchange. The strategies chosen by us to 'throw' them into the field began rapidly to show real results. First of all, the area itself - because of its geographical proximity and aesthetic similarities, along with very clear differences in mode of management, caused students to reflect on the complex modes of history and cultural diversity. After all, only a few decades ago, their own town and surrounding area were also German, and its basic shape and many of the buildings have not been significantly changed. Had history turned out differently, would the villages and towns around Szczecin be similar to those nearby - which are German? What is the difference between the Polish and the Germans: is it that on one side everything seems to be calmer, more orderly, we are not afraid to ride a bicycle on the street, people look the same but there is somehow less of them, some people dress differently? Is it all due to the fact that after German reunification, the local German governments are richer and even the unemployed have more money than their counterparts in Poland? Students reported their findings of this type and discussed them passionately. Soon it became clear that many of them are gifted observers, able to 'look under the surface', and the fact that they drew attention to many details allowed them to exchange thoughts and rebuild the social ideas they shared. They evaluated the age and condition of cars and buildings, they noticed that a lot of people would dress in the cheapest clothes available, that there are almost no shops in German villages, and that the ones in towns are low-cost chains. They noticed that in the villages to which they mainly cycled, there is much less traffic and hardly any children. At the same time, they were touched how Germans would often stop to talk to them and usually in a very polite manner. Suddenly, it turned out that some of our students had studied German at school, a fact to which previously no one had admitted, and very often, even without help from their German partners, they interacted and communicated with locals.

These experiences were devastating for the popular images of Germany in Poland popularised by the media (see Kaczmarek, Ładykowski 2012a). Our western neighbours are often presented as impoverished East Germans (from GDR), *Ossi*, whose sense of failure and humiliation after the reunification of Germany found expression in frustration, xenophobia and natural hostility towards migrants, including the Polish, and the support of neo-fascist parties (as the NPD is seen). In

addition, the common opinion about their bad taste (appearance), sense of superiority, restitutional views (fears of the 'buying' or 'recapture' of properties in former German areas). When in 2009 in Loeknitz cars with Polish registration plates burned, Polish journalists invaded the village and created news of an 'ethnic conflict'. Local residents told us how the journalists did not want to listen to 'what really happened'; that in this case it was all about a neighbourly dispute caused by new tenants smoking cigarettes and having barbecues on a balcony in their block of flats. They reacted really aggressively when admonished for it by pensioners whom they disturbed. Direct contact with the local community, with people who reported, first-hand, many events known from the media, helped our students to stimulate reflection on how big the gaps are in their existing system of ideas. Thanks to this, they distanced themselves from their own knowledge, also with regard to their own country. Their German friends with their openness and willingness to discuss and explain the observed phenomena contributed tremendously to the 'disenchantment' of the world on the German borderland.

The next travel and its further consequences with the different groups of ethnography students have proven us that the implemented strategy began to bring positive results. Thanks to this lab experiment, some mutual partnership relations were established among students. The students who completed the first cycle of the laboratory volunteered in the following years just to be able to participate in the field trips with the younger students. Thus, our student research project on the emerging Polish-German borderland has become not a purely research project. It was a project during which students familiarised the matter personally and thus experienced the conditions of ethnography practice outside academia. But perhaps the most important aspect for us was the fact that they practised the hard way how can really be difficult self-education, during which one works on the constructs of visions that used to define one's current identity, outlook and beliefs, and vision of the world and one's place in it. The students began to be aware of the role of self-reflectiveness. Ethnography Laboratory gave its participants a chance to change their view of the world, a chance to become ethnologists.

The research tools' selection strategy

Having limited time to conduct fieldwork we expanded the educational programme associated with it in such a way that students were constantly in contact with the issues concerning their research topic. The problem was how were they to collect materials for their papers. Having discussed the problem, we came to the conclusion that the usual techniques used in Poland would not push our students forward, but can even contribute to their discouragement. An ethnologist Agnieszka Halemba very accurately highlighted the problem of the Polish academic tradition of ethnographic fieldwork. As an ethnologist with experience

gained from both Polish and British educational system, she could competently recapitulate the problem.

I would like to add a few of my own reflections on the contemporary field research carried out by Polish investigators. When authors such as Bloch, Marcus or Firth write about anthropological *fieldwork*, they mean a very specific manner of field research, based mainly on a long-term participatory observation, which surely includes interviews with people, but also common activities like watching TV, work, fun, friendship, etc. This kind of *fieldwork* they want to reform, discuss, indicate its pros and cons. Of course, during such fieldwork an anthropologist can and in many cases should use interviews based on questionnaires and surveys, shoot a film or use other visual aids (for instance, discuss photographs with people). However it is believed that long term participation in everyday life is the most important but at the same time the most problematic element. From my experience what is called fieldwork in Poland is usually based primarily on interviews (underlined by Ł.K & P.Ł.)” (Halemba 2011: 124-125).

Referring to the personal experience we had in Poznań and Warszawa we decided to radically break with the tradition taught and practised by us earlier of working mainly with questionnaires or sometimes surveys. During the discussion we had in Szczecin over the proposal for a new educational model of ethnographic practice, we reached the conclusion that ethnographic method is a result of the researcher's attitude and not only a convenient tool for obtaining information. Hence, it was important for us to prepare students to consider that while working with people they not only learn about them and their culture but, what is more important, about themselves. Because, during their individual fieldwork, a young student may or may not become an ethnographer. It is when and where their future is decided. This is why we realised that it was more important to induce an appropriate moral attitude in our students towards their interlocutors and to encourage that the need for daily ethical behaviour become their second nature. A mature investigator is conscious of his presence in the researched area and is aware of what it brings to the conversation, his interlocutors and to him personally.

This is why we felt that collecting materials is actually of secondary and not primary importance at least during the first field trip, especially given that we both seriously doubt that materials collected by a bunch of young, inexperienced and still lacking relevant expertise interviewers would be able to adequately interpret the collected data. Earlier, as students we were forced to use ready-made questionnaires, or at least to use suggested models for them, and to carry out at least two so called questionnaire interviews per day during the entire research trip. We were turning into collectors of unverifiable materials from our respondents, where there was neither the time nor the means to get familiar with the other person, our

interlocutor. We strongly believe that this led to a distortion of the whole idea of ethnographic research and created a wrong approach in students not only to the ethnographer's role, but also to anthropology as a science. This is because such a way of carrying out research does not leave any space for self-reflection. This is because there is no time to think through and reflect on the role of the *ad hoc* relations with informants. This, in turn, creates an illusion of real ethnography where collecting 'countable' data dominates over a conscious and unobtrusive presence among respondents. We rejected the model where material collected by students for research was by nature superficial. Such a state of affairs is caused by the short duration of the study (a maximum of two weeks) and also by its mass character, a group (more than a dozen people) of students working in the same area. In Szczecin, as opposed to Poznań and Warsaw Ethnology, our students did not have a chance to work with older students who had already had some fieldwork experience and it was important to make them realise what is, in our opinion, ethnography as a method and researcher's moral attitude. Since we could not refer to the experience of the Szczecin scientific community, we had to ourselves create a space for ethnographic knowledge coming from our first local researches. This situation was, on the one hand, a hindrance, but on the other it gave us a chance to freely create our own ethnography laboratory model.

Anthropology at home

It is difficult to judge today whether the research carried out by our students in the years 2009-2011 in Szczecin and its German surrounding area was a form of *anthropology at home*. When we discovered that not all young Szczecin citizens would share our passion for the history of the city, and that ethnology students knew very little if nothing about it, this idea came to seem very intriguing to us. To attract and interest these young people in the world around them, that maybe because of its apparent familiarity was harder to see, we had to go together through this unexpected educational path.

Thomas Hylland Eriksen, in his book *Small Places, Large Issues* (2001), draws attention to an equivalence between research carried out on distant cultures and studies in one's own community. The key issue here is cultural distance, sometimes obvious because of the spatial or time gap separating a researcher from his subject. At other times, as in the case of *anthropology at home*, a researcher must create this distance on his own.

Surprisingly, carrying out research just over the border of our own country, just beyond the western suburbs of Szczecin, has enabled us to experience both perspectives. On the one hand, leaving Szczecin and crossing the state border just a few kilometres away, we were already in Germany and recognised it as a totally different socio-cultural space. At the same time, and this is quite unique, by stay-

ing within the emerging Polish community in Germany, we experienced a well-known and familiar environment. This experience proved to have serious consequences when we invited our Szczecin students to work with us there.

As has already been indicated, it happens very rarely, and it is with this type of event that we are dealing here, that we have a chance to observe a phenomenon that although now manifested in local everyday life, has a chance in the perspective of forthcoming decades to mark several important developments and changes at the European level. For the event tells us about the consequences of abolishing national borders.

In the case of Szczecin, a revolution has started bringing changes to the ethnic structure which was created as a result of the policy after World War II and thereafter perpetuated. The understanding of the world around us is reassessed at the local level. Although the process of changes in language and everyday decisions is slow, it appears to be impossible to stop. An important question is how the experience of Szczecin residents settling in the East German borderland districts will affect the attitudes of the remaining citizens of their home town.

A place we chose for our research is just outside the city gates of a Polish town in the East German countryside. Once again it turned out that geographical proximity can in no way be translated into knowledge of an area. The young ethnology students' journals written during their research provide an excellent illustration of the first experience of fieldwork. In the passages quoted below, students recorded the sense of alienation accompanying them throughout their first stays in Germany:

"What does the German landscape look like? At first glance it can be concluded that it is similar to the one we see every day. A proof for the above statement could be the fact that most of the buildings on the German side of the border are almost identical to those that are seen in Poland. What makes me almost certain of the architectural similarities? For one it is Polish- German history, from which we know that the region of today's Szczecin used to be German (now I begin to notice the first advantages stemming from reading texts about so-called Polish-German relations;)). (...) When crossing the Polish-German border, what catches the attention is the state of roads, not resembling those we are used to. Interestingly, the areas we passed through are not part of a larger city, but still the roads even in such small towns are incomparably better than the ones seen on our side of the border. I would even dare to say that they are better than the ones in many big cities in Poland. Another difference which significantly distinguishes us from our neighbours is associated not just with landscapes or comfort of travelling, but mentalities. I mean there is a sense of overwhelming order on the German side. It is worth considering what makes people so willing to take care of the environment in which they live. Perhaps it is linked to policies imposing such a lifestyle, which in turn affects the mental-

ity of people who obey the system (as a matter of fact, how many people would take care of cleaning of their own free will?:P). Anyway, this is another example of the differences between us, but does it mean that it is worse? For some maybe yes, because these are Germans, but isn't it nice to live in such a clean environment without rubbish and a common indifference to what is happening around us - surely yes! As I noticed the mentality of people is not only reflected in the order in which they live, but also in the perception of those who disturb it! Unfortunately, in this case it is impossible to clearly identify the Germans' attitude towards strangers and foreigners. (...) Other differences in the Polish and German mentality can be noticed only a few kilometres after crossing the border, such as empty streets. No doubt it is not a nation where, in contrast to us, the surrounding area is treated as their property, where noise and improving mutual relations are something natural." (Extract from a Journal noted on Wednesday 22nd April 2009 during the cycling on the Szczecin- Eggesin route).

However, what we as educators and active researchers consider as our greatest achievement was presenting students a different perspective and incorporating them in a discussion about the place of research and the role that they play in the research process. Therefore, *anthropology at home* stopped being an abstract, theoretical notion from the manual but became a conscious research practice. It also meant understanding the sense of conducting a research in a well-known social context. The process of discovering the area of research and understanding their own presence in it, as well as dealing with the problems that accompany the first steps in the practice of ethnography beyond the walls of the university became the individual experience of each of the young participants. And these circumstances forced working in mixed teams. This is well illustrated in another extract from a journal of a different student:

"We tried to communicate with the local residents but we were soon brought back to earth when it turned out that not a single person we tried to talk to spoke English. This, as it may seem, normal situation (and how important from the point of view of an ethnologist as I already had a chance to notice) made me realise how essential it is to speak the local language of the researched area. After many attempts to communicate and receiving incomprehensible gestures, we realised our helplessness which, combined with the kilometres, led us to the brink of despair. In this critical moment for us, I again realised how beneficial a stressful situation can be for a human; having analysed our German knowledge we managed to cobble together a meaningful phrase. As it turned out, this momentary glimpse allowed us to communicate with the local. We didn't understand the answer but the gestures that we saw helped us to choose the right direction that we should follow. It helped us to reach our destination." (extract from a Journal, noted on Thursday 23rd April 2009 Loecknitz)".

This is when we understood that the subject of our study had changed its trajectory: we started to lead a parallel research to the one about borderland residents, focusing on the students taking part in the project. Their reflections about crossing their own limits when facing the strangeness, so unexpected for us, of their own neighbours turned out to be as rich a source of information about the mechanisms of the formation of the borderland as the research we made in the area.

Accidental discoveries - serendipities

Accidental discoveries, unintended, revealed as if by chance, in social sciences are traditionally called *serendipity*. Perhaps this phenomenon tells more about our own assumptions and prejudices, but for us an unexpected phenomenon was the Szczecin students' declared dislike and reluctance towards the Germans and everything associated with them in everyday perceptions. We were surprised to find out that most of the students taking part in the research in many cases had never been to Germany before. The second intriguing discovery we observed was their ambiguous if not reluctant attitude towards their home town, Szczecin. Our expectations were based on our own ideas that we had of Szczecin University students, that is as a young intellectual elite who in the future will decide on the character and nature of their residence. This (along with a sad revision of our views of the role of young Polish intellectuals) confirmed our belief that a parallel (to the topic of borderland residents) subject of the research would be the notions of proximity and cultural alienation of our student-residents of Szczecin. For here emerged a key to answering the question: is the emergence of the Polish-German borderland at all possible and what is the model of the neighbourly relations that would as a consequence be created? Would it be a French-German model, in which there was a conscious 'reconciliation work' between neighbours, or the model of 'barely tolerable neighbours'.

Our failure

The ethnography programme proposed by us included a compact, three year curriculum: lectures and tutorials on "Methodology of Ethnographic Research" (45 +15 hours in the first semester of undergraduate studies) aimed to familiarise students with the basics of ethnographic research, with the most important approaches and scientific texts related to the subject; 'Ethnographic Laboratory' (5 semesters of 30 h) together with an integral "Fieldwork Practice" (1 week in the second semester and 2 weeks in the fourth semester) devoted to the preparation, conducting and elaboration of the results of the student mini-research programmes with field research, the results of which were to serve as the basis for scientific elaboration (BA Theses) at the "Dissertation Seminar" (3 semesters of 30h).

Labs, Fieldwork Practice and Seminars were to be conducted in small (12-15 students) teams supervised by one experienced ethnographer-lecturer. In 2009, we introduced this programme to the curriculum of the Chair of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at Szczecin University.

After the initial success of the idea, when apart from our programme to study Polish- German borderland, ethnology students also researched areas of the former USSR, the situation started to change. The University personnel policy and a reluctance to understanding the essence of the idea on the part of the persons responsible for allocating didactic courses for teaching staff, as well as an unwillingness to finance students' field explorations by the authorities of the Humanities Department at the Szczecin University led to a situation where, among others, initially student fieldwork was banned in the winter semester and then the idea that they should only take place during the summer holidays was introduced. Also, the courses were delegated to different persons (not necessarily with ethnographic experience), and for financial reasons the student groups became larger and job rotation for lecturers was introduced, which led to situations where a lab group that prepared to work in the borderland would be ordered to research a city. This led to organisational mayhem, and a situation where some of the essential classes were not taught at all and theses were written without conducting fieldwork research. The only exception has been our research programme on the Polish-German borderland, for which we fought and managed to obtain funding or direct support from external institutions together with organisational help from borderland communities and some local German governments. Although the remnants of the system designed by us still appears in the curriculum of the Chair of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology of Szczecin University, the idea has been misappropriated and distorted. Now students, as in many other academic centres in Poland, again enjoy fruitless trips.

Conclusion

The educational ethnography practice project carried out by us in Szczecin is of course one of many possible choices, and we are not certain whether it is the perfect model. It was a kind of experiment which was the result of a series of discussions on the form and content of student ethnographic fieldwork practice. Of course, the location of the academic unit we both were working at was not without significance. Equally important was the attitude presented by the first year students at the Chair of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology in Szczecin. We managed to achieve a model of fieldwork practice firmly embedded in the local context, in accordance with the objective underlying the whole series of our actions. However, we did not succeed in the field of gaining political support and academic recognition for our students' training methods, a failure that

has a symbolic meaning in our “neoliberal times” of saving money on every occasion: a failure all the more bitter as these they could have been used to raise some Bourdieusian capital.

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BOOK REVIEWS

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Vít Horák

Nová kniha Terezy Stöckelové polemizuje s technizujícím a ekonomizujícím přístupem k sociálním vědám, pro něž se hodnota vědy odvíjí od využitelnosti jejich poznatků. Přináší kritiku stávajícího systému financování vědy, spoléhajícího na měření vědeckých výsledků pomocí různých faktorů dopadu (impaktu). V tomto kontextu představuje alternativní britský systém, jenž spočívá na kvalitativním hodnocení (Research Assessment Exercise). Provádějí ho disciplinárně definované panely odborníků, které nominují samotné univerzity. Především však diskusi o vykazování vědy rámuje obecnější otázkou po vztahu sociálních věd a společnosti. Ten nechce chápat jako vztah jednostranný. Klade si otázku nikoli pouze po přínosu věd pro společnost, ale otevírá možnost komplexnějších vzájemných vlivů. Věda společnost nejen zkoumá, ale sama vytváří, tvrdí Stöckelová na pozadí *performativní teorie vědy*.

Autorka hledá cesty úniku ze zjednodušujícího pohledu na hodnocení vědecké práce, přičemž téma klade do širších souvislostí vztahu vědy a společnosti. Nabízí se námitka, že takový tematický rozsah se nedá na pouhých sto stranách zpracovat, přesto si myslím, že je zvolený vhodně. Odtržení dotačního rozměru věci od jeho zarámování ve filozoficko-politických postojích je totiž právě tím, co vydatnou měrou k současnému stavu přispívá. Přesto by to nemělo znamenat, že obojí – problém vykazatelnosti a obecnější otázku po vztahu vědy a společnosti – budeme směřovat. Obě dvě roviny by měly být analyticky odděleny, protože jen tak jsme schopni si uvědomit jejich vzájemnou závislost. Problém totiž není jenom v tom, že různé formy hodnocení jsou spojeny se specifickými filozofickými postoji, ale především ve skutečnosti, že samo toto vykazování je výrazem určitého vztahu vědy a společnosti. To je zřejmě i názor Terezy Stöckelové (s. 42–44), kterého se ale sama ne zcela drží.

V této recenzi bych chtěl projít argumentační postup knihy a poukázat na problematická místa, která spatřuji právě v nejasném přechodu mezi oběma rovinami (ekonomicko-správní a filozofickou) a nakonec také ve špatně čitelném autorčině stanovisku.

Autorka se kromě stávajícího impaktového modelu věnuje vlastně třem alternativám či spíše alternativním způsobům jak (sociální) vědu chápat. Je to *model auditu*, *participativní výzkum* a *performativní teorie vědy*. Mezi těmito postupy/perspektivami snad mohou být nějaké průniky, ale v zásadě jsou něčím od základu odlišným. První se zabývá vykazováním vědy, druhý sociologickou praxí a třetí je obecnou ontologií a epistemologií. Kniha se ale rozdlílům, rozporům či způsobům, jak je vzájemně sloučit, vůbec nevěnuje. Spíše tyto teorie klade vedle sebe do oddělených kapitol, které začínají vždy od počátku. Nemuselo by to vadit, kdyby kniha byla míněna jako přehledová publikace. Ve skutečnosti je napsána jako angažovaná polemika, která chce nabídnout alternativu. Ta se možná rýsuje na konkrétních místech, kdy zřetelně kritická vymezení naznačují, kudy se ubírat a kudy ne, ale žádný celkový koherentní obraz se zde neskládá. Ve své recenzi bych se po kratším komentáři k oběma modelům vykazování chtěl věnovat kritice teorie participativního výzkumu a také otázce její (ne)slučitelnosti s performativním viděním vědy.

Model impaktu

Na úvod je nutné stručně představit ekonomizující chápání vědy, které je výchozím bodem autorčina kritického stanoviska. To je založeno na představě, že přínos vědeckých výsledků lze kvantifikovat. Už to zvyhodňuje specifický typ společenského přínosu, jímž je ekonomická využitelnost, protože ta se dá kvantifikovat nejlépe. Ideálním kvantifikátorem, který by vědu ohodnotil, by vlastně byla cena určená trhem podle poptávky. Zpětně by tím byly poskytnuty prostředky těm výzkumníkům, kteří produkují ekonomicky nejcenější výsledky. Pro hodnocení vědy je ale zpravidla používán uměle vytvořený kvantifikátor (např. impakt faktor), který má alespoň deklarativně zohlednit i čistě vědeckou kvalitu. Ten může být vnímán jako čistě technický nástroj, zároveň je však výrazem jistého vztahu mezi vědou a společností. Předpokládá, že vědecká práce nemá hodnotu sama o sobě, ale až tehdy, dá-li se kvantifikovat. Vědec je před společností ospravedlněn jen tak, že dokáže „vysázet na stůl“; ne tím, co píše nebo říká, ale anonymním počtem. Nejsou-li to peníze, pak alespoň virtuální faktory, které umožní se s vědou vypořádat účetně a zajistit, že dáváme víc těm, kteří víc dávají nám. Vykazatelnost legitimizuje svou jednoznačností. Čísla se dají jednoznačně porovnávat, čímž vytvářejí představu nestrannosti, před níž nikdo nemůže zůstat na pochybách.

Lze sice namítnout, že kvantitativní bodování nemusí oceňovat výlučně technicky využitelné výsledky, ale ty jsou přesto vždycky ve výhodě. Jednak jsou zjevné ve stávajícím českém systému hodnocení (viz s. 104), ale především jsou výsledkem logicky vyplývajícím z představy kvantifikace přínosu vědecké práce. Jakožto svého druhu investice, u nichž lze pozorovat návratnost, jsou totiž technicky využitelné výsledky z podstaty věci dobře vykazatelné. Naproti tomu výsledky, které nemohou být pochopeny jako ekonomická investice, musí být teprve do účetní lo-

giky převedeny, což je vždycky zdrojem dohadů, nejistoty a obav, že jsou zneužívány veřejné zdroje. Zatímco ekonomická využitelnost je kritérium, které, jak se zdá, mluví samo za sebe, všechna ostatní měřítká je nutno vyjednat na základě křehké politické shody.

Stöckelová rozšiřování ekonomické logiky kritizuje jako redukcionistické, ale také je ilustruje v historickém vývoji a na úryvcích z rozhovorů a textů zainteresovaných politiků, vědců a funkcionářů.

Model auditu

Ve své knize začíná tím, že „impaktový“ model vykazování porovnává s modelem auditu, který si klade za cíl hodnotit vědu na základě širších kritérií – jak vědeckého, tak společenského přínosu. Cílem auditu je učinit vědu transparentní, tak aby bylo jasné, k čemu který výzkum, instituce či jednotlivec slouží. Stöckelová zde ale varuje, že zprůhledňování je

„zároveň praxí s problematickými důsledky a průhlednost zčásti nebezpečnou iluzí. Jestliže zavádění systému hodnocení reaguje na nedostatek důvěry v sociální instituce, pak audit jako standardizovaný mechanismus kontroly důvěru jednoduše neobnovuje, ale spíše permanentně zviditelňuje její nedostatek, a tak ji [myšleno zřejmě nedůvěru, pozn. VH] vlastně dále prohlubuje. Logika auditu, ve které ztrácí to, co není auditovatelné, politickou relevanci, motivuje instituce orientovat se výlučně na auditovatelné a auditované charakteristiky vlastní činnosti.“ (s. 27)

Model auditu je tedy založen na předpokladu principiální nedůvěry mezi vědou a společností. Staví vědce do role podezřelých, kteří musí dokazovat svůj přínos. Jistě není tak redukcionistický jako impaktový model, ale zato vědu ještě více byrokratizuje. „Impaktový“ model může v rámci daných kritérií poskytovat ještě relativní svobodu, protože vědec za předpokladu, že je schopen dostatečné body vykázat, se může věnovat tématům podle svého uvážení. Auditový model však tím, že chce postihnout všechny možné přínosy vědecké práce, vlastně vědce ještě více do klece vykazatelnosti zavírá. Zatímco „impaktový“ model dokáže ocenit jen přínos určitého typu, spočívá nebezpečí auditového modelu paradoxně v tom, že chce ocenit vše, a tak také musí všechno převést na body, administrativně vykazovat a obhajovat před nejrůznějšími komisemi. Svou ambicí všeobecné kontroly také uzavírá možnost, při níž by výsledky principiálně přesahovaly dosavadní perspektivy a znalosti. Kladně hodnocen může být totiž z podstaty věci jen prvek, jehož význam je znám a pochopen.

Stöckelová chápe *auditový model* jako zdravou alternativu na jednorozměrnost *impaktového modelu*, ale ani pro ni není dostatečným řešením. Jsem však přesvědčen, že tato kritika – redukcionismus i absence důvěry – není vázána na zmíněné

modely, ale vůbec na *logiku vykazatelnosti* a kontroly vědeckých výsledků. Proto se mi zdá, že jediným možným východiskem je uznat principiální nemožnost zhodnotit vědeckou či obecně myslitelskou práci podle apriorních kritérií. Na některých místech to vypadá, že Stöckelová je stejného názoru. Třeba když říká, že „[b]ez určité míry důvěry v nepřímé a dlouhodobé společensky pozitivní důsledky výzkumu se neobejdeme“ (s. 31), nebo když kritizuje logiku vykazatelnosti výsledků jako takovou (s. 41–42). Vzápětí ovšem přichází s náhradním řešením – alternativní *logikou účasti* inspirovanou americkým marxistickým sociologem Michael Burawoyem a jeho představou veřejné sociologie (Burawoy 2005), která chce společenské vědy založit na základě participace výzkumu s veřejností. Jde tu však o alternativní způsob vykazování vědy, nebo je logika účasti myšlena nějak jinak?

Logika účasti

Od počátku visí ve vzduchu otázka, kam logiku účasti zařadit. Má být alternativním modelem hodnocení vědy, její společenské kontroly a distribuce peněz, anebo se zde ocitáme v úplně jiné diskusi, totiž o smyslu a směřování sociologie? Autorka se pohybuje někde mezi těmito pozicemi, což je zdrojem nedorozumění a nejasností. Kritizuje logiku vykazatelnosti, jejíž nedostatky plynou z toho, že za účelem distribuce peněz je nucena vykazovat nevykazatelné. Logika účasti naproti tomu jako by byla této nutnosti zbavena, což pochopitelně umožňuje představit ji v daleko lepších barvách. Přitom ale logika účasti je tu představena jako alternativa předchozího, a tedy aspiruje na to být *kritériem* pro vědeckou práci, které by mohlo/mělo sloužit pro rozdělování dotací. Pokud by však toto kritérium mělo být použito pro rozdělování peněz, pak bychom se nutně museli potýkat s problémy spojenými s vykazováním probíraným výše. Otázka společenské správy vědy a s ní související problémy tu není vyřešena, nýbrž pouze přehlížena. Míchají se tu dvě různé věci. Burawoy, z něhož pasáž vychází, rozvíjí intrasociologickou debatu, která si klade za cíl vyvést sociologii z krize. Nejde mu, zdá se mi, o žádný návod jak vědě efektivně a spravedlivě rozdělovat peníze. Stöckelová kopíruje jeho argumentaci, ale klade ji do úplně jiného kontextu.

Logika účasti není žádným pokrokem, ani když odhlédneme od této nejasnosti. Jejich důsledků pro koncepci sociálněvědní, či zde především sociologické profese se podle mého názoru lze spíš obávat. Ač odmítá logiku vykazování, vrací se Tereza Stöckelová k představě, že lze nalézt kritérium, které zajistí legitimní vědění. Spolu s Burawoyem tvrdí, že sociologie má vycházet z participace laiků na výzkumu a užívání svých výsledků pak průběžně kontrolovat. V případě výzkumu „nemůže odpovědnost končit publikací výsledků, jejich ‚propuštěním do světa‘, ale zahrnuje ‚následnou péči‘ o jejich význam a využití mimo akademickou půdu“ (s. 46). Kontakt vědce s veřejností tak není jednorázový, ale procesuální a vlastně neustálý. Tato kontrola by podle Stöckelové neměla být spojena s náro-

kem vlastnického monopolu na užití a na pravý význam poznatků a nemůžeme tedy ani počítat s uchopením všech společensko-politických aspektů (s. 46–47). Přes tato ujištění jsme se však nevzdálili od „důrazu na výsledky“, snad je tu dokonce ještě radikalizován. Stále totiž jde o výsledky, o kterých platí to, co Stöckelová píše o stránku dříve:

„Výsledky výzkumu jsou to, co se na první pohled nabízí jako zprostředkovatel mezi různými světy a co relativně jednoduše zachytí i kvantitativní hodnotící systémy.“ (s. 42)

„Důraz na výsledky je [...] zaklet již v samotném pojmu „impakt“, který podle *Concise Oxford Dictionary* znamená srážku, vliv, efekt, ve smyslu jednorázového, v čase omezeného působení.“ (s. 42)

Chápeme-li výsledky procesuálně a nikoliv jednorázově, nijak se tím nemění jejich podstata. Výsledky (závěry, fakta) jsou právě vždycky kategorické a monologické. Mohou být překrucovány a vědci mohou sřezit jejich význam, ale stále zůstávají tím, čím jsou: faktem a nikoli otevřeným diskusním tématem. Rozdíl je v tom, že zatímco výsledek, fakt, **závěr** směřuje vždy k ukončení, k tečce za větou, žije dialog ze svého pokračování. Jistěže i o závěrech výzkumu může být diskuse, ale cílem výzkumu pořád zůstává onen závěr. To je logika věci, ze které autorka neuniká, ani když ji popisuje jako sérii „menších transformačních aktivit“ a vzájemných diskusí. Další nebezpečí spočívá v tom, kdo je a kdo není do této diskuse zahrnut. Obávám se, že Burawoy i Stöckelová se vrací k marxistické myšlence boje jedněch proti druhým. Východiska výzkumu budou vyjednána s inkriminovanou skupinou a výsledky výzkumu pak budou použity v podpoře zájmů této skupiny v politickém boji. Podle mého názoru je právě nutné odlišit dialog a politický boj, v němž nejde o diskusi, ale o prosazení vlastního, již hotového názoru.

Logika účasti je založena na úzkém vztahu mezi vědcem a těmi, které zkoumá. Místo aby věda působila na lidi pouze zvnějšku dopadem svých aplikací, prosazuje Stöckelová, inspirovaná Michael Burawoyem, bližší a soustavnější kontakt. Lidé zde nejsou jen objekty zájmu, ale vlastně spolupracovníky výzkumu, jenž má o nich společnosti předat relevantní informace. Věda v tomto pojetí nemá být pouze anonymní autoritou, která sděluje výsledky, ale má zahrnovat i dialog. Je ovšem nutné se znovu ptát: Je to myšleno jako náhrada impaktového a auditového modelu? Je to vnější kritérium, podle něhož se mají vědcům rozdělovat peníze, nebo epistemologická úvaha o způsobu, jakým vědci získávají relevantní vědění? Pokud si jednoznačně nevybereme, hrozí, že údajná alternativa hodnotící logiky bude ve skutečnosti její zastření. Místo volně využitelné aplikace a auditovatelného přínosu tu prostě jen postavíme jako kritérium participaci konkrétních *publik* (jak objekty i recipienty sociologických výzkumů nazývá Burawoy). A podle tohoto kritéria by se pak zřejmě měly rozdělovat peníze na výzkumy. V knize to není explicitně

řečeno, ale klade-li se logika účasti jako alternativa k auditovému a impaktovému modelu, pak se tomuto závěru lze těžko vyhnout.

Zmíněné problémy – redukcionismus a absence důvěry –, které Stöckelová rozpoznala na dvou probíraných modelech, by tady musely působit úplně stejně. A opět to není jen problém ekonomický, ale především zcela obecné téma svobody myšlení a její instrumentální redukce. Předkládají se tu jen jiné cíle, kterým má věda sloužit, čímž se ale opět říká, že takové cíle lze znát dopředu a výzkum na ně zaměřit. Legitimitu, kterou nebyl schopen poskytnout impakt faktor či audit, nám mají poskytnout sami lidé, které zkoumáme. Je to od základu perverzní představa kontroly, která se strachuje nepředvídatelnosti, a proto neguje všechno to, co by mohlo dané obzory přesáhnout. Navíc se domnívám, že stejně jako je příliš úzká a vědeckému úsilí naprosto nevlastní ekonomická logika, je mu nevlastní i požadavek participace. Zde je možné odkázat na kritického teoretika Theodora W. Adorna, který vždycky trval na tom, že vztah sociologa a společnosti je vztahem kritiky. Sociolog nemá lidi, o kterých píše, zvat k participaci, *má je kritizovat!* V Adornově perspektivě by přínos pro dané publikum nespočíval v zahrnutí perspektiv zkoumaných, ale naopak v kritické opozici vůči nim. Sociolog by právě participovat neměl, protože ho to omezuje v kritickém odstupu. Nedokážu si dost dobře představit, jak by mohl být sociolog náležitě kritický ke svým vlastním spolupracovníkům, zde tedy k sociologickým publikům. Autorka by se podle mého názoru měla vyrovnat s nabízející se námitkou, že se zde pro lidi, které sociologové studují, navrhuje jakýsi paušální odpustek.

Měl-li bych se pokusit o nejvstřícnější pochopení „participace“, pak by musela být chápána jako dialog. Ten vždycky nechává prostor pro nesouhlas a kritiku. Dokonce právě ona netotožnost perspektiv je principiálním základem, z něhož povstává motivace mluvit a dorozumívat se. Jak ale dialog sloučit s monologickou vědou usilující o produkci výsledků formou tezí a výzkumných zpráv? Řešení, které nabízí Stöckelová ve stopách Burawoye, spočívá v přesunu tohoto dialogu na pole vědy. Domnívám se, že výsledkem je jeho neutralizace, spíš než emancipace. Logika výzkumu spočívá v produkci poznatků, ke kterým jsme schopni dospět jen tehdy, přestaneme-li diskutovat o pojmech a východiscích a začneme je prostě používat. Proces výběru pojmů a metod můžeme koncipovat na základě dialogu, ale máme-li dospět k výzkumu, musí tento proces někde skončit a na jeho místo musí nastoupit monologický výzkumný proces. Tím, že do něj zahrneme více lidí, neměníme jeho podstatu. Má-li být dialog principiálním základem sociologie, pak musí být nadřazen, nikoliv podřazen vědě!

V *Nebezpečných známostech* se nedočteme, jak by participativní výzkum měl probíhat. Nevím, jestli se navrhuje, aby sociolog měl povinnost dosáhnout s participanty shody na svých výsledcích či alespoň na pojmech, které používá, nebo na základních východiscích. Jak by měl konzultovat s laiky své metody? Návrhy tohoto typu by bylo možné kritizovat, ale v knize nalézáme pouze nezřetelné pasá-

že o vzájemnosti, péči a reflexi. Další část argumentace odvádí konfrontace s logikou vykazatelnosti, od které se ale Stöckelová osvobodila pouze do té míry, do níž ignoruje ekonomickou stránku věci. Nakonec se mi nezdá, že by se participace od vykazování osvobodila. Vykazuje se pouze jiným způsobem. Není to výkaz, kterým jsou uspokojeni úředníci, ale spíš výkaz pro vlastní svědomí vědců, který uvolňuje ruce sociologickým výzkumům. Čelit naplno odpovědnosti vlastního jednání však musí spočívat právě v tom, že se neschováváme za žádné výkazy a předem zajištěné postupy. Sociolog by měl být vždy připraven *neúčastnit se* a zvnějšku kritizovat. To neplatí jen vzhledem ke kapitalismu, ale k jakémukoliv vztažnému rámci či politickým a společenským skupinám, i těm, které sociolog zkoumá, byť by to byly skupiny slabší a znevýhodněné. Tím není řečeno, že může být neutrální, nýbrž pouze že není nutné nikomu otevřeně stranit. To je v souladu s Burawoyovým záměrem pojmut sociologii jako disciplínu orientovanou na normativní ideál občanské společnosti. Ten je přece čistě ideální a není spojen s žádnou konkrétní skupinou obyvatel, pro něž bychom měli své výzkumy dělat. Opět je zde možné odkázat na zmíněného Adorna, který byl ostře hodnotícím sociologem, a přesto ho nelze vinit, že by stranil jednomu proti druhým.

Podle mého názoru jde především o to, veškerou kontrolu a správu odsunout co nejdál od vlastní činnosti myšlení. Není třeba tolik hledat alternativy k výkazům, ale spíše je důležité se jimi nenechat kolonizovat. Tato kolonizace není prostým důsledkem systému rozdělování peněz. I vědec ve stávajícím systému může oddělovat vykazování a svoji práci. Naproti tomu logika účasti, kdybychom ji měli chápat jako alternativní návrh pro hodnocení vědy, by implikovala stejné problémy jako model auditu. Zdá se mi nevyhnutelné, že by způsobovala nedůvěru a „odskutečnění“ těch, kteří neparticipují. Myslím tedy, že vlastní problém vykazatelnosti, kterým se zabývá Tereza Stöckelová, má jediný možný závěr: *věda vykazatelná není*. Vykazatelnost je problém politický, nikoli vědecký. Tím se neříká, že vědec stojí mimo politiku; chce-li se však přit o rozdělování peněz, měl by přijmout skutečnost, že v této diskusi je pouze politikem a nikoli vědcem nároklujícím si přednostní přístup k pravdě. Hledat další, lepší, komplexnější, humánnější, inkluzivnější kritéria pro vědu, která by byla přiměřená logice svobodného bádání, je od počátku kontraproduktivní, redukcionistické a instrumentalizující.

K obecnějšímu pojetí vědy

Vlastním jádrem této perspektivy je bezesporu základní filozofický rámec, ve kterém se autorka pohybuje. Ten by bylo dobré vyjasnit. V úvodní kapitole, která je nazvána „Imperativ praxe“, píše:

„Odpověď, kterou v této studii rozvíjím, by zněla, že filozofie je vždy praktická: nikoli v tom smyslu, že by byla vždy přímo využitelná a užitečná, ale že nikdy není zasazena do čistě kontemplativního a teoretického světa. Je vsazena do prak-

tického světa, z něhož vyrůstá, který různými způsoby, přímo i nepřímo, ovlivňuje a kterým je sama ovlivňována.“ (s. 12)

Není docela jasné, vůči komu se tu autorka vymezuje. Teorie v řeckém pojetí byla sice kontemplativní, ale to neznamenalo, že by se týkala nějakého jiného světa. Odstup, který si teorie vyžadovala, sloužil k širšímu přehledu právě tohoto světa, v němž je člověk angažovaný. Naproti tomu novověké pojetí teorie jako matematických vztahů, které mají být teprve empiricky potvrzeny, je sice v zásadě vzdálené žitému světu (pohybuje se spíše v prostoru karteziánských souřadnic), ale zase vždy počítá se svou aplikací. Autorka tak zaujímá pozici, se kterou by těžko někdo nesouhlasil (snad možná stoická filozofie). Proto se musíme dále ptát, co znamená, že filozofie je vždy praktická. Nabízím dvě možné interpretace, které se mi zde zdají relevantní: může nás to vést k přesvědčení, že (1) praxe (a politika) je původnější než teorie, a tedy je jí v jistém smyslu nadřazená, anebo že (2) obojí je nerozlišitelně spojeno do moci-vědění. Zasadil bych se za první možnost, Stöckelové je evidentně bližší ta druhá. Hlavní rozdíl spočívá podle mého názoru v úloze vědy. Osou první možnosti je přesvědčení, že k praktickému rozhodování nemá věda co říct. Není zde žádný expert, který by mohl jednotlivci či společnosti v jejich politických dilematech ulehčit. Druhá možnost naopak volá vědu na pomoc, aby rozkryla moc i na těch nejpřekvapivějších a nejnepatrnějších místech. Úskalí této pozice spatřuji v tom, že spolu s tímto úsilím se rozšiřuje oblast působnosti vědy. Svět, ve kterém žijeme, se stále více stává iluzí, jehož pravou tvář má teprve věda rozkrýt. Jestliže Tereza Stöckelová píše o negaci důvěry, pak to je přesně ten směr, kterým se tento způsob myšlení a výzkumné praxe vydává. Rozsah toho, co věda eviduje jako nesamozřejmé a nevyhovující, se stále zvětšuje, čímž se zmenšuje svět, v němž s důvěrou žijeme. Tato námitka není mířena proti kritice, ale proti syntéze kritiky a pozitivně orientované vědy, tedy takové, která si klade za cíl popisovat realitu.

Nabízí se tu obecnější otázka, kde jsou hranice vědění, které produkuje či by měla produkovat věda? Existuje vůbec nějaké vědění, k němuž nemá věda co říct, protože není vlastní jejímu způsobu tazání? Na onu participaci se přece můžeme dívat i zcela opačně, nikoli jako zahrnutí do produkce znalostí, ale jako aroganci vědy, která se chápe jako univerzální podnik, kterého by se měl každý účastnit (a napravit tak svou dosavadní ignoranci vědeckými výsledky). Místo vstřícného pozvání na palubu lze výzvu k participaci vidět i jako snahu přibírat komplice. Participativní logika vyniká jistou absencí ostychu a diskretnosti. Postupuje v linii kolonizovat dosavadní vědění laiků a účastnit se konstituce jejich názorů. Vůbec nebere v úvahu možnost, že by intervence vědy mohla být škodlivá. V celé knize Terezy Stöckelové se o lidech, které společenské vědy zkoumají, nemluví jinak než prostřednictvím výsledků, jež o nich věda poskytuje, a účasti na výzkumu. Bez vědy by – jak to zde vyznívá – lidé neexistovali. Lidé mohou dosáhnout pouze toho, že se na produkci vědění podílejí, v opačném případě zůstávají v područí jiných

vědeckých interpretací. Domnívám se, že skutečný dialog mezi sociology a laiky by se nemohl odehrávat na poli vědy, nýbrž v jistém *mezi*. Nemůže být pouhou participací na výzkumu. Sociologové by se tu měli oprostít od toho, že mají nějaké výsledky, data, prokázané závěry nebo že by o ně vůbec měli usilovat. Vést s někým rozhovor a zkoumat ho lze možná paralelně, ale ne najednou. Smyslem výzkumu je dospět k výsledkům – vyzkoumat, smyslem dialogu je k výsledku nedospět, nýbrž v rozhovoru pokračovat – klást otázky, odpovídat. Výsledek vždycky petrifikuje skutečnost, která je barvitější a ne tak jednoznačná.¹ I kdybychom připustili, že výsledky vědy budou neustále k dispozici pro případnou kritiku a dialog, stále to bude dialog o *vědeckých výsledcích*, v němž budou mít vědci nad laiky vždy nadřazené postavení. Jak jsem již uvedl výše, myslím, že je chyba vůbec se snažit o legitimizaci výzkumů. Sociologie by měla působit přesně opačným směrem, má všechny výsledky rozrušovat, ne zvat lidi k jejich další tvorbě a legitimizovat je. Vyprodukuje-li výzkumník fakt, diskusi ukončí, demaskuje-li sociolog fakt jako dílčí odpověď na otázku, dialog otevírá.

Performativní teorie vědy

Druhá část knihy (s. 49–84) zcela opouští problém vykazatelnosti a věnuje se obecné otázce filozofického založení vědy. Zatímco logiku účasti Stöckelová rozvíjela v návaznosti na Burawoye, zde je hlavním vztažným bodem John Law, Annemarie Mol a performativní teorie vědy. Jak jsem psal již na začátku, myslím, že dostat se až k takto obecné rovině je u tohoto tématu potřeba. Není mi ale úplně jasné, jak na sebe obě hlavní části knihy navazují. Už logika participace byla v podstatě epistemologickým návrhem a nespádala pod problém společenské správy vědy. Nyní se tu předkládá vlastně další alternativa, která je v mnohém s Burawoyovým schématem v rozporu.²

Burawoy chápe sociologii na základě dělby sociologické práce, přičemž profesionální vědu produkující poznatky odděluje od veřejné sociologie, která komunikuje s publiky. Profesionální sociologie by měla plnit zadání, kterého se jí dostane od veřejné sociologie, ale sama její práce postupuje podle intravědeckých standardů výzkumu. Sociologie má vlastní metody a pojmy, kterými se snaží přesně zachytit zkoumanou realitu, jež nemusí být zjevná laickému pohledu. Protože ale Burawoy nespolehá na čistou vědu, která by byla schopna dospět k jednoznačné univerzálně platné realitě, je podle něj nutné vědu aktivně spojovat s legitimními hodnotami a zájmy. Společenské vědy proto rozděluje podle toho, ke kterým hodnotám se vztahují, přičemž právě sociologie se má starat o občanskou společnost a o konkrétní sociologická publika. Potřeba komunikace mezi profesionální soci-

1 To je ostatně teze, kterou sama Stöckelová zastává v druhé části knihy.

2 A Stöckelová tu také najednou Burawoye kritizuje (s. 49–50), jako by o pár stránek dříve na jeho teorii nevystavěla vlastní pozici.

ologii provádějící výzkumy a sociologickým publikem tedy vychází právě z jejich vzdálenosti a nezávislosti.

Naproti tomu performativní teorie, a Tereza Stöckelová ve své knize tuto vzdálenost demaskuje jako pouze zdánlivou, ukazuje, že každodenní svět a svět vědeckých poznatků se prolíná. Věda není nezávislá na laickém vědění, ale naopak se podílí na jeho produkci. Sociologie tak není nezávislým záznamníkem reality, ale také jejím tvůrcem. Performativní teorie je založena na dvou základních názorech: 1) realita je mnohoznačná a neurčitá a 2) její zurčnění je až produktem vědy, která svět prezentuje jako jednoznačný. Věda tedy vládne nejen epistemologickou, ale i ontologickou³ působností (s. 62). Věda z podstaty věci selektuje některé verze skutečnosti a jiné pomíjí a tento fakt nelze obejít žádnými kritérii ani nijak neutralizovat. Nyní můžeme doufat, že obraz světa bude možno politicky dohodnout, ale už ne vědecky obhájit jako platný.

Nerozumím tomu, jak je možné tuto perspektivu kombinovat s burawoyovskou logikou účasti, která doufá v novou legitimizaci vědy. Zatímco participace je založena na epistemologickém optimismu a do vědy zve další účastníky, performativní teorie demaskuje vědu jako divadlo, které ukazuje, stejně tak jako zakrývá. Vede nás zřejmě k tomu, abychom produkci obrazu světa nenechávali odborníkům a vystavovali jej co nejširší politické diskusi. V každém případě nás těžko napadne hledat pro vědecké výzkumy nová potvrzení a zapojovat další účastníky. Navíc za předpokladu, že věda nejen zkoumá, ale i přetváří svůj předmět, by participativní výzkum měl tendenci degenerovat do jakési objednávky svého image. Je zřejmé, že zde by participace byla možná jen jako participace všech, protože každý obraz světa bude mít důsledky pro celou společnost. To je, zdá se mi, s logikou výzkumu těžko slučitelné. Kromě technických limitů je politicky ne-realistické očekávat, že by se lidé shodli byt na základních východiscích výzkumu. Zatímco logika účasti je založena na představě nového ukotvení vědy, které se snaží o osobnější, konkrétnější a kvalitativnější přístup (kvalitativní výzkum je zde evidentně předobrazem), performativní teorie spíše přesahuje vědu směrem k politice.

Autorka se rozporům mezi Burawoyovou sociologií a performativní teorií nevěnuje. Nejzávažnější nedostatek knihy však spočívá spíše v jejím neustálém lavírování. Pasáž o logice účasti je v celé knize jediným místem, kde autorka dává najevo, že je jednoznačně pro, a za danými myšlenkami si stojí. U všech ostatních koncepcí a návrhů postupuje argumentace ve vlnách, v nichž se silné teze hned dialekticky regulují, aniž by z nich něco zbylo. Bohužel pak není příliš zřejmé, co

3 Označení „ontologický“ zde neshledávám zcela vhodným, protože vlastní stav reality je její mnohoznačnost. To, co přichází jako zurčnění, už tento pravý stav jen zakrývá. Proto bych performativně selektovanou skutečnost nenazýval ontologickou, ale možná spíše jako ontickou. Navíc se domnívám, že ontologické ani nemůže být volitelné. Jednání je sférou možností, která je tradičně kladena do protikladu ke skutečnosti.

vlastně autorka obhajuje, a co ne, a je obtížné s ní polemizovat. Ontologické chápání vědy je představeno jako alternativa k epistemologickému, vzápětí se však teze rozmělnuje, když autorka říká, že se sociální vědy na konstituci skutečnosti jen podílejí, přičemž jsou vetkány ve „složitě zázemí určitých materiálních a sociálních skutečností“ (s. 65). Je sice pravda, že tato pozice je věrohodnější než naivní sociální konstruktivismus, ale zároveň je naprosto nejasná a nicneříkající. Stöckelová ji navíc nedodržuje, volně přechází mezi silnou tezí „ontotvorného fašismu“ (když mluví o ekonomii) a slabou tezí pouhého blíže neurčeného ovlivňování. *Homo oeconomicus* je ekonomikou ontologicky vytvořen a indoktrinován. Autorka píše o „formování individualizovaných ‚ekonomických lidí‘“, „technologii vládnutí“, nebo „zapisování do ‚srdce a duše národa‘“. Zde se prolínají vyhrocené foucaultovské náhledy s obžalobou ekonomické transformace a ekonomie obecně, která se nebojí argumentovat třeba tím, že kupónová privatizace byla akcí s pochybnými výsledky! Autorka zde vstupuje na půdu, kterou si nezajistila či se jí přímo vzdala. Z jaké perspektivy kritizuje ekonomii, liberální hospodářství a ekonomickou praxi 90. let? Evidentně spoléhá na normativní pozadí, které nijak neodkrývá. Performativní teorie vědy je pro takovéto soudy příliš otevřená a relativistická. Ekonomie je dnes zástupcem dominantního pohledu na společenské vztahy, ale vůči jakému stavu je schopna autorka *status quo* obžalovat? Jediné, co je v knize naznačeno, je úsilí o zachování a otevírání alternativ (s. 65), tak aby se sociální vědy jen nepodílely na reprodukci stávajících pořádků (s. 67). „Mohou přitom jet po proudu dominantních skutečností a předpokladů, nebo mohou zviditelňovat okrajové, méně reálné, teprve se uskutečňující.“ (tamtéž) Bohužel tento náznak jasné pozice je v další větě setřen, když se dozvíme, že obě možnosti mohou mít záporné i kladné znaménko, čili vlastně nemůžeme nic říct. To je pro knihu Terezy Stöckelové typické: náznak zřetelného stanoviska, za kterým by pak byla nucena si stát, hned spěchá neutralizovat. To, co bylo prezentováno jako vhodná alternativa, je vzápětí zkritizováno jako iluzivní řešení. Zdá se mi, že kniha je současně expozicí vlastních názorů i sebekritikou, která ovšem naprosto znejasňuje autorčino stanovisko. Zároveň však toto balancování neústí v umírněné formulace. Po stanovisku, že *status quo* může být stejně dobrý jako alternativa, přichází přepjatá kritika dominance ekonomie a koncepce *homo oeconomicus*, které ale tím spíše chybí základ. Stöckelová promarnila šanci, aby se přihlásila k úsilí o zachování plurality, a následně se vzdá i tradičního argumentu vůči ekonomickému pojetí člověka. Ten ekonomii vyčítá jednorozměrnost, která neodpovídá komplexnosti lidských schopností a možností. Zdá se, že absence zřetelné perspektivy, kterou by si byla nucena autorka obhájit, teprve dává křídla. Ekonomii nijak nešetří, přitom však není jasné, jestli ji kritizuje z pozic logiky účasti, marxismu, foucaultovského rozkrývání disciplinace, performativní teorie, nebo alternativních ekonomických teorií. Nemám pocit, že by se Stöckelová držela jedné z předestřených variant, spíše mezi všemi libovolně přebíhá.

Domnívám se, že pokud má být performativní teorie vědy produktivní, je nutné odpoutat se od pouhého žasnutí nad tím, co je všechno uměle vytvořené a nemozřejmé. Předpokládáme-li, že vědění samo je sociální povahy, tedy že neexistuje nic jako objektivní, na společnosti a kultuře nezávislé vědění, pak pozbývá smyslu zabývat se tím, že některá verze světa byla prosazena a jiná ne. Vzhledem k danému předpokladu to ani nemůže být jinak. Žasnutí a odhalování je pouze špatně skrývaným nesouhlasem s tím, jak se věci mají, který je evidentně veden z pozic specifických hodnot, zájmů, názorů, o nichž se ale v knize nic nedozvíme; nemyslím, že by jej bylo možné odvodit z performativní teorie.

Stejný dojem za sebou zanechává i závěr knihy, který obsahuje poměrně neurčitou výzvu, abychom vědu chápali jako volbu ovlivňující podobu světa, která má být účinná na základě kvalitních podkladů a zpětně vyhodnocována (s. 88). Opakuje se také výzva k pluralitě, která vyznívá velmi slabě, vzhledem k tomu, že v knize nebyla nijak rozebrána.

Dobrou vlastností knihy je bezesporu to, že se vyhýbá expertní úzkoprstosti a klade téma do širších kontextů. Nebojí se kráčet jak mezi alternativními perspektivami, tak úrovněmi obecnosti. Naprosto souhlasím s tím, že je nutné si především odpovědět na zcela obecnou otázku po vztahu společnosti, politiky a vědy. Rozsah, který Tereza Stöckelová nabídla na sto stranách textu, považuji za největší přínos knihy. Naopak jejím největším nedostatkem je autorčino lavírování a absence zřetelné pozice, kterou by byla schopna si obhájit a dále ji rozpracovávala. Snaha o dialektickou vyváženost nebo ohled na komplexnost problému tu působí spíš jako blazeovanost a neochota převzít odpovědnost za zřetelný názor. Tím neřeknu, že vše je ve skutečnosti jednoduché, jen se takto myslím nikam nedostaneme. Jen zřetelné a vyhraněné pozice dávají možnost kritizovat a rozvíjet diskusi.

Kdybych měl na závěr metaforicky shrnout dvě hlavní perspektivy, kterým se Stöckelová věnovala (logiku účasti a performativní teorii), řekl bych, že věda je jedno velké divadlo, v němž se utváří podoba světa. Je ovšem otázka, zda publikum, které toto představení sleduje, má zůstat na sedadlech, nebo i ono má být vtaženo na pódium, aby se na hereckém výkonu podílelo. Když si herci nevěří, může to pro ně být vítané řešení jak setřást odpovědnost za vlastní výkon. Hrají-li totiž spolu se svými diváky, nebudou je pak moci tito diváci tak lehce kritizovat. Avšak bez publika hrají herci před prázdným sálem a odpadá důvod, proč hrát. To je, zdá se mi, slepá ulička, do které je toto snažení vtaženo.

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Economic Anthropology: History, Ethnography, Critique

Zuzana Sekeráková Búriková

Hann, Chris & Keith Hart. 2011. *Economic Anthropology: History, Ethnography, Critique*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 206 pp., ISBN 978-0-74564-483-7.

Spolupráca autorov ako je Keith Hart a Chris Hann v každom prípade zaujme. O to viac, ak sa táto dvojica rozhodne napísať nový úvod do ekonomickej antropológie, ktorý by nielen zhodnotil celú jej históriu, ale aj načrtnol, či dokonca navrhol jej ďalšie smerovanie.

V našom regióne poznáme Chrissa Hanna predovšetkým ako autora a editora kníh o socializme a postsocializme (napr. Hann 1993, 2002). Zároveň je aj autorom viacerých teoretických prác o vlastníctve (napr. Hann 1998, 2003). Okrem množstva publikácií, z ktorých spomeniem aspoň *The Memory Bank: Money in an Unequal World* (Hart 2000), ktorú napísal a *The Human Economy: A Citizen's Guide* (Cattani, Laville, Hart. 2006), ktorú spolueditoval, je Keith Hart známy ako zakladateľ internetovej komunity *Open Anthropology Cooperative*. Recenzovaná kniha nie je prvým spoločným dielom tejto dvojice. Hann a Hart roku 2009 spolu editovali publikáciu *Market and Society: Great Transformation Today* (Hann a Hart 2009), ktorá je výstupom konferencie, na ktorej autori pochádzajúci z rozličných disciplín analyzovali vzťah medzi trhom a spoločnosťou, pričom si ako východisko zvolili teoretické práce Karla Polanyiho. Recenzovaná kniha *Economic Anthropology: History, Ethnography, Critique*, ktorá vyšla roku 2011 vo vydavateľstve Polity Press, je tiež nepriamym výsledkom tejto konferencie: vychádza totiž zo spoločného konferenčného príspevku Hanna a Harta, ktorý autori neskôr pretavili do tejto podoby.

Táto publikácia je ambiciózná. Snaží sa situovať ekonomickú antropológiu nielen v intelektuálnej histórii odboru, alebo moderných sociálnych vied, ale chce tiež ukázať, že táto subdisciplína sociálnej antropológie intelektuálne siaha do politickej ekonómie osvietenstva, ba dotýka sa otázok ľudskej povahy a dobra, ktorým sa venovali filozofi od najstarších čias. (Hann a Hart 2011: x). Toto zameranie v podstate rozširuje prístup R. Wilka (1996), ktorý ukazuje previazanosť ekonomickej antropológie s klasickou sociologickou teóriou Marxa, Durkhe-

ima a Webera, ale aj jej komunikáciu s ekonomickými vedami a poukazuje na to, že sa ekonomická antropológia už od svojich počiatkov venuje otázkam ľudskej povahy.

História myslenia a praxe v ekonomickej antropológii tu však nie je situovaná len v rámci dejín myslenia. Keďže ekonomickú antropológiu výrazne ovplyvnili veľké ekonomické zmeny druhej polovice 20. storočia, autori sledujú, ako ich antropológovia interpretujú a ako tieto zmeny vplývali na vývoj odboru. Pozornosť venujú predovšetkým kapitalizmu a socializmu (vrátane jeho pádu). V závere sa autori odpichujú od súčasného diania a tvrdia, že finančná kríza roku 2008 vytvára priestor pre nové štádium v histórii ekonomickej antropológie.

Štruktúra knihy kombinuje históriu ekonomickej antropológie ako disciplíny s perspektívou svetovej histórie. Po úvode nasledujúca 2. kapitola sleduje vývoj pojmu ekonómia od staroveku až po súčasnosť. 3. kapitola sa venuje vzniku ekonomickej antropológie v období od konca 19. storočia po koniec 2. svetovej vojny. 4. Kapitola popisuje debatu substantivistov a formalistov. V 5. kapitole autori načrtávajú vývoj ekonomickej antropológie po tejto debate, pričom si všimajú marxizmus, feminizmus, „kulturný obrat“, „tvrdú vedu“ a antropológiu peňazí. Druhá časť knihy sleduje kľúčové témy, ktorým sa ekonomická antropológia venovala vo vzťahu ku konceptuálnemu rozdeleniu sveta počas studenej vojny. 6. kapitola tak skúma nerovný rozvoj „Tretieho Sveta“, 7. kapitola socializmus a 8. kapitalizmus. Záverečná 9. kapitola má názov „A kam teraz? (Where Do We Go from Here?)“ a autori v nej uvažujú nad ďalším smerovaním ekonomickej antropológie.

Autori v predhovore spomínajú ako jeden z cieľov publikácie priblíženie ekonomickej antropológie a ekonómie (Hann a Hart 2011: x). Toto približovanie vidia na dvoch úrovniach. Jedna je analytická – v jednotlivých kapitolách venujú pozornosť tomu, ako ekonomická antropológia vo svojej teórii alebo praxi reagovala na ekonomické vedy. Druhá úroveň je politická – podľa Harta a Hanna by ekonomickí antropológovia mali zaujímať politické stanoviská v kauzách, v ktorých sú napr. súkromné korporácie v konflikte s potrebami verejnosti (napr. Hann a Hart 2011: 158-9). Hann a Hart konkrétne tvrdia, že ekonomická antropológia by mala študovať *humánnu ekonomiku (human economy)*, ktorá sleduje „naplňanie všetkých ľudských potrieb, nielen tých, ktoré je možné naplniť pomocou transakcií na súkromnom trhu, ale aj pomocou verejných statkov ako je: vzdelanie, bezpečnosť, zdravé prírodné prostredie a naplňanie potrieb, ktoré nie sú hmotné ako napríklad dôstojnosť – čiže potreby, ktoré nie sú redukovateľné na doláre strovené per capita“ (Hann a Hart 2011: 8). *Humánnu ekonomiku* je neustále pretváraná v každodennom živote jednotlivcov, hoci je zároveň záležitosťou ľudstva ako celku (Hann a Hart 2011: 165). Hann a Hart tvrdia, že antropológický výskum *humánnej ekonomiky* musí „zahŕňať širší pohľad na životný štandard a sledovať širokú škálu ľudských potrieb a motivácií“ (Hann a Hart 2011: 8). V tomto snažení je podľa nich nevyhnutné, aby antropológovia spájali podrobné štúdium každodenného života

a lokálnych vedomostí a praktík s globálnou históriou bez toho, aby sklzáli do evolucionizmu. Pri hľadaní alternatívnych prístupov k prepojeniu každodennej praxe a globálnej histórie Hann a Hart navrhujú návrat k dielam Marcela Maussa a Karla Polanyiho: sústredené sledovanie rôznych foriem distribúcie na všetkých úrovniach od globálnej po lokálnu. Toto sledovanie by malo ukázať sociálne dôsledky politickej ekonómie, ako aj to, že je súčasťou toho istého sociálneho procesu. Základom ekonomickej antropológie tak je sledovať napätie medzi neosobnými podmienkami sociálneho života a ľuďmi, ktorí v nich žijú.

Text sa dobre číta a jeho forma bola zvolená s ohľadom na čitateľov, ktorí nemusia byť nevyhnutne akademici, prípadne antropológovia. Autori sa rozhodli nezaťažovať text obrovským množstvom odkazov na literatúru. Namiesto neustálych citácií a odkazov tvoria záverečnú časť knihy odporúčania na ďalšie čítanie, ktoré sa sústreďuje na niekoľko základných diel.

Knihy je vynikajúcim zhrnutím histórie a súčasného stavu ekonomickej antropológie. Musím však skonštatovať, že jedno moje očakávanie nesplnila – už dlhú dobu hľadám text, ktorý by som s pokojným svedomím mohla odporučiť študentom antropológie na bakalárskom stupni ako základnú učebnicu, kde nájdú všetko podstatné a ktorej budú rozumieť. Hoci je táto kniha najlepším zhrnutím vývoja ekonomickej antropológie, ktoré poznám, je vo svojej stručnosti nevyhnutne metatextová. Viaceré miesta odkazujú na debaty a texty, ktoré čitateľ musí poznať, aby s ňou mohol pracovať. Myslím si, že knihe by paradoxne prospelo, keby sa snažila byť menej trhovo úspešnou a mala by o sto strán viac – väčší rozsah by autorom umožnil vyhnúť sa skratkovitosti, ktorá je pri šírke záberu a krátkosti textu nevyhnutná. V každom prípade sa však autorom podarila nevšedná vec - kontextualizovať ekonomickú antropológiu nielen s vývojom myslenia v sociálnej antropológii a sociálnych vedách, ale ukázať jej prepojenie na dilemy a témy filozofického, politického a ekonomického myslenia ako takého a zároveň ukotviť túto kontextualizáciu v dejinách 20. storočia.

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Migration, Development and Transnationalism: A critical stance

Zdeněk Uherek

Glick Schiller, Nina & Thomas Faist (eds.). 2010. *Migration, Development and Transnationalism: A critical stance*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 206 pp., ISBN 978-0-85745-178-1.

This already twice reprinted publication arouses a good deal of interest and is becoming a frequently cited work. Attention is drawn to the book *inter alia* by the concept of the rejection of so-called methodological nationalism, which in connection with the name of Nina Glick Schiller has gradually become a standard research instrument particularly in the area of migration research and the integration of migration groups. In 2003, methodological nationalism was thoroughly analysed by Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller in the text "Methodological Nationalism, the Social Sciences, and Study of Migration: An Essay in Historical Epistemology," issued by *International Migration Studies* (37/2003, 3: 576-610) where the authors write that: "Methodological nationalism is the naturalization of the nation-state by the social sciences." The concept of the rejection of methodological nationalism, which appeared to offer a hope of an effective bridging of state borders in the investigation of migration events in a thoroughly transnational per-

spective, has in the meantime become the target of critiques. It has been positively assessed particularly for the fact that it articulated comprehensibly and clearly a trend appearing already from the end of the 20th century not to limit the interpretation of data by state borders, but to seek wider supranational and super-regional contexts given that today also individuals and groups of people are not limited by national economies and culture. On the other hand, negatives were perceived in that labelling the study of social phenomena with the mark of methodological nationalism still does not bring a positive methodological foundation. The peer-reviewed publication by Nina Glick Schiller and Thomas Faist therefore attempted to go further and find another more precise or operationalised methodological foundation, particularly in relation to development or to social changes which lead to a weakening of the role of state borders. Among the aims of the individual texts, in the publication can also be identified an intention to connect knowledge on global development with that of migration studies. From the publication that emerged, it is possible to deduce the following explanatory logic: whereas the concept of push-pull or the neo-classical theory of migration investigate migrations predominantly as a one-sided movement from the source to the target country, the migration theory of the global system, or the theory of migration systems, focuses more sharply on the bidirectionality of migration and on the permanent mutual connection of the source and target countries by migration actors with state borders continuing to be a key element. The concept of transnationalism pushes the state border to the background and it concentrates on the groups of peoples who bridge state borders. The concept of the critique of methodological nationalism in this context endeavours to accentuate that in a global world with a neo-liberal economy states with their borders are only one of many actors and their significance is decreasing. To focus on the migration issue as on the movement from state to state can therefore provide misleading data and a number of simplifications.

In the publication under review, Nina Glick Schiller proceeds from the practice of remittances. Migration divides families by state borders, but remittances maintain the involved families as an interconnected economic system regardless of state borders. These families utilise mediating entrepreneurial entities for mutual contact, entities whose activity again is not limited by state borders and the study of which, just like the study of family economies, requires the permanent transcending of it. Methodological nationalism as conceptualised by Nina Glick Schiller stands in opposition to transnationalism and from the perspective of contemporary communication and migration practice is unsustainable. Nina Glick Schiller does not understand her approach only as a methodological doctrine, but also as a dispute with ideological practice. She states: 'Methodological nationalism is an ideological orientation that approaches the study of social and historical processes as if they were contained within the borders of individual national

states' (p. 28). Her introductory text is on the borderline between a scientific essay and a manifesto led by a conviction in the overall positive influence of migration on the development of contemporary Europe and the opinion that the influence of state borders is given a greater role in the research of current social phenomena than they actually have.

Whereas the introductory text by Nina Glick Schiller *A Global Perspective on Migration and Development* is on the border between a scientific essay and a manifesto, the text by Thomas Faist *Transnationalization and Development: Toward an Alternative Agenda* has a broad theoretical methodological dimension and in its organisation is reminiscent in many ways of the introductory section to the book by George Marcus *Ethnography through Thick and Thin* (1998). Also here, methodological priorities and limits are examined and alternative approaches are offered.

In the third chapter of the book *Politicizing the Transnational: On Implications for Migrants, Refugees, and Scholarship*, written by Riina Isotalo, we find a deeper historical dimension than in the first two texts. The chapter works with precise definitions and often returns to the historical development of the terms and their meanings that are used elsewhere in the publication. The reader with lesser knowledge of the given issue might read this first. Whereas the chapter by Thomas Faist joins the theme of transnationalism and methodological nationalism with the question of changes in society, Riina Isotalo confronts theory with political practice. She notices, *inter alia*, the politicisation of the transnational paradigm in connection with security and restrictive anti-migration measures.

The authors of the individual texts clearly belong to the research wing that perceives contemporary migrations rather as a positive phenomenon, and sees the restrictive migration measures of states as disputable and the protection of the domestic labour force, market and culture rather as an illogical phenomenon. The borders of national states in their conceptualisation become something of an anachronism, but at the same time the idea of the state and borders still have a significant place in their argumentation. For instance, it is clear in the frequently repeated consideration that in the current north – south migration it is primarily the target *states* that are growing richer, whereas the source *countries* with increased contemporary migration caused by globalisation trends rather become gradually poorer. This opinion, which is long-term in the social sciences and is often in conflict with the convictions of the public administration and politicians of the target countries, as well as a large part of the citizens of the 'rich' north, is complicated to prove with empirical data, just like the opposite opinion. A significant argument against the claim of pro-migration social scientists is precisely the growing importance of remittances at the beginning of the 21st century, which in the middle of the first decade of the 21st century were estimated at 200 milliard dollars a year (p. 143 of the reviewed publication). A logical argument is that these means must be a financial boost for the source countries and their popu-

lace, and that the employment of immigrants in target countries, particularly in times of unemployment and a lack of job vacancies, is a certain form of developmental aid. The text by Raúl Delgado Wise and Humberto Márquez Covarrubias, entitled *Understanding the Relationship between Migration and Development: Toward a New Theoretical Approach*, hence lays out a significant question of how to study and interpret the flow of remittances, what is happening with these transfers of money? The authors then more generally ask what the relation is between migration and current development. The theoretical and methodological approaches which they take into account build on the placing of migration and development into wider contexts. They consider a multispatial environment which is interconnected through broader than merely migrational ties. In their text, they problematise the idea of development and integration itself. In the study, they connect a wide range of elements with which social scientists have already dealt in various forms but rather on a separate basis.

The author of the final study is Binod Khadria, a professor of economics, who has called his article *Adversary Analysis and the Quest for Global Development: Optimizing the Dynamic Conflict of Interest in Transnational Migration*. He proceeds predominantly from the Indian experience. In his article, India is conceptualised as a source country and a country of the north, as a target area. The text is based on argumentation that is used relatively frequently: better qualified elements of the workforce leave for countries of the north and do not return to India and India is made poorer by the loss of human capital than if they enriched the Indian milieu with their migrational activities. The assumption that remittances do not balance out the value of the departing workforce can be understood on the basis of this consideration.

The publication is indisputably inspirational in its methodology and influences thinking on migration studies and on the relation of migration and development. It is another step towards the conceptualisation of migrational processes, but it also has its limits. In and of itself, it has a minimum of empirical data and the ideas and thoughts themselves that are contained in the publication remain without empirical verification, existing only on the level of methodological initiatives. The authors also work with a number of their conclusions only inconsistently. They continue to speak here mainly about states and nations, despite that fact that in the spirit of the denial of methodological nationalism their role should be rather sidelined. Do 'countries' really become rich from migrations to the north? Is it not rather individuals, companies or corporations who benefit? What does it mean for the citizens of receiving countries that the 'country' becomes wealthy from migration? Can we conclude when looking at the latest state of development that an indebted Europe has become rich out of the last migration waves and that it represents a kind of rich north? And who became poorer in the south? States, cities, families, individuals and, if individuals, then which individuals? And who, on the

other hand, became rich in the south? And did they really become poorer or richer thanks to migration, or are the considerations of the causal chains of migrations and development leading in the wrong direction? Particularly, the upheavals of the last few years have brought new questions. The concept of methodological nationalism and the study of migration in the context of developmental changes might in a neo-liberal world be a still more interesting challenge than three years ago when the first edition of the reviewed book came out, to be followed by a reprint on 2012. This influential publication thus becomes an inspiration for a new search.

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SOCIOLOGICKÉ NAKLADATELSTVÍ (SLON)

EDICE CARGO

Zuzana Búriková a David Miller: Au-pair

Kniha pojednává o různých aspektech života slovenských au-pair v britských rodinách – o rozhodnutí stát se au-pair, o tom, jak je člověk vnímán jako au-pair, o samotné práci au-pair a o dalších vztazích souvisejících s pobyty au-pair, o tom, jak au-pair tráví volný čas, jaké kontakty mají s domovem i mezi sebou navzájem apod. Základem knihy byl etnografický výzkum využívající standardní antropologické metody. Terénní výzkum byl proveden mezi slovenskými au-pair v oblasti Londýna a zahrnoval 50 au-pair a více jak 80 hostitelských rodin. Autorka a autor výzkumu a knihy se nezabývají formálními aspekty této placené péče, nýbrž akcentují témata důležitá pro samotné aktéry a aktérky: vztahy, které au-pair v cizím prostředí navazují, objevování hostitelské země, rozpaky, ponížení a nedorozumění v rodinách. Nahlíží na uspořádání domácností, v níž au-pair žije, ale k níž nepatří, a v níž vykonává práci, která není doceňována. Autoři publikace experimentují s několika styly psaní. Konkrétní příběhy informátorek a informátorů kombinují s analytičtějšími kapitolami. Snaží se postihnout fenomén au-pair jako zkušenost, jako specifický zážitek i jako životní fázi. Kniha je první antropologickou knihou na téma au-pair. Je výsledkem společné práce dvou spoluautorů – Zuzany Búrikové a Daniela Millera. Poprvé vyšla anglicky v roce 2010 a vyvolala zaslouženou pozornost v akademickém i mimoakademickém prostředí. Zkušenost slovenských au-pair, kterou popisuje, je v mnoha aspektech stejná nebo podobná jako zkušenost českých a vůbec středoevropských au-pair. Zuzana Sekeráková Búriková působí na Fakultě sociálních studií Masarykovy univerzity v Brně a v Ústavu etnologie Slovenské akademie věd v Bratislavě. Daniel Miller je profesorem antropologie na University College London.

267 stran, ISBN: 978-80-7419-151-0

Amitav Ghosh: Ve starobylé zemi

Ghoshova cesta do starobylé země začala v knihovně Oxfordské univerzity, kde při hledání materiálů ke své disertační práci narazil na edici středověké obchodní korespondence, kterou z rukopisů nalezených v geníze káhirské synagogy vydal arabista Šlomo Dov Goitein. Kniha *Ve starobylé zemi*, která vyšla poprvé roku 1992, spojuje dva příběhy: autorovo autobiografické vyprávění, či vzpomínky z terénního výzkumu (1980–81 a 1988) a historickou rekonstrukci života kupce Ben Jica a jeho otroka Bommy, jehož postava se stává autorovým alter egem. Fascinuje ho na ní už samotná skutečnost, že se tak nevýznamná postava stala shodou náhod součástí psané historie, ale zejména kulturní propustnost světa, v němž on i jeho pán žili.

Amitav Ghosh je jedním z nejznámějších představitelů anglo-indické literatury. V roce 1982 získal v Oxfordu doktorát v oboru sociální antropologie. Podle vlastních slov však vždy chtěl být více spisovatelem než antropologem. Svou románovou prvotinou *The Circle of Reason* (1986) se uvedl mezi světovou literární elitou. Čeští čtenáři měli možnost

se seznámit s jeho romány *Skleněný palác* a *Hladový příliv*. Ve starobylé zemi je však první a nejvlivnější knihou z jeho tvorby mimo románový žánr. Přeložil Jindřich Mandáček. Doslov Martin Hříbek.

296 stran, doporučená cena 369 Kč, ISBN 978-80-7419-107-7

Piers Vitebsky: Sobí lidé. Život se zvířaty a duchy na Sibiři

Kniha *Sobí lidé* vás zavede mezi Eveny na nejchladnější obydlené místo naší planety – do Verchojanského pohoří v západním Jakutsku v Ruské federaci. Evenové by tam ani ve 21. století nemohli žít bez svých čtyřnohých společníků – sobů. Tato pozoruhodná zvířata v symbiotickém vztahu s člověkem sdílejí své dokonalé přizpůsobení těmto extrémně drsným podmínkám. Jako tažná a jízdná zvířata a jako soumaří zajišťují dopravu lidí i věcí. Svým mlékem, masem, kožešinou a parohy Eveny krmí, šatí a zajišťují jim příjem peněz. Autor knihy Piers Vitebsky jde ovšem v porozumění této symbióze mnohem dál, když do hloubky sleduje další aspekty vztahu Evenů a jejich sobů. Poodhaluje význam sobů ve snění a metaforických vyjádřeních vztahů mezi lidmi, jejich roli zrcadla, dvojníka-dubléra i oběti a také cháronovský úkol dopravy evenských duší na onen svět – odtud zřejmě fascinující asociace soba a letu, která celou knihu uvozuje. Sobí lidé jsou velice čtivě napsanou etnografií zručně balancující na pomezí odborné a populárně naučné literatury. Kniha je napsána jako svižně plynoucí příběh a současně v ní nechybějí odkazy standardní pro odbornou monografii, které jsou umístěny do rozsáhlého poznámkového aparátu na konci knihy. Je tedy na každém, jak bude číst. Lze se jen nechat unášet proudem děje, nebo průběžně odbočovat k doplňujícím informacím v poznámkách. (z doslovu Ludka Brože) Piers Vitebsky je vedoucím sociálněvědní sekce Scottova polárníckého ústavu Cambridgeské univerzity. Původně byl specialistou na kmenová společenství Indie, především jazyk a kulturu národa Sora. V osmdesátých letech minulého století se rozhodl rozšířit své etnografické obzory a uskutečnit výzkum mezi původními obyvateli Sibiře, odkud se tunguzské slovo šaman (šamán) rozšířilo do světové slovní zásoby. Vitebského dlouhodobá snaha dostat se jako etnograf na sovětskou Sibiř byla na konci osmdesátých let korunována úspěchem a Vitebsky se stal jedním z nemnoha západních sociálních/kulturních antropologů, kterým se to v éře Sovětského svazu podařilo. Jeho kniha *Sobí lidé* se brzy po svém vydání v roce 2005 stala bestsellerem, v roce 2006 získala Kiriya Prize pro literaturu faktu, v roce 2007 pak obdržela čestné uznání v rámci ceny Victora Turnera. Přeložila Gisela Kubrichtová.

384 stran, doporučená cena 390 Kč, ISBN 978-80-7419-005-6

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Jan Keller: Posvícení bezdomovců. Úvod do sociologie domova

Téma bezdomovectví patří k těm, o nichž se poměrně často mluví, avšak hlubší zamyšlení nad ním dosud chybělo. Kniha sociologa Jana Kellera tuto mezeru objevným způsobem zaplňuje. Z pohledu domova a hrozby jeho ztráty postupně přibližuje problematiku komunitních studií a hnutí, podává stručné dějiny konceptu sociální exkluze a popisuje reakce sociálně vyloučených na ztrátu domova. Vychází v ediční řadě Sociologické aktuality. ISBN 978-80-7419-155-8

292 stran, doporučená cena 259 Kč

Jaroslava Hasmanová Marhánková a Martin Kreidl (eds.): Proměny partnerství. Životní dráhy a partnerství v české společnosti

Kniha se zaměřuje na proměny partnerského života z perspektivy životních drah. Jejím cílem je prostřednictvím zkoumání dílčích partnerských situací, jejich načasování, společenských souvislostí, důsledků a způsobů, jakými je interpretují sami jednotlivci, přispět ke zmapování a pochopení případných proměn partnerského života spojovaných v České republice s procesem de-standardizace životních drah a společenskými změnami, kterými česká společnost v několika minulých dekádách prošla.

Kniha obsahuje devět studií kombinujících různé metodologické potupy a datové soubory. Jednotlivé kapitoly se zaměřují například na faktické načasování a výskyt jednotlivých životních přechodů, na dílčí výseky partnerských situací či na analýzu potenciálního dopadu různých partnerských situací na budoucí život dětí, jež v dětství zažijí různá rodinná uspořádání. Zároveň přináší pohled na subjektivní významy, které jednotlivci svému životu a partnerství přiřazují v kontextu různých životních etap či situací. Vychází v ediční řadě Studie. ISBN 978-80-7419-142-8

265 stran, doporučená cena 399 Kč

Hynek Jeřábek a kol.: Mezigenerační solidarita v péči o seniory

Knižka začíná podrobným rozбором motivací a aktivit neformální péče o seniory v českých rodinách. Výsledky prvního z výzkumných projektů seznamují se způsoby, motivy a důsledky péče v životě rodin, které se starají o seniora v domácích podmínkách. Druhým cílem knížky je seznámit čtenáře s modely mezigenerační solidarity, vyvíjenými v USA a v Evropě v letech 1976 až 2001. Snahou autorů bylo ověřit, nakolik tyto modely platí pro rodiny v České republice, a vyvinout lepší měřicí nástroje pro toto zjišťování. „Jak provádět měření mezigenerační solidarity a rodinné soudržnosti?“, bylo jednou z ústředních otázek druhého výzkumného projektu. Projekt využil široký rejstřík poznávacích postupů od standardizovaného dotazování a podrobného zjišťování potřeb seniorů a pečovatelských aktivit příslušníků rodin starajících se o seniory v domácích podmínkách přes skupinové rozhovory se skupinami laických i profesionálních pečovatelů až k hloubkovým rozhovorům s pečovatelskými a pečovateli o seniory přímo v rodinách. Dalším tématem bylo srovnání rodinné a institucionální péče o seniory. Testování hypotéz a mnohorozměrné metody poskytly analytické závěry. Citace pečujících osob umožnily porozumět hodnotám a motivaci péče o seniory v rodinách. Závěrečné kapitoly knížky jsou příspěvkem k teorii mezigenerační solidarity její specifikací pro „pečovatelskou generaci“ rodin v České republice. Vychází v ediční řadě Studie. ISBN 978-80-7419-117-6

317 stran, přiloženo CD s výzkumnou dokumentací, doporučená cena 299 Kč

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