CARGO

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In memoriam:
Josef Kandert
1943–2022

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Editorial

Dear readers,

We are honored to share the good news that Cargo is entering a new phase of its existence. From a student periodical, Cargo has gradually become a full-fledged scientific journal publishing original studies and reviews. Now the possibility has opened up for its further growth with the goal of joining the ranks of internationally recognized anthropological journals. The Czech Association for Social Anthropology membership decided in a general referendum that the Association should continue publishing the journal in collaboration with two Czech universities – the University of Pardubice and the University of Hradec Králové. This cooperation will generate better financial opportunities, technical support, and promotion for the journal. The journal articles will receive DOI numbers and efforts will be put into expanded indexing and inclusion in the SCOPUS database.

We are aware that we can only achieve this with original, high-quality, and conceptually well-elaborated articles and studies. We want to continue building the journal's basic profile in a way that opens up space both for texts written by renowned academics and also high-quality graduate and post-graduate research. We want the journal to become a space for "inter-generational" dialogue through academic research and debate, and we invite anyone interested to join us in these efforts. In addition to research and theoretical articles, we want the journal to respond to current events in the anthropological community through shorter contributions. We will introduce a peer-reviewed section, "Discussion of theory and research", which will be space for the publication of shorter research reports, peer-reviewed theoretical or empirical studies and peer-reviewed group colloquiums, including conceptually and/or historically informed discussions tied to current events in the academic community. These shorter texts will also include abstracts, list of keywords, and bibliographies and have the status of peer-reviewed articles and studies. As such, they will be listed in the authors' bibliographies and will contribute to bibliometric criteria of accountability measuring authors' publication performance and impact. We invite authors to send their proposals and manuscripts through the web pages´ editorial system or to the editor-in-chief and

editorial board members. All manuscripts will, of course, undergo double-blind peer review process. We will maintain non-reviewed sections such as editorials, interviews, reports, and book reviews and invite all of you to contribute.

Cargo should also support publication initiatives of broader interest groups and provide space for thematic issues overseen by guest editors. One issue annually will be open to such initiatives, with the guest editor receiving access to all technical supports.

We would like to thank you very much for your trust and look forward to our joint publishing with Cargo!

Zdeněk Uherek, Hana Červinková,
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Cameras, Kinship and Marriage on Groote Eylandt, Australia: Frederick Rose and Peter Worsley's Challenge to Rivers' Genealogical Method

Valerie Munt

Abstract: *To be an anthropological heretic is not in itself unusual, but to critique W. H. R. Rivers, the 'founder of the modern study of social organization', and his 'pupil' A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, who established the science of social anthropology in five continents seems like professional madness, but this is what Frederick Rose did – he attacked the heart of their methodology – the mapping of kinship via the Genealogical Method. This paper explains how Rose's critique of Rivers' methodology began during his fieldwork (1938–41) on Groote Eylandt off Australia's far north coast and how his observations were supported and extended by Peter Worsley's fieldwork among the Wanindiljaugwa in 1953, indicating an entirely new approach to Australian kinship studies. Although these methodological innovations were praised by some contemporary influential anthropologists and followed up by colleagues in the West during the 1970s and later, Cold War tensions and a closed and politically conservative anthropological establishment combined to marginalize Rose and Worsley's valuable contribution to the study of Australian kinship.*

Keywords: *Frederick, G. G. Rose; Peter Worsley; Radcliffe-Brown; The Genealogical Method; W. H. R. Rivers; Australia's Groote-Eylandt Kinship*

Introduction

Since the 1970s, the conceptual foundations of knowledge and the primacy of the western scientific worldview have been subjected to profound questioning, which has had a significant impact on all the social sciences. Social Anthropology – or the 'science of humankind' was at the centre of many debates, and a crucial question was posed: 'How is it possible to form objective concepts and objectively verifiable theory of subjective meaning structures?'[1] Frederick Rose stumbled upon this question years earlier than many of his contemporaries. In his fieldwork on Groote-Eylandt in the years 1938–1941, he came face to face with the problem of the subjectivity and ethnocentricity of the researcher, and he faced the troubling question of whether his chosen profession was indeed a 'science' (Rose, notes 1956, Box 1 Rose Papers). Such epistemological questions later became important for understanding the crisis of authority experienced in both Anthropology and History after the intellectual movements of the1970s and 1980s.[2] However, Rose's methodological innovations were destined to become a casualty of the cloistered academic environment in the West and political and ideological hostilities on both sides of the Iron Curtain, which remained until the fall of the Soviet Union.

Mapping the Empire

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the British imperial endeavor required methodologies which extended 'homogenous mapping' to all parts of the globe 'to record and display [its] worldwide imperial possessions' (Ryan 1996: 5). Such 'mapping' also extended to the social organization of native tribes so that they too could be transformed in an 'objective' depersonalized way and included 'within the scope of [European] vision' (de Certeau 1984: 36). Yet however 'scientific' such representations purported to be, they were inevitably the product of a self-legitimizing European worldview in which marriage and kinship were seen through a particular 'archive of pre-existent images and tropes.' Ryan (1996: 5) has discussed their theoretical deficits and methodological problems.

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1   Alfred Schutz in D. Emmet and A. Macintyre, eds. 1970. *Sociological Theory and Philosophical Analysis.* New York: Macmillan:15.
2   See: Habermas, Jürgen. 1972. *Knowledge and Human Interests* [translated by Jeremy Shapiro]. USA: Beacon Books; Lyotard, Jean-François. 1979. *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge.* Manchester: Manchester University Press; Foucault, Michel. 1966, 2002. *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences.* UK: Tavistock Publications.

In the early stage of his career, Frederick Rose naturally focused on the standard "structural functionalist" approach to 'kinship mapping' in line with the conventions of his Degree in Anthropology from Cambridge University. When he first arrived at Groote Eylandt in July 1938, he had only recently graduated, but inspired by A.C. Haddon and the writings of Bronislaw Malinowski, he was keen to make his mark on the anthropological world. His education in Natural Science and Mathematics would provide the scientific grounding which laid the foundation for a very different approach through which to view what was then considered a "pristine" traditional Aboriginal society. It was Rose's famous Cambridge predecessor, W. H. R. Rivers (1864–1922), from the 1898 Cambridge expedition to the Torres Strait, and inventor of the Genealogical Method who would provide Rose with his first intellectual challenge.

The Genealogical Method of W.H. R. Rivers

The method Rivers promoted for mapping the kinship and the marriage laws of native societies became known as 'The Genealogical Method of Collecting Social and Vital Statistics' (Rivers 1900).[3] The history of its evolution as a methodological tool has been traced by James Urry (1972). The quest to codify authentic marriage rules had almost totally preoccupied the first generation of Australian anthropologists. In the nineteenth century, J. F. McLennan (1865) had 'laid out a scheme of development from primitive promiscuity, through group marriage and polygamy, and [had]sought to construct by logic and functional reasoning a plausible stepwise course of such a development' (Barth 2005: 8–9). And by the early twentieth century, professors Radcliffe-Brown (1881–1955) and Anglican clergyman A. P. Elkin (1891–1979) had become the accepted academic authorities on Australian kinship and marriage rules (Radcliffe-Brown 1930: 206–246; Elkin 1938). Yet their thinking, according to Rose, was unscientific – it did not match the empirically observed evidence. Nor could their canonical marriage and kinship diagrams adequately explain the fact of Aboriginal survival into the twentieth century (Denham 2013: 2). In the eyes of the missionaries and early anthropologists, marriage had been viewed primarily as a restrictive sexual relationship and the practice of wife-stealing as one driven by sexual jealousy and the 'primitive' male's instinct to dominate as many women as he could. However, Rose's Groote Eylandt kinship research was about to turn what he called this

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[3] George W. Stocking considered this invention as the significant methodological innovation resulting from the Cambridge Expedition of 1898. Stocking, George. W. 1999. *After Tylor: British Social Anthropology,1888–1951*. London: Athlone: 112.

'bourgeois' idea on its head. Rose was not the first to challenge the wisdom of his academic masters. Indeed Thomas (2011: 348) cites the 'great debate between Howitt and Mathews' as an example of the intensity of the internecine warfare within a discipline where much 'canonfire was expended in demolishing Mathews' thesis on 'irregular' or 'alternative' marriages: unions that were taboo according to kinship tables' (Thomas 2011: 11). Yet authentic marriage rules proved elusive for all those who embarked on the quest,' (Thomas 2011: 348) until Rose's and Worsley's fieldwork shone new light on the subject.

British Social Anthropology was established principally as an applied discipline whose aim was to understand the 'otherness' of the non-European inhabitants of its colonies (Stocking 1992: 217). Its 'scientific' methods were deemed unproblematic in that they purported to be 'objective ways of understanding' (Georgeson 1998: 7). These were mainly understood through a biological methodology concerned with constructing anatomical typologies created from a so-called 'cephalic index' (the ratio of the maximum width of the head to its maximum length). This index, invented by the Swedish anatomist Anders Retzius (1796–1860), was used to classify human populations according to a racist pseudo-scientific measure of development. It was employed by Rose's Cambridge professor, Thomas C. Hodson, in his racist classification for the 1931 Census of India (Hodson 1937). Observed through this biological lens, so-called "primitive" societies were positioned within a hierarchical scheme of economic and social progress from the lowest stage to the highest – that of the White European, Christian monogamous civilizations. The Australian Aborigines had been consigned to the lowest rung of the ladder of development by Morgan (1877) and were accordingly considered a "primitive race," thought by some to be doomed to eventual extinction (Kociumbas 2004: 83).

Australian Fieldwork

Fieldwork in Australia had initially been confined to the amateur explorations of adventurers like Ernest Favenc (1845–1908) and the investigations of telegraph station manager Frank Gillen (1855–1920), whose collaboration with Baldwin Spencer (1860–1929) resulted in the classic work on the *Arrernte* desert people of central Australia (1899) which became something of an 'international sensation' when it was first published (Lindquist 2007: 42).

Rose's classic study of Australian kinship (1960) was based on fieldwork carried out on Groote Eylandt from July 1938 to February 1939 and May to September 1941. It constituted an important critique of the reigning contemporary "structural functionalist" orthodoxies and the closed diagrammatic kinship models developed by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown (1930: 51) and mapped by his protégé A. P. Elkin

in the early twentieth century.[4] Radcliffe-Brown's preliminary kinship diagrams of the *Kariera* people imprisoned on Bernier Island in Western Australia in 1911 were presented in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* in 1913 'without a single word' indicating how he had arrived at his conclusions (Lindquist 2007: 120) and in keeping with Rivers' economical method, his work contained no theoretical or historical speculation. Yet Rose realized the importance of publishing *all* his data: or it could 'be held against me that my conclusions were not supported by any data which ultimately was my criticism of what Elkin and Radcliffe-Brown had published. They had published their conclusions in the form of kinship diagrams *but not the data on which their formal organization[s] were based'* (Rose, Memoir: 82) [My italics]. A point also noted by Needham (1971).[5]

The persistent expectation from those who then presided over the discipline was that anthropologists should simply record the 'ethnographic facts' which they gathered on their travels across vast areas (Larson 2011: 76). The diagrammatic mapping of kinship was the essential component of their work and followed the strict methodological procedure developed by W. H. R. Rivers in 1910 (Sillitoe 2005). Rivers' ambition was to create a 'unified science' of anthropology (Slobodin 1978: 232-234; 267), and despite his surprising late adoption of "diffusionism" and the controversy it created (Lawrence 2006), his work was widely revered.

Nevertheless, his methodologies appeared to be tethered to a dichotomy between "simple," "backward" societies and those which were modern and civilized.[6] His was a colonial worldview which was both class-bound and Eurocentric. He belonged to a social class that for centuries had invested enormous energy in 'maintaining and developing extensive, reliable, and well-articulated structures of exchange among connected families over many generations' (Sabean and Teuscher 2007: 3). Marriage was the key institution through which property was transmitted down the generations and from an Anglo-Christian perspective, marriage "rules" were clearly outlined in the *The Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England* in 'A Table of Kindred and Affinity' (1662 Edition: 384). The table listed thirty categories of kin (for both men and women) who were forbidden

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[4]   Elkin began questioning Radcliffe-Brown's 'generalizations' in 1953 (See: Hiatt 2006: 119).

[5]   Rodney Needham stated that 'Radcliffe-Brown never published a single scholarly, technically exact, and comprehensive analysis of any kinship system.' See: Wilder's, Review of *The Culture of Kinship Studies* (Wilder 1973: 129).

[6]   Meyer Fortes' 1945 research on the Tallensi, according to Allman and Parker (2005:16), suffered a similar limitation with the result that they too 'were enshrined in ethnographic discourse as the archetypal stateless society, marooned on the margins of a distant hinterland in a timeless ethnographic present' (cited in Insoll 2010). See also Worsley's critique of Fortes' Tallensi ethnography in Worsley 1956.

'in scripture and our laws as marriage partners.' Both Rivers' clergyman father and his mother had a strong Church of England, naval and Cambridge lineage (Slobodin 1997), so would have been well-schooled in biblical references and family "trees." The sociological underpinnings of their colonial world were only just beginning to be swept away by the First World War in Rivers' adulthood, yet the vast British Empire had been ruled for almost a century by the "Grandmother of Europe" Queen Victoria. The historical power of a dynastic European lineage had promulgated the virtues of the prosperous middle-class family: '[M]edallions of [Victoria's] progeny hanging like fruit from the branches, were published in newspapers and magazines all over the Empire for her Jubilees' (Warner 1979, 303). Along with the biblical exhortation to: 'Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moved upon the earth' (Genesis 1-28). Such publications endorsed both the nineteenth-century Christian family and the British imperial project.

Even English grammar had its colonizing role, for, however 'abstract' the British notational system may have seemed, it was 'concretely tied to the possessional logic of the English language' (Bouquet 1993: 166; Foucault [1966] 2002). Yet the connection between words and culture, was largely unexamined by early British/ Australian social anthropologists. More recently, Rademaker (2014) has explored reinforcement of the imperialist project through the English language by both the CMS (Church Missionary Society of Australia) missionaries and the government project of assimilation. Yet 'what could the English language say about [Aboriginal] ceremonies, places and relationships?' (Rademaker 2014: 227–229). Typically for his era, Rivers did not acquire any native languages (Slobodin 1978: 42). Neither did Elkin, Radcliffe-Brown or Rose. Yet Rose at least raised the problem of communication in 'pidgin' and Worsley acknowledged the challenge of trying to understand 'one of the worst languages in Australia to learn' (Worsley interviewed by Martin Thomas, 2010).

Curiously, for one studying marriage and kinship, Langham claims that Rivers arguably 'held puritanical views with regard to sex' – surprisingly, he concluded from his analysis of Melanesian society that, in the earliest state … 'there could have been no question of general promiscuity' (Langham 1981: 143). Raymond Firth suggests that in Rivers' 'use of the concept of marriage in his theoretical constructions he focused almost entirely on its legalization of sex relations' (Firth cited in Langham 1981: 327), an illusion that Rose's work would shatter. Rivers' naive social viewpoint is supported by Layard's (1998) experience of Rivers as a mentor: 'It now seems unbelievable to me that neither Haddon nor Rivers … studying the problems of race mixture, never so much as mentioned sex,

whether by way of jokes or serious talk. Shades of Victorian humbug and fear and secrecy … [Rivers' *History of Melanesian Society*] left out so many basic facts of life … [it] was an intellectual structure lacking in basic reality … I went out to Melanesia not even knowing the elements of social anthropology, or even of primitive kinship which Rivers thought himself an expert on' (Layard 1998:15). As Mulvaney and Calaby explain, the problem of 'Victorian prudery' had also bedeviled the work of Tylor, Spencer and Gillen (Mulvaney and Calaby 1985: 179). Even though certain well-known anthropologists had 'irregular' marriages themselves, it did not seem to occur to them that 'the gulf between what people do and what they say can be fabulously wide' (Thomas 2011: 352). Frederick Rose, separated from Rivers by time, class and ideology, looked at the changing world through a very different lens.

"Primitive" marriage rules and the classification of kin

Colonial anthropologists had, by and large, looked at Aboriginal social institutions as "primitive". The mere existence of a 'classificatory' system of relationships,[7] rather than a simple 'descriptive' kinship system as used by Europeans was, as Sir James Frazer opined, the 'hallmark of savagery' (Frazer 1890, cited in Langham 1981: 8). It clearly signified that: '[Europeans] were Christian monogamists [who] knew who our begetters were, whereas the poor benighted savages living in a state of promiscuity did not' (Fox cited in Langham 1981: 8). 'Primitive marriage' (McLennan 1865) had attracted the interest of earlier ethnographers, but for Rivers, marriage and kinship could easily be documented as 'bodies of dry fact' that could be singled out from other 'low forms of culture' and studied in 'relative isolation' (Rivers cited in Slobodin 1978: 41). He held the firm belief that marriage rules were the key to understanding any system of classificatory kinship, for marriage assigned a definite place to every individual in society (Slobodin 1978: 112). Moreover typically, for the nineteenth-century students of various forms of Aboriginal kinship, the task 'was not just to classify [kinship systems] … but to fit these types into a *succession*: to transform taxonomy into a sequential typology … each type must represent a stage in an evolutionary progression' towards civilization (Worsley 1992:25).

The theoretical underpinnings of European monogamous marriage had been endorsed and sanctioned by Biblical scriptures since the Middle Ages: '[It] should

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7   A 'classificatory' system recognizes kinship terms such as mother, brother, uncle and aunt as 'non-specific category terms which include large numbers of individuals rather than specific categories of blood-related relatives (Leach 1982: 228).

be hierarchical, taking its place in the universal hierarchy; men had to keep a tight reign on the women entrusted to them, but they also had to cherish them, and women owed respect to the men who had power over them. This exchange … established order within the domestic group, starting with its nucleus the married couple …' (Duby 1994: 97).

This Western European Christian model of marriage outlined in the sacramental religious vows remained fundamentally intact until the social upheavals of the twentieth century. However, the variation in forms of conjugal union among indigenous societies indicates its relative nature.[8] Many societies traditionally accepted polygamous marriages, but the polygamous marriage was considered characteristic of the 'savage' stage of 'barbarism' according to Lewis Henry Morgan (1877). It was, therefore, considered uncivilized by western theorists, destined to die out and make way for a higher stage of civilization. Indeed, the highest stage represented the monogamous Christian marriage, and a legal system constituted to protect patriarchal rights and private property inheritance (cf. Radcliffe-Brown 1935: 286–303).

Although relationship and marriage 'mapping' initially seemed orthodox enough to the young Cambridge-trained scientist Frederick Rose, he soon began to suspect that it bore the cultural imprint of its inventor and Christian Anglocentric orientation. Rivers' Genealogical Method (1900) was succinctly outlined in the Fifth Edition of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* (1929) which Rose used as his fieldwork manual (Rose to White 7th Feb. 1950).[9] The manual advised that it would be 'practicable to collect the most extensive pedigrees, using only five terms of relationship, father, *mother*, *child*, *husband*, and *wife;* … Terms such as brother and sister, and still more cousin, uncle, or aunt [however] must be altogether avoided' (*Notes and Queries* 1929: 45). 'Practical Hints on the method of recording the pedigrees' were as follows: 'It is a convenient practice to write the names of the males in capital letters, and those of the females in ordinary writing … In recording a marriage, the name of the husband may be put to the left of that of the wife, and in cases of polygyny and polyandry, the names of the associated spouses may be enclosed in square brackets if they are contemporary' (*Notes and Queries* 1929: 45–47). Kinship Grouping (the Relationship System), for

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8   There were some societies where marriage could occur between people of the same sex: the Nuer, for example, studied by Evans-Pritchard (1951), maintained the institution of "woman-marriage." In this case, a woman could give bridewealth to the relatives of another woman and "marry her" (See diagram in Bodley 2011: 110). Indeed, same-sex marriage has a long history.

9   The First Edition of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* was published in 1874 during the 19[th]century push for exploration.

social anthropologists of the day, thus brought 'savage' societies into the ordered field of vision of a modern western man (Foucault 2002: xii–xiii). Moreover, given the urgency of investigating 'vanishing peoples', such mapping seemed to offer anthropologists an efficient 'short-cut route' into the workings of 'pre-literate' societies (Grimshaw 2001: 35). Thus, the 'kinship diagram' soon 'became established as a central motif in modern anthropological analysis' (Grimshaw 2001: 36). It 'would make ethnology the only branch of social sciences able to achieve results with scientific precision to match that of the natural sciences,' as Rivers emphasized in his lectures in 1910 (Lindquist 2007: 111). When Baldwin Spencer undertook his research in Central Australia, he dutifully took along his copy of *Notes & Queries* though he was cautioned by Rivers himself, who had 'expressed doubt as to whether the method was as applicable to extended societies, as to tiny island communities' (Mulvaney 1985: 195).

Rendering the world transparent

Haddon's and Rivers' efforts to place anthropology on a 'scientific' footing had begun as early as September 1899, when they publicized the utility of the new Genealogical Method in a paper read to the Anthropology Section of the British Association (Langham 1981: 69). The Genealogical Method, with its emphasis on 'concrete' facts and physiological data presented 'a concise medical textbook view of the world, one that discouraged the creation of any 'ambiguity' through speculation and theorizing on the part of the investigator' (*Notes and Queries* 1929: ix). It also hinted at the old idea of 'primitive mentalities' (Radcliffe-Brown 1930) 'in the lower culture things are classified in a way very different from that to which we are accustomed; in other words, the savage arranges his universe in categories different from ourselves' (*Notes and Queries* 1929: 24). However, such "primitive" categories could only be represented by a western 'scientifically accurate' diagrammatic representation of a family tree, which regrettably avoided 'the representations that men in any [other] civilization may give themselves, of their life' (Foucault 2002: 412).

'Relative' error

Rivers' Genealogical Method asserted that 'nothing gives more insight into the intimate nature of social organization than the mode of naming relatives' (*Notes and Queries* 1929: 66). However, Rose soon found that his attempt to employ the Genealogical Method posed more problems than it solved. The 'Method' acknowledged that in 'some communities (as in Australia) kinship terms of this

sort go beyond actual social relations, hence even distant strangers, never met or seen, are regarded as potentially belonging to one group of kindred or another … [and that] Owing to the wide use of terms under the classificatory system everybody may be found to be related in some way to everyone else' (*Notes and Queries* 1929: 68).

Yet it did not actually provide any effective solutions to such problems. Also complicating matters were the systems of totems, and rules concerning incest taboos. How could such secret information be aligned with 'the first rule [of The Method] which stated that 'the abstract should be approached through the concrete' (*Notes and Queries* 1929: 31), especially in view of the complexities of Aboriginal languages and the routine necessity for interpreters. As far as Rose was concerned, 'ambiguities' in the Genealogical Method abounded. It became clear to him that: 'an adaptation of the Genealogical Method was necessary in order to sort out the corn of reality from the chaff of half-truth and straight-out fantasy … I was unable to arrange my data or any selected part of it into any formalized pattern which Radcliffe-Brown and his successors have made so popular' (Rose to White, 7th Feb. 1950). As a researcher unconstrained by the academy, Rose brought fresh eyes to the study of marriage, sex and kinship on Groote Eylandt. He soon discovered that Rivers' 'scientific' and 'thoroughly innovative' Genealogical Method, which had become 'a staple of fieldwork, designed to facilitate rapid compilation of fieldwork data' (Kuklick 1998: 162), required much more than a methodological re-appraisal (Rose 1960: 178-184). 'Overthrowing the theories of Radcliffe-Brown points to the need for a radical revision which is most unlikely to come about by patching up the older theories while accepting the assumptions that underlie them. It requires a fundamental attack on the logical and philosophical bases of Radcliffe- Brown's theories of marriage and the family in Australia…' (Notes, Box 36, Rose Papers).

Rose's first attempts to use the classical Genealogical Method had been hampered by his lack of facility with Aboriginal languages[10] – a disadvantage he soon realized that had also constrained Rivers, the Sydney University Professor A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, and his protégé, A. P. Elkin (Rose Memoir: 73). After re-checking answers to his investigations into the classificatory system of relationships of various tribes around Broome in Western Australia, Rose noted that: 'few of these answers confirmed what had been obtained from the genealogical method.[11]

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[10] Dell Hymes points out that until 'Thirty or forty years ago, linguistics had barely become established as a separate discipline.' See: "Afterword" in Burke and Porter (1991: 330–345).

[11] The preferred Groote Eylandt marriage rule was between persons belonging to clans in the opposite moiety, who stood in the relationship neninja/dadinja (**MMBDS/MMBDD**) to each other. (Worsley 1992: 30).

These discrepancies were at first not taken seriously and were dismissed as being due to exceptional marriages. But this kind of result kept on recurring when individual aborigines were questioned ... the genealogical method as described by Rivers (1900) ... [in] its application to Australian tribes seemed to give anomalous results' (Rose 1960: 22).

The method was: 'Open to criticism on a number of grounds. The memory of individuals is likely to be faulty, and when going back one, two or three generations, it is difficult to get independent checks, although a group of aborigines will usually agree after a discussion – in other words, a consensus of opinion can be arrived at, but less easily an independent check. There is no assurance that when an informant says he called another aborigine, dead some ten or twenty years, by such and such a term, that he is correct ... There is also the important consideration that the classificatory system of relationship of a tribe is always in a state of flux and is constantly changing' (Rose 1960: 23).

Other flaws in the method were – 'difficulties with untrained investigators properly pronouncing Aboriginal names; the fact that Aborigines frequently did not know the name of tabooed relations particularly of the opposite sex; over 13% of the Groote Eylandt Aborigines were strongly taboo to each individual' (Rose 1960: 24).

'Aborigines frequently had several names, some of which were not known to other members of the community; small children often had two names – one used by men, the other by women; Aborigines did not like their names being spoken, so many would only whisper them: A man will never speak a woman's name and vice versa. Names of women consequently had to be obtained from other women in the absence of men.' (Notes, draft of Rose's thesis, Rose papers box 19). Aborigines often refused to speak the name of a deceased Aboriginal person, leading to incomplete data. Rose's data were the first to suggest that the Groote Eylandt relationship system could not 'be given any formalized structure' (Rose to Leslie White 7th February: 1950. Rose Papers, box 20). Crucially, Rose's research revealed that 'the sexual aspect of the "marriage" is quite incidental and occupies second place in the minds of aborigines to the general economic aspect' (Draft of thesis, Rose papers Box 19).

A new technique for kinship research

Rose would no doubt have been familiar with Haddon's photographic record of the famous Cambridge (1898) Expedition. Although much of the agenda of the expedition belonged firmly to the 'salvage' paradigm, the very nature of 'the cutting-edge technology' of the camera was rapidly becoming popular in the

field of anthropology (Edwards 1998: 107)[12]. Rose decided that in view of the complications of accurately researching kinship on Groote Eylandt that he too would employ a camera[13] – thus recording kinship through identifications made by the Aborigines themselves.

A new method had to be found that 'would easily and efficiently identify one aborigine from another … an aborigine can identify one of his relatives by a photograph with as much certainty as a white man can' (Rose 1960: 21).

As each individual Aborigine was encountered: 'he or she would be given a number at the end of the list of those already photographed … during the questioning … there was no attempt to systematize data or divide the Aborigine into locality or totemic groups … The unsystematic numbering of the Aborigines had one advantage in that it was necessary for each Aborigine … to think of each of his relationships … [rather than] repeat it parrot fashion for the others' (Rose 1960: 28).

'For simplicity, letters were used to signify the relationship terms on the tabular record. Out of approximately 300 Aborigines, 219 were photographed, and approximately 25,000 identifications were made by the various Aborigines' (Rose 1960: 30–31). The photographic technique allowed Rose to design tables for each of the Aborigines in the study showing how each one designated their relationship to the others photographed (Rose 1960: 247–267; 513–572). *Ego* was thus displaced as the central motif of the kinship structure.

Aboriginal women were also included by Rose in the process of naming relationships. 'When a man had several wives, they would be arranged in a semi-circle round the husband, and he would describe who the subject was and each of the wives in turn would name their relationship to the Aborigines in the photos' (Rose 1960: 29). Rose discovered that most Groote Eylandt men and women had several marriages during their lives, thus a man might call up to a dozen men "father" or a dozen women "wife." In the words of Peter Worsley: '[C]orrect rules are constantly broken. People marry the "wrong partners. Women changed hands in a dazzling Hollywood confusion, necessitating *the constant readjustment of kinship terms to meet the new situations created*. [He found] no overall 'algebraic', totally interlocking, single system results; rather, the linking together of innumerable separate areas of coherence' [my emphasis] (Worsley 1991)).

Moreover, Groote Eylandt was not a typical gerontocracy; rather, the

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[12] Haddon used the Newman and Guardia Series B camera with Zeiss lens, which was the finest equipment available. See: Edwards, "Performing Science" 1998, footnote 10, p. 108.

[13] Rose used a Voigtländer camera with Skopar 1: 4.5, F–7.5 cm lens taking 16 photographs on Kodak 120mm film. The majority of the films were developed at the Native Settlement at Umbakumba (Rose 1960: 27).

thirty-to-fifty-year-old males held the most power – necessitating a new definition of gerontocracy. Through this new approach to the classification of kin and by analyzing the data using elementary statistical methods to reveal general trends, Rose made a crucial discovery – that within 'the age range of the wife from approximately fourteen to thirty-nine years, the average age of the husband was almost constant at about forty-two years and did not vary with the age of the female throughout life' (Rose 1960: 475; 491).

The incidence of polygyny amongst women varied considerably with age, however. Although all women aged twenty to twenty-seven years were married polygynously (due to the economic deficits of childbearing in a female gathering group), a minimum occurred in the post-fertile thirty-nine- to the forty-eight-year-old group, after which the percentage rose to 100% in the fifty-nine to sixty-eight years old age group. Rose observed the economic imperative involved – that with advancing years, the woman's economic ability decreased to the point where she relied on the collective help of a group of co-wives (Rose 1960 Tables: 64–65; 86–87).

Rose thus simultaneously revealed the anomalies (Rose 1960: 231; 477; 479) of Groote Eylandt kinship rules due to the age factor and the 'economic as distinct from the sexual aspects of marriage' (Rose 1960: 63; 231). Stability in marriage referred mainly to its *economic* aspects and by no means signified that the wife restricted her sexual relations to her husband (Rose 1960: 74). It was 'impossible to fit the kinship system into symmetrical patterns' illustrated by Radcliffe-Brown, the doyen of Australian kinship studies (Rose 1960: 183). Furthermore, Rose observed that had Rivers repeated his 1899 (published in 1904 and 1908) genealogies of the Torres Strait Islanders in Australia, they 'would clearly be insufficient to indicate the structure of an aboriginal society' (Rose 1960: 182). The 'comprehensive diagrammatic structures depicting Australian kinship organization striven after by ethnographers of the last generation' were 'largely chimeral' according to Rose (1960: 179).

Almost a decade later, Peter Worsley, armed with Rose's 'excellent model for recording the kinship terms people used towards each other – plus all his tables' (Worsley, email to author August 20th, 2011), set off for Groote Eylandt and followed up with genealogies of the deceased, using 'genealogical techniques employed by anthropologists in Africa that recorded descent, patrilateral kinship connections, and affinal relationships' (Worsley 1954). These turned out to be effectively, 'maps of relationships within the clan' and crucially proved to be a record of change over time (Worsley 1992: 29).

'I was therefore deeply grateful to Fred for any model of how to go about studying Aboriginal kinship and followed his excellent model for recording the

kinship terms people used towards each other plus all his tables. He gave me a complete copy of all this to take to the field, which I was then able to replicate and update with my own collection of thousands more kinship terms (see thesis), on Groote in 1953. So, my collaboration with him was very much more than his just "consulting" me about the genealogical material. … Fred's data, however, are NOT 'genealogies', but lists of reciprocally-used kinship terms – a different thing … my genealogies are available at AIATSIS[14] (they are complete, except for one, for a quite small clan)' (Worsley to Monteath and Munt, email: August 20th, 2011).

Marxism and Science

After his conversion to Communism in Perth in 1942, Rose attempted to apply a 'dialectical and historical method' to his study of Groote Eylandt kinship, but he admitted that it was 'more implicit than explicit.' He suspected that a Marxist interpretation of his fieldwork findings would be rejected out of hand as 'polemic' and 'political propaganda' because of his communist leanings. However, only by ignoring the *age* structure of society could one state: 'monogamy is the rule and polygamy the exception.' Exogamy, too, was not always the norm, as Rose discovered on Groote Eylandt. The resulting classificatory relationships established among traditional land-owning groups formed what Rose described as 'an extraordinarily complicated network, linking groups and individuals throughout society' (Rose 1968: 201).

By viewing Groote Eylandt's society through a 'materialist' or economic lens, Rose sought to overcome what he regarded as cultural 'bias' in the previous field studies of Europeans. According to Rose, Aboriginal marriage systems were not fundamentally about sexual exclusivity, and where conflict occurred, it was not usually driven by sexual jealousy, as westerners were inclined to believe. He revealed marriage as essentially a reciprocal *economic relationship*, 'the man primarily providing the meat and the woman the vegetable foodstuffs for themselves and her children' (Rose 1968: 201). His understanding of the economic importance of land use was the most crucial of the insights that he and other anthropologists had gained (Rose 1987: xi). There was no doubt in his mind that 'across Australia, a sophisticated system of land ownership existed well before colonization.' He believed 'it was based on *the land-owning group's economic*

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[14] ie. *The Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies* was established as the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies in 1964. Worsley's 'Groote-Eylandt genealogies, fieldnotes etc., are deposited in the Pitt-Rivers Museum in Oxford' (Worsley to Munt email Aug. 23rd, 2011).

relationship to the land, not as A.P. Elkin (1891-1979) and others had suggested, simply on some kind of religious or totemic connection.' That is not to say that such connections did not exist, but according to Rose they were secondary to the economic relationship and were determined by it. Not surprisingly perhaps, Rose's innovative kinship research on Groote Eylandt was rejected out of hand (Australian Archives CRS A659 item 44/1/4313).

Rose's study is rejected by the academic establishment

By 1945, Rose had finally collated and presented his findings in the publishable form to Professor Elkin of Sydney University. The response was what he had predicted – Elkin returned his manuscript with an extensive critique, advising against printing which would not only 'be a waste of money [but] would bring adverse criticism from those who understand the matter.' Elkin concluded his report with the words, 'I am satisfied Mr Rose does not understand this kinship system nor indeed Australian kinship' (Rose Memoir: 84).

In a letter from Professor Elkin (University of Sydney) to Carrodus (14th March 1945) Elkin deplored: 'the weakness in Rose's arguments and methods' his 'bad articles' – '[Elkin] therefore advise[d] that Mr Rose's thesis be not printed'. A penciled note by the 'secretary' emphasized that 'Mr Chinnery holds similar views to those of Professor Elkin. It is recommended that this department is not prepared to recommend that the Commonwealth undertake the printing and publication of [Rose's] paper on "The Relationship System of The Groote Eylandt Aborigines" (Australian Archives CRS A659 item 44/1/4313).

Under Professor Elkin's regime, there was little room for dissent of any kind. Described as a driven and obsessive character who maintained a stranglehold over the discipline through his critical reviews of the academic articles published in the journal *Oceania* (Wise 1985: 225), Elkin, an Anglican clergyman untrained in the scientific method and impatient with new ideas vigorously opposed any academic competition or opposition:

'The fashion seems to be growing for social anthropologists, in their endeavour to be theorists and masters of abstraction, to use concepts such as epistemology, ontology and cosmology, to cast their lines now here, now there, into the shallows of philosophy and metaphysics… I suggest they launch their nets into the deep' (Elkin cited in Wise 1985: 225).

Frederick Rose, on the other hand, was keen to embrace and test new ideas and theories and a "Marxist" approach to research as promoted by contemporary left-wing scientists of the period, such as John Bernal, J.B.S. Haldane and Albert Einstein, who embraced the idea of a 'new' society founded on rational,

scientific planning and egalitarian principles – a challenging if the somewhat utopian project (Bernal and Cornforth 1949; Einstein 1949). However, it was only after Rose left Australia in 1956 to reside in the German Democratic Republic that his fieldwork and extensive Groote Eylandt data would finally be published.

In 1957 Rose submitted his work as a *Habilitationsschrift* to the Faculty of Philosophy at the Humboldt University in East Berlin, where it was accepted and later published in book form there in 1960. He received a formal appointment as Professor mit Lehrauftrag in September 1961 and five years later was appointed Professor mit vollem Lehrauftrag – a professor with full teaching duties (Monteath and Munt 2015: 335). He was director of the *Institut für Völkerkunde und deutsche Volkskunde* at the Humboldt University from 1960-1972 (Noack and Krause 2005: 40). Noack and Krause acknowledge his 'important critique' of 'genealogical kinship principles and gentile organisation' (Noack and Krause 2005: 40; See also Guhr 1991a, b).

Rose's thesis rejected 'the use of kinship organization as a basis for the investigation of the ethnography of a particular tribe. Methodologically [Rose found it] a false approach.' Instead, he insisted that 'the social organization of any people is part of the superstructure raised on and ultimately determined by the mode of production … [that is] the forces of production in conjunction with the relations of production' (Rose 1960: 2). Peter Worsley, banned for his communist affiliation by the Australian government and the Australian National University[15] from pursuing his planned fieldwork in New Guinea (Monteath and Munt 2015: 118–120; Gray 2015; Worsley interview with Martin Thomas 2010: 191; Worsley interview with author 17/4/2012), followed up Rose's fieldwork on Groote Eylandt and using the same method of inquiry, he collected 'a further 11,322 identifications by [himself] in 1952/53 – 61, 88 of these being repeats from 28 individuals who had already made previous identifications in 1940. [He] was thus able to calculate the rate and extent of change in relationships over time' (Worsley 1954: 377). His study included children born since Rose's study who were now old enough to make identifications (Interview with author: 17/4/2012). Although Worsley conceded that: 'the results achieved by Rose's tabulation could equally have been indicated, in a more generalized fashion, by qualitative methods; *it would have been impossible, however, to express these results with the precision achieved by quantification* … Rose's method has importance merely as a technique of recording' [my emphasis] (Worsley 1954: 377–379).

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[15] David McKnight explains that an informal liaison existed between ASIO and the ANU facilitating the vetting of university staff appointments (McKnight 1994), cited in Monteath and Munt (2015: 119).

Worsley's findings also confirmed Rose's claim that genealogies of polygynous fathers would involve complex 'considerable lateral span' (Worsley 1954: 379). Indeed, he used 'a roll of kitchen paper twenty-three feet long (laterally); for the genealogy of the *Wanindiljauwa* clan, which for reasons of expediency did not include following the mother's line simply for reasons of physical manageability' (Worsley 1954: 383). Worsley inevitably reached the same conclusion as Rose: 'One wonders just what is recorded as a 'genealogy' by [field] workers who follow orthodox methods of recording, and who profess, at least, to include all the relatives of *Ego* in one genealogy. Some arbitrary delimitation must be introduced if this method is followed' (Worsley 1954: 384). Peter Worsley's thesis was passed by his examiners, and he thanked his supervisors, W.E. H. Stanner and Siegfried Nadel (he wisely avoided any acknowledgement of fellow communist Fred Rose). However, blocked from any anthropological post by Evans-Pritchard and others (Worsley 2008: 77), with the support of Max Gluckman, he subsequently became the first Professor of Sociology at Manchester University in 1964 and is noted for introducing the term 'Third World' into the English lexicon (Worsley 1984: 34) in his classic textbook on sociology.

Conclusion

Although Rose promoted the idea of a Marxist materialist approach to kinship studies, it was in fact the use of camera technology and a quantitative methodology which revealed the flaws in Rivers' Genealogical Method. By foregrounding the problem of the cultural and subjective bias of previous researchers who were also handicapped by communication of relationship terms in "pidgin" English rather than the language of the Groote Eylandt people, and by asking his subjects to identify their kin themselves, he highlighted the considerable barriers that had confronted his predecessors in fieldwork. In retrospect, his adoption of a Marxist theoretical lens to view a traditional Australian society, though in some ways an "add-on" to his quantitative methodology, did present an innovative materialist framework for understanding the *economic* basis of Aboriginal marriage and kinship relations as opposed to resorting to myths, magic or comparative religion, which had been foregrounded by influential nineteenth-century "armchair" anthropologists like Sir James Frazer (1854-1941). Indeed, when Rose was later refused research access to Australian reserves by the Commonwealth government in 1962, Professor de Josselin de Jong personally wrote to Sir Paul Hasluck, Minister for Territories: 'Sir, May it please Your Excellency to consider a few suggestions I would like to offer concerning the anthropological studies Dr Frederick Rose proposes to carry out among the Pintubi and Wailbri tribes … [de

Jong discusses FR's achievements in critiquing Radcliffe-Brown's kinship models and their significance] 'for the anthropological study of kinship the world over …' (To the Hon. Paul Hasluck Minister for Territories from Dr P. E de Josselin de Jong' (Josselin de Jong to Paul Hasluck, 18th June 1962, box 31).

Rose had effectively abandoned the Genealogical Method in favor of a new 'model for recording the reciprocally-used kinship terms [that the Groote Eylandt] people used towards each other.' In providing Peter Worsley with 'a complete copy of all this [data] to take to the field [Worsley] was able to replicate and update this with [his] own collection of thousands more kinship terms [Worsley, 1954] on Groote in 1953' (Worsley to author, email 23rd August 2011).

Rose always included his raw data in his studies so his models could be scientifically assessed. Like Malinowski, he advocated a more: 'candid account of such data … [to] ply the full searchlight of methodic sincerity, as [anthropologists] move among their facts but produce them before us out of complete obscurity' (Malinowski [1922] 1966: 3).

The lack of actual data provided in his predecessors' publications was the subject of a pithy rebuke to Professor Leslie White (Rose to White 7th Feb. 1950). After a negative peer review of Rose's Groote Eylandt study, Rose claimed that the reviewer (William E. Lawrence) had 'missed the point of the work' because Rose's data had not been included in the study. Rose then confidently went on to criticize Rivers' famous methodology: 'I do not know how much sociological fieldwork dealing with this question of classificatory kinship systems either you or Lawrence have actually done but the first part of my own experience with tribalised aborigines during 1937–40 led me to the conclusion that the normal application of the genealogical method prejudiced the issue, as it assumed certain [European] categories of thought and association which, as far as the Australian aborigines were concerned were not real. In other words, the fieldworker adopted what I would call a subjective approach. He assumed that there was a formal pattern for a relationship system and found evidence to support it … I do not want it to be inferred that I am suggesting that Elkin was intellectually dishonest when he wrote up the Ngarinyin social structure. What I am suggesting however, is that Elkin fell into an error of over-rationalising his data because *the method* he used made this virtually impossible to avoid … by the genealogical method I understand what is described on page 44 et seq. of "Notes and Queries on Anthropology" Fifth Edition, London 1929 … *I was quite unable to arrange my data or any selected part of it into any formalized pattern which Radcliffe- Brown and his successors have made so popular*' [my emphasis] (Rose to White 7th Feb. 1950). He claimed that the kinship diagrams supporting the "structural-functionalist" paradigm of Radcliffe-Brown merely offered an 'idealistic' understanding

of the workings of primitive society, uncontaminated by history or material culture (Rose Memoir: 55). Kinship terminology – at least 'as far as the Australian aborigines are concerned' was, Rose maintained, an expression of the economic 'rights and obligations between individuals as members of groups and do[es] not express blood relationship (real or fictive) which we social anthropologists in our superior wisdom and *in our categories of thought* have arbitrarily imposed on them' [my emphasis] (Rose, 1968: 201). In his Groote Eylandt study, Rose suggested, … instead of tracing out genealogical paths from informants to their immediate relatives, recording the relationship term E/ego applied to each one in turn, we should instead ask all informants … what terms they actually use in relation to one another' (Turner 1980: 119). By using this more accurate method of identification and recording the relationships within the community and taking polygyny and the 'age-factor' into account, Rose was able to present a much more complex picture of Groote Eylandt society before the irreversible changes wrought by World War Two.

Yet despite his critique of the Genealogical Method and the generally positive reviews his work received in international anthropological journals from distinguished anthropologists such as P. E. de Josselin de Jong (1962: 42–67), Meyer Fortes (1962: 81–82), Peter Worsley (1991), and Les Hiatt (1985), who is now regarded as one of Australia's foremost anthropologists, Rose's classic study of Groote Eylandt kinship was not reviewed in Australia (Maddock 1991). Vladimir Kabo had written a review for the Soviet journal *Sovietskaia Etnografiia* but it was rejected on ideological grounds (Tumarkin 2015: 192; Monteath and Munt 2015: 287). However, it was reviewed positively in Hungary by Tibor Bodrogi (1961). And although some of the most innovative theoretical anthropological work had taken place in the German Democratic Republic, at the end of the socialist era, the process and politics of German re-unification precluded the continuation of 'Ethnographie as a unified anthropological science' (Noack and Krause (2005: 45). Marxist theory was promptly discredited, and the significant academic achievements of the discipline and its academic institutions in the former East Germany were therefore side-lined (Noack and Krause 2005: 45). Nevertheless, as Eriksen and Nielsen (2001) explain, in Britain, France and the USA, Marxian anthropology was about to be revitalized by a 'heady cocktail' of post-structuralism and deconstructionism during the 1980s (Eriksen and Nielsen 2001: 112–115). Maurice Godelier (1934 -), 'the most famous of the French Marxists' (Eriksen and Nielsen 2001: 115) who had connected with Rose at the Paris Congress in 1960,[16]

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[16] This meeting resulted in the publication of Rose's paper - presented to the Paris conference, 1960: "On the Structure of the Australian Family." See letter to Rose from: Le Comité de

was a correspondent of Rose. He too was interested in new theories of kinship (Godelier, Trautmann and Tjon Sie Fat (1998) and though strongly influenced by Althusser's structuralism, his main fieldwork project resulted in 'a comparative study of economic systems' (Eriksen and Nielsen (2001: 115-116). Godelier was also influenced by Lévi-Strauss and even described Marx as 'a structuralist *avant la lettre*' (Godelier 1966, cited in Eriksen and Nielsen 2001: 116), but nevertheless, he argued, like Rose, that 'kinship can be a mode of production' (Parkin 2005: 223).

In many ways, Rose's (1960) kinship study was well ahead of its time. Along with Peter Worsley, he revolutionized the way in which Aboriginal kinship systems were perceived (Worsley 1992: 29). It now seemed: 'paradoxical that anything as complex as Australian religion and kinship should ever have been taken as the epitome of the "primitive" … or that Aboriginal kinship could be reduced not merely to a few abstracted, ideal principles but ultimately to one single formula' (Worsley 1992: 30–31). In the words of Professor de Josselin de Jong: Rose had made 'not only a new contribution of kinship studies, but … a new approach to them' (de Jong 1962: 66–67). As Turner explains, 'while Lévi-Strauss [1949] treated facts at the model level, Rose treated them at the level of observed behaviour.' His achievement was to evaluate the 'actual' against the 'ideal' within the descent framework (Turner 1980: 122), unlike Lévi-Strauss who 'captured a culture through fragments, filling the gaps in his mind, conjuring models as if through thin air' (Wilcken 2010: 75). Despite this difference, however, 'P. E. de Josselin de Jong thought that, considered together, there might result one of those: "chocs des opinions from which proverbially, truth results" ' (Turner 1980: 116).

However, it was not until the end of Radcliffe-Brown's tenure that the methodology of structural-functionalism came under scrutiny regarding its failure to address fluctuations and changes in social relations (Eriksen and Nielsen 2001: 86–87). New camera technology and the tape recorder enabled superior fieldwork to supplant the simpler observations of an earlier era (Worsley 1992: 40). And ultimately, ideological factors had to be overcome, and these would remain unchallenged until the decline of empires. Later questioning the puzzles posed by classificatory kinship, Fox would maintain that 'Classificatory kinship doesn't operate on [a] myopic scale. Its premises are not those of western competitive individualism … classificatory kinship operates on a grander level – on which

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Publication, V1ème Congrès International de Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques, Paris, 1960. Uncatalogued Rose Papers, box 20 [new box 4] See also:
Letter from Maurice Godelier *Maison des Sciences de L'homme Paris.* February 2nd, 1978, to Rose, informing Rose of: 'a plan for constituting an international group to analyse hunting and gathering societies' Rose Papers, uncatalogued box 30 [catalogued and (re-housed) Rose Papers, box 13].

bonds of sisterhood and brotherhood create networks of interdependence, decisively overriding parochial attachments and aims' (Fox 1967: 84).

And though Peterson (1976: 6) raised the problem of closure in Australian diagrammatic kinship models, there was little change in the research agenda of Australian academia (Barnes 1980). David Turner, the Canadian anthropologist who was also banned by the Australian government and forced to leave Groote Eylandt in 1971 (Turner, email to author, 2nd April 2013), was generously provided with Rose's tabular data for his field research in the 1970s which resulted in new insights into Australian Aboriginal organization, culminating in a computer simulation of *Warnindilyaugwa* kinship systems (Turner 1980; see Rose 1978).

Worsley and Turner not only learned the language of the Groote Eylandt people but immersed themselves in their culture. Turner found Australian Aboriginals, far from being so-called '"primitive" people, were a 'highly sophisticated society' with a worldview that ensured 'social and environmental harmony that runs contrary to conventional Western thinking.' His book *Return to Eden ...* (Turner 1996) written 'after years of immersion in the culture' was a significant landmark in which he was able to 'test his insights systematically with Rose's data' (Turner to the author, email April 16th, 2014). His most recent book, *Life to the Power of Nothing* (Turner 2021) explores an Aboriginal worldview which has enabled First Peoples to successfully manage the land and its resources for thousands of years. It 'has much to offer the rest of the human world as it searches for a path to a sustainable and secure future' (Scott Cane: review back cover of Turner's 2021 book).

Woodrow Denham (2012) also records a substantial theoretical debt to Frederick Rose. His paper on Aboriginal kinship not only drew significantly on Rose's Groote Eylandt data but also attempted to place this data in a much broader context (Denham 2012: 79). Its title: *Kinship, Marriage and Age in Aboriginal Australia* 'might be seen as a direct reference to [Rose's early] work' (Denham, email to author, September 14th: 2012). Denham updated this study in 2013, dedicating it to F.G.G Rose; N.B Tindale and J.B Birdsell, and expanded it in a series of seven papers published in *Mathematical Anthropology and Cultural Theory* between 2012 and 2020.[17]

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[17] Although Rose's work was not welcomed by the anthropological community in the mid-20th century, his meticulously coded data has not been lost. In addition to being available in his 1960 book, it is available now on the web in at least three forms.
Denham's (2016) Group Compositions in Band Societies Database presents detailed numerically coded genealogies, vital statistics, demographics, and census data for co-residing members of 42 hunter-gatherer societies observed and recorded by scientists in Africa (AF), Asia (AS), Australia (AU), Europe (EU), and among North American Indians (ND) and North

Rose's book (1960) revealed that: '… the diagrammatic representation of the kinship structures of some Australian societies of so-called "Kariera" and "Aranda" types with bilateral first and second cousin marriage respectively, could have had reality only in a condition where gerontocracy was completely absent … under gerontocratic conditions the diagrams representing some of these systems are intrinsically impossible' (Rose 1960: 129 cited in Denham 2013: 6). [Rose's] work on Groote Eylandt has been often cited for its great merit (De Josselin de Jong 1962), but his rejection of traditional Kariera and Aranda system models has been consistently forgotten or ignored' (Denham 2013: 6).

In 1958 the French master of kinship studies, author of *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté* (1949), Claude Lévi-Strauss wrote to thank Rose for the 'very interesting paper you were kind enough to send me. As far as I know, your inquiry into the age structure, associated with a set of marriage rules and kinship systems is something quite new' (Lévi-Strauss to Rose, March 31st 1958). Yet he did not review his own work in light of Rose's findings.

Rose's data mapped the kinship connections between some two hundred people and created the same number of tabular matrices along with photographic portraits to delineate the kinship connections. This method yielded approximately 25,000 classificatory connections, which proved a valuable historic data base for younger anthropologists like Peter Worsley, Woodrow Denham, David Turner and Franklin Tjon Sie Fat, who based his doctoral dissertation (1990) and an article (1983) on Rose's Groote Eylandt data (email to author 2017). Yet the use of quantitative methods was unpopular in the Soviet bloc. Rose's colleague in the GDR, Günter Guhr, whose important work on Aranda Kinship was sidelined by those in power with other methodological/ideological agendas, was obliged to give up his position at the Humboldt University and move to the Museum für Völkerkunde in Dresden (Noack and Krause 2005: 40).

Rose's timing was unfortunate in that with the onset of the Cold War in the 1950s and 1960s, many western academics who openly expressed any "Red" partialities or Communist leanings found themselves under increasingly fierce attacks and devoid of funding (Wax 2008; Gray 2007; 2015: 28; Eriksen and Nielsen 2001: 77–80). Banned by the Australian government from following up his initial

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American Inuit (NU) spanning two centuries from 1776 to 1979. The Australia (AU) subset includes Rose's (1960) *Wanindiljaugwa* data collected in 1941. The dataset, coded directly from Rose's (1960) book, appears on the web at two locations that are complementary. The ResearchGate version is organized by continents as a coherent and integrated collection of datasets in .pdf format. This collection facilitates visual pattern detection and cross-cultural comparisons using traditional genealogical diagrams in conjunction with Excel and SPSS software.

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fieldwork on Groote Eylandt, Rose returned to Australia from the GDR for eight months in 1962 but was refused permission to enter the reserve by the Australian government (Paul Hasluck, 1/8/62 to F. Rose). Peter Worsley 'a card-carrying English Communist … [also] experienced serious difficulties in obtaining research permits and finding employment,' before he finally secured a job in sociology at Manchester University with the support of Max Gluckman (Eriksen and Nielsen 2001: 112). And even though Gluckman was 'decisively influenced by Marx, references to Marx in his work were all but absent' (Eriksen and Nielsen 2001: 112).

It was unfortunate that Rose and Worsley's research findings went unacknowledged by the Australian anthropological establishment for reasons which were more ideological and prejudicial than academic (Monteath 2010; Munt 2011). Now that the Cold War is in the distant past – though perhaps a new Cold War is beginning as I write, anthropologists, historians and First Peoples will hopefully be able to dispassionately re-assess the research carried out on Groote Eylandt by Rose and Worsley during the years 1938–1939; 194l and 1953.

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Skills, Lines, and Rocks: The Ethnographic Approach to Rock Climbing and Mountaineering

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Abstract: In the following article I am concerning the problem of climbers' and mountaineers' spatial practices performed in rocky landscapes. Precisely, using my ethnographic data, and following Edmund Husserl's classic theory of intersubjectivity, I ask how they establish a mutual understanding when engaged in landscapes? Next, inspired by Tim Ingold and his theory of skills lines, I examine how climbers and mountaineers draw, recognize, and make use of lines found in the landscape they skilfully dwell in.

Keywords: ethnography, climbing and mountaineering, skills, intersubjectivity, Tim Ingold, Edmund Husserl

Subjects engaged in spatial operations establish unique relations with landscapes, and to do so – as Tim Ingold (2015; 2016) convincingly relates – they employ skills. These are skills, where ethnographers might look for sense-making practices, knowledge, and body dispositions. Consequently, moving in landscapes, Ingold concludes, is a skilful process of establishing intrasubject relations offering clues to an individual's locations and perceptions. These actions are best observed through practices of movement, which, as Kim Jada Samudra (2008) suggests, emerge from sociocultural backgrounds and are thus open to ethnographic reflections.

The practices I am concerned with are climbing and mountaineering. More precisely, I observe the efforts a human body is driven to make when moving in the vertical plane rather than the horizontal. This change, as Allen Abramson and Robert Fletcher (2007) have demonstrated, forces climbers to establish new spatial and intersubjective relations. Along these vertical trajectories, non-standard,

creative strategies, knowledge and cooperation emerge, remaining in place for new interpretations by forthcoming generations. Consequently, the question posed to me is: although not explicitly taught during specialized training, how do climbers and mountaineers establish intersubjective understanding and skilful cooperation between one another? How, using intersubjective cooperation, do climbers and mountaineers skilfully engage in landscapes? Next, I carefully observe how climbing subjects spot, move in, and experience rocky landscapes along certain lines composing climbing routes. Here, I examine how climbers and mountaineers spot and make use of such lines, and execute their skills and knowledge to confront apparently bare rocks.

Yet, as I have observed, the rocks are never barren, nor are they separated from the human world. Although rocks-and-mountains-oriented anthropological inquiries are rather rare, mountains, as James R. Veteto (2009) has aptly demonstrated, have been of interest to anthropologists and social scientists since the dawn of those disciplines. Yet, it was only in the 1970s that scientists started to significantly expand those interests. Nowadays, studies on mountainous landscapes are better adjusted to the challenges of the modern world and highly efficient in revealing the human impact on mountain ecosystems across the globe. Climbers undoubtedly leave their footprint out there, thus making mountains and rocks the arenas of personal and sociocultural expressions. As Penelope Rossiter (2007) argues, climbing – and rocky landscapes as a result – emerge from interactions established between human agents, technology and the material world. Surely, one should not forget that mountains include a variety of non-human objects/ agents, not only rocks, but also plants, animals, weather phenomena – all with an ontological status to which climbers are continuously exposed. Following this trail, Abramson and Fletcher (2007) encapsulated that climbing is a form of a deep "eco-play" between the parties involved – skilled climbers performing moves and applying techniques, and the material landscape offering the space for such activities. Obviously, this play involves more-than-human actors, consequently making climbing a playful exploration and a deep vertical re-creation of the worlds that only seemingly belong exclusively to either the "human" or the "eco" domain. Finally, Jan Dutkiewicz (2015) demonstrated that climbing, along with rocks and climbing routes, emerges from a sense-making interplay between bodies and objects embedded in the local cultural genealogies and social practices. In turn, climbing and rocks are intrinsically local. In my opinion the lines of ascent are unique paths of human thought, perception and skilful engagement. As such, these lines become meaningful landscapes saturated with complex ontologies and epistemologies when the next generations of climbers continue to make their own contributions to the climbing heritages carved in rocks.

Ethnographic theory and movement in rocks

Rock climbing and mountaineering have their distinctive goals and styles requiring different protective and safety equipment (Bonington 1994). Climbers can choose between traditional or sport climbing. The latter is considered safer since climbers use artificial components (bolts, spits, rings) for better protection. In contrast, those who favour the traditional style, rely on their own self-administered, moveable equipment. Mountaineers must be familiar with a wide range of equipment and be both efficient and proficient in operations often performed in harsh conditions. Consequently, their training levels and regimes often exceed their level of required climbing skills. Mountaineering also has its styles; the most well-known are alpine and siege (expedition) (Soles, Powers 2003). Performed in summer and winter conditions, they prompt mountaineers to master different skills and use even more complex equipment (Soles 2000). In contrast, rock climbers are usually seasonally attached to accessible crags, where they "solve problems" situated at heights of several tens of meters. Mountaineers' hardships, however, are distributed across high walls and long ascents, thus requiring many, primarily, alpha-numeric systems grading route difficulty. Due to the traditions developed in the researched areas I discuss below, I will refer to Kurtyka's Scale[1] (KS, also: Cracow Scale) – a combination of Roman and Arabic numerals – for rock climbing, and to the grades developed by the International Climbing and Mountaineering Federation (UIAA) for mountain routes.

Not many anthropologists, who have found crags to be promising fieldwork environments, have engaged in primary investigations into the socio-historical backgrounds of climbing and mountaineering, whilst also taking a secondary interest in perception and movement in rock-centred surroundings. The history of mountaineering and climbing has been generally investigated as a story of conquest – it fits well into the modernist and colonial discourses which have developed rapidly since the 19th century (Ortner 1997; Lewis 2000). Climbers and mountaineers, however, also have personal motives – the testimonies left by the most famous practitioners are living proof of that (Macfarlane 2003). The epistemological, metaphysical and, ultimately, ontological reasons for climbing must therefore be inherently paradoxical. Climbing teaches its practitioners life lessons and gives life meaning, whilst constantly being obliged to confront modern ideologies and commoditization to remain "authentic" (Heywood 2006; Kiewa 2002; Nitzke 2020). That said, climbing does indeed return to many a sense of attentive wayfaring that is absent in modern point-to-point locomotion (Ingold 2016). Let

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[1] A Polish world-class climber and mountaineer (b. 1947).

me, however, put this issue to one side for a moment and turn my attention to the experiential and kinaesthetic aspects of climbing and mountaineering.

Jan Dutkiewicz (2015) and Matthew Bunn (2016) consider climbing to be a practice with its own distinguished habitus. While Dutkiewicz views climbing as an interplay between bodies and objects emerging from local histories and representations, Bunn concentrates on the notion of risk. Bunn says risk management and strategies enable climbers to play out their performances, turning unknown vertical ascents into controlled spaces of action. As Ian Heywood (1994; 2006) states, however, this would not be possible, were it not for a climber's interpretative skills allowing them to cope with the risks that arise. In contrast, Andre Goodrich (2004) developed his perspective with less attachment to historical representations and social habitus, looking more closely at existential "topokinetic memory" – which allows climbers to generate possibilities *in situ* for upcoming moves.

One thing is clear: climbing and mountaineering belong to the world of the body and movement. Studies on the body are not new to anthropology and social sciences. Researchers have successfully demonstrated that body and bodily practices stem from complex sociocultural backgrounds and historical transformations (Featherstone, et al. 1970). Anthropology has examined how bodies are affected by local agents of power and such global trends as commodification, consumer culture, aesthetics, biopolicy, and many more (Mascia-Lees 2001). Michel Foucault (1982) proved that well by examining bodies as being subject to change and institutional control. Another great Frenchman, Pierre Bourdieu (1991, 1997), demonstrated that bodies are objects and agents, hiding intertwining layers of social, cultural, political, and economic capital, along with habitual dispositions that we can never fully recognise. Bourdieu states the latter can be seized only through practices and when bodies are exposed to certain challenges.

Hence, we are well aware that bodies absorb political discourses and hold social and individual tensions, desires, and needs. Yet, contemporary anthropology – especially the schools under the influence of phenomenological studies – finds bodies to be first and foremost tools of personal expression. The invaluable contribution of Maurice Merleau-Ponty (2013) has made researchers treat bodies not as mere biological, physical, or even social units, but as the subjects which structure one's experience within the world.

This line of thought goes even deeper – a body-subject is in a constant move, bursting with creativity and readiness to act. Those vital and dynamic aspects of having a body and being a body-in-the-world are demonstrated in a number of empirical studies, for instance, a classic study delivered by Loïc Wacquant (2004). Wacquant, having infiltrated the Chicago boxing scene, has set a new standard for sports research. His deeply ethnographic observations and personal experience

are a significant contribution to Bourdieu-inspired studies on body and habitus. Wacquant took boxing classes and pushed his body to the limits. Consequently, his study is now considered a milestone for the "carnal sociology", and an iconic example of how to use the participatory observation method in searching for the very essence of habitus, bodily practices, and their sociocultural genealogies.

Jaida Kim Samudra (2008) – who also researched martial arts (silat) – provides some more hints at how to access similar areas of human activity. Samudra's strategy of "thick participation" is one of sharing socially meaningful practices and embodied experiences located beyond ordered language. Knowledge, says Samudra, coalesces in a kinaesthetically engaged body, and thus anthropologists should establish a sense of comprehension by employing their own body in the movements. Consequently, movement, as in many other phenomenologically oriented studies, becomes an intersubjective space providing understanding. In this way, however, intersubjectivity can easily become trivialized. Alessandro Duranti (2010), well versed in Edmund Husserl's writings, has explained this clearly. In Husserl's mind, intersubjectivity is neither an act of negotiations, nor a condition of shared experiences, but rather an opportunity or pre-condition for communication. Although it is essential to human existence, intersubjectivity does not open up routes to individual experience, but "makes sure that the Other and the Self are perceptually, conceptually and practically coordinated around a particular task" (Duranti 2010: 2). Subjects do not therefore simply reach a common understanding; rather they become ready to exchange their positions (*Platzwechsel*) in order to consider the point of view of the other (Husserl 1989: 177).

This comment is essential to my research, as climbers and mountaineers, as I will demonstrate, must be constantly ready to exchange their tasks in order to complete their goals. These exchanges can be accomplished, as Husserl teaches, through "empathy" (*Einfühlung*), understood as the primordial and pre-logic experience of participation in the actions and feelings of other people without becoming them (1969: 233). Another essential claim made by Husserl considers "nature" as an "intersubjective reality" in itself (1989: 91). Although the subjects do not share the same understanding of Husserl's nature, they might make use of it as they are mutually attached to it, and it is a shared condition opening the way for an understanding of individual positions and experiences. Husserl (1931) observes that nature is a practical world, where subjects experience others experiencing similar relationships with their surroundings. Despite differences in perception, subjects – through empathy – assume they operate in a common world explored by their living bodies (*Leib*), their actions identified as being similar to the decisions and choices that the subjective-we would make.

With the above in mind, I started ethnographic research in 2019 in the mountain ranges known to be popular climbing destinations, namely, the Jura Krakowsko-Częstochowska, Sokoliki, and Świętokrzyskie Mountains in Poland, and the Tatras, which straddle the border and extend into Poland and Slovakia. I started with climbing camps and training sessions (of both sports and the traditional type) – three in Jura, three in Sokoliki, and three in the Świętokrzyskie range. Later, I began to follow the hints given by Dutkiewicz (2015) and since 2021 I have been regularly climbing with various partners met during fieldwork or through social media. These research sessions usually lasted a day or two and consisted of intense climbing and open inquiries/discussions about the events of the day or more general topics concerning the rocky landscapes and climbing as such. In the summertime, with Kacper, a mountain rescue climber, I have climbed (in traditional style) Lomnický, Gerlachovský, and Kežmarský Štit, all of them rising high in Slovakia. In four successive winter seasons, I participated in three mountaineering camps in Tatras, and climbed with Kacper (traditional style) Kościelec and some icefalls in Dolina Białej Wody (White Water Walley, Bielovodská Dolina). Altogether, I have completed eighteen independent field studies, the results of which I have summarized in field notes, recordings, and in the form of visual data (photography and short clips).

The majority of conversations and conducted interviews were not recorded, as the recording was either impossible or pointless in the mountainous landscape. Usually, climbers are separated by a certain distance, and communication between them is reduced to simple comments and observations. As a result, I have found observations and participatory techniques to be more efficient means of data collection. At the end of training/climbing days, however, we have had time together in which we could relate and share our experiences. These relaxing moments have proved very informative, although without the contexts of the shared experiences, they could be incomprehensible to outside observers. In a sense, therefore, my "climbing ethnography" is experiential, as it puts experience, sharpened by spatial practices and landscape recognitions, at the very heart of the research. The dominant portion of the collected evidence, however, has emerged explicitly from being with and among the people – what I have learned and experienced has only been accessible through my cooperation and work with others.[2] As a result, on many occasions I have pondered the questions regarding participation and intersubjectivity, both in the field and afterwards. That obviously turned my attention to the methodologies inspired by autoethnography. I have come to the conclusion that this self-reflexive practice goes further than a mere

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2   All names of my informants have been changed.

genre of ethnographic writing. As Carolyn Ellis (2004, 2008) has eloquently put it, autoethnography combines research writing with one's personal experience, political, and social settings, and it also explores the modes of understanding. Consequently, autoethnography should be considered a form of attention that connects the researcher to his or her very personal "culture", yet at the same time being in relation to the "cultures" of people met in the field (Adams et al. 2015). Thus, I do appreciate Laura Ellington's and Carolyne Ellis' observations that autoethnography should be first regarded as:

> response to the alienating effects on both researchers and audiences of imper-sonal, passionless, abstract claims of truth generated by such research practices and clothed in exclusionary scientific discourse (Ellingson, Ellis, 2008: 450).

Indeed, my knowledge and conclusions are the results of mutual trust and deep cooperation between me and the people whom I have met and with whom I have shared the struggle of climbing in various conditions. I have always climbed with partners and not solo, and it has always been a shared journey, where our safety entirely depended on our cooperation. However, these undoubtedly important matters have not, I observe, exhausted all the methodological puzzles I have had to tackle. Let us now though move on and reach for Tim Ingold's studies on perception, skills, and landscape.

Environment, as Ingold says (2016: 101-106), is inhabited by generations of agents, and thus densely tangled with knots and meshwork – loops and nets around which actors produce knowledge, skills, and render their experiences meaningful. Knots and meshwork are place-making – they make interactions between the involved parties possible. Consequently, Ingold's world has a structure composed of multiple traces knitted together in a never-ending process of movement and re-creation (2018; 2016; 2015). Nothing is pre-ordained, nothing – apart from movement – is constant. Life and actions, therefore, are not attached to places, nor are they non-placed: instead, they are place-making and continue to appear as responses to incoming affordances, which are particularly shaped by a subject's embodiment and perception (Ingold 2016: 38–39; Pokropski 2011: 132–134).

James Gibson (1979), concerned with studies on ecology and perception, considers something's affordances to be things "hiding" within it. Additionally, he allows for subjects taking (or refraining from taking) actions dependent on their states and activities. For instance, "stand-on-able, (…) walk-on-able, run-on-able" (Gibson 1979: 127) ground allows a subject to move either as a biped or quadruped. However, as Ingold rightly says, for Gibson, objects have no

metaphysical depth: they constitute neither a boundary between mental and material states, nor between reason and sensory experiences, nor between the subject's consciousness and the object. Indeed, affordances create possibilities and keep a subject in motion. As my research has demonstrated, however, there is no single experience of "the ground": the sense of ground, such as rocky surfaces, emerges in an interactive process employing a subject's perception, senses, knowledge, skills, personal embodiment, weather conditions, rock type, etc. Consequently, climbers and mountaineers, aided by their personal and social capital, actively recognize affordances and skilfully create opportunities. As a result, I am closer to Andre Goodrich's (2004: 30) use of this term: environments, says Goodrich, stimulate actions that consequently can be related to culturally grounded activities. Therefore, climbers – skillful dwellers – inhabit spaces of possibilities and affordances, but to reach them, they must employ skills and knowledge inherited from previous generations, accumulated in climbing habitus, as Dutkiewicz and Bunn would argue, or extracted from Goodrich's "topokinetic memory".

Three more of Ingold's terms would benefit from further clarification here – i.e., dwelling, skills, and taskscape. Dwelling subjects are actively engaged in the spaces they occupy. Dwellers, by using their skills and performing tasks, coproduce spaces and make landscapes meaningful. Consequently, dwelling establishes a sense of awareness of the landscape; an awareness emerging at the intersection of creativity and perception, exposed to a subject's socially and historically accumulated knowledge of a place (Ingold 1993: 152). Thus, perceiving landscapes ultimately means being engaged in an act of remembering, and acting in an environment saturated with pasts, flows, and relationships established between human and non-human agents.

I consider rocky landscapes, although often inaccessible, to be scattered with memories and affordances, making them open to dwelling. To achieve this, climbers and mountaineers make use of the skills they have already mastered, or that they are ready to acquire. As a result, skills are the practices enabling subjects to navigate their way through, operate in, and co-create particular environments (Ingold 1993). Thanks to their skills, subjects are ready to pursue tasks that make up a taskscape, i.e., an assemblage of interrelated tasks carried out by competent subjects. Thus, a taskscape, corresponding well with Husserl's practical "nature", is a social framework for shared temporal human activities (Ingold 2018). While completing tasks, people – in cooperation with others – engage in the process of skilful line-drawing, combining the drawn lines with other traces and meaningful points. Hence, we are back to the knots and meshworks, underlining their critical importance to ethnographic investigations.

Intersubjectivity, lines, and *Platzwechsel*

Climbers work with and through skills. Yet, their work requires mutual understanding. As I have heard from my instructors, the latter, strikingly, belonged to the same collection of skills as climbing and equipment techniques. This collection quite clearly corresponded with the concept of habitus – in line with the ideas of Dutkiewicz and Bunn. Both climbing and mountaineering, therefore, were described many times by my informants, as kinds of spatial practices, where shared experiences speak louder than a simple efficiency of movement. Consequently, climbing and mountaineering are, indeed, practices of skilful intersubjectivity. Before developing this further, let me introduce a sample from my fieldwork:

> *Goyarski's Crack (V + KS) is quite a challenge. I get cold, and I am feeling really bad. I'm climbing with Magda – she is sharp, decisive, and skilful. Quickly I've gained some altitude (some demanding sections, yet good holds) only to come to a halt in a narrow and unpleasant chimney of certain width, where I loudly curse my rather pitiful position. I've tried jamming my legs, yet I feel unstable. Finally, I've got out and above the difficulty and reached a section of good holds leading to a shelf. I've rigged up a good stance. Now it is Magda's turn. I hear her coming, yet she is not as fast as I expect. She reaches me sweating and says: well, that was tricky, I see your point now* (note 7, Aug. 2021).

Although it would be tempting to say that we have shared the same experience of the ascent, I am far from being able to come to such a conclusion. First, Magda climbs differently relying on her calmness and good spatial awareness, while I prefer more energetic and sustained moves. This difference determined our approaches to lines taken: Magda favours a line bordering on the straight (something considered to be 'state of the art'), while I like meandering moves. Second, our bodies differ; I am tall and slim, while Magda's body is more compact, which sometimes gives her advantages. Equally, however, Magda's body sometimes limits her in situations when my body is not unduly troubled. Goyarski's Crack – a classic ascent in Sokoliki – is a route composed of cracks, chimneys, and slabs. At some points, I observed how Magda's body was struggling greatly to find a position, whereas at other times she impressed me with her ease in overcoming difficulties. Our embodiment was, therefore, certainly different, and, returning to Gibson (1979) and Ingold (2016), I should reiterate that body conditions determine the affordances that subjects are able to spot and make use of. Thus, although on the same line, we used it in slightly different ways and produced different sets

of knowledge and experiences. Our later conversations offered ample proof of this. Generally, we used different holds and steps to pass through some sections. Additionally, we identified different "cruxes" – the most difficult points of the ascent. Nevertheless, we could understand each other and were able to relate the other's descriptions to our own views on the climb.

Another factor determining the experience of a climb is a "day disposition" – the undefined mental-physical condition shaping a climbers' temporal capabilities. Achieving success in climbing, unlike any other activity known to me, relies heavily on such mental-physical dispositions. Strikingly, many of my climbing partners signalled the same feeling, reporting that such dispositions were prone to frequent and unexpected shifts. The most dramatic examples of this were to be observed during the moments of a climb itself, when a climber was simply unable – or was able for that matter – to complete a route beyond the level of their expectations. Dominik, one of my partners, who had failed to complete a route seemingly within his grasp, summarized this as follows: *"Climbing is like a box of chocolates, you never know what you're gonna get"*.

Let me now return to Goyarski's Crack. The last pitch was mine to lead, although the cold had rendered my day disposition somewhat lackluster. The final section was demanding, and our instructor encouraged us to traverse an exposed overhang resembling a mushroom. I had reached this point yet was unable to pass it. Then, a conversation (later described in my fieldnotes) with the instructor began:

> *Inst: I've had many students worse than you, and many of them passed this point. Go and have another try!*
> *Me: I don't feel good enough. I've got no power left and my mental focus is rather poor today.*
> *Inst: So, what would you do at such a moment in the mountains? You can't just say, 'I can't'!*
> *Me: I'd ask my partner to take the lead. It's what people do, isn't it?*
> *Inst: Sometimes, yes. Luckily, she's a doctor and she might understand you better* (note 7, Sokoliki, Aug. 2021).

The instructor literally yelled at me, yet I managed to rig a stance and brought Magda up to me. She was unable to pass the mushroom either but reached safety at the top of the route. Once again, at the very end, she understood my position – the way had been harsh for her too, although in a different manner.

How then, under such conditions, might the sense of intersubjectivity between the involved parties be established? Were I to subscribe to the ideas of Samudra,

then, the answer would be: through movement. Climbing and mountaineering are indeed purely kinaesthetic, and thus, Samudra's claims align, to some extent at least, with my studies. The experience and knowledge climbers and mountaineers have and exchange are precisely located in, and originate from, their moving bodies. I faced a similar problem Samudra (2008) encountered in her studies on *silat:* we were both trying to outline phenomena exclusively originating from the body being in-the-world. In the end, however, it was impossible to capture the sense of paralyzing fear in words or describe the joy of movements. Consequently, ethnography conducted in such non-discursive areas must, as Samudra concludes, originate from the body (Samudra 2008: 666–668). There is, however, a methodological catch here – how are we to understand and communicate such data? Samudra stays close to translations, whilst not following Clifford's Geertz "thick description" to the letter. Instead, she reaches for Michel de Certeau's "tactics" and the concept of "somatization" (Samudra 2008: 668–678).

A good clue might also come from a body of literature dedicated to the already mentioned intersubjectivity. The term has a very distinctive position in contemporary anthropology. Its clear increase in influence on anthropological theory – as Robert Desjarlais and Jason Throop (2011) have demonstrated – should be identified with the rapid influx of phenomenologically-oriented studies to anthropology that has been taking place in the last few decades. In the 1970s, the schools under the influence of Lévi-Straussian structuralism, or the ones dominated by language-and-symbol-oriented interpretations, already began to fail to successfully address methodological problems and the shifting arenas of anthropological interests. Consequently, some researchers have turned to intersubjectivity – first in the studies on body-and-mind experiences (Pagis 2010), sociality (Schütz 1967), and communication (Fabian 2014). Since then, many other issues – ranging from knowledge and understanding to social life, meanings, practices, and cultural production – have been in the orbit of interest of researchers exploring the enigma of intersubjectivity (Katz, Csordas 2003). Years of research have resulted in Michael Jackson (1998) advocating for intersubjectivity being not merely a mode of attention and theoretical orientation, but rather an element essential in establishing relationships between domains of social and cultural worlds, along with human and non-human agents. In other words, intersubjectivity is at the very bottom of sociality, materiality, and culture itself. To a degree, this approach corresponds with my observations. Yet, the anthropological perspective on intersubjectivity often stands in contrast with its original philosophical source (Duranti 2010). As I do appreciate anthropological contributions to this subject matter, I still prefer Husserl's simpler perspective employing *Platzwechsel* and empathy.

As I have earlier discussed, Husserl's (1931; 1969; 1989) intersubjectivity is a pre-condition and a possibility for understanding things that happen within a natural space, which is itself intersubjective. Consequently, intersubjectivity is a readiness to take another's position without becoming them, at a moment when a subject identifies actions as possibly their own. Certainly, climbing is a practice pushing subjects to skilfully pursue actions they recognize as potentially their own. This is possible because, as Dutkiewicz (2015) and Bunn (2016) have demonstrated, climbing is habitual. Its habitus – comprised of skills and values shared across generations – is a source of these potentially recognized actions, although not only: climbing habitus, as I have learned in the field, teaches reactions to certain situations. A fitting example is what happened to us in Goyarski's Crack, where we had to exchange our positions in order to complete the route "in style" – i.e., without falling off or ending up hanging on the rope. Because both of us had been ready to exchange our positions, either in the leading position, or in some other way, we climbed together, and together, although, in a different way, we progressed along the line leading us through a complex granite space. Our line, a knowledgeable and experiential trajectory leading through a certain environment, as Ingold (2016) says, led us through a true Husserl landscape of readiness, empathy, and recognition underlying the very essence of understanding. Executing skills in space, therefore, is rarely the task of a single subject. Practicing skills push subjects into cooperation and socialization situations. If this condition is met, subjects, intertwined by empathy, skilfully recognize their roles and identities in relation to positions and perspectives brought forth by the others involved. Husserl's perspective on intersubjectivity, therefore, is a pre-condition for complex social behaviours.

The skills of lines

Ingold (2016; 2015) says lines are – in general – paths of growth along which knowledge of the world, skills, and experiences are born; later they are passed on by people in their stories and expressed in the testimonies they leave behind (Ingold 2016: 3–4). Husserl's thoughts add to this: experience of the lines and heritages left in landscapes arise when subjects are intersubjectively intertwined by empathy and are ready to adopt the other's position. Intersubjectivity then opens up a broader perspective – one I understand as a social experience. But – again back to Ingold (2016) –lines are never static, nor are they ever straight. I would also add to this that every human being draws their own lines of action, leaving both material and non-material testimonies behind. Consequently, I believe lines appear as an unfolding, when bringing a subjective sensation of moving ahead,

or a folding, when one feels moving backwards or being halted. Drawing and following lines must therefore be, all at once, skilful, social, and experiential. How then should I look for lines in rocky landscapes?

First, single climbing routes contain many lines. They are drawn as lines in topographic material, expressed by climbers in their stories with the help of geometric terms, and valued, when clear and straight, or complained about when circuitous. This is Dominik, replying to a question about a perfect route:

> You know – it goes straight, as it has once been shaped by nature. When you start meandering, well, then it is like you were about to cheat nature. That is why people value direttissimas (note 2, Sokoliki, Oct. 2020).

Lines might be physically represented by ropes hanging from crags; they may be sought by climbers carefully trying to divine line-like features within rocks. Yet, I consider three field examples to be especially informative when considering the problem of skilful folding and unfolding lines. These are Krzysztof's (one of my instructors) spectacular ski down Hińczowa Pass in the dark; Kacper losing and then finding our way to the top of Kežmarský Štit; and an extreme winter weather event forcing me and fellow mountaineers to withdraw from our climb.

In March 2020, six of us, receiving tuition on the basics of winter mountaineering from Krzysztof, wet and tired after a long day, warmly welcomed being sent back to the nearby Morskie Oko lodge. The day, however, was not over for Krzysztof, despite the sun having already descended below the ridges. Earlier, in the lodge, we had met Andrzej Bargiel, the first man to ski down from the top of K2. He had just skied down from Hińczowa Pass, squeezed between the Cubryna and Grand Mięguszowiecki peaks at an altitude of 2,323 meters – a ride considered to be highly demanding. Krzysztof's destination now became this pass. He had a lone thousand-meter ascent in deep snow to overcome, before skiing back in the darkness down steep slopes and through precarious couloirs. In the lodge, through binoculars, we followed Krzysztof's ascent up the wall. My field notes are full of comments expressing our shared excitement and concerns. After all, we all possessed the same disturbing knowledge of avalanches and knew the risks of falling and how easily a life might end. Krzysztof reached the pass and a moment later the glare from his headlamp lit up a circle of snow in front of him. There was something otherworldly in observing the bright point of light, a human being alone in a hostile landscape, careering down in a headlong rush, leaving behind a gentle trace of light, almost immediately disappearing into the dark wall in front of us. He was moving in zig-zags, left to right, right to left, skilfully unfolding the line of his own achievement. He must have known that

he was being watched from the lodge. As I learned, this was a kind of unwritten custom, examples of which I later observed numerous times. The show had drawn in almost everyone staying at that moment in the lodge. After quarter of an hour, Krzysztof had safely reached the frozen surface of Morskie Oko lake. The audience stood still in amazement. "*Why don't we buy him a cup of tea and a piece of apple cake? Surely he deserves it*" – Anna, a fellow mountaineer, said, breaking the deeply meaningful silence.

Following this memorable event, I have been encouraged to collect some other examples of unfolding, and folding, lines in mountains. Although now winter, I have been reflecting on some satisfying summer climbing in Slovakia. Krzysztof gave me the nudge: "Well, why don't you try "Prawy Puškáš"[3] on the southern wall of Kežmarský Štit? Have a go, the line there is evident" – he said. Sometime later, together with Kacper, my partner in mountaineering, I did so. While buying tickets for the cable car in Tatranská Lomnica, I was surprised to meet Krzysztof again – another for my collection of unexpected encounters with climbers already known to me. How then should I consider rocks and mountains if not as Ingold's knots *par excellence*, where subjects and agents constantly meet, exchange experiences and knowledge, before leading their lines somewhere further (Ingold 2015; 2016)?

Our climb through "Prawy Puškáš" started well. We quickly passed through some easy sections and reached Biały Kociołek (White Cauldron), where three different routes diverged. It was essential to find our line, yet Kacper, who was up ahead, could not spot it. The clock was running, and we found ourselves stuck in – it appeared – a quite obvious place. The map suggested we move left, yet in that direction we only found rocks seemingly not matching the description of the expected pitch. To the right we spotted the line of a neighbouring route, relatively easy, yet leading through brittle rocks we had no intention of trying. Nothing matched the map, and the line that had been unfolding so well just moments before had vanished. After almost two hours of fretful searching, we reached a conclusion: let's go straight and see where the block covered in lichen takes us. After passing some moderately demanding slabs, locating a rusty hook and finally installing ourselves into a chimney-like corner, we felt we had been lucky: our line was once again unfolding welcomingly in front of us. That said, we had to move fast – none of us was entertaining thoughts of spending a night out there. After passing some demanding and long sections, I felt tired and frustrated. I had lost my concentration, while my mind-body was unduly occupied with the distraction of the hours of effort awaiting us. Just as I began to feel

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[3] V UIAA

almost complete indifference to the route itself, the line once again began to fold.

I had been taught about such moments, yet I had never previously experienced them. Surprisingly, I realized that a mental and physical crisis consumes all the joy of the moves, blinding me to the climb experience. The landscape, moments before admired, became burdensome and repulsive. I had the sensation of my memory and body having stopped recording events. And then we reached a slippery dihedral chimney, offering no single crack for placing the protection of any kind. I started climbing, almost intuitively and automatically, just as I had been once taught to do in chimneys. Meters had passed, and Kacper was very enthusiastic about my moves. "*Wow, I hadn't considered this option. How classic!*", he observed. And, suddenly, once again, I was spotting holds and footholds, slowly creating a meaningful and readable line, along which I could execute moves I had at my disposal, hidden somewhere in topokinetic memory, or tucked away in climbing habitus. Surprisingly, I found this theoretical discussion going on in my head, although back then the conclusion simply did not matter. That said, with the difficulties behind me, I felt relief like never before.

Finally, a sun-filled Tatra morning in March 2021 welcomed us before the start of technical training, with a later climb up Świnica Peak. The air was calm and clean; the surrounding peaks appeared accessible. The evident and abundant lines in the landscape, now mainly in the form of foot-worn paths leading up to the walls, invited us to move and act. While looking for a suitable place to start the training, we had a conversation praising the abundance of possibilities awaiting us in Hala Gąsienicowa – part of the Gąsienicowa Valley known for its beauty and host of winter routes and trails. The following hours were rather uneventful – we had been learning the proper use of our ice axes during a fall, and how we should conduct ourselves in the event of an avalanche. But such apparently standard actions (repeated at every training camp) have a deeper meaning. In fact, all such skills allow mountaineers to cope with the lines of a danger that can unfold rapidly. Usually, there are four ice axe techniques presented, all helping to stop a body rapidly gaining speed when rushing down a slope. Each technique responds to the position of a falling body; namely, head down/head up, belly up/belly down etc. Each technique brings a skilful response to an immediate danger. As the fall line unfolds rapidly, the response cutting off its momentum must be instant.

Anti-avalanche training works in a similar way. First, in the event of spotting an avalanche or, worse still, finding ourselves in an avalanche, we are taught to remember as many distinguishing points as possible; these might help us to recreate the line of a fall and subsequently locate ourselves and our companions. Somewhat incredibly, I had a conversation with the instructor, who had been

swept up twice by avalanches; and twice he had dug himself out by himself, before immediately commencing rescue actions. Next, we were instructed how to make use of radio signals from and to the avalanche detectors we should always have. The signals point to the direction of a fellow climber who might be lying under snow. Following them correctly, however, requires certain skills in helping to spot and plot a correct line across the chaotic landscape of an avalanche field. The very avalanche itself, although not a living being – as Ingold would like – is a collection of chaotic and rapidly unfolding lines erasing the landscape, its reference points and trails. Usually, these lines unfold in a downwards direction, yet, as the instructors demonstrated to us, there are certain landscape features that direct avalanches upwards. Careful observation and skilful recognition of such places is highly important. Generally, adepts in winter mountaineering are taught to skilfully draw and carefully unfold the lines of their movement in order to avoid danger. We were exposed to certain land configurations that we should avoid – namely gorges, slopes to be traversed, and specific colours – along with those we should favour, such as ridges or clear rocks. We were also alerted to certain weather features, such as wind qualities and directions, types of snow cover, sun and temperature conditions, all helping us to assess and deal with potential risks. Winter mountaineering is, therefore, the complex art of finding and unfolding lines of life, whilst avoiding or folding those bringing death. Grzegorz, one of my instructors, encapsulated this well:

> If you survive your first winter season, then, well, you show promise. Remember, you should do winter mountaineering not to struggle to survive, but to live your life to the full (note 6, Tatras, March 2021).

We were surprised how fast we were given a chance to put these words to the test. While in high mountain terrain, although still close to the Murowaniec Lodge, the weather suddenly broke. A roaring wind completely cut communication between members of our group, and heavy snowfall disrupted visibility. We could literally feel the breakdown overcoming us and pushing us to the ground. It was my second time in the winter Tatras when I literally could not stand. The nearby slopes were shifting from time to time – these were still small – yet informative – snow slides, pushed forth by the sheer force of the wind. Immediately we commenced our retreat; there were no other lines to unfold that day, other than the one leading to the safety of the lodge. The following day the conditions were equally bad. A heavy night of snowfall had pushed avalanches down the slopes, making any reasonable mountaineering impossible. The course, and all the lines leading to the peaks, were regrettably cancelled.

Conclusions

The skills mastered by individual subjects do exist, yet they do not warrant my attention here. The skills I am concerned with emerge through a nexus of social acts of recognition and cooperation. This makes them fundamentally intersubjective. Husserl is indeed right when he thinks of intersubjectivity as a fundamental human condition turning both other human subjects and their actions into recognizable, meaningful and, ultimately, accessible phenomena emerging from common natural spaces. Consequently, intersubjectivity is more than mere understanding and experience sharing with others. Coming back to ethnography, I do appreciate Michael Jackson's (1998) conclusions, as he – clearly under phenomenological influences – also considers intersubjectivity to be fundamental to the process of establishing relationships – but not only between social and living human agents. In turn, intersubjectivity applied to Jackson's existential, and thus "more Merleau-Ponty", anthropology, recognises even abstract relationships as modalities of interpersonal life; it incorporates ancestors and spirits and collective representations, and it concerns material things, thus turning the worlds – and for anthropologists as well – into existential conditions par excellence. And there are others who follow Jackson's thoughts – just to mention Duranti (2010) or Albert Piette playing with Heidegger's legacy (2014) as well as with human consciousness of existing in time and modalities of our presence. Yet, Piette does not ignore non-human presences and examines the variety of their ontological statuses (2015, 2016).

Undoability, the "intersubjectivity project", although long debated and questioned on many occasions, still plays a major role in establishing anthropological knowledge. For this reason, I do appreciate Johannes Fabian's statement:

> *We had to think about epistemology, the conditions of possibility of producing knowledge. This was the context in which anthropologists took recourse to the notion of intersubjectivity* (2014: 201).

I feel comfortable in such conditions as, at least to some extent, the weight of the long discussion in the field of anthropology about the discrepancy between theory and lived reality, as well as that about abstractions such as "society", "culture", or "nature", seems to be removed from my shoulders there. There is no culture without nature, nor is there an abstract society without lived reality. Instead, both anthropologists and the subjects they work with, entangled and intertwined in common actions on common ground – such as climbing or mountaineering – have at their disposal a world of skills, affordances, choices and endless

possibilities. This is the world of participation, creation, and knowledgeable experiences making an endless process of exploration possible.

Intersubjectivity and skills working in tandem are both operational within anthropology as well as in high mountains. As my study has revealed, landscapes, even inaccessible ones such as crags and mountains, are filled with living bodies in motion – in Husserl's nomenclature *Lieb* – leaving behind their own heritages and skilfully exploring the heritages left by previous generations who have already set foot there. These heritages have their pioneers, names and stories already told, and waiting to be told; they might be embroidered with material artefacts, like rusty hooks, white traces left by chalk-coated hands, or by some other readable feasibilities, like loops or bolts left for the future safety of others. Together, the heritages mark personal countless achievements and reveal logics of movement; they lead to points to be explored and creatively reused by those who are there now, and by those who will be there in the future. Consequently, climbing brings back the essence of Jackson's intersubjectivity, embracing non-human objects, spirits, and long-dead souls. A highly intersubjective rocky space crisscrossed upwards and longways by lines, together with the knowledge and possibilities on offer, establishes among climbers not only a shared understanding of certain actions and sensations, but a real readiness to assume another's position in order to contribute to the already sizeable heritage etched into the rocks. Even in a single section of rock, the sheer number of routes and their intertwining branches constitute a vivid testimony to the diversity of human experiences, along with a multiplicity of logics of movement. And yet there are no straight ascents. The essence of climbing lies in its twists and turns, and consequently manifests itself in many forms of truly multisensory and open experiences – experiences as diverse and rich as the vertical worlds of rocks might themselves be.

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Everyday Life and Social Death among Youth: The Meaning of Empathy, Moments of Silence, and Daydreams

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Abstract: *During two years of fieldwork among Norwegian inner-city youths, I observed that self-preservation was the dominant factor in their interactions with teachers, activity leaders, one another, and their natural surroundings. I found that the context in which this 'role playing' occurred consisted of moments often embodied in non-verbal encounters and moods signaling uncertainty, fear, anger, care, and grief. These encounters involved physiological and sensory communication that may shed light on youths' understanding of group affiliation, hope, expectations, and dreams in the present and for the future. But how can we understand these youths without narrowing the potential for interpretation? Empathy is an intersubjective experience in which one takes on another's perspective (Hollan and Throop 2008). Empathic insight lays the groundwork for understanding why youth feel anger or fear, rather than merely recognizing that these feelings are expressed.*

Keywords: *person-centered ethnography; empathy; social death; youthhood*

This article highlights the analytical processes that can facilitate an interpretation of observed emotions. When I assembled verbal and non-verbal communication and moods over time and from different contexts, some clear expressions emerged. These were not just about a shared anxiety or fear, but also a yearning. The fear was one of exclusion related to not being able to master new activities or to breaking behavioral norms. At the same time, the youths expressed a longing to escape the moral claims of society and their peers. Using a psychological-oriented anthropological framework, I conceptualize the youths' shared emotional

landscape: social death, a fear and longing for solitude. I argue that person-centered ethnography combined with a psychological approach is crucial for gaining insights in otherwise hidden aspects of the interlocutor's life.

This research highlights empathy as an area for anthropological research and underscores the need for a broader understanding of 'thick descriptions' (Geertz 1973) that includes the research subjects' thoughts, dreams, and moods. Thus, we can discern empirical patterns in not only the substantive, but also the unspoken communication that affects interactions and meaning-making.

Hollan and Throop (2011a) maintained that empathy must be studied in a broad context in which people acquire knowledge of others and reveal, permit, or conceal knowledge of themselves. Therefore, empathy cannot be understood through *one* simple meeting or *one* dialogue in a given context, but rather, must be studied over time and in a variety of contextual settings (Hollan 2012; Hollan and Throop 2008; Zahavi and Overgaard 2012). Thick descriptions of non-verbal moods, thoughts, and dreams enrich research on empathy and can be understood through shared (field) experiences. Thick descriptions give the reader the opportunity to share the already experienced from a theoretically informed position that can explain them. Through psychologically-oriented anthropology and poetic depictions of thoughts, dreams, and moods, the reader encounters experienced dimensions of life that often remain invisible from a social anthropological conceptual apparatus.

In *The Power of Feelings,* Nancy Chodorow (1999) argued that all studies on human existence in the world can be based first and foremost on emotional expression. She called into question the differentiation between emotional and rational behavior and held that emotions are the driving force behind both aggressive and caring actions. Actions relate to cultural values expressed via norms and rules, which are thought to be closely related to shared emotions. The expression of emotions through actions forms the basis for both society's and the individual's moral judgements (Lien 1991).

In psychology, research on empathy has advanced with, among other things, the measurement of 'mirror neurons', which are activated with the experience of empathy (Decety 2012; Hollan and Throop 2011b), thus enabling concrete, quantifiable research on emotions. However, in anthropology, empathy remains unexplored, dismissed by some as mere mind-reading and intangible guesswork, despite more recent research indicating that empathy can be key to important, fundamental insights into interpersonal understanding (as Decety and Ickes, Goldie and Goldman are cited in Zahavi and Overgaard 2012; Stodulka 2015). In this article, I explore the utility of understanding the intersection between cultural-emotional control and the individual's emotional reactions.

Studies on empathy in anthropology primarily focus on encounters between fieldworkers and informants (Briggs 2008; Davies and Spencer 2010; Grønseth and Davis 2010; Nuttall 2018; Wikan 1992, 1990, 2012, 1995). Subsequently, these studies have provided insight into empathy as a methodological tool, as the fieldworker's sensibility contributes to the need for empathic skills in order to secure successful intersubjective encounters and research results (von Poser 2011, 173; Wikan 2012). Conversely, studies on empathic experiences among informants are few and far between.

Therefore, the article will first provide a discussion of empathy and resonance, then illuminate on person centered ethnography before I will explore informants' unspoken, interpersonal emotions and moods, drawing upon three empirical vignettes that depict youths' empathetic relations and experiences of silence. This strategy affords insight into how urban youth maneuver their own and others' emotional reactions and experiences in Norwegian outdoor life. Taken from different contexts over time, the vignettes underscore the main argument of this article: Prolonged person-centered fieldwork focusing on empathy can yield new insights.

Through the vignettes, we learn the different ways in which the youths expressed their emotions and how emotions were made visible verbally, physically, and through moods. The first vignette includes encounters in which empathy between students played out and highlights how failed empathy can illuminate group identity and the fear of social death. The second and third vignettes provide a contrast to this fear of social death, showing that experiences of silence reveal youths' yearning for remoteness. Norwegian outdoor life offers both a space for actualization of the imminent risk of social death and for an escape from this danger. To conclude, I argue that person-centered ethnography can elicit how adolescents express their relationship to social death in their multifaceted communication, interactions, and experiences of silence.

Empathy and the concept's absence in anthropology

Empathy as a concept and methodology is more or less absent in anthropological research, but in prolonged person-centered fieldwork, it can be a means to describe individuals' experiences and reduce the risk of the researcher's over-involvement. Empathy is often defined as a person's ability to intuitively take on another's feelings, an instance in which the empathizer fully renounces ego in deference to another person's perception of the world (see Lien 1991). According to this definition, empathy requires stepping away from the self and becoming infused with another person's experience; therefore, this understanding lends itself

to critiques of projection and mind-reading on the part of the empathizer. To some, this identification with another's feelings is not empathy, but sympathy or compassion. Instead, empathy requires maintaining a distinction between oneself and the other person. As with investigations of daydreams and fantasies, research on empathy has not been a priority because these themes have been considered unobservable and unempirical (Zittoun & Gillespie 2015: 135).

The psychiatrist and philosopher Halpern (as cited in Hollan and Throop 2011b) defined empathy as the ability to be moved by another's experiences, to find correspondences with one's own, and at the same time to try to imagine the situation from another's perspective. Wikan (1992, 1990, 2012) called this ability 'resonance', which occurred when she shared moments of close understanding with her informants, situations that Hastrup (1995) later defined as 'raw moments'. Therefore, empathy can be characterized as a form of logic by which a person finds emotional resonance with another's experiences and at the same time tries to take the other person's perspective. Understanding is both an emotional and a cognitive process, and thus, the emotional and the experience-based physiological parts of the response guide the context in which the empathizer can imagine (cognitively) the other's experience. The process resembles the manner in which emotions seem to lead and link images, thoughts, and beliefs as if in a dream (Hollan and Throop 2011b, 2). Thus, I argue that resonance paves the way to empathy in some measure, allowing an understanding based on one's own experiences and feelings; yet, empathy goes a step further and takes on another's perspective to a greater degree.

As the first anthropologist to use the concept of resonance and to connect it closely with empathy, Wikan (1990) made the concepts realistic and understandable. In addition, Wikan (2012) deliberated on the danger of over-resonance, a challenge that persists.

The risk of over-connection, misfired empathy, or projection is real among researchers. Geertz (1973) was explicit in his criticism of ethnographic research concerned with empathy and other psychological topics. He argued that those who believe they have empathic abilities are simply projecting their own thoughts and feelings onto their subjects. If Geertz is right, ethnographers both misrepresent and misunderstand our informants in the research process.

In her person-centered fieldwork among the Balinese in the late 1980s, however, Wikan (1990) countered Geertz's claims, demonstrating that emotions exist to a very great extent among her interlocutors. Geertz had claimed that the Balinese express a lack of emotion, with the exception of stage fright. Wikan's study indicated that research focusing exclusively on culture as a system of meaning can be just as problematic as that focusing on empathy. Nevertheless, Geertz's

uncompromising stance and the influence of his arguments put a damper on anthropological discourse on empathy for many years (Hollan and Throop 2011b).

Distinguishing between empathy and projection, Hollan (2008) noted that empathy includes an intersubjective dialogue in which individuals seek not only to understand, but also to be understood. In contrast, projection occurs when a person transfers feelings or ideas onto another without considering whether the feelings indeed correspond with the others.

My view aligns with Wikan (2012) and Hollan (2012), who promote empathy as a temporal intersubjective experience (see also Throop 2010). Our task as anthropologists is to experience, observe, and understand not only the contexts in which empathy transpires and is valued, but also those in which empathic connection is not valued and/or ill-intentioned (Hollan and Throop 2011a; Throop 2010). In the next section, I describe fieldwork as an ideal way to broach some of Geertz's criticisms and to address concerns about the pitfalls of over-empathizing and misinterpretation.

Prolonged person-centered fieldwork

A quest to understand meaning-making requires insight into how humans affect their surroundings, how the surrounding environment affects people (Navaro-Yashin 2009), and how people affect one another. Such insight can be reached through long-term fieldwork, which reveals what is important in certain people's daily lives (Gulløv and Højlund 2003; Wadel 1991), a criterium for any study on empathy (see for example Jackson 2004; Jenkins 2015; Wikan 1990).

I argue that thick descriptions are not sufficient if we are to capture empathic relations, but person-centered ethnography is an important step forward. Robert Le Vine (as cited in Hollan 2001) defined person-centered ethnography as an anthropological attempt to describe and analyze human actions, subjective experiences, and psychological processes. Primarily focusing on the individual, person-centered ethnography reveals how individual psychology and subjective experiences both create and are created by social and cultural processes, unlike a focus on the generalized person. The goal is to (re)present human actions and subjective experiences from the informant's perspective. Person-centered ethnography may include studies on conspicuous feelings and motivational forces as they are presented in the cultural community through belief and symbolic expression (rather than assuming that such forces exist through theoretical reasoning alone). The objective is to obtain realistic depictions of experience without unnecessary analysis based on theoretical constructions distanced from that experience.

The following vignettes paint a picture of my fieldwork with youths over two years at Mimo, an outdoor recreation center that offers free activities for children and youth in a Norwegian city neighborhood. Through citywide school collaboration, the center offers evening groups for youth and vacation camps with the goal of equalizing opportunities and experiences. Schools apply for the collaboration, and evening groups are organized at the request of youths who want to participate. According to school curriculum and white papers (Miljødepartementet 2016; Utdanningsdirektoratet 2016), the program's main goal is to contribute cultural understanding, inclusion, and integration through voluntary outdoor activities. I participated in a youth group one evening every other week for one year, before undertaking one intense year in which I followed several tour groups and school trips regularly. In addition to these activities, I joined holiday camps, weekend trips, and a number of gatherings with students beyond the center's parameters.

In this article, I draw from experiences with students in a specific 10th grade, the A-class, over a year's time. Once a month, these youths participated in a day of outdoor activities through Mimo during regular school hours. Participation was obligatory for these students, unlike for the evening group and holiday/weekend camps which were based on voluntary interests. The students in the A-class came from all parts of the city. They had been taken out of their regular classes and gathered here, the reason being that they were not "functioning well" in their former classes. Many of the students knew each other well and hung out in their spare time. They all knew their class was nicknamed "the problem-class" among other students at their current school.[1] They were known for their rough tone and body-language.

Although my initial impression changed over time, the A-class students stood out considerably from other Mimo participants at the first meeting: Their body language was aggressively charged, and they seemed indifferent and dismissive towards the teachers, leaders, and the activities. Although other Mimo participants also could be negative, the A-class expressed the greatest resistance to the activities, to wearing the clothes and gear available in Mimo's equipment storehouse, and to participating during rainy, cold weather. They expressed their feelings more emphatically, more audibly, and more frequently. Every meeting with the A-class students became thoroughly emotional. The emotion strain was verified by activity leaders, who expressed the importance of interacting with these students in spite of the psychological stress and emotional challenge. The activities were possibly equally emotional for the students; most activities as well as visited landscapes were new to them. It was a must to have background

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[1]   There were several «A-classes», this particular one does not exist anymore.

knowledge of other Mimo youth in understanding the A-class behavior and vice versa. As a researcher, my role depended on the groups, however, the A-class students considered me a Mimo assistant.

For me, the A-class students became a little gang of extraordinary youths, providing insight into a demanding developmental phase of life. Many of whom had complicated relations at home and thus became attached to their trusted teachers who to a certain degree represented contextually security and stability. Their teachers appeared to meet youth culture and the specific students with a balance of strictness and coolness. That is their relation was not based on care through touch or comfort talk, but handshakes and youth jargon with appropriate modification. This comportment seemed appreciated, however interactional turbulence between teachers and the A-class students hampered their communication. Jenkins (2015: 2) noted that struggle is a part of day-to-day human existence, and is "… embedded in the often profound and even courageous social engagement with living." In her book, *Extraordinary Conditions*, Jenkins (2015) showed how the extraordinary illuminates the ordinary from which it springs. Thus, my experiences with the A-class students enlightened my understanding of the other youths I encountered during my fieldwork. Importantly, the stories of the A-class students added nuance to what it means to grow up, to be young, and to encounter new surroundings that may feel unsafe.

Empathy; but what brings about resonance?

In the following two-part vignette, my field notes describe related incidents in which the A-class students were preparing for two ski excursions, one cross-country and one downhill. These trips were new experiences for the youths and triggered feelings of anxiety. As we seek to understand what resonated with them, this vignette focuses on the empathy that played out among the A-class students.

> *Alex refuses to put on skiwear for a cross-country ski trip; he will not wear those stupid clothes and the cross-country skis are a wipeout. Similarly, David, who always gets dressed and participates in Mimo activities, suddenly shows difficulty donning the skiwear when we are on our way to the Winter Park to practice downhill skiing. [This time,] he appears depressed, his shoulders sunken, and his speech turns aggressive for the first time this school year, from what I have noticed.*
>
> *However, the interesting thing is how the A-class students treat each other: When Alex refuses to join the cross-country ski trip and marches out of the Mimo equipment storehouse in protest, Chris, a fellow student, follows him. Chris*

touches Alex amicably on the shoulder, 'Hey, join us. We'll bounce if it's not cool.' 'Hey, look at those shoes, idiot! We can't bounce anywhere with them, ya know.'

David approaches them and stops beside Alex; they discuss the situation back and forth. After a while, David and Chris, who have decided to join the downhill skiing excursion slowly withdraw from the situation, leaving Alex to himself in silence. Later, Alex walks down to the subway with us. He is not intending to take the same train, but he is there. While waiting for the subway, Chris states that he would have joined Alex if he had not [already] had his boots on. 'Damn ski boots, urgh!' He kicks into the thin air.

Prior to the downhill ski excursion to the winter park, Alex finishes changing into winter gear first: 'Look at me! I look like a snowman!' he cries cheerfully. He tries to remonstrate with David who [this time] sits alone in a corner of the equipment room. 'C'mon!' Alex says, touching his classmate slightly, then calmly withdraws when David does not respond to his touch. An activity leader then has a go. He knows David's parents and speaks the same language. I can't understand the words used, but I recognize his father's name when mentioned. After a lot of hemming and hawing, David sits in a chair with his head bowed, staring at the floor, dressed in Mimo gear. The slalom boots, placed in the floor before him, remain untouched.

Something hurts inside me; how can I get him to join in? He is always positive; he always joins in. What is wrong now? I get down on my haunches and try to make eye contact. 'Hmmm, I think I can see what size you take', I say softly. If I try to make light of it all, ignore everything that has happened before, will he also be able to put it behind him? 'Let me see! I can help you. These boots can be very difficult to put on; they are so incredibly tight.' He looks up at me; his gaze is not angry; it is empty, perhaps sad. I pick up a slalom ski boot, at the same time taking his shoe in hand to compare it to the boot. He retorts, 'For God's sake! I'm outta here'. He takes all the clothes off again, throwing them in a pile on the floor. The Mimo leader that had persuaded him to dress tries again, but this time, no (magic) words are going to make a difference. David pushes open the door with a shove and disappears.

Was it me? Would this have happened regardless? The words of his classmates, Nora and Lea, echo in my head. On several occasions they have commented on such situations: 'When someone has decided not to participate, then they should just be allowed to leave—there's nothing to be done'. (Field notes, February 2015)

Like Wikan (1995), I recognized in these incidents that meaning often was exchanged non-verbally, especially when something was at stake. Wikan (1995) elaborated that focusing on verbal exchanges as the gateway to individuals' inner

lives is too easy an approach. We may need more information, which may be more difficult to grasp. In situations in which silence conveys more than words possibly can, we must strive for understanding (see Jackson 2004; Stevenson 2014).

Moreover, Wikan (1995) argued that the ungraspable often appears and feels strongest in situations in which the self is in danger. This hypothesis haunted me in many situations in the field. Something hung in the balance, but what? How can we understand the manner in which Chris carefully touched his mate's shoulder? And later on, the way in which Alex put his hand on David's shoulder? What meaning lay in the careful encouragement, 'Hey, come and join in, eh'? What was hidden or concealed (from me) in the calm, careful withdrawal from situations in which classmates did not respond positively to the encouragement they received?

Often, I detected tension in the air: uncertainty, nervousness, compassion, and something sad. Was it grief for not joining in or fear of a loss of face—grief that must be concealed behind aggression or silent withdrawal maneuvers? The girls and boys who were present recognized the mood; the few students in the A-class knew each other and shared cultural models (Shore 1996). They understood the messages circulating in the air. Resistance and perhaps even despair could be heard in David's voice; words were one thing, but no one challenged the silence that emerged. No one tried to do anything about it.

These were not isolated incidents. Something I could not grasp created the youths' silence and mood—something the youths understood and respected. Silence was prominent in other contexts, too: When a student did not want to use the trampoline, no one asked why. No one tried to pull Lea out onto the ice to play curling; she stopped talking and made herself 'invisible' on a bench at the far end of the rink. When Alex got uppity because he did not want to wear Mimo gear, no one questioned him; instead, in the most fleeting of moments, he received a light hand on his shoulder. On the next occasion, he put on Mimo gear, and no one commented about the previous episode—it was out of the question. When David dropped out of alpine skiing, angrier than usual, no one tried to change his mind or calm him down. He kept up the silence. No words were needed; the A-class students knew the code.

I understand it now, looking back

To achieve deeper understanding, a researcher must look beyond the directly observable and create structured contexts for meaning and interpretation (Wikan 1995; Zahavi and Overgaard 2012). Revisiting Geertz, I note the important of the hermeneutical circle that emerges in the writing process. Although he would not even have thought to highlight the researcher's emotional or experimental

reactions involved in working on a text, Geertz promoted a hermeneutical point from which the researcher swings back and forth between perspectives of near and distant experience (Hollan and Throop 2008: 396). Writing about these experiences with the A-class, as I went back and forth between theory and data, I developed an empathic understanding of my own misunderstanding of the situations with the youths.

As I first reviewed my field notes, I realized that perhaps as a mother of two small children, my maternal instinct had been mobilized when I encountered the A-class youths. My wish—perhaps my need—to be valued as a caring person got on a young man's nerves. He did not want my caring—not at all. However, during my time in the field, several other adults also found that their empathy misfired or was unwelcome. When an instructor offered a helping hand to a student on the trampoline, the youth stiffened and withdrew from the equipment. An activity leader ran after students who refused to participate, showing concern and explaining that the activity was not dangerous, but her efforts were coldly rejected with rude gestures. A teacher explained, 'There's no point. They don't join in with things that are unfamiliar. That is the threshold for them, it is so difficult to cross over'. But did he know why? Good intentions and goodwill are not always enough when we lack competence in the local cultural or sufficient knowledge of the individuals involved (Hollan 2012).

In retrospect, I understand more about how the A-class youth did not respond positively to a helping hand and a sympathetic word from an adult. The A-class youth were of one mind that each individual should be free to decide if he or she wants to do something and when enough is enough. Although the youths may not have always known why a fellow student became verbally aggressive or withdrew from activities, understanding all the motives behind a classmate's actions was not necessary. Empirically, I observed that the students knew the cultural rules that specifically applied to being a member of the A-class, which included understanding how emotions could and should be expressed. Caring, friendship, and respect could be expressed through subtle signs, but not necessarily by individuals on the periphery or who were not members of the in-group. What could seem to be indecipherable signals—moods, silence, and touch—acquired new meaning through understanding of the role of empathy in the youths' interactions.

Empathy and group affiliation

Newman and Newman (2001: 516) asserted that the formation of and desire to be affiliated with a group can constitute a "critical formation of experience during early adolescence." Group identity springs from a notion of shared experiences

and common norms, values, and moral principles. Ideally, such emotionology, or common emotional management, creates security among group members, a security that "guarantees predictability for individuals as to who they can expect to provide material and social help and support from in different contexts" (Lien 1991: 101). In this way, the group is maintained and strengthened as a whole (Echols and Correll 2012).

Clinical studies show that recognition of emotions indicated through facial expressions is based on stereotypes and group affiliation (Echols and Correll, 2012; Lewis and Hodges, 2012). According to Lewis and Hodges (2012), the key to the study of empathy is situated here, and thus empathy is released from its magical connotations. The intangible can now be grasped.

We cannot gain deeper insight and understanding of others without knowledge of them, and knowledge is acquired partly through group affiliation. Over time we establish behavioral schemas for people with whom we associate. These schemas help us to anticipate and understand the actions and emotions that arise in different interaction constellations. Therefore, prolonged fieldwork necessitates an understanding of how cultural and psychological factors are interwoven at the individual level (see Parish 2008). According to Jenkins (2015: 103), we should not view emotions as abstract cultural systems, but seek to understand the meaning behind emotional experiences through insight into the positions individuals hold in a web of social relations. In keeping with these viewpoints, Jackson offered arguments for how anthropologists should meet and write about vulnerability in the field:

> *Coexisting with the subject of one's concern, sustaining an engagement over time, in his or her place, on his or her terms, and trying not to escape into consoling intellectualization, sympathetic identifications, or political actions that reduce the other to a means for advancing an academic career, or demonstrating what a compassionate person one is, or changing the world. It is an experiment in coexistence, social before it is intellectual, born of a commitment to put understanding before judgment. […] placing oneself in the situation of the other—a sustained intimate, and often silent, involvement in his or her everyday lifeworld that inevitably transforms one's own worldview, and may involve the other seeing his or her situation from a new perspective (2004: 54).*

I also experienced the need to reconsider my role in the field before I could understand how my empathic connection, understanding, and affiliation had misfired. Only over the course of time are we able to recognize and share cultural forms (Hollan 2012; Jackson 2004; Wikan 2012).

In the following vignettes, I illuminate from other angles how the A-class expressed and handled their emotions. To understand what students experienced when they were together, I needed to observe how they perceived moments of solitude.

Moments that touch

I could sleep here

Activity leaders Sigrid and Iver and I are excited and, on our way, to meet three A-class students. Two teachers guide us to a small room where two boys sit side-by-side, seemingly unconcerned, and a girl with her arm in a cast sits opposite them. One boy has a black hood pulled down over his head, covering his face. Although it is raining, they each wear jeans and thin sneakers. Trying to engage the students, Sigrid and Iver talk in a relaxed fashion about the canoe trip that lies ahead. The students are not about to get excited; no one smiles, and they tell us to look out at the pouring rain.

Samuel, the boy with the hood, refuses to participate in the excursion. Nora is uncertain, and David clearly states he wants to fish, which we shall. After a while, one teacher leaves with Samuel. David and Nora walk to the bus, where we have rainwear waiting for them. David puts on boots, rain pants, a raincoat, and a hat. Nora refuses to put on any rainwear.

Once at our destination, we bring the canoes down to the shore. Nora realizes she needs something over her thin sweater. She gets Iver's raincoat, [which] is large and even covers her thighs. 'Rain pants, just forget it a'ight', she comments. We have to balance across two boards placed on the mud-covered ground and proceed a little way into the water, before we can get into the canoes without tipping them over. Nora is afraid the canoe may capsize. Iver demonstrates how we must hold on to the edges of the canoe to get inside safely. Nora is still afraid; she says she does not want to die: 'Mother fucker, a'ight! Are you stupid or what? You think I wanna die, I don't wanna die—right!' David appears calm and reserved, but states he wants to paddle with Iver. Nora wants to share a canoe with her teacher. After several outbursts claiming that she does not want to die and that the canoe could capsize, peppered with endless 'mother fuckers', Nora sits in the canoe which slides slowly out onto the water.

There is a haze over the water, which is full of rings in motion from heavy raindrops falling close together. The temperature is lovely, and the reeds sway slightly in the gentle breeze. Right at the start we have to canoe over a tree trunk that has fallen into the water; the reeds remain dense around the canoes. Up ahead, it looks as if we must pass through a small channel before the lake

opens around us. The girl and the teacher are floating, bobbing gently along, just ahead of Sigrid and me. Iver and David are a stretch behind us. Sigrid and I hear Nora say softly, 'I could sleep here', the swearing and defiant rage gone from her voice. Everything appears relaxed, calm, and confirming. There is no visible body tension as she leans with hunched shoulders slightly forward over the oar resting in her lap. I repeat, 'Oh, yes, could you sleep here?' 'Yes', she replies, 'it's kinda … so quiet'. Raindrops dance on the water, reeds wave in a green dance, and trees bend out into the water. There is a clearing around the canoes. Not far ahead the water narrows again, but now there is plenty of room on all sides, no others are nearby. (Field notes, September 2014)

This was my first trip with the A-class, and the experience remained with me throughout the year. The topic of death never disappeared; the threat of its presence returned in every activity. A Mimo leader commented, 'There is a lot of death around', and eventually the expression became a joke among the leaders: 'There was a lot of death today as well.' My field notes record the questions: Is it just jargon? Or are they actually afraid of something? Why all this commotion about death, both humorous and serious[2]? Is the pun so effectively used because of its potential metaphorical multiplex meanings, such as "real social death" versus shame, hidden – forbidden joy?

Alone on the water, cut off from school life and other students, Nora suddenly and unexpectedly found calmness in an activity she had just expressed an aversion to. In the quiet, rocking on the waves, she said she could have slept there. What happened in this encounter between Nora, the water, the silence, and us three adults who heard her words and shared the tranquility with her? I had an insight six months later when another such temporal state was awakened in Nora on a ski trip to the winter park. That third vignette follows.

Am I dreaming?

A day in February 2015, we are at the bottom of the slalom children's slope at a winter park. Nora refused to bring a helmet when we left Mimo, and now Sigrid asks if she should fetch the one, she brought along for her. 'Screw that', Nora replies with a flickering glance, her body stiff. The words are harsh, but

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2   I here write on the verbalization of death connected to fear, fully aware of other occasions where the same jargon was used as an expression of empathizing or humorizing only. Also, in anxious moments humor is used, thus humor can be, and often is, quite serious (Freud 2018).

there is uncertainty in her voice. Sigrid gives me a quick glance and goes to retrieve the helmet from the Mimo van. Now Nora wants a mirror. She says she feels stupid, but the helmet is on, and we are finally on our way.

I set off with Jason, another A-class student who also wants to hit the children's slope, and before he knows it, we are on our way to the top. We calmly set off as I try to teach Jason how to make curves. He imitates me half-heartedly for a while, but quickly becomes bored. 'I've got it now', he says, and sets off to find the way down on his own.

I wait for Sigrid and Nora at the bottom of the slopes, as I see Jason on the chairlift again. Sigrid gives me a big smile when she spots me and says, 'I am happy you waited for us! Now it is just us girls'. Nora seems content, a smile lurking on her face and her eyes glittering beneath the helmet. I ask if she is having fun, and she looks down and gives a barely audible 'yes'. We set off again, and Sigrid tries to teach Nora the swing technique, but Nora is more into finding her own way, much like Jason, who passes us on our way down. Nevertheless, Nora wants us there at her side. At the steepest point, Nora wants Sigrid to ski backwards, holding onto her like she did before. When the three of us reach the chairlift again, Nora wonders how many times she has to ski downhill. Sigrid wonders if she'd rather be making toast on a campfire. I interrupt, 'Oh, no! We're going to the top again. You need to get that swing technique from Sigrid. She taught it to me, and it feels so good when you manage it'. We get into the lift again. There is no swing-turn-technique instruction on the way down, but Nora becomes better and better with each descent and soon skis the steepest part, as Sigrid refuses to help. We find ourselves in line for the lift time and again.

The dense fog hangs palpably around the chairlift. Grey clouds embrace us as far as we can see. Nora breaks the silence, 'It's sort of like I'm dreaming. When I look outward it is sort of like it is not real'. Sigrid and I exchange a glance, and I comment that the mist is like a dreamscape. 'Yes, I find this sort of like, am I really experiencing this', Nora continues. 'I came here and couldn't ski, and now I know I can do it'. Nothing else is said. (Fieldnotes, February 2015)

Emotions, time and dreams

One of a researcher's most important tasks is to know, understand, or feel when to ask questions and when to keep silent (Jackson 2004). In silence, we find answers that are often different from those words provide. Silence is filled with symbolic, aesthetic power and both idiomatic and idiosyncratic meanings. Silence that breaks with the everyday sounds is meaningful and thought-provoking, and not just for the A-class youths. In this unpremeditated escape, the temporal condition

is manifested in the form of daydreams, retrospective reflections, and hopes for the future. Thus, I interpreted Nora's encounters with silence and with herself as moments in which the past, present, and future fused together in an astonishing encounter. She experienced and found herself in a new and perhaps surprising way.

Parish noted that even small moments, such as Nora's experience in the canoe and on the slalom slope, can be impactful: "People have moments of awakening to the world and self, in which experience strikes with the force of a revelation. This may not change the course of a life, may not shatter the person's world, but still makes a difference, altering the terms of existence in some small yet decisive way" (2008: 3).

Let us hold these given moments, and let Parish help us bring some of the magic back to empathy. Perhaps through these significant moments, Nora understood herself in a new light and allowed herself to see another future. In a given moment, she dared just to 'be'. The moment will never disappear (Thorheim 2009) but will be with her ever after. Nora dared to imagine that what frightened her was somehow terrifyingly beautiful; the silence, a moment with unforeseen potential for change in which she experienced the possibilities of self (see Parish 2008).

According to Thorheim (2009), a moment can constitute a break with customary thought processes like a sudden light in the dark. In such moments, something happened to Nora, there was no sign of the unrest that could otherwise be provoked by the tranquility. Nora experienced an unusual silence, a silence that demands retrospection. Such moments make room for new expectations, new daydreams that open us to new possibilities. Experiences in nature, along with mastery and calm found in safe surroundings, appeared to be conducive to Nora's renewed sense of self and being in the world.

New possibilities beyond ordinary expectations can arise through these kinds of experiences (Zittoun and Gillespie 2015; see also Varma 2016). According to Zittoun and Gillespie: "The process of creating experience that escapes the immediate setting, which allows for exploring the past or future, present possibilities or even impossibilities. […] Imagination is a social and cultural process; the individual is the one who imagines, but it is made possible by the social and cultural artefacts; it can be socially allowed or constrained because it can have consequence" (2015: 20).

Both on the slalom slope and on the lake, Nora found herself in a landscape that allowed her to escape the consequences of her affiliation with the cultural community of the A-class, but also other everyday social norms set forth by authoritative voices that she both opposed and sometimes had to obey by. She did not need to relate to the group's collective self-presentation that was inculcated with a norm-giving emotional management. She did not need to worry, 'What if someone sees me now?' as David and Axel did. Both the social and natural surroundings

awoke a dream-like state that removed her from the associations of daily life. Emotionology, or the prescribed emotional management, disappeared and her individual and perhaps more spontaneous and uncensored emotions appeared.

For the anthropologist, a real danger lies in over-empathizing and incorrectly interpreting these events, although they simultaneously offer possible insights into what it means to be young. These moments of tranquility that stimulate dreams and hopes for the future may also explain the unrest and the fear and awareness of death that colored the interactions and emotional expressions among the A-class. For them, the unknown and the possible loss of social recognition threatened the safe and the familiar. In the following sections, I examine more closely how the youths expressed this fear of social death and what actually may have prompted their fears.

Social death, a shared fear?

"Speech is of time, silence is of eternity."
Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Restartus*.

Nora carried fear in the same way as David, Alex, and the other youths I met in the field, but she also revealed moments in which she was free of that fear. At those times, she entered a liminal space (see Stallybrass & White 1986), as if momentarily released from the group's identity. My field notes indicate that the fear I detected probably revolved mostly around the shame that could arise from not being cool enough or not managing well, and the youths' fellow students recognized this fear.

Death and silence, according to Freud (Freud 2010: 183–227), are deeply embedded instincts from birth. The death instinct is a human drive towards quiescence and stillness. I wondered if the behavior I observed involved a quest to get away from everyday chaos, expectations, and demands. Why were the youths so afraid of death and at the same time seeking to go far away?

I also could have focused on an acceptable dress code, for a lot revolves around clothing in encounters among youth (Rysst 2005). Clothes are visible social markers, and both girls and boys expressed resistance to the Mimo gear that they did not consider fashionable. When participants outside the A-class referred to Mimo as a 'free place' where they could be themselves, what were they free from? More complex associations must have been at work, beyond the fact that the clothes were *ugly*, borrowed, or broke the social codes or that the youths simply did not want to wear them or did not wish to have a helmet on their heads.

A detour to Bhaktapur, Nepal may offer relevant insight. In descriptions and analyses of the Newar people, Parish described how moral norms and rules

influence individuals to the extent that fear of (social) death often arises and is discussed: "As long as you are alive you must do your rituals. The only people who don't do rituals are the dead — no one says anything to them. So, if you are alive and don't do the rituals, you are […] the same as dead. You feel that, because you know society will say that you are bad. And society won't count you as a person. And that is like being dead. Having no significance" (1994, 208).

We may ask whether the Newar peoples' fear is extraordinary, or they simply are a population who know how to describe their circumstances in words. Similarly, the Mimo youths' wordplay takes on a new meaning now and is not mere jargon. Consciously or unconsciously, they too put words to their shared emotions, the perpetual, deeply rooted fear either of not fitting in or of transgressing the group's moral requirements. As Parish beautifully noted, "a moral emotion can be a dangerous way to bind the heart" (1994: 208).

Social death

It is said that "in America nobody says you have to keep to circumstances somebody else assigns you" (Wikan 1995: 270), but what if you believe you deserve your situation? In their study on shame, Newman and Newman (2001) found that none of those interviewed described episodes leading to undeserved feelings of shame. The same applied to situations leading to a permanent loss of status without the possibility of returning to a given setting or social context; therefore, the researchers concluded, "embarrassment is a righteous reminder of the limits of our privacy and, hence, the limits of our egocentric self-concept" (Holland and Kipnis 1994: 333). To the extent that these findings speak for themselves, we can expect youths continually to make conscious or unconscious decisions concerning their participation and behavior in most situations. The possible consequence they fear is a breach of the moral rules of play, culminating in social death — a fear so deeply internalized that it guided the Mimo youths' choices even when they were alone.

Bourdieu (2003) described social death as a state outside of time, characterized by a terrible state of rest. The threat of such a silence may arise from the loss of friends with whom one identifies, spends time, and finds comfort when things go wrong. A person may be left in silence, a silence that for youths can be imagined as the end, as social death. According to Parish (1991), the threat of social death can be a dehumanization by which self-confidence and meaning disappear and the person experiences emptiness, withdrawal, and disappearance. The A-Class youths expressed their fear of loneliness, and at the same time bestowed space, rest, and silence on one another.

Hollan's (2011) research highlights a possible reason why the youths in the A-Class showed respect for their fellow classmates through silence and withdrawal. Citing studies on the Javanese (Geertz), the Balinese (Wikan), and his own experiences in South Sulawesi, Hollan demonstrated how people meet others' despair in ways that avoid consolidating it. Similarly, I observed that the Mimo youths met each other's despair and fears as they also battled their own — a strategy that demonstrates, according to Hollan (2011), considerable empathic presence. Avoidance was championed as a way to minimize shame as the individual was given space to calm down.

Most interactions and self-presentations appeared balanced in the youths' day-to-day existence, perhaps out of fear of what might happen if they lost control and made fools of themselves, and could not see any way back to their friends and/or family. The thought of being socially humiliated and excluded feeds the fear of social death. To summarize Parish (1994), Bourdieu (2003), and Holland and Kipnis (1994), social death is characterized by an overwhelming silence, a sensation of abandonment in the nakedness of the situation that will persist into the future and remain ever-present. Such a painful experience is the reason that moral emotions function as behavioral controls (Parish 1994: 215).

The students had a shared understanding: They achieved resonance with their fellow classmates through their fear of death, of being seen, of failing to manage. Even when the others were not present, they appeared to be afraid of not living up to expectations. The fear was powerful: Imagine if someone knew. The youths in the study expressed their dislike of cross-country skiing: What if you are discovered on the west-bound ski trails not being able to master the Norwegian national sport? Canoeing is *idiotic*, and rainwear is *nerdy*: What if someone knew you could not manage to paddle and had never fished before, not to mention being seen soaking wet and looking like an idiot in borrowed rainwear and boots? What if you died a social death?

I do not yet wish to leave the topic of death. Death is closely related to silence, and silence in and of itself need not be correlated either to fear or eternal death. Time does not disappear (Thorheim 2009); conversely, silence need not necessarily be eternal. Death distances us from a (social) life, but can it perhaps also lead to a new one?

Social death and broken silence

If we are distanced from the familiar, the moment can be everlasting, even if change does not occur, asserted Thorheim (2009). At such a point we meet Nora, on the brink between the fear and the desire to disappear in the moment, into

eternity, to hover or dream in the silence; to die, but also to be resurrected. Water can symbolize birth or rebirth in this way (Parish 2008). Stevenson (2014) described how Inuit youth, encountering the snowbound plateau with no sign of their current society, accommodate the longing for a bygone era. Additionally, such moments open the desire and perhaps even the hope of listening in the present in new ways.

For such expectations to surface, a particular social setting is required, one that is open to individual or collective fantasizing: "It is not enough to protect cultural elements to guarantee that people will be free to use these resources to explore alternatives. The practice of imagination requires material, social and symbolic conditions that allow for exploratory thinking and imagining" (Decety 2012: 129).

The youths who let fear get the upper hand, closing its grip around the heart, missed out on these moments. The fear was too heavy to bear. Yet, for some, the fear brought hope; the moment was not lost. I noticed that after the experience in the ski lift, Nora went on her first overnight trip with the class. To everyone's pleasant surprise, she turned up without warning with her bag on the day of departure, although she had not previously intended to go.

Conclusion

In this article I have shown how a focus on empathy and empathic encounters endow aggressive utterances and behavior, as well as expressed resistance and caring, new meaning on encounters with silence and the self. Fear, water, dreams, flight, verbal death and silent death are redolent with complex, meaningful symbolic content.

> *"A knowing look, a glance avoided, the touch of a comforting hand on a shoulder as one alternates between memories, fantasies, moments of distraction and absorption, yearning for human connection one moment, feeling that others are infringing on one's vulnerability the next — it is within the complexity of such subjective and intersubjective realities that anything that be termed 'empathy' must be emplaced"* (Throop 2010: 780).

I have focused on a few individuals, significant moments, emotions, shared fears, and caring for one another. I have attempted to show how important it is to focus on physical movements, the unspoken, and moments in which facts and words fall short (Stevenson 2014). Reluctant to focus solely on the degree of empathy or resonance between the researcher and the informant (von Poser 2011), I have preferred instead to demonstrate fragility. Like Lepowsky (2011), I argue that

many (reported) idealized meetings between researchers and informants are far from perfect, and are, to some extent, impossible. The way forward is through up-close experiences, reflexive and thick empirical descriptions, and intersubjective encounters. Whereas Lepowsky based her work on encounters between the researcher and informant, I have attempted to add another layer. For example, in some encounters between informants the researcher is irrelevant or not the central person in the interactions. Yet through empirical evidence, we can capture any uncertainty and expressed contradictions without necessarily needing to resolve them. Like Stevenson (2014), I argue for a focus on images from the field and descriptions in which not everything can be explained or understood. Such descriptions can always be drawn in different directions, with multiple interpretative possibilities. I underscore such unresolved, thick descriptions as a viable means to achieve insight and knowledge, as opposed to relying on *discursive modes of knowing*. In this way, the anthropologist can be faithful to life's paradoxes, emotions, and experiences, which often disappear from view in discursive truths or certainties (Stevenson 2014: 10).

Ethnographic imagery invites a relationship between the reader and the text, in which researchers allow their analyses to be open and vulnerable. In this way, uncertainty and paradoxes become visible, and others may take them on and build upon them. Research on youth often includes concepts of 'inclusion' and 'exclusion', which shed light on the group dynamic. As I see it, these concepts underscore the conceptual mechanisms at play, whilst emotions and individuals disappear all too easily from view. We need an approach that captures why being young can be difficult, and why the tightrope walk of youth incorporates survival strategies on several levels — including death. The aim should not be to depict *what* youths are, but *who* they are. The aim should be to create cultural understanding through empathic understanding in which the reader achieves resonance with the youths, an understanding of the unique nature of individual feelings, rather than an empathic concern borne of the need to save individuals from their situations (see Decety 2012: 56).

Therefore, empathy is not simply intuitive and universal rooted, but also narratively and culturally rooted. Empathy grows and develops over time. Sometimes distance is required, an uncluttered gaze and a moment when writing about experiences and observations permits emotions to appear in new forms, bearing novel associations. However, such insights and understanding would not be possible without directly focusing on individuals through a psychologically-oriented conceptual apparatus.

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Halaqa in the Czech Republic: Experiences and Sense of Belonging of Muslim Migrant Women

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Abstract: *This study is based on qualitative research fieldwork – participant observation – carried out at Al-Firdaus Mosque in Prague, Czech Republic. The primary focus of the research was the weekly activities of Muslim migrant women. My aim was to understand their experiences and activities and how they enact a sense of belonging through weekly halaqa sessions and interaction with their fellow community members. Through observing and partaking in halaqa activities I have found that such gatherings served a dual purpose – a) to share knowledge from Islamic texts to enhance the lives of the halaqa participants in both practical and spiritual ways, b) create avenues for Muslim migrant women to socialize in a new place after migration. Using the framework on belonging provided by Yuval-Davis, I have shown how women create a community of belonging through shared narratives and stories about civic responsibilities of Muslims because of which the community members – especially the young adults – are persuaded to enter respectable career domains. By urging their young community members to pursue a noble profession like medicine, the women inadvertently strived to affect the social and material well-being of all the stakeholders involved – the individuals and the Muslim community at large. Furthermore, the study has explored how the women discuss certain religious narratives that intersect with their gender identities and re-signify the narratives through both the mere act of practicing them across different time-space continuum and actively deliberating on them as in the case of wearing the hijab and private ownership of wealth. Subsequently, I have explored how the act of belonging unknowingly turns into a political project with the members of the halaqa creating a fluid space for anyone even from outside the community to participate, contesting the boundaries of a community of belonging.*

Keywords: *Muslim, women, migrant, religion, belonging*

During my years at school in India, I came across a couplet ascribed to poetry of Hazrat Amir Khusrau. The couplet goes:

Agar firdaus bar ru-ye zamin ast
Hamin ast-o hamin ast-o hamin ast

Translated, it means:

If there is Paradise on earth
It is this, it is this, it is this

These lines have been variously understood to describe Kashmir or Siri, the capital of Emperor Khilji or the walled city of Delhi, in India (Blake 2002: 44). In a manner of speaking, this couplet was my introduction to Persian culture. So, when I read the name of the mosque, I was due to visit in the autumn of 2019, the couplet came back with a resounding affirmation.

Here was *Al-Firdaus,* the Paradise, around the corner in Praha 8-Libeň, with an unassuming exterior. Of what I could make out, in the darkness, it was a courtyard behind a fence and a beige front wall. It was by accident that I chanced upon a gathering of women in this otherwise quiet Masjid, Al-Firdaus.

Introduction

In Western scholarship, while talking about Islam, issues surrounding gender find a ready significance. Among other symbols, there has been consideration of mosques as gendered spaces in the academic discourse (see Nyhagen 2019) – Western Europe (Becker 2019; Mateo 2019; Kuppinger 2018), North America (Kibria et al. 2021; Westfall 2018), and Eastern Europe (Aytar and Bodor 2021; Račius 2018; Górak-Sosnowska 2011; Spahić-Šiljak 2010). At the behest of the cultural narrative that borrows from an Orientalist mindset. "….. Islam," is understood, "in such a way as to emphasize … the Muslim's resistance to change … to the development of men and women out of archaic, primitive classical institutions and into modernity" (Said 1979: 263). Perhaps it is owing to this reason that despite such burgeoning scholarship on mosques serving as gendered spaces, there is still a superficial understanding of what this gendering constitutes. Muslim women's experiences are accounted for insofar as they point out glaring problems with Islamic ideologies and subsequently justify problematic policies (Brown 2008: 472) like increased securitization. There is still a substantial gap in our understanding of women's, especially migrant women's experiences in

a nuanced manner within these gendered spaces of the mosque. In the following text, I focus on these issues: What roles and activities do migrant women participate in within a mosque? How do they cultivate a sense of belonging with the host community through their activities within the mosque? This article seeks to fill this gap through a qualitative study of halaqa gatherings of Muslim migrant women in Al-Firdaus Mosque in the Czech Republic. The study is primarily based on participant observation sessions over a period of two months. Using the framework on belonging provided by Yuval-Davis (2006), I have shown how women create a community of belonging through shared narratives and stories.

Even though belonging is considered a naturalized process – one, of course, belongs! It gains salience against the backdrop of migration (Yuval-Davis 2006: 197). And why is it that we should consider Muslim migrant women's sense of belonging through creation of social communities and gatherings like halaqa? Simonsen (2019) posits that "belonging to a social community is found to enhance individuals' sense of meaning in life, while experiences of social exclusion lead to lower self-worth, and even meaninglessness." Therefore, to understand the constitution – the roles and activities – of halaqa gatherings at Al-Firdaus Mosque in the Czech Republic and sense of belonging of Muslim migrant women, I have also used a framework of belonging (Yuval-Davis 2006) to map the experiences of women.

Muslim Migrants in the Czech Republic

The Muslim Religious Community in Czechoslovakia was officially set up in Prague in 1934. (Drbohlav and Dzúrová 2007) Subsequently, after several impediments, the Center of Muslim Communities was founded in 1991 but remained a citizens' association until 2004. To be a religious association in the Czech Republic and to be eligible for state subsidies, the law required at least 10,000 signatories for the petition (Schneider 2006: 128), an impossible feat given the low numbers of Muslim residents in the country and an even lower rate of participation in community activities by members of Muslim community (Ostřanský 2010). Around the same time, the Islamic Foundation in Prague was also started. In 1994, the Islamic Foundation in Brno resulted in the creation of an Islamic center along with a mosque. While mosques have been a part of Czech urban landscapes for a couple of decades, there is little account of how mosques facilitate and organize diasporic communities around welfare activities, charitable events, and social gatherings (Nyhagen 2019).

There are three mosques in Prague. They are often euphemized as Islamic centers and are devoid of architectural motifs associated with mosques as found

in regions with sizeable Muslim populations. The mosques host Muslim members of different ethnic, racial, national communities. While studies have discerned and acknowledged the presence of migrants from different sub-sects of Islam leading to the creation of separate Sunni and Shia (predominantly, Sunnis and Shias) (Nyhagen 2019), the Czech Muslim population is relatively very small to allow for such demographic concessions. From my visits to the Halaqa gatherings and through conversations with people present there, I could however gauge that the members hailed from Sunni sects which harks us back to the Soviet Era ties with largely Sunni-majority regions (Hamdani 1994).

Ostřanský (2010) classifies the Czech Muslims into three categories: a) those who are Czech converts to Islam, spouses of Muslim foreigners; b) foreigners, holders of permanent or long-term residence permit; c) those who hold Czech citizenship having migrated in the 1970s and 1980s from the states that shared their ideological outlook with the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and studied engineering and medicine at Czech-Moravian higher education institutions. During period of communism, Czechoslovakia maintained exceptional trade and political ties with these countries (Kovář 2020; Slačálek & Svobodová 2018).

Over the past decade, several sociological studies have been conducted in the Czech Republic to understand the integration of Muslims into Czech society. The studies have concluded high levels of integration into Czech society (Felčer, 2020, p. 9). While the integration of the larger Muslim community is smooth, there has been lower level of integration of women, citing a need for socio-cultural and Czech language courses (ibid.)

Halaqa Gatherings: A Background

Halaqas or halaqa (singular) loosely translates to learning circles whereby disciples gather around a teacher and discuss and deliberate upon the teachings of the Qur'an. This method of pedagogy dates back to the origins of Islam when Prophet Muhammad would sit in the mosque with his disciples and disseminate the teachings of the Qur'an which the audience members would then memorize and spread further (Boyle 2004: 11). Elsewhere, Ahmed (2017: XVI) has defined halaqa as "originally an Islamic oral pedagogy instituted by the Prophet Muhammad" which has effected social change and justice through empowerment of both individuals as well as communities (Zaimeche 2002). Munadia (2016) describes halaqa in reference to a group of Muslims-usually 3 to 12 who regularly undertake reviews of Islamic teachings. This pedagogical technique emphasizes critical thinking and reasonable argumentation in the face of taqlid (blind faith) and "uncritical tradition of pre-Islamic society", objectives as espoused in the

Qur'an (Munadia 2016: 3). From a contemporary perspective, halaqa provides an alternative model to Western ideologies of critical reasoning. While in the present study, the halaqa takes place in the mosque, such gatherings can take place in other suitable settings namely homes of teachers or disciples, community, and educational institutions. The composition of a halaqa may vary – divided based on gender and age if need be.

The halaqa gathering at Al-Firdaus Mosque in Prague, Czech Republic, is an all-women, multi-ethnic, multi-generational event with attendants being migrants from countries like Syria, Somalia, Lebanon, and Pakistan. The women gather on the first floor of the mosque, and it remains exclusively reserved for them for the duration of the halaqa. All the women at the halaqa come with their family members, most of them accompany their husbands. The husbands or other male members gather on the second floor of the masjid and mostly discuss politics. The men's gathering is quite informal, nobody comes prepared with notes on the Qur'an, and men sometimes even leave the mosque to meet the husband of one of the halaqa women, still working at a nearby kebab shop. While it would be understandably fruitful to analyze the gendered differences in such gatherings, during the two months of my attendance, I confined my focus to the women's gathering on the first floor.

Haw (1998) asserts that the Qur'an bestows equal rights upon women and men when it comes to acquiring knowledge, even though women and men may have different roles (in Srimulyani 2007: 87). As a matter of fact, Islamic principles led to an improvement in the status of women during the life and times of Prophet Mohammad (Haw 1998 in Ryan 2003: 136). Then, why is there a segregation of spaces for women and men when it comes to learning the Qur'an? Azra (Azra 2003: 10 in Srimulyani 2007: 88) suspects that this segregation began with codification of Islamic jurisprudence by Islamic jurists around the 10th century, nearly 200 years after the inception of Islam. During this process of codification, among other things, the jurists underlined the segregated roles of women and men which have come to be considered indisputable. Under this system, a woman could only educate herself with the assistance of a close male kin or with the help of a religious figure. The intermingling of female and male pupils in an educational space was supposed to have a greater negative effect than a positive one (Srimulyani 2007: 88). The present halaqa is the legacy of such a codified tradition, where a man would only enter the women's gathering space in order to lead the salat (prayer) in the prayer room which is basically a portion of the same hall where halaqa is carried out.

Islamic society has always held the acquisition of knowledge and education in high regards (Lichtenstadter 1958: 135). Halaqas were instrumental in the

expansion of Islam and mosques, at times, would have multiple halaqa (Boyle 2004: 11). In the initial days, the teachings at the halaqa were not limited to discussion of the Qur'an but came to include sciences – algebra (from "al-jabr" in Arabic which means "the reunion of broken parts" (Algebra: 2013), geometry, physics, chemistry – and humanities like grammar and philology (Bin Omar, 1993 in Boyle, 2004: 11).

Halaqa Commences, Topics Discussed

During my fieldwork, the halaqa at Al-Firdaus Mosque was held weekly, every Sunday when everybody could be relatively free from their jobs – while the adult women of halaqa were either housewives or had jobs like preparing food to supply to restaurants, the younger women and girls were school or college students. Fatima,[1] an elderly Syrian woman, had assumed the role of the teacher for the lack of an Imam (leader of the mosque). Despite mosques traditionally being the dominion of men, Muslim women have justified their place by invoking examples of recurring role of women as teachers and religious authorities in Islamic texts. One such example recounts how the Prophet Muhammad allowed a woman to act as an "imam to mixed jama't" (Spahić-Šiljak 2010: 137). The halaqa in the Czech Republic is organized entirely by the women and has met no resistance from the male community members, according to Mikel (kin of one of the halaqa participants), given it is held at a mosque. This lack of resistance is in stark contrast with how women's presence has been received in mosques in other countries within Europe (Nyhagen 2019).

During my research, each halaqa was attended by around 8–10 women. Fatima, her granddaughter, Faiza, who chaperoned the former to the mosque, and Fatima's daughter, Saba, were the permanent fixtures. Other women presented varying degrees of attendance owing to their work or familial commitments. Since a few members, like Fatima herself, came from cities outside Prague, they arrived just in time for the evening prayer (maghrib), and everybody stayed for the last prayer (Isha)[2]. Everybody brought home-made food, sweets or snacks or fruits which they set on the table around which they settle. By 16:30, the session begun and lasted for almost an hour and a half. The purpose of the halaqa is to recite the verses of the Qur'an in Arabic, followed by an explanation from the teacher/moderator, Fatima, and concluded by a discussion among the women in attendance. The

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[1] The names of all the participants have been anonymized.
[2] The hours of the prayers are determined by the position of the earth relative to the sun, which differs greatly in winter and summer months.

women referred to each other as "sister". The sisters read the verses (suras) of the Qur'an. Once a verse is read, Fatima explained the sura from her notes in Arabic. Rashida, a Lebanese student of the sciences, studying in the Czech Republic, translated the explanation to English for non-Arabic speakers. In the absence of Rashida, Faiza and Saba assisted in the process of translation. Subsequently, the floor was open for discussion which involved questions or anecdotal experiences. During the two-month period which this article captures, the sisters went in an orderly fashion to cover the verses in the text – they would pick up from where they left off in the previous week. Such an organization as a cohesive unit with mutual respect, support and learning among the members resonated with findings which posit mosques as places where Muslim women can learn about Islam and enjoy a sense of community (Ehrkamp 2016). Being an account of merely two months, my coverage of their discussion is, by no means, exhaustive. Certainly, more time would have given us greater insights and a more holistic account of issues that are covered.

Studies with Islamic religious congregations in the Western context indicate that a key motivator for migrant women to participate in such gatherings is a desire to acquire practical knowledge about appropriate "Muslim" conduct (Ferrero 2018). This was exemplified through a variety of discussions which covered a range of issues, during participant observations. One week the sisters discussed the story of Prophet Muhammad's journey to Ta'if where he was ruthlessly turned away by all the villagers. It is a parable of kindness and compassion because the Prophet did not retaliate for the attack on his person, although he had the opportunity to do so. The primary objective of such gatherings is to centralize the acquisition and learning of Islamic ethics.

Over one meeting, the practice of Hajj, the annual pilgrimage, was discussed. In summary, it can be conducted in two ways a) throughout a person's lifetime as many times as they want b) at least, once in their lifetime, compulsorily. Now the word of advice was that persons should not undertake this pilgrimage as many times as they want to satisfy their own desire. This is considerably wrong. Instead, what was recommended was that the said persons should conduct charity or help someone out with the resources they would have otherwise used to carry out the pilgrimage. And once they have helped somebody or multiple people thus, they may undertake the pilgrimage again but only with good selfless intentions.

After some discussion about the ethics of Hajj pilgrimages and under which circumstances it can be rightfully undertaken, Rashida noted the importance of knowing about the writer of a particular text as many scholars may have illogical views. This is a reference to how Islamic practices are portrayed in many texts. Such critical literacy at a small communal scale encourages the Halaqa members

to check the credibility of their sources in order to detect stereotypical, homogeneous labels and claims advancing misinformation (Deroo 2021). The basic underlying principle behind this teaching can have far-reaching consequences in this age of persistent Islamophobic propaganda. The call for referencing and investigating of multiple sources of information may serve a two-fold purpose of- a) cultivating critical faculty of halaqa members through sharing of religious and social knowledge (Nyhagen 2019), and b) organizing as a Muslim collective to tackle the persistent Islamophobia rhetoric in their surrounding culture. Such an evolution can lend a sense of entitlement to the community to practice their own culture – promoting, celebrating, and sharing it with the host community (Trucios-Haynes 1996).

On another occasion, the prohibition of alcohol was discussed through the story of the drunk imam who made a mistake while conducting the Maghrib prayer. The issue of alcohol consumption gains salience in the context of Czech Republic, and other European states, where the sisters perceive a clubbing culture associated with young adults consuming alcohol. Mahmood (2004) explores how the 1980's religious movement in Cairo can be considered as a response to increased westernization in Egypt brought about the policy of economic liberalization. The practices of the women – habits, bodily rituals, traditions – aim to make the abstract idea of Islam tangible for its practitioners, by making it a part of their daily lives to differentiate it from other belief systems (Mahmood 2004: 44–45). This ties well with a miscellaneous discussion I once found Saba, Amreen, and her daughter embroiled in. The central point of contestation was modern music and Amreen's complete rejection of it owing to its morally corrupt lyrics, which, according to Amreen, disfigure life into an insignificant and despicable quantity ever in the pursuit of ends that does not lend itself to being appropriate spiritual food for humankind.

Socialization

Following Haideh Moghissi, women who are first-generation migrants "construct" their histories through stories, traditions, and rituals (Moghissi 2006: 171). The halaqa serves the two-pronged purpose of being both a pedagogical and a socialization space. Given most of the women in the Prague halaqa, both young and old, were first generation migrants from different countries, united by their religiosity, they became the proprietors of cultural reserve. While there was a celebration of their different ethnicities, they unite over their common goal of bringing Islam into their daily lives. Since a particular geographical location does not define a diaspora, "lateral connections" (Clifford 1994 in Canagarajah

and Silberstein 2012: 82) come to characterize the sense of community. Based on Andersonian imagination of a community, such connections are negotiated with the help of language. Even though the migrant women of this study hailed from different ethnicities, cultures, and nation-states, they achieved a "sense of "community" situationally through the language of religiosity (Canagarajah and Silberstein, 2012: 82). One of the objectives of halaqa is to impart the knowledge of Arabic language in order to read the Qur'an as it is considered linguistically and religiously impossible to translate the sacred text (Siddiek 2012: 18). Therefore, the women made sure to use the halaqa platform to perfect their linguistic skills through the means of active participation. However, given that the women possessed different levels of proficiency in Arabic and not everybody could know and understand Czech, English was used for general communication. Amreen, hailing from Africa, often asked to recite the verses in order to improve her pronunciation of the Arabic words. Fatima and Saba were ever-present to assist in case of faulty elocution. One time when Amreen's youngest son, about 7–8 years of age, started praying in the adjacent prayer area, the women halted the discussion, allowing a moment of silence to encourage the young boy to practice worship in Arabic.

So far, I have spoken about how the halaqa operated in a strictly formal sense – where discussions were based around the contents of textual material. However, the role of halaqa is more expansive. Becoming a virtuous Muslim necessitates one to embody a certain lifestyle which involves satisfaction of already predefined requirements. One such requirement is undertaking salat (prayer) five times in a day at stipulated time periods. The above-mentioned instance of Amreen's son being given the floor to practice the prayer is indicative of how the adult women cultivate such behaviors in the young children. Nevertheless, it needs to be pointed out here that young children like Amreen's son and Saba's daughter did not participate in halaqa discussions. The group of children interacted with each other over games in the play area in the direct view of the women. Therefore, the socialization is a slow process designed in such a manner than the young children do not feel overwhelmed. However, it is not simply a matter of following through the defined requirements, one must approach such exercises with a righteous inclination, in that they should be humble, sincere and in awe (Mahmood 2004: 123). This also explains why the rules are not particularly strict for young children as the aforesaid are higher emotional faculties still in the process of development (Echols & Finkbiner 2013). On countless occasions, I have heard Faiza and Amreen conduct either soft or awe-inspired iterations of God-phrases which are simply phrases that allude to God like "Mashallah" "Inshallah" (Welji 2012) to identify their on-going tryst with a pious lifestyle. Salat, praying five times a day is only one of the five

pillars of Islam that the adherents must recognize, the others being – shahada, which refers to asserting one's faith to Allah, zakat (almsgiving), sawm, which means fasting during the month of Ramadan/Ramzaan, and hajj (pilgrimage to the holy site of Mecca).

An integral component of the socialization process at the halaqa is the food. For the older generation of Muslim women, the process of reconstruction of their culture is marked by an attitude of hospitality, care and such viewpoints are manifested through food (Moghissi 2006: 171). The table around which the women gathered on a weekly basis could always be seen weighing down with an assortment of home-made snacks, sugary treats, and fruits. During one such halaqa session, I caught sight of Gulnaz, a middle-aged Pakistani woman, with whom I had once before talked to in Urdu/Hindi which was our common mother tongue. I saw her after a couple of weeks of that day and she immediately presented me with a tray of subcontinent snacks called Pakoras, made of deep-friend potatoes or other vegetables. She said she had made them for me. Of course, what she meant was that she had made them keeping me in mind, perhaps in apropos of our last conversation about our countries. One of the main benefits of such a tradition is to delineate the crucial points of differences among different kind of foods. According to Islamic jurisprudence, practicing Muslims must consume only halal (lawful) food, that has been produced in line with the Islamic tradition. Key among the prohibited food items are dead animal carcasses, pork, blood, animals that have not been sacrificed in the name of Allah and alcohol or other similar intoxicants. While evidently the list of prohibited items is short, it can so happen that a derivative from the above-mentioned haram items (like oil derived from pig fat) can be used on halal items rendering them inedible (Kashim et. al. 2015). This issue finds urgency in the context of the Czech Republic where pork accounts for more than 50 per cent of the total meat consumption (Ministry of Agriculture of the Czech Republic 2018: 13). Thus, the older women encourage cooking of home-made food or consumption of food items only from halal shops, for example, the ones belonging to Muslim migrants.

The older migrant women usually try to ideate social mores, customs, traditions in the host community, in spite of cleavages and departures between the younger and the older generation in terms of their choices (Moghissi 2006: 171). While Fatima and her daughter, Saba ritualistically wear the hijab, Saba's daughters – Jameela and Aisha – do not. Yet once I still found Jameela use her sweatshirt hood as a headscarf by tightly tying the lace to the point of covering the chin and forehead when she prayed in the mosque. Certain departures are not necessarily negatively commented by elder women like Faiza's experimentation with a ketogenic diet. When Faiza shared this, in one of the parallel conversations

after the completion of a halaqa session, Amreen expressed curiosity and her own interest in trying the same. She joked about how brutal it sounds to let go of all her favorite foods if she were to take up that diet. When other women displayed their concerns over potential nutritional deficiency, Faiza, Saba and Rashida – all of whom had a background in scientific studies – helped clarify their doubts.

Belonging and the Politics of Belonging

On my first visit, briefly interrupted by my arrival, the sisters resumed their discussion. The little kids were juggling between the play area and the discussion area. They were afforded complete freedom in that sense. Meanwhile, an old lady to my right side started circulating a box of brownies. I customarily took one. At the moment, the discussion based on the Qur'an texts centered around individuals' responsibilities in society. The crux of the discussion was that certain members of the society had the responsibility to practice civic careers like being doctors in order to help others. By doing this they free the others to pursue different things and the society at large does not suffer. "Islamic scholars have agreed that the study and practice of medicine is an obligation that falls upon Muslims to have sufficient numbers of followers to practice (Fard Kifayah)" (Chamsi-Pasha & Albar 2016: 121). This seemed to be a shared sentiment among the members as the young adults, like Faiza and Jameela. Saba's daughter had been nudged in the direction of medical careers. Yuval-Davis (2006) points out that the construct of belonging is reified through an individual's attachments to certain stories and narratives that are passed down through generations, told and retold over the years to become modalities of what it means to belong to a collective – diaspora, religion, race, culture, etc. In demarcating the roles and responsibilities of individuals within a society through parables, the women underlined the modalities or ways of belonging to the Czech Muslim migrant diaspora. Additionally, becoming a doctor solves the dual purpose of persevering to become a good Muslim along with securing respect as migrants; Saba herself pointed out how doctors command a lot of respect from the members of the Czech society. Under the guise of a noble profession, a high-skilled job like that of a medical doctor unquestionably also comes with substantial financial dividends effecting change in the individual migrant's social and material worth.

Such investments to narratives and stories are further expressed through what Butler called performance of identity. In upholding certain traditions like meeting every week, bringing food, gathering and praying at certain hours, the women construct belonging through performance of identifications. Through such performances, one "operates to recall and reconnect with places elsewhere

that, through those very movements, are re-membered; at the same time, a site of diasporic belonging is created" (Bell 1999: 3).

However, such identifications or identity narratives are dynamic in nature and prone to change. While the sustenance of these collective narratives heavily relies on their performance by groups or individuals, it is this very element of reiteration that causes these practices or stories to be altered or appropriated for times (Butler 1997: 14). During one halaqa, the discussion of a verse (sura) was centered around the roles and responsibilities along gender lines. Suddenly, the dialogue became animated. The topic was personal, intimate, and the first question of how the money should be spent was hotly debated. One's own money could supposedly be used as and how the woman pleases. A woman to my right promptly asked, "Even mehr?" Mehr refers to the monetary payments made to the wife by the husband, as decreed in the Islamic law (Chowdhury, Mallick & Chowdhury 2017). "Yes, of course. It's your own money!" Saba replied. "She does not even need to inform her husband because it is her own money. Such recapitulations of private ownership" (Saba resounds while thumping her chest "my money, my money!") and private space is intriguing. What I was witnessing was that these women were sharing the aspects of their lives where they were at complete liberty to mark their territories, without reserve (Field notes, 17.11.2019). Halaqa, thus became a safe space for deliberation and debate on issues pertaining to gender based on their personal experiences. Through an intersection of their gender and religious identities, the women pronounced personal as political or vice-versa. Thus, a benign exercise of belonging at times became a political project thereby bridging the gap between Yuval-Davis' "belonging" and "the politics of belonging."

So far, it can be gauged that the learning from halaqa sessions was, by no means linear. The women read the religious texts but also engaged in active reflection and critical discussion – retaining tenets that enhanced their lives in practical – literacy to identify and critique incorrect sources of information – and spiritual ways – abstaining from the consumption of haram items; while revising tenets that require updating – intersections of gender and religious identities. This project of learning and creating a sense of belonging was further finessed by further re-imagining the very "community of belonging" to bring into its fold all willing participants.

Fatima, Faiza's grandmother, came with pages upon pages of notes on verses (suras) from the Qur'an. During one such discussion, Rashida narrated a story of help, kindness and compassion, a parable with a message that Muslims need to be helpful, kind, compassionate towards other Muslims… "other people," as Amreen corrected herself looking at me (Field notes, 24.11.2019). During my

first visit, as the sisters sat in a circle, I was offered a seat, positioned directly opposite Fatima, the teacher, which was a rather humbling experience. The halaqa gatherings are, by the participants' admission, open to all willing participants. Besides myself, on three separate occasions, I saw a Czech woman, a recent convert to Islam, partake in the discussions. The scope of the discussions became expanded and secular to incorporate presence of not just me as a non-Muslim but also recent adherents like the Czech woman. I noticed how Rashida would practically conduct entire translations while mostly looking to our side, ensuring that we understand the subject matter (Field notes, 24.11.2019). Through such gestures, I became aware of the centrality of my position in the circle. Thus, the halaqa lessons did not merely serve as moral stories for good conduct but they also serve as a collective representation of a community and their values, and in being meticulous, dedicated, and sincere toward each lesson (be it contributions of a snack or mere attendance or general hospitality) each member showcased responsibility toward this common goal of representing Islam which would serve to strengthen pan-community ties.

Such reimaginings of what the halaqa should look like, a fluid space for members of any and all walks of the society, the Muslim women challenged what Yuval-Davis called "the boundaries of community of belonging" (2006: 205). The halaqa became the epicenter of multiple projects, unwittingly so. Mahmood's (2004) seminal work on women's revival (da'wah, meaning "call" in Arabic) movements in Egypt is a telling exploration of different approaches to agency, expanding the feminist scholarship and focus on political projects that upset and re-signify the dominant discourses on sexuality and gender. The study holds clues on how to analyze women's involvement in religion in this manner. The weekly halaqa gatherings served to continue to challenge the idea of religious spaces such as the mosque being the prerogative of the men, to challenge the narratives that intersect with their gender identities, to negotiate with the secularization that surrounds them in the larger Czech society in order to maintain a pious lifestyle and to contest the boundaries of belonging. In doing so, women used the platform of the halaqa meetings to create a space for the Muslims and even interested non-Muslims in the Czech milieu, thereby creating, and extending belonging within the host society.

Conclusion

In this article, I have attempted to explore the roles and activities of Muslim migrant women within Al-Firdaus Mosque in Prague, the Czech Republic. Through participant observation sessions of weekly halaqa gatherings at the

mosque over a period of two months, I have further inquired about the ways in which the migrant women create a sense of belonging within their host community. The article outlines the organization of halaqa as an all-women cohort, assembling in an orderly fashion with a predetermined agendum. I go on to delineate the two main purposes served by halaqa – a) to share knowledge from Islamic texts to enhance the lives of the halaqa participants in both practical and spiritual ways, b) create avenues for Muslim migrant women to socialize in a new place after migration.

Using the framework on belonging provided by Yuval-Davis, I have shown how women create a community of belonging through shared narratives and stories about civic responsibilities of Muslims because of which the community members – especially the young adults – are persuaded to enter respectable career domains. By urging their young community members to pursue noble profession like medicine, the women inadvertently strive to affect the social and material well-being of all the stakeholders involved – the individuals and the Muslim community at large. Furthermore, the study has explored how the women discuss certain religious narrative that intersect with their gender identities and re-signify the narratives through both the mere act of practicing them across different time-space continuum – private ownership of wealth – and actively deliberating on them as in the case of wearing the hijab.

Subsequently, I have explored how the act of belonging unknowingly turns into a political project with the members of the halaqa creating a fluid space for anyone even from outside the community to participate, contesting the boundaries of the community of belonging. This borrows from Mahmood's work with religious movements in Egypt wherein she calls for analysis of agency beyond the limited binaries of subordination and resistance; how projects like such can be political without its participants ever considering them such.

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"We Want to Start With What People Are Worried About in their Own Lives": Toward an anthropology of "common concerns"

An Interview with Professor Biao Xiang, by Zdeněk Uherek, Adam Horálek[1]

Biao Xiang has been the director of the department for the Anthropology of Economic Experimentation at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in Halle/Saale in Germany since 2020. Prior to setting up the department, one of three at the institute, he was a professor at St Hugh's College at Oxford University. Biao Xiang completed his doctoral thesis – Global Body Shopping – at Oxford in 2006. He has become a prominent personality for his work, which focuses on economic anthropology and migration. To date, he has published over 100 articles and books, many of which touch on the theory and methodology of anthropology as a whole, and the position of social anthropology in society. As the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology is a key institution for the academic community, especially in Central Europe, and an important meeting point for PhD students and senior researchers, we asked the new director about his first experiences in the position, his personal academic goals, his ideas about the direction of social anthropology, and his plans regarding communication with the academic community.

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[1] This is the transcription of a discussion between the three of us in Prague on 28 October 2022. For clarity, it has been edited and expanded on in parts.

Dear Professor, the name of your department is somewhat unusual. Could you please explain its mission and primary focus?

The main mission of the department is not to tackle a particular question or subject matter. Rather, we want to explore a new style of research practice. We don't want to start with academic questions, and don't aim to only contribute to academic knowledge accumulation. We want to come up with new concepts, new perspectives, and sometimes simply new languages which people in society can use to understand their living conditions and help them to think. We want to provide tools they can use.

An example or model for me is the American pragmatic philosopher John Dewey. He promoted a philosophy for living. For Dewey, philosophy is the way that the philosopher describes the world so that people, the public, can see themselves in the world, and then they can think about what this world means to them, how they should act, and how they can think about situations. So these are the kinds of research results or tools that we are trying to develop. I call it the "common concerns approach", because we want to start with what people are worried about in their own lives.

Let's look at climate change. If you ask young people whether they are worried about the climate, they will say yes – because it's a big issue conceptually. But does it really affect their daily struggle? I doubt it. They have to deal with so many more concrete, immediate issues. And they also ask: "What can I do as an individual? The climate is really beyond my control." To be honest, some people feel resentful too, because they feel it is the elite who keep lecturing them on climate problems. They feel alienated from that kind of environmental discourse. That doesn't mean that they're not worried about climate change, not at all. If you ask them: "What are you worried about now?" You know, you need to have a bit of a chat before you can raise that question. And one thing that many young people – and especially women – in China are concerned with is whether they should give birth or not: "Should I get married? Should I have children?" And many people say no. You know, the Chinese fertility rate has dropped dramatically. One of the reasons young people are worried is the question: "Why should I bring new life into this world, when this world is ruined, and the children will have to experience all these heatwaves, unpredictable weather, and there's not much hope?" The young generation, now in their late 20s or early 30s, don't see the joy of living in this world. This is how they are concerned about the climate.

So they say: "OK, we're not going to have children." Their immediate concern is whether they should give up on family life in the conventional form. This concern is related to climate change, but there are also lots of other issues involved

when thinking about whether they should have children or not: property prices, gender roles, pressure from their parents – all these things come together. The complexity makes the concern very real. If we want to know more about what they think or might do about climate change, we have to start with their questions, like that of having children or not. These kinds of questions immediately touch their souls and make them think. If we just give them the UN data about climate change, that will raise their awareness of certain things, but it is not enough to start discussions about what is the real agency of individuals in this world, and how we can live life differently. So this is an example of what common concerns are. Common concerns are very different from predefined issues. In looking at common concerns, we are asking: How do these issues really play out in people's lives? What do we want to do to address the given circumstances? That is what the department does.

The department wants to explore how we can develop an anthropology for living scientifically. We aim to identify these concerns, and to unpack them – to figure out what the causes and especially the political economy causes of these concerns are. We don't want to produce psychological analyses. Common concerns do, of course, have psychological dimensions. But more than that, they are people's perceptions and understandings of their lived realities. Then we want to experiment with conducting "co-research" with our research subjects. We identify their concerns, describe them, and see whether our subject groups agree with our description or not. Then we will will develop a hypothetical analysis about the causes of the concerns, and what potential behavioural changes these kinds of concerns may give rise to. Then, through public media, by working with artists or journalists, we will seek feedback from the public. So we want this kind of back-and-forth movement to develop, not necessarily of theories, but of a set of descriptions, a language that people can use to reflect on their life experiences. This is our overall mission.

What is the reason for this mission?

It's quite simple. I just think that social research in the 21st century has to move on from what we had before. The education level of the public has increased so dramatically, and young people can read, and they want to read. Actually, they are hungry for quite sophisticated theories because they are thinking a lot about the meaning of life and the world. And we have the new technologies of social media and communications. Why do we have to confine ourselves to writing journal articles? If we want to make changes in the world today, we need public mobilisation. If people don't change their lifestyles and basic understandings,

then a simple technical fix will not resolve any of the important issues in the world today. Many political contestations in the world are to a great extent battles over common concerns or common sense. In the US, Trump supporters and the Democrats cannot talk to each other. What do they disagree about? They disagree about some very basic things, such as what counts as facts, or how one understands one's living conditions. Many people feel confused and anxious. The public really needs languages to help them think through their concerns. The people are the real thinkers and decision makers at the end of the day, but we want to try to provide them with tools.

Such a new approach requires a new fieldwork methodology?

Yes. We want to develop a set of methods and a programme for that. And we need a department to do that. It's not easy to start researching with common concerns – much more difficult than starting with an academic question or a recognised issue. Let me give you an example of a collective project in the department. It's led by our postdoctoral researcher Mario Schmidt, and it's about "pressure". Young people in many parts of world don't feel like they're poor, and they don't necessarily feel like they're marginalised, though they are becoming quite disillusioned with mainstream politics. Are they concerned with inequality? Conceptually yes. Inequality is a thing that you can always criticise as an objective fact. Everyone says inequality is bad, but if you look at how people think and act inside inequality, their immediate concern is how to advance within that unequal system. They know the system is bad, but what else can they do? That creates a sense of pressure. They have to struggle all the time in order to advance themselves and to be ahead of others. But morally they feel like their whole life is problematic. There is the pressure to perform, and the pressure of dealing with the moral burden. So if we can capture "pressure" accurately, we can speak directly to young people. This communication will be much more effective than general critiques about "inequality".

But this kind of research is difficult because if we start with a notion like pressure, it involves many things. Many common concerns are simultaneously about economic opportunities, personal relations, the education system, the cost of living, and so on. As we all know, life is complex! So how can we give a concern a clear technical definition? How can we link it to the existing academic literature? On the other hand, this is precisely what anthropology should capture, something that people feel acutely, but cannot articulate precisely. We need new methods and language to unpack it and to elaborate on it, step-by-step. We are still experimenting. Of course, we still need intellectual resources from

the past in order to understand the current situation. But intellectual resources from the past are often very specialised – this is a study about religion, that is about family. That specialisation shapes how we ask our research questions: Is this a question speaking to religious studies? Or is it a question about family studies? If you ask questions about general living conditions, you feel lost in an academic landscape. You can draw from philosophy, but that is not sufficient to speak about people's concerns in highly specific circumstances. We may not be able to come up with a truly "scientific" set of methods, but we hope that we will get something that is systematic – so that other researchers can apply similar methods in different cases.

So what does "economic experimentation" refer to in the name of the department? The ideas you are discussing are much broader.

I thought of the name "economic experimentation" because of my diagnosis of the world in 2019. I think that the world lost a sense of gravity or direction. After the financial crises and so on, many people expected that that there would be some systemic changes in the world economy. But even a crisis like that was not enough to transform it. Instead, we came to a situation where many piecemeal, experimental changes were taking place here and there, like the platform economy. At the same time, there's no clear sense of where we are going to. All that we can do is a kind of experimentation. It is difficult to predict anything. So when I took up the Max Planck job, I thought, it would be good to document these experiments.

And you're right, our current focus is different. How fast things have changed! We are not focusing on documenting cases of experimentation, but my basic diagnosis remains the same. The fundamental point is that we can't expect change from a top-down redesign of the world economy. The economy now is closely related to lifestyles. Platform companies are very much about social relations. They are really making money from social relations, capturing large sections of the population and changing how they feel and think. Affect and emotion have become important. Common concerns have become more complex than before, but also more important for social changes. My basic diagnosis remains the same, but the responses are different.

And I came up with the name more than two years ago, when I was still in Oxford. I was still thinking of a conventional style of research to record cases of experimentation. But now I'm moving more toward this kind of co-research, with more emphasis on intervention, speaking more directly to the people. But we'll keep the title – hopefully people won't read it that carefully [laughs].

Do you have any regional preferences?

That's a very interesting question. To be completely honest, I changed my perspective in this regard too. When I started two years ago, I was thinking, OK, I must be global and move away from China. I thought: "I'm a Chinese from China, and China is such a hot topic, so it's just not very interesting to stick to China." But then I changed my mind a bit after I had started building a team. I think we may take China as a focus. There are two reasons behind my change of mind.

Number one is that I realised that China really is a global puzzle, even for the Chinese themselves. What happens in China has direct global consequences. China is not just a case – it's a paradigm. Especially today, all the dramatic changes taking place demand close attention. Number two, common concerns are shared concerns, but the manifestations and people's feelings are always locally specific. If you want to do genuine co-research, you have to choose a particular public. You cannot engage in dialogue with a global public in a meaningful way. So this makes me think that China could be a kind of a laboratory, a starting point. So I see something in China and understand what it means in that context. Then we can have academic dialogue with scholars working in different regions, but I should not give up the base where my original ideas were incubated. I'm surprised myself that I've decided to become more China-focused. I was seriously thinking that I should resume working on India. That was our regional planning two years ago, and now I've changed my mind. Of course, there will be comparisons in research, but the focus should be sharp.

This does not mean the department will become a China studies unit. Our members are very global – and they have to be. We look for people who share our agenda, meaning that they feel there is a need for anthropological research led by common concerns, regardless of regional focus. But China may become a main source of questions, and a lab for testing some initial thought. We need go back to the classical anthropological virtue – commitment to a local society. If you are not committed to a local society, you can't even find out what common concerns they have. Anyone can go to any society to study climate change issues, and you can easily find evidence for what you are looking for. But that does not raise new questions, and it does not touch people's hearts and minds. Furthermore, we want to carry on a dialogue with the public, we want to see if our understanding is correct, what the public thinks of our interpretation. To do that, we do need local commitment.

Comparative studies will probably not be a main method. But we are actively promoting what we call inter-referencing. How is inter-referencing different from comparison? Comparison is looking at two or more discrete cases.

Inter-referencing means looking at a living condition in a local context, and thinking about it by referring to situations in other contexts. Comparison implies a position that is somehow above and beyond all specific cases. Inter-referencing means to be firmly grounded in one context, but analyze our observations in a boradly informed way. For instance, at departmental meetings we often discuss cases from our own research in different local contexts, but we are not doing it to find out how similar or different these cases are, rather we are interested in how your observation about case A will help me to deepen my understanding of case B. So it's constantly borrowing perspectives rather than just saying: "Oh this is a hierarchical pattern, and the other is a horizontal pattern…" So it's a locally grounded way of thinking. You stick to case A, I stick to case B, and neither of us are interested in elevating ourselves to a transcendental position of A+B. The inter-referencing method is what people use all the time in their lives. When a Czech colleague says "the German's organise university courses in this or that way…", you are not interested in making comparisons, you are trying to have deeper reflections on your own practices: What am I doing here? Am I doing the right thing? How could I do it differently?

What kind of theories will this anthropology of common concerns develop?

I must admit that I don't have a clear answer to that. We definitely want to develop theories. We want to describe life in a way that the public sees themselves in the picture, and sees how they can make changes. This picture is, of course, theory. What does this theory look like? I don't know. My hunch is that it may be a mix of philosophy, psychology, and political economy (which forms our foundation). Let me give you a quick example through my observation about excess competition in China. I hope this can give you a flavour of how theorisation will become part of our research practice: Young people in China feel like they're competing with each other all the time. And they find it tiring and meaningless. When you go to school, your focus is on outperforming others, rather than enjoying what you study. After completing high school, life in a college and in a company is also like that. Young people need a theory to make sense of why they're locked into a competition that they don't like and they don't want. Starting with their concern, I see something I understand as a contradiction – between fierce competition on an individual level, and the centralisation of resources and authority on a systemic level, a level that is completely anti-competition. In Chinese society, which domain is most competitive? It is not in commerce. In commerce people try to avoid competition. This is why everyone talks about "niche". To say the market is based on competition is already an ideology. Where do we find the worst or

most intense competition? Schools. Modern education is supposed to nurture every human being on an equal footing and to produce, in Ernst Gellner's words, inter-exchangeable citizenry as the basis of a modern nation-state. Right? Then school should be the least competitive and most equalising place of all. So how can we explain such hellish educational competition? I think this has something to do with systemic centralisation. Education has become so competitive because a single authority judges what is a good education and what is not. I suppose that it's the same in the Czech Republic. In China, all 1.4 billion people firmly believe that there are only two top universities. Now globally you have this hugely popular, unquestioned university league table. This is deeply contradictory. People in the US are talking about diversity all the time, but if you look at elite families' decisions about children's careers and education, it is extremely homogeneous. And this centralised power in determining how the education system should be organised makes the competition between individuals in the system extremely fierce. Everyone wants to be recognised by this single authority according to a single criteria. If more people come into the same game, then the more competitive it becomes. It is the problem of democracy without diversity.

So if we want to shake this condition, what should the starting point be? Should we somehow mitigate the power of this centralised authority? Should we encourage young people to develop new understandings about peer relations, about the nature of knowledge, of what "study" means? Or should we think of the inter-generational relations in the family, as parents both perpetuate as well as resent this pressure cooker style of education. We need "co-research" to hear their views. In this process, deeper theories may emerge. For instance, how are peer relations conditioned by institutional structures? Or how do young people judge their own value, or the value of others? And so on. You know, I said that one of the main challenges we face is that common concerns are so vague and so multifaceted, but this could be a good opportunity for theoretical innovation. As we can't use established language to capture reality, in a way we are forced to find new ways to describe the world.

What experiences led you to this approach?

I guess I have been driven by an accumulation of experiences over the years. I had a sense of alienation from academic research, and especially research after the 1990s when I came of age intellectually. I feel the same about both Chinese and English literature. I find many texts quite lifeless. I can see that a lot of anthropological accounts are meant to be impressive and touching, but they do not touch my soul, and I'm pretty sure that they don't touch the soul of the people described

in the articles either. Ordinary people are much more interested in business studies and psychology than in anthropology. And I ask, why is that? One reason could be a problematic guilt consciousness of the part of researchers. They always want to celebrate the agency of the people, and they see a virtue of anthropology as being that it makes sense of something that does not make sense to outsiders. Whatever appears absurd must have some good reasons behind it. But do people who live in these circumstances really need that? Of course people don't want to be seen as weird or incomprehensible, but is it a purpose of life to conclude that everything that happens does so for a reason and whatever one does is an exercise of agency? People want to change their own lives, they want to critique, and they are often fed up with their "weapons of the weak" way of exercising agency.

Because of this feeling of alienation, I started writing popular articles in Chinese and giving public interviews in Chinese media around 2014. I guess it started as an unconscious effort to compensate for my intellectual loneliness. I received so many responses from young people in China. I know that it's not really professional academic research, but these kinds of interactions make me think, and this kind of thinking really makes me feel happy and liberated. I am no longer just thinking through words, but am learning to think through feelings and imagination.

In China, any common concern is almost always a major political concern or issue at the same time. What possibilities are there for studying and discussing common concerns in China?

Well, any meaningful topic in China is sensitive now. In fact, common concerns are better than other topics – it's "safer" to discuss competition, pressure, or decisions about having children than discussing democracy. A new challenge in social research in China, as well as in many other countries, is the difficulty of producing evidence-based explanations. There are so many major changes happening that you may never be able to collect enough information to arrive at a conclusive, factual explanation. This is due to the lack of transparency in China, but even in countries like Germany, social life has become so complex and is changing so constantly that it's difficult to stabilise any phenomenon to identify what exactly has happened. Who can really pinpoint what led to the popularisation of the far right in Germany? Why are so many people indifferent to climate change, or opposed to COVID vaccination? In this situation, I believe that the common concerns approach can be valuable. For example, one of my latest articles is about the COVID lockdown in China. In the beginning, I just wanted to describe and analyse what went wrong. But I found that I just don't have enough information to allow me to draw any conclusions. But I see one thing

very clearly, which is a widespread feeling of absurdity amongst the population. We don't know what precisely caused the absurdity, but we do know that it is absurd, and we know how this sense of absurdity has affected people's views of the government and about life. Common concerns thus become a good entry point to engage with reality, no matter how elusive the reality appears to be. People can't wait until everything is settled in order to gather information and make sense of what happened – they are living through all the uncertainties and have to make decisions now. By understanding the immediate milieu in which they find themselves, by documenting and analysing what they found particularly absurd and why, I think we may provide some partial tools that will be useful in leading toward a meaningful life in an absurd time.[2]

What type of anthropological research will suit the needs of the 21st century?

Obviously I can't speak for the discipline. If you want to know what concerns me the most at the moment, my question is this: How does a small person live through big changes? These changes are huge, they directly impact on the lives of small people, and they are unpredictable or even appear incomprehensible to many. Just think of China, or the war by Russia in Ukraine, or the US, where we don't know what will happen in the next election. Ordinary people feel like they don't have any influence on these changes. So the concern for many people is: "How can I live an ethical and meaningful life in a time like this?" Of course, human history is full of dramatic changes, but people's education levels, communications technologies, desires, and what makes them happy are very different. The meaning of meaning is different from before.

Another question that concerns me is more technical. That is, how can we bring political economy, affect, and ethics together in understanding some of the pressing issues we face today? How do people assess their own actions, and assess others' values and actions, and how do these affect decision making? I want to bring these different aspects together, but my focus is always political economy. My goal is to understand how power relations work, how material resources are organised, distributed, and how these structural conditions shape people's feelings, and affect people's ways of judging what is good, and what is worth living. Such a picture shows readers where they are in the situation that they feel is determining their lives. Once they see where they are in the big picture,

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2 One month after the interview, protests against government COVID lockdown measures broke out across China at the end of November 2022. It is evident that the sense of absurdity was a direct cause of the protests.

and how different things are related to what they think and how they feel, they may think, OK, we can and should change ourselves a bit, take some action, or do certain things differently to change the situation.

You've presented the outlook for the coming years by mainly looking at your own projects. What about other projects in the department? Do you see room for collective discussion there?

There are some common topics. Mobility is one, but that's not something that binds us together. Topics change from time to time. But the main thing that really brings the department together is the sense of mission. You know, we do not intend to merely do academic research – rather, we want to have some impact. A mission cannot be abstract, a mission is what you can do now. To start, we should have a good understanding about the moment: What kind of conditions are we living in now? What are the main problems that we can realistically analyse? And what are feasible strategies for intervention? An important feature of the current moment is that the public, especially youth, are hungry for analyses that will help them understand a life in flux – and we anthropologsts are not good at meeting these demands. The infrastructure for us anthropologists doing so is there. So we should see our informants as creators of their own history and their own lives. We must understand how they see their problems in life, what kind of things they are struggling with, and how they try to solve those issues. In this process, some of them will become what we call victims, some may become criminals, and others will become everyday heroes. This kind of approach should bring the department together much more effectively than common topics. We do not have commonalities at the empirical level in an immediately visible way, rather we try to ask bigger and deeper questions in order to have interesting conversations. Perhaps this is part of "theory building".

I can give a couple of examples of our departmental meetings. At the last meeting, we came up with the question of "timeliness", based on all kinds of different cases. Why timeliness? We found that for many of our informants, who are very different from each other, doing the right thing at the right time is critical. Young people say: "I try what I can, but I know I cannot live a comfortable life like my parents." Why? "My parents bought this small flat 20 years ago. Now it's five times more expensive. But now, no matter how hard I work, I just cannot break into the property market. They simply bought it at the right time." This creates a sense of arbitrariness and of powerlessness, because you feel that planning or effort are pointless. We discussed the political economic causes of the arbitrary timeliness in shaping one's life, why people often actively participate in the game of timeliness, and finally what the consequences can be. That was one example.

Other questions emerging from our discussion include pressure, brutality, alienation, loneliness, and recognition. And we came up with an idea that a common problem for many young people is a kind of "speechlessness". This sounds strange as they are very active in social media. What we mean is that they want to reject many things as at odds with their values, but they can't critique them precisely. That is not because of political censorship. But rather because they feel like many things that they find unreasonable appear to be totally legitimate. For instance, pressure is basically about being forced to do something you are not happy with, but it is something that you cannot rebel against. That's why pressure can be so damaging. One of the reasons for the inability to rebel and to critique is, ironically, information overload and communication overcapacity. There is just too much information and too many opinions. This makes us realise that we should invest more in communication studies.

So this is how we hold the daily conversations in the department. For me, building a department is building a style of conversation, a shared style of thinking. This sometimes appears as a matter of taste: a sense of what kinds of questions are interesting, what is worth thinking about, or things that appear to be striking but have limited analytical value. We try to meet on the same page regarding these types of assessments. I know this all looks and sounds vague. It might be better if I could say, my department works on energy transition, or on demographic transformation and family change. Then the topic is self-explanatory and obviously important. But that is not what we do. We want to force ourselves to reach for something deeper and more subtle, something like the entangled contradictions in life. I hope our efforts at the department will serve as a kind of catalyst to generate more global discussion.

Thank you very much for your answers and for your time. We wish you the best of luck, and hope that your answers will be as inspiring to Cargo readers as they were to us.

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Zdánlivá nepolapitelnost vícedruhových světů

Lukáš Senft

Svět je spolutvořen houbami. Bez houbových organismů by nejspíše nebyla možná evoluce samotné biosféry; řada rostlin by nemohla existovat, protože jim nezbytné látky dodávají právě houby, za něž rostliny posílají substance potřebné naopak pro růst hub. Živočichové, včetně lidí, by přišli o řadu potravinových zdrojů nebýt působení hub v půdě; lesní ekosystémy by postrádaly živiny a energetické zdroje, pokud by dřevokazné houby nerozkládaly biomasu. Bylo by možné pokračovat ve výčtu aktivit, jimiž houby tvoří a rozkládají svět (Sheldrake 2020: 228), ovšem teprve v nedávné době začaly houby figurovat nejenom jako spolutvůrci „přírodní" sféry a začaly být zviditelňovány rovněž jako aktéři podílející se na konstituování sociálních praktik.

Antropoložka Anna L. Tsing učinila z hub součást sociálně-vědní analýzy prostřednictvím své vlivné monografie *The Mushroom at the End of the World* (2015). Tsing zkoumá globální tržní systém prostřednictvím etnografie konkrétního procesu, na jehož počátcích jsou sběrači čirůvek větších (Tricholoma matsutake), které často rostou v lidmi značně ovlivněných ekosystémech. Tsing sleduje provázané činnosti, skrze něž jsou houby transformovány v cenný kulinářský produkt. Kromě analýzy toho, jak houby (a jejich sběrači) spolutvoří globální potravinářské ekonomiky, vnesla Tsing touto knihou výrazný impuls do debaty o Antropocénu: čirůvky větší nerostou v lesních ekosystémech *navzdory* tomu, že jsou tyto krajiny zasaženy lidskou činností, ale také *díky* specifickým lidským zásahům. Daná monografie je jedním z výstupů činnosti výzkumné skupiny (Choy et al. 2009), která dlouhodobě zkoumá, na jakých činnostech a ekologiích se podílí lidé, čirůvky a související ekosystémy. Výzkumy „Matsutake Worlds

Research Group" (MWRG) tematizují soužívání lidí a čiřůvek větších v rámci globálních ekologických změn a experimentují s možnostmi sociálně-vědní analýzy této problematiky. V roce 2021 vydala tato výzkumná skupina další publikaci, a sice sborník studií pod názvem *Matsutake Worlds*, které editorsky zpracovali Lieba Faier a Michael J. Hathaway.

Sborník se soustředí na čiřůvky větší jakožto kulinářsky a gurmánsky ceněnou komoditu, která se především v Japonsku, Číně a Koreji podílí nejenom na potravinářské produkci, ale je součástí populární kultury, laboratorního výzkumu i ontologických spekulací. Také s ohledem na to, že čiřůvky dokáží prosperovat díky lidským zásahům do ekosystémů, které by pro řadu dalších organismů mohly být problematické, vztah těchto hub a lidských kolektivů není jednoznačný. Jedná se o vzájemně se konstituující vazbu: čiřůvkám se daří díky přítomnosti lidí v krajině, lidé do krajiny vyráží také kvůli čiřůvkám. Hannah Landecker ve své předmluvě přímo upozorňuje, že čiřůvky nejsou „přírodním objektem", který by se občasně zapojoval do lidské sociality – čiřůvky jsou spíše *událostí, která má ve své evoluční minulosti mnohonásobně vložené lidské elementy"* (ix). Landecker tedy ve svém úvodním textu konceptualizuje houby a člověka důsledně symetricky, když zdůrazňuje, že čiřůvky existují do určité míry *„v antropogenní formě, a tedy lidé existují do určité míry v mykogenní formě"* (x). Vzájemná provázanost lidsko-houbových těl a kolektivů je v mnoha ohledech doslovná a materiální. Landecker mimo jiné zmiňuje aminokyselinu zvanou ergotionein, kterou lidský organismus potřebuje, ale současné průmyslové zemědělství je založeno na potravinách, které tuto aminokyselinu neposkytují v dostatečném množství. Vyskytuje se nicméně právě v houbách, přičemž jedním ze způsobů komodifikace čiřůvek větších je výroba krému obsahujícího právě ergotionein.

Landecker zmiňuje konkrétní příklady mezidruhových propojení, aby podložila svou tezi týkající se metodologie vícedruhové etnografie: *„musíme vstoupit do lidského těla, abychom mohli sledovat mimolidské činitele"* (x). Připravuje tak pole pro studie obsažené ve sborníku, které vychází z metod vícedruhové etnografie, z nového materialismu a teorie aktérů-sítí, ale především důsledně dokládají, že (a jak) se mimo-lidští činitelé plnohodnotně podílí na utváření sociality, ekonomie, senzuality a mezidruhové ontologie. Sborník ukazuje, jak jsou utvářeny různorodé biosociální světy, přičemž se na tomto kreativním procesu podílí houby, jejich vůně a materialita, mezidruhová senzualita, ekonomické i výzkumné aktivity.

Lieba Faier ve své úvodní studii vytyčuje výzkumné a konceptuální trajektorie knihy. Jedním ze zaměření jsou transnacionální propojení, kterých se houby účastní a které samy prostředkují. Z tohoto zájmu vychází otázka, jaké vědění může výzkum kosmopolitního pohybu hub poskytnout o *„dynamice vícedruhového*

světa" (1). Mezidruhová setkání jsou zde pojata jakožto konstituující události pro transnacionální procesy. Faier následně zdůrazňuje tři linie, které jsou napříč studiemi rozvíjeny a navzájem se doplňují.

Zaprvé, společným zájmem výzkumné skupiny je aspekt čirůvek, který označují jako eluzivnost (elusiveness), tedy „prchavost" či „nepolapitelnost". Nejedná se o jakousi inherentní a mystickou vlastnost, ale spíše o označení nemožnosti přímého *překladu* mezi dvěma odlišnými entitami (2), dvěma odlišnými způsoby existence, které se nicméně dostaly do kontaktu – konkrétně to znamená „prchavost", která nastává, pokud se lidé pokouší beze zbytku zachytit (či „polapit") čirůvky se všemi jejich efemérními vlastnostmi (těžko artikulovatelná chuť a vůně, místo výskytu, patří sem ale také vzpírání se domestikaci).

Zadruhé, růst čirůvek závisí na jejich vztahu se stromy a dalšími organismy ekosystémů. Tyto houby lze tedy jen těžko izolovat (materiálně i konceptuálně) od vztahové sítě, jejímž prostřednictvím tyto houby existují. Někteří japonští přírodovědci proto mluví o čirůvkách jako o „události" spíše než jako o „objektech". Tato ontologie hub, kterou lze konceptualizovat spíše jako dění či událost a kterého se účastní spektrum spolutvůrců, je rozvíjena napříč sborníkem. Jedná se o „výzvu" západní metafyzice (především newtonovsko-karteziánské ontologii) a o polemiku s ní, a to z antropologických pozic.

Zatřetí, pokud je pozornost přesunuta z izolovaných objektů na vícedruhové koordináty, skrze něž jsou vytvářeny rozličné biosociální světy, pak je specificky pojata i role vědy jakožto sociální praxe. MWRG spolupracují s přírodovědci i poučenými laiky nejenom proto, aby od nich převzali informace o houbách, ale především přistupují k expertům jako k těm, kdo *překládají* napříč druhovými hranicemi, napříč těmi praxemi, které utváří diverzitu světů a vícedruhových ekologií. Věda zde tedy není pojímána jako „západní ideologie", ale jako jedna z překladatelských praxí. To umožnilo výzkumné skupině opustit model „dvou světů", který rozděluje produkce vědění na „západní vědu" a „domorodé vědomosti". Tyto výzkumné trajektorie vymezují geografické a konceptuální rozkročení knihy.

Faier rozvíjí své teze v první studii sborníku nazvané *Euphoric Anomaly*. Zaměřuje se na eluzivnost čirůvek, která je způsobena tím, že tyto houby jsou produkovány komplexními ekosystémy, jež jsou mimo lidskou kontrolu. Zároveň je tato nepolapitelnost vlastností, která byla čirůvkám jakožto komoditě připsána prostřednictvím kulturních a geografických procesů. Změny po 2. světové válce totiž proměnily mezidruhové vztahy, které dříve umožňovaly bohatou úrodu čirůvek. Tyto houby byly postupně určeny jako vzácné a nedostupné, což navýšilo jejich tržní cenu. Díky tomu se cena těchto hub nesnižuje ani v případě, že je jejich úroda skutečně hojná. V takovém případě je tato hojnost vysvětlena jako

anomálie – a čirůvky si i nadále mohou udržet svou cennost jakožto vzácné a nepolapitelné plodiny. Nicméně, díky takovým „anomáliím" mohou příležitostně i „běžní" lidé okusit houby, které jsou spojovány s elitním statusem. Toto propojení elitního a běžného je umožněno výsledkem mezidruhových vztahů, které jsou mimo lidskou kontrolu a které způsobují hojnost i nedostatkovost těchto hub, a zároveň tedy i jejich status „nepolapitelnosti".

Nepolapitelnost samotných ekosystémů, jichž jsou čirůvky součástí a na jejichž tvorbě se podílí, popisují Anna L. Tsing a Elaine Gan v textu *How Things Hold: A Diagram of Coordination in a Satoyama Forest*. Zkoumají v něm, jak „věci drží pohromadě", tedy jak jsou koordinovány vazby v rámci ekosystémů, které produkují asambláže lidských a mimolidských činitelů. Navazují zde na koncept Anny L. Tsing „*neúmyslný design*" (unintentional design), kterým popisuje dynamiku vytváření více-než-lidské krajiny (Tsing 2015): design krajiny je výsledkem situovaných a neplánovaných (a „nepolapitelných") propojení a rozpojení, nejedná se o centrálně kontrolovaný proces, ale ani o proces, v němž by zcela absentovalo rozhodování a spolupráce. Podobně i v tomto textu je popisována produkce ekosystémů skrze koordinaci různých organismů a objektů, během níž záleží na temporalitě a načasování, ale která nepodléhá „shora" nařízené disciplinaci a kontrole.

Micheal J. Hathaway se ve svém textu *Elusive Fungus: Forms of Attraction in Multispecies World Making* pokouší konkrétními daty prokázat, že nepolapitelnost a neuchopitelnost hub není jejich *esenciální* vlastností. Jedná se spíše o důsledek specifičnosti lidské percepce, jejích limitů a situovanosti: „*To, co je nepolapitelné pro lidi, se může zdát celkem dostupné pro jiné organismy*" (38). Hathaway ukazuje, jakým způsobem houby nejenom komunikují s dalšími organismy, ale také to, že houby aktivně interpretují svět okolo sebe. Uvádí lanýže jako příklad hub, které spoléhají na pachovou komunikaci, jejíž dynamika je lidem nepřístupná. Lanýže vydávají vůně, které mají vícero funkcí: mají přilákat spřízněné druhy, odlákat predátory, zajistit příchod zvířete, které lanýže požre, a díky tomu roznese spóry. Některé druhy lanýžů se spoléhají téměř výhradně na jeden organismus – některé lanýže se „specializují" na vábení létajících veverek (vydávají vůni, která připomíná veverčí feromony), jiné se rozmnožují pomocí brouka *Leiodes cinnamomea*, přičemž ale pouze samice tohoto druhu jsou schopny cítit vůni lanýžů (tato komunikace mezi houbami a brouky je tedy genderově rozlišená, upozorňuje Hathaway (46). U hub se ovšem nejedná o jakýsi automatismus, ale o výsledek jejich vlastní interpretace okolního světa. Pokud totiž nastane útok hmyzu, jsou některé houby schopny rozpoznat, o jaký typ hmyzu se jedná, a následně vyšlou chemický signál, který přiláká predátora daného hmyzu. Nejenom tedy, že houba rozpozná útočníka, ale dokáže zavolat na pomoc i konkrétní hmyz či živočicha,

který si na útočníkovi může pochutnat. Tím, že Hathaway zkoumá houby jako sémiotické bytosti (48), pokouší se přispět k porozumění tomu, jak se uskutečňuje „*vytváření vícedruhového světa*" (49).

Miyako Inoue v textu *Matsutake, So Aromatic in Its Absence* se zaměřuje na jeden konkrétní senzuální aspekt čirůvek: na nepolapitelnost jejich vůně. Aroma, které je nesnadno popsatelné lidským jazykem, je vlastností, která vytváří charisma těchto hub, a to nejenom v kulinářské sféře – vzpomínky na aroma čirůvek i na jejich dřívější hojnost se podílí na utváření národní identity (a její minulosti). Na vůni a hojnost čirůvek se především vzpomíná, jako by čirůvky vždy absentovaly. Přestože se jedná o potravinu kulturně spojovanou s Japonskem, většina čirůvek se nyní do Japonska importuje (19). Inoue dokládá toto absentování řadou etnografických vinět: připomíná instantní polévku z čirůvek produkovanou od 60. let 20. století, která byla pro řadu lidí první příležitostí, jak se seznámit s vůní těžko dostupných čirůvek; zmiňuje také tradici dopisů, v nichž si lidé posílali nejenom samotné psaní, ale přikládali rovněž – jakožto dar – bankovky a čirůvky, přičemž bankovky načichly houbovou vůní. Obtížná artikulovatelnost olfaktorických vjemů a zároveň nostalgické vzpomínky na vůni hub – tyto prchavé zkušenosti s absentujícím objektem, který je výrazným národním symbolem, jsou součástí nacionální identity. Studie Inoue je tak pokusem zkoumat utváření imaginárního společenství prostřednictvím čichu.

Unikavosti čichových signálů se věnuje i Timothy Choy, ovšem s důrazem na způsoby, jimiž se lidé pokouší „nepolapitelnost" čirůvek redukovat. V textu *Tending to Suspension: Abstraction and Apparatuses of Atmospheric Attunement in Matsutake Worlds* zmiňuje tři přístupy, kterými se lidé snaží separovat určité aspekty čirůvek, a tím snížit jejich nepolapitelnost: zmiňuje skupinu výzkumníků, kteří pomocí chromatografu separují jednotlivé složky vůně čirůvek a zároveň trénují svůj vlastní čich k analýze aromatu. Podobný přístup volí lidé, kteří ovšem cvičí své psy k vyhledávání čirůvek; a jako poslední metodu zmiňuje Choy zachytávání spór hub na lepivé desky, případně do tekutiny, nad níž jsou houby zavěšeny, přičemž sčítání výtrusů může poskytnout lepší přehled například o tom, kolik spór jednotlivá houba vlastně vypouští, případně jakým směrem a do jaké vzdálenosti. Soustředí se tak na *praktiky*, které zpomalují a redukují, a tedy činí zřejmějšími, zdánlivé abstrakce (například právě aroma hub).

Shiho Satsuka se v textu *Sensing Multispecies Entanglements: Koto as an ‚Ontology' of Living* zaměřuje na skupinu občanů, kteří se pokouší revitalizovat lesní ekosystém, a na studenta, který v rámci doktorského studia zkoumá mykorhizní biomasu. Tato výzkumná pole spojuje specifický přístup k houbám a dalším lesním organismům – zmínění účastníci výzkumu s nimi nezachází jako s izolovanými objekty, ale přistupují k nim jako k propojenému celku. Satsuka si

vypůjčuje koncept „*koto*" vypracovaný psychiatrem a filosofem Binem Kimurou. Ten se vymezuje vůči tomu, že moderní věda konceptualizuje svět jako univerzální a homogenní prostor zaplněný objekty, které lidé rozdělují do separátních jednotek – tyto objekty existují v jedné konkrétní prostorové souřadnici, v níž jsou lidmi pozorovány. Tomuto přístupu říká Kimura „*mono*". Koncept *koto* („události") pracuje s předpokladem, že události se mohou odehrávat simultánně, a navíc nemusí být vnímány člověkem. Příkladem jsou děje v našem těle, které se uskutečňují mnohdy současně a na vícero místech, aniž bychom si tyto pochody uvědomovali. Poznáme často až výsledek těchto dění, například ve změně nálady nebo v projevu bolesti. Tyto události jsou nepolapitelné jakožto *koto* (92) – jakmile je lidské vědomí zkusí polapit, zvění se do podoby *mono*, tedy do separátního objektu, který obývá singulární místo v časoprostoru. Tyto neurčitelné události „*unikají modernistické touze po zachycení (objektů) v prostorovém reprezentačním schématu*" (92).

Koto se přesto podílí na utváření světa, který jsme schopni kategorizovat. Skupina dobrovolníků i student zkoumající mykorhizní biomasu pak pro Satsuku představují přístup, který kultivuje citlivost vůči *koto*, událostem, které nemůžeme napřímo zachytit kognitivním a pojmovým aparátem, ale přesto konstituují naši přítomnost – lesní organismy jsou mnohdy výsledkem i součástí takových událostí. Pokud se tedy zmíněný student nesoustředí na konkrétní makromycéty (tedy plodnice hub vyrůstající z půdy), ale snaží se spíše pojmout komplexitu podzemní kořenové mnohosti, kalibruje tím svou schopnost zohledňovat mimolidské *koto*. Nakonec Satsuka zmiňuje studenty, kteří díky kultivované citlivosti umí intuitivně „vycítit", že v lese okolo nich rostou houby, aniž by je viděli nebo zachytili jejich vůni. Satsuka touto studií mimo jiné zpochybňuje dichotomie mezi „*animistickými' a ,vědeckými', ,tradičními' a ,moderními' systémy vědění*" (105). Právě nepolapitelnost čirůvek ve smyslu vzpírání se konceptuálnímu uchopení, a tedy generující přemýšlení mimo zavedené pojmové kategorie, vyzdvihuje také Eduardo Kohn ve svém doslovu (157).

Kniha nabízí výsledek dlouhodobé týmové spolupráce, přičemž důsledná znalost terénu, interdisciplinární přehled a víceletý sběr dat vytváří hutný etnografický podklad pro sociálně-vědní analýzu. Rád bych nicméně nabídl polemiku s celkovým konceptuálním rámcem knihy, tedy se zaměřením na různé modality eluzivního aspektu čirůvek. Důraz na nepolapitelnost hub generuje řadu antropologicky podnětných momentů především tehdy, když se autoři a autorky zaměřují na praktiky, které eluzivnost redukují, respektive tlumočí existenci mimolidských organismů. Ovšem na některých místech vyvstává otázka, zda je termín eluzivnosti vhodný jako ústřední koncept, kterým jsou rámovány všechny studie, a to ze tří důvodů.

Zaprvé, některé studie koncept eluzivnosti příliš nerozvádí, spíše variují tvrzení, že čirůvky nejsou samy o sobě nepolapitelné, spíše unikají západním způsobům poznání, případně lidské senzualitě. Kupříkladu Hathaway ve svém textu zmiňuje, že unikavost určitého subjektu vzniká tehdy, pokud je k němu něco dalšího přitahováno. To je jistě pravda. Jenže následující (a fascinující) přehled o mezidruhových signálech přesouvají pozornost spíše na rozličné mimolidské vztahy existující za hranicemi lidského vnímání. Dozvíme se tak mnoho o vyjednávání těchto vztahů, ale téma eluzivnosti je vlastně nerozvedeno a zůstává u tvrzení, že lidé takové vztahy zkrátka nemohou vnímat svými smysly. Vzniká tak dojem, že úvodní tvrzení o souvislosti přitažlivosti a eluzivnosti je spíše jednorázovou deklamací, která má text navázat na celkový rámec knihy. Navíc mimolidské vazby jsou Hathawayem často dokazovány nikoli na čirůvkách, ale na jiných druzích hub, především na lanýžích. Hathawayovo sledování vztahů, kterých se lidé nemohou přímo účastnit, by si zasloužilo spíše navázání na sociálně-vědní debaty o tom, jak tyto mimolidské vazby zohlednit v lidských managementech ekosystémů (např. Lorimer, 2020), na jakých technologiích závisí translace mimolidských komunikací, a tedy také například na výzkum toho, jak se uskutečňuje Antropocén za limity lidského vnímání a konání (Kirksey 2019).

Zadruhé, nebylo by možné prohlásit za – do určité míry – eluzivní řadu dalších organismů a entit, jejichž vazby a komunikace mnohdy unikají lidskému vnímání a je zapotřebí určitý typ zprostředkování, aby byly lidem dostupné? Jako eluzivní by bylo velmi snadné označit třeba soužívání různých druhů hmyzu (Kirksey 2019), chemické signály rostlin upozorňující na přítomnost predátora (Adler 2011) nebo strukturu DNA a její utváření (Kirksey 2020, Latour 1988). Jsou tedy limity lidského poznání a senzuality skutečně tím, co konstituuje specifičnost čirůvek? Jako antropologicky relevantní se nakonec jeví spíše praktiky, které se vyrovnávají se *zdánlivou* nepolapitelností čirůvek (správně kalibrované přístroje, smysly, intuice), a právě na tyto praxe se autoři a autorky skutečně nejvíce soustředí, což souvisí s mým posledním polemickým postřehem.

Zatřetí, pokud je úvodu deklarovaná snaha polemizovat s novověkou západní metafyzikou, pak vyvstává otázka, zda je touto „výzvou“ právě tvrzení o enigmatičnosti mimolidských entit. Nepřekonatelná jinakost mimolidských aktérů je jedním z předpokladů, vůči nimž se vícedruhová etnografie snažila od svých počátků vymezit (viz např. kritické postřehy Donny Haraway vůči Derridově neschopnosti překročit „jinakost“, skrze níž pojímal i svou vlastní kočku, Haraway 2008: 23). Podnětnější se tedy zdají spíše konkrétní praktiky, které pomáhají překonávat zdánlivou nepolapitelnost. Výzvou pro tradiční metafyziku jsou například praxe vycházející z principu *koto* a vztahující se k houbám a dalším organismům lesních ekosystémů jako k *události*, k propojenému celku, který je

spíše děním než izolovaným a inertním objektem v newtonovsky definované topologii. Způsoby, jakými jsou smysly, intuice či racionalita kalibrovány k pojímání ekosystémů jakožto *koto*, by si zasloužily detailnější analýzu a mohly by poskytnout provokativnější konceptuální rámec pro celou knihu.

Domnívám se tedy, že jednotlivé studie nabízí podnětnější etnografická data a antropologické analýzy než celkové konceptuální rámování. Jednotlivé texty jsou cennými příspěvky k sociálně-vědním diskuzím o ontologiích, které překračují newtonovsko-karteziánskou metafyziku; rozšiřují rovněž zkoumání toho, jak jsou více-než-lidské vazby utvářeny senzualitou; a v neposlední řadě prohlubují poznání o nezápadních produkcích vědění, přičemž se autorům a autorkám daří udržovat symetrický přístup, tedy nesklouzávat k pojímání „nevědeckých" praktik jako „domorodých" znalostí – místo toho věnují výzkumnou pozornost diverzitě způsobů, kterými jsou překládány mezidruhové způsoby existence. Kniha tak možná v určitém smyslu tlumočí zkušenost se sběrem čirůvek: za zdánlivou nepolapitelností (konceptuálního rámce) se skrývají zcela konkrétní a přesvědčivé příspěvky k lidskému hledání a zkoumání míst, v nichž se vytváří vícedruhové světy.

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Forgotten Anthropological Ancestor

Marcin Brocki

Bošković, Aleksandar. 2021. *William Robertson Smith*. New York – Oxford: Berghahn Books. 120 pp. ISBN: 978-1-80073-157-8.

The book is one of an excellent series, Anthropology's Ancestors, introducing figures whose works formed the foundations of anthropological knowledge. In this case, the work is dedicated to a person who, in many of the key textbooks on the history of our discipline, is treated marginally or omitted altogether, although, as the author shows, his contribution to the development of the study of ritual, myth, and religion was immense.

In the beginning, we are given a detailed biography of William Robertson Smith that shows the foundation of his intellectual formation shaped by his family and subsequent studies. But we get not only a detailed scientific biography of Smith himself but an excellent lecture on the history of ethnology and anthropology in the second half of the 19th century.

Interestingly, during the triumphs of cabinet anthropology, of which Smith's friend James Frazer was perhaps the best-known representative, Smith with his surveys of the Middle East appears almost like a field researcher. His first-hand knowledge of the studied area, with his excellent command of the Arab and Hebrew languages, sets him apart from anthropologists of the second half of the nineteenth century. Thus, alongside a presentation of Smith's scholarly achievements in the study of kinship, myth, and ritual, we have an insight into his scholarly travels through which he had the opportunity to build and revise his views of the Arab world. The gem of the book is the story of Smith's seminal research trip to the Hijaz, which is complemented by Smith's excellent defence against Edward Said's, presentist, absurd attack. The book shows that the research issues Smith addressed were discussed by other great evolutionists. Thus, he referred to questions of kinship, the origins of religion, the role of myths, rituals, totemism or sacrifice, in some cases following scholars already endowed with authority, in Smith's case, such a researcher was certainly J. F. McLennan

and his theory of totemism, at other times presenting a position different from the dominant one of the time, e.g., on the primacy of ritual and myth. Smith believed that ritual was primary to myth, the opposite of, for example, Andrew Lang, and, as we learn from the monograph, by the implications of this claim for the study of totemism, it was at best ignored by scholars addressing the issue later.

The author shows why, as with other evolutionists, at the heart of Smith's comparative method is the theory of "survivals", but at the same time, he points out why the "survivals" theory had to be discarded. Here the author aims at Margit Warburg's argument (p. 57) that only the right assumption guarantees the correctness of the method. Still, the same argument was expressed much earlier and more strongly in the introductory chapter of C. Levi-Strauss's "Structural Anthropology".

Although the contextual presentation of Smith's scientific output is carried out almost exemplarily, the book also has, in my opinion, one weaker point. There is a section whose presence somewhat disrupts the narrative structure. I am referring to Chapter 5, which deals with the concept of myth itself, considered here in isolation from the theories developed by Smith. This part of the work could constitute a separate short article without which Smith's monograph could have done without compromising the essential lecture. The next chapter deals with anthropological theories of myth, and here we find few references to Smith's work, although the placement of this chapter seems much more justified than the previous one. However, it would have been worth highlighting whether or not certain ideas were taken directly from Smith by subsequent scholars – this was missing.

The following chapters show the real impact of Robertson Smith's ideas on myth scholars or biblical scholars (with particular reference to the less-known Scandinavian tradition of biblical studies). Thus. the problem from the previous two chapters disappears. What's more, the reader can learn that the idea of religion as a social institution came precisely from Smith and, as we know, predated Durkheim's findings on the subject.

The work concludes with an impressive display of the genealogy of generations of anthropologists whose work is founded on the achievements of earlier generations. It is an excellent closure to the scientific biography of one of the founders of anthropological discourse, somewhat forgotten now but still worth rediscovering.

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Medicine Game

Christian Köhler-Warmbrunn

Livia Šavelková, Tomáš Petráň, and Milan Durňák. 2014. *Lacrosse – It's a Way of Life*. Cinepoint Ethnographic Film, 2014, 62min, English/Czech.

Šavelková, Petráň and Durňák have successfully produced a charming ethnographic film about multiple cultural layers in the yet not very known globalized sports of box and field lacrosse. By featuring bodily practices as a "Medicine game", a "sports" activity and an intercultural encounter, the film opens ways of reflection on the significance of bodily practice and the connected (mutual) exoticization of practitioners.

By showing the Iroquois Nationals men's team's first visit to the Czech Republic during the 2011 World Indoor Lacrosse Championship, the film focuses on the political and spiritual aspects of the game in the interviews and examines various aspects of competition and sport in-game scenes. By introducing key figures of the Czech lacrosse development, it reconstructs a short history of lacrosse in their country and provides background information on the contact between Native Americans and the Czechs during the times of closed borders. It also extends to the scouts and woodcraft movements of the 1970s, which influenced the development of lacrosse in its various forms. By this, the authors offer explanations of the current formation of lacrosse in the Czech Republic and Europe.

The film provides a differentiated spectrum of conceptions of lacrosse to avoid stereotypization of the exotic other, respectively, the noble savage or the post-socialist Czech. One can observe the film crew's culturally sensitive approach by focusing on self-images, the process of cultural encounter of specific teams and highlighting respective mutual gestures. In a setting of formerly stark stereotypical images, state censorship and the constant evolution of lacrosse, this seems to be especially necessary. The film's interviews indicate the development of international lacrosse as a process of translation of a local ritual to a global practice, as one could summarize by the words sportification and institutionalization. Those

come along with shifts in meaning, practice, and social organization from which not all actors connected to lacrosse may profit equally.

To walk the fine line of adequate representation, the English-Czech subtitles are put with accuracy and caution in order to avoid misinterpretation. Though they sometimes tend to distract the viewer from the film's imagery, the speakers' original words also provide the lay viewer of lacrosse with necessary framing information.

The film furthermore subtly hints at the longing for the sovereignty of the Native American team, which travels on their "own" passports, making it not only a contribution to the methodology of representation in the ethnographic film but also a globalized sports culture with an inner logic of national representation. The concept of an international championship affirms the existence of nations and provides the opportunity for expressing ideas of belonging. The film respectfully draws on the emotions of the athletes involved, who are moved by the "honour" of being the ambassadors of "their people".

The informed (sports) anthropologist may use this work as a valuable case study of sportification, the "deeper level" of "spiritual" or national identity through sporting practice, as well as the multifaceted individual benefits of sport games. This ubiquitous topic finds a very appealing tone in "playing with a good mind" without overstretching it. Šavelková and her team tell an interesting story about the history and contemporary practice of lacrosse simultaneously for both sides of a cultural encounter driven by this sport. They succeed in assigning a multi-levelled meaning to the development of "bumping hips", what the Haudenosaunee word for lacrosse literally means, in a rapidly growing global sporting activity for those who "have been [playing] for 200 years" as well as those who have played for "only 30" years.

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Indispensable: Twelve Chapters on Western Anthropology

Petr Skalník

Alan Barnard, History and Theory in Anthropology. 2nd edition.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2022, xii+279 p.

This second edition of now classical textbook (1st edition, 2000) comes out after the English original was translated into at least 13 languages, including Polish, Albanian, Chinese, Vietnamese and even Kazakh (but not Czech or Russian!). The author, who recently passed away, is an experienced stylist, with decades of teaching anthropology and African studies at the undergraduate and graduate levels. Barnard, Emeritus Professor of the Anthropology of Southern Africa at the University of Edinburgh, was trained both in American cultural anthropology and British social anthropology. His usage of "anthropology" suggests that he mostly discusses Anglo-American anthropology and not so much anthropologies in their global meaning. The book title could also read history of theory as it tackles the development of anthropology in its theoretical dimension. It is comprised of 14 chapters that except for the introductory and concluding ones reflect the stages in the formation of the theoretical precepts.

At the outset in Chapter One he tries, along with a characterisation of these two disciplines, to explain the variety of continental visions of ethnology, Völkerkunde, Volkskunde, etc. but considers this plethora of disciplinary denominations a 'confusion' (p. 3). Therefore perhaps, he limits himself to Anglo-American anthropology. His approach is historical, i.e., anthropological theories are presented in time sequence as they emerged, but his ultimate goal is not history as such but an understanding of the changing theories.

Chapter Two deals with the precursors of the anthropological tradition. Barnard admits that while sociology has a clear pedigree, anthropology's origins are not traceable unambiguously. What is important is to admit that there was

no ethnography while various theories of human origins existed in the 17th–18th centuries. The precursors of modern anthropology were people such as Grotius, Hobbes and Locke in the 17th century, and Rousseau in the 18th. Barnard first pays special attention to the definitions of humanity including feral children, Orang Outangs and noble savages. The sociological tradition which also emerged in the 18th century was brought about by Montesquieu and his *Lettres persanes* and *De l'esprit des lois*. According to Radcliffe-Brown it was Montesquieu who was the founder of the social sciences rather than Rousseau, nominated for this honour by Lévi-Strauss. Barnard stresses that Auguste Comte established sociology in the 19th century but anthropology and ethnology as denominations of disciplines preceded him. He briefly explains the debates about polygenesis and monogenesis of humanity. Ironically, anthropologists inclined to polygenesis while ethnologists preferred monogenesis.

Chapter Three of the book brings in evolution which dominated both the biology and anthropology of the 19th century. The Darwinian approach, beside its refutation of Christian orthodoxy, gave preference to unilinear evolution. That was then followed by nineteen century anthropologists such as Maine, Lubbock, and Morgan. The latter was an inspiration to the communist theorists such as Engels. Parallel to these were Tylor and Frazer whose fascination was the evolution of religion starting from totemism. Before *Primitive Culture*, Tylor published *Anahuac*, a kind of rudimentary field report from his sojourn in Mexico. His concept of "primitive" was based on a doctrine of survival. Tylor also believed that children were an example of primitiveness. But most important was his sequence from animism to fetishism and totemism. Julian Steward coined the theory of multilinear evolution much later. The author spends some time with Lévi-Strauss's argument that culture begins with incest taboo and with Chris Knight's theory that suggests that women compelled men to hunt for them before they allowed sex.

Chapter Four deals with diffusionism and culture-area theories. Alan Barnard shows a sound erudition of the continental theories of the philological tradition followed by German and Austrian schools of cultural diffusion. He dwells on the importance of Friedrich Ratzel and Leo Frobenius. The British diffusionists such as Elliot Smith and W.J. Perry seem to him as producers of "interesting absurdity" (p. 50). Finally, American anthropology's culture-area and regional approaches add more ingredients into diffusionist thinking. The author mentions Melville Herskovits's culture complex approach before discussing Clark Wissler's contribution to dating cultures (age-area hypothesis). Alfred Kroeber came with numerous culture areas and sub-areas fitting into grand areas. The culture-area approach was followed by regional comparisons. Barnard points out that these should be divided into illustrative, global, and controlled. Dutch Leiden structuralist

regional comparisons (J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong) and southern African Bantu structural comparisons (Adam Kuper) are mentioned at some length.

In Chapter Five Barnard analyses functionalism and structural-functionalism. These two streams have been for long considered the cornerstones of British social anthropology. But it was a Frenchman, Emile Durkheim, whose sociology was inspirational here. Radcliffe-Brown even called social anthropology as synonymous with comparative sociology. Two other French thinkers, Montesquieu and Comte, were crucial for the functional and structure-functional approaches. What is important here is the biological organism analogy and the stress on contemporaneous societies. The author underlines that besides Durkheim's contribution the importance of the work of Marcel Mauss cannot be overestimated. Bronisław Malinowski, a Pole settled in Britain, who, as Boas, a German settled in the United States, did, stressed long-term fieldwork as a gate to the explanation of 'savage' societies. Barnard characterises these two crucial figures as "pompous but liberal intellectuals" (p. 67). Malinowski, perhaps also like Boas, was also very keen to discover an "explicit theory of culture" (ibid.) but that called forth rather embarrassed reactions. Alfred Reginald Brown, later Radcliffe-Brown, a Brit by birth, provides our author with an opportunity for a detailed discussion. Although structural-functionalism did not dominate in anthropology for too long, its impact was profound. He rejected the 'science of culture' and rather coined an idea of a 'natural science of society'. He searched for the functions within a social system, studied synchronically. His usage of 'social structure' was linked to the analysis of kinship terminology as reflecting existing social facts. Barnard also mentions that Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown helped through their many disciples to establish institutional anthropology around the world.

Chapter Six is devoted to action and process studies. Concretely it deals with the transactionalism of Fredrik Barth, a British-trained Norwegian, and processual approaches, typical for the 'Manchester School' of Max Gluckman, a South African settled in Britain. Barnard also brings in "structural processualists" such as Edmund Leach and Victor Turner. Eventually interest in structure, process, and history (e.g., Marshall Sahlins or Richard Lee) ousted in the revival of Marxism, conceived by Barnard as "a processual theory based on the social relations of production" (p. 81). Anthropological Marxism is through its evolutionist background also related to diffusionism, functionalism and relativism, even structuralism. Transactionalism had a number of champions, one of them was Ladislav Holy, a Czech-British Africanist, who was also influenced by the sociological tradition of Bourdieu. This chapter is very interesting for its exposé of the Manchester School's analysis of politics and ritual. Peter Worsley, an anthropologist turned sociologist, brought in some Marxist ingredients. Further we read with great

interest the characterisations of famous debates between Friedman and Leach, Wilmsen and Lee as well as Obeyesekere and Sahlins. Barnard concludes this chapter by admitting that the 'social' tradition in anthropology reached its climax here. The rest of the book will mostly deal with other perspectives.

Marxism in anthropology, expounded in Chapter Seven, is an episode that had its roots in France and spread to Britain, South Africa, India, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, Canada, and Latin America. Barnard rightly mentions the Marxist orthodoxy in the Soviet anthropology but its impact was hardly felt in the West. The anthropological life of Marxism is connected with the work of the French authors Maurice Godelier and Claude Meillassoux. There was further development in Britain and the United States. The former connects Marxism with structuralism of Lévi-Strauss kind while the latter develops economic anthropology. The author dwells on a discussion of Hindess and Hirst, two British commentators. Unfortunately, he does not mention the importance of Lawrence Krader and the whole issue of the Asiatic Mode of Production, a concept that springs from Marx's Capital. On the other hand, the world system of Immanuel Wallerstein and underdevelopment of Andre Gunder Frank received his attention. Barnard has a point in mentioning anarchism in anthropology. Here, the seminal work of Pierre Clastres and the admiration of Kropotkin by Radcliffe-Brown especially comes forward. The study of stateless societies such as the Nuer (starting with Evans-Pritchard) can be put into this category.

Next Chapter Eight concerns relativism and cognitive sciences in anthropology. Here Barnard starts from Franz Boas, the author of *The Mind of Primitive Man*. He mentions that Boas rejected the racist concept of an inequality of 'races'. He also launched the culture and personality approach perhaps best exemplified by the work of Ruth Benedict, namely in her *Patterns of Culture*. Lévy-Bruhl, a Frenchman, however, asserted that 'primitive mentality' fundamentally differs from logical thought. But Benjamin Whorf countered with his linguistic relativism. Barnard pays extensive attention to the opposition and similarity in their work. Then this leads to structural semantics, cognitive anthropology and ethnoscience, all of which pertain to the modern understanding of pre-modern conceptualising.

Chapter Nine quite logically ousts into the discussion of structuralism. Barnard notes that for structuralism pattern is more important than substance: "for a true structuralist, there is no reality except the relation between things" (p. 125). He characterises the interests of Claude Lévi-Strauss in the internal logic of a culture and structures beyond that culture. But there are different structuralisms in anthropology, for example the Dutch (Leiden) variety. Saussurean linguistics stresses context, the functionalism of the Prague School deals with phonological structures. Barnard points out that Lévi-Strauss and 'Prague' linguists met in New

York during World War II and the post-war work of the former evidently bears the influence of the latter. Barnard spends the whole subchapter 9.2. with Lévi-Strauss and his numerous contributions. He shows in a special figure that Lévi-Strauss was influenced by a plethora of authors including Saussure, Durkheim, Mauss, Boas but also Marx, Freud and even Radcliffe-Brown. I liked the juxtaposition of Lowie's *Primitive Society* with *Structures élémentaires de la parenté*. Where Lowie resigns in front of 'civilization' Lévi-Strauss finds the essence of culture in its structure. Barnard's exposé of structural anthropology as international and interdisciplinary seems to me as very successful, perhaps because it is such a complex matter.

The Tenth Chapter deals not surprisingly with poststructuralists and feminists. Both are critical in style. Again, like with structuralism, French thinkers such as Derrida, Althusser and Lacan are influential here. But these are no anthropologists. Furthermore, Pierre Bourdieu, a sociologist, exerted strong influence in anthropology. His *habitus* and other constructions were widely cited but Barnard feels that there is some obscure moment here. Another Frenchman widely read, cited, and used is Michel Foucault who was rather a historian of 'systems of thought'. He also concentrated on the link between power and knowledge and that interest influenced a lot of anthropologists. Barnard then tackles gender and feminist studies. He refers to the "magnificent overview" of Dame Henrietta Moore in her book *Feminism and Anthropology*. The book never misses putting the noble title in front of the name when applicable. It is surprising how many British and Commonwealth anthropologists were knighted. He also gets to grips with gender as a symbolic construction. Sherry Ortner's 1974 essay "Is female to male as nature is to culture" serves him to point out the specifics of feminist anthropology. The chapter closes with a discussion of 'embodiment' meaning the body as a source of identity, in the sense of gender/sex distinction.

Chapter Eleven is simply called Mavericks. Although quite a few anthropologists might be called by that name, Alan Barnard chose to concentrate on two British, Gregory Bateson and Mary Douglas, also a Dame. Bateson was a polymath, who conducted pioneering research of the *naven* transvestite ceremony among the Iatmul of New Guinea. He wrote on national character and by comparing cultural behaviour of Germans, British, Americans and Russians concluded that dominance and submission in those cultures are related to parenthood and childhood. Bateson introduced two concepts, *eidos* and *ethos*, meaning form and structure, both making up culture. This thinking helps in studying conflicts, whether in family or between superpowers. Douglas was a dynamic structuralist who studied purity and pollution among the Lele of then Belgian Congo (today D.R.C.). Her masterpiece *Purity and Danger* describes and classifies cultures and societies along two axes, grid and group. For example, persons may have low grid

and low group or high grid and high group, or high grid and low group and low grid and high group. Although almost everything can be thus compared, Barnard reminds us that Douglas's "method works best when like is compared with like" (p. 164). He mentions that mavericks challenged the ethnographic authority and methods of structuralism and its predecessors.

Interpretive approaches are subjected to Barnard's description in Chapter Twelve. Whereas in Britain interpretism went as far as rejection of anthropology as a science, in America the reaction to structuralism led to 'postmodern' reasoning. Special attention is paid in this chapter to (Sir) Evans-Pritchard's interpretism, which views anthropology as an art while recognizing the crucial role of history. In *Nuer Religion*, published in 1956, Evans-Pritchard attempts to see the spirituality of the Nuer as a Nuer sees it. His approach led to an anthropology of belief (Lienhardt's divinity). It is noteworthy that both Nuer and Dinka have their native anthropologists. While Evans-Pritchard's influence is still shining at Oxford, American Clifford Geertz's interpretism had an impact around the world. Geertz studied cultural features on Bali, Java and in Morocco. He introduced a method he called 'thick description' and claimed that society was a text to be deconstructed by an anthropologist. Geertz was a master in style and managed to construct a widely read paradigm. His work served as a springboard into postmodernism, a fashion which lured in quite a few anthropologists.
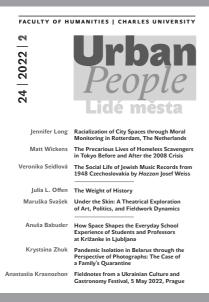
Postmodernism and its aftermath make up Chapter Thirteen of the book under review. Here Barnard makes an effort at explaining the extreme reflexivity of postmodernists. He admits that reflexivity has lots to do with feminist anthropology. Reflexivity is itself a kind of ethnography for postmodern anthropologists. Said's *Orientalism* develops the visions of power derived from Foucault. Critics pointed out that colonial peoples have similarly biased and stereotyped visions of the West. Globalization encompasses both the Orient and the Occident and localization might help to understand local and external influences. Postmodernism criticises 'grand theory in anthropology' and its claim to completeness in ethnography. It revives relativism and draws inspiration from the work of Jean-François Lyotard, a recently deceased French philosopher. Barnard states unequivocally that "to a postmodern anthropologist there is no true, complete statement that can be made about a culture" (p. 179). The manifesto volume *Writing Culture* expounds literary methods within anthropological discourse and Barnard describes a number of chapters in this basic text of anthropological postmodernism. He also does not omit David Schneider, "great Chicago interpreter of the divergent symbolism of American and Yapese kinship" (p.182). Critics did not wait to attack postmodernist bias. It was Ernest Gellner whose modernist theory of nationalism turned out to be a tool against postmodernism. The polemic approach of Gellner is best

discernible in his book *Postmodernism, Reason and Religion*. Further on, Barnard brings in globalization and postcolonialism. Here he underlines the impact of Arjun Appadurai, an Indian-American writer whose *Modernity at Large* explains the globalization phenomenon. Postcolonialism critiques come from the work of women writers like Alcida Ramos from Brazil and a Maori, Tuhiwai Smith. Barnard's discussion does not include Cameroonian Achille Mbembe's *On the Postcolony* that has influenced a plethora of influential authors since 2000. But that is the only major shortcoming of the book because the author did not include developments in anthropological theory after the turn of century. Because the critical thought continues with new mavericks such as David Graber whose books such as *Debt: The First 5000 Years* struck the imagination of many outside anthropology. Also of note is the history of the anthropology movement within the European Association of Social Anthropologists. And the critical writing of Francis Nyamnjoh, another Cameroonian, whose theory of incompleteness developing the ideas contained in Amos Tutuola's novel *The Palm-Wine Drinkard* offers a departure from the western bias in anthropology.

Alan Barnard closes his second edition with Conclusions. Here he mentions the world history trends that ramify the developments in anthropology. Japanese scholars turned to the study of primates. The invention of microwave helped the extensive study of the southern African San or Bushmen. A brief postscript on the Black Lives Matter movement testifies that the author followed the impact American politics makes on anthropology. Barnard does not avoid stressing the importance of national traditions, here of course the British and American ones. That he did not discuss Russian or Brazilian anthropology or the entry of social anthropology into East-Central Europe cannot be a point for criticism but of course the emergence of 'anthropologies' has changed the direction somewhat away from the main tree of 'Franglus' (a term coined by Catherine Verdery) anthropology.

The second edition of Barnard's *History and Theory in Anthropology* is complemented by an appendix on the dates of birth and death of major anthropologists as well as very useful and detailed Glossary of terms mentioned in the book. The References and Index are obviously useful parts of the book. The reviewer is convinced that the book under review will be widely read and of benefit for all interested in understanding the historical development of the theories of anthropology.

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