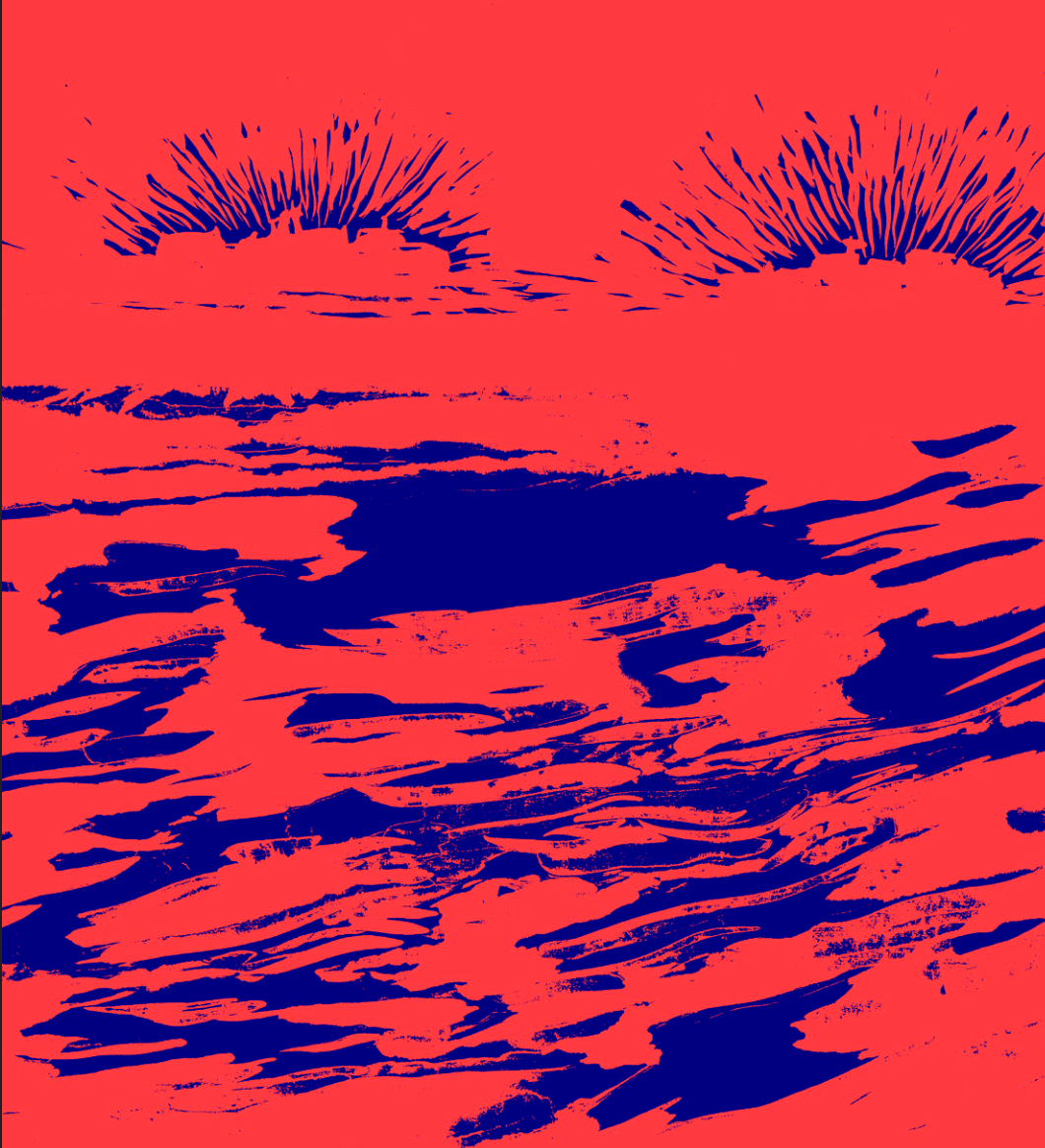


EARCS 2 | 2024

EARCS

2 | 2024 Journal for Cultural and Social Anthropology





Journal for Cultural and Social Anthropology 2 | 2024

ISSN 1212-4923 (print)

ISSN 2336-1956 (online)

Publication frequency: biannually

This issue has been supported by the Council of Scientific Societies of the Czech Republic.

EARGO is a peer-reviewed journal published by the University of Pardubice, the University of Hradec Králové, and the Czech Association for Social Anthropology (CASA).

EARGO focuses on the theory-and-practice of ethnographic research, critical discussion of anthropological theory, and ethical issues of producing anthropological knowledge. The journal publishes academic articles, interviews with key scholars in anthropology, and texts debating methods of teaching anthropology.

EARGO seeks to present materials that are innovative, challenging, and sometimes experimental. Texts are published in Czech, Slovak, and English.

EARGO is listed in the European Reference Index for the Humanities (ERIH), category NAT.

Editorial Office

Cargo

Czech Association for Social Anthropology

Národní 3

110 00 Praha 1

Czech Republic

cargojournaleditor@gmail.com

*Economic Office and Technical
Support*

University of Pardubice

Faculty of Arts and Philosophy

*Department of Social and Cultural
Anthropology*

Studentská 84

930 09 Pardubice

Czech Republic

<http://cargojournal.org>

Editor-in-Chief

Zdeněk Uherek Charles University, Prague

Editorial Board

Hana Červinková Maynooth University

Adam Horálek University of Pardubice

Luděk Jirka University of Hradec Králové

Petr Skalník Independent Researcher

Editorial Advisory Board

Michal Buchowski Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznan
and Europe-University Viadrina, Frankfurt/Oder

Chris Hann Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale

Haldis Haukanes University of Bergen

Krista Hegburg United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

Martin Kanovský Comenius University, Bratislava

Marcin Lubaś Jagiellonian University, Krakow

Janusz Mucha AGH University of Science and Technology, Krakow

Alexandra Schwell University of Klagenfurt

Maruška Svašek Queen's University, Belfast

Cover

Matěj Macháček <http://matejmachacek.com>

Layout

Robert Konopásek

Proofreading

Sean Mark Miller



In memoriam:
Thomas Hylland Eriksen
1962–2024

Editorial

Zdeněk Uherek 6

Stati | Articles

Takami Kuwayama

Untold Stories in the History of Anthropology: Japan, Colonialism, Anglophone Hegemony, and World Anthropologies 8

Varvara Borisova

Vintage Hunters: Creating Vintage in the Czech Republic 34

Jan Werner

O imaginaci českých rozvojových inženýrů 53

Diskuse | Discussion

Adam Kuper

Has the EASA Lost Its Way? 76

Vzpomínka | Remembering

Zdenka Sokolíčková

Den umístelíge: Remembering Thomas Hylland Eriksen 79

Recenze | Book Reviews

Tobias Herman Hendrik Feltham

Rethinking Margins in the Anthropocene

(Thorsteinsson, Björn, Katrín Anna Lund, Gunnar Thór Jóhannesson, and Guðbjörg R. Jóhannesdóttir, eds. 2024. *Mobilities on the margins: creative processes of place-making. of Arctic Encounters*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan)

83

Petr Skalník

On Pre-Malinowski Fieldworkers

(Frederico Delgado Rosa and Han F. Vermeulen (eds). 2022. *Ethnographers before Malinowski. Pioneers of Anthropological Fieldwork, 1870–1922*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books)

89

Editorial

Dear readers,

Issue 2024_2 is published in cooperation between the Czech Association for Social Anthropology, the Faculty of Arts of the University of Pardubice and the Faculty of Education of the University of Hradec Králové. All three publishers understand this cooperation as long-term, and its aim is to stabilize the funding of the journal and open the way to prestigious indexing. The first important benefit that the journal gains by cooperating with the mentioned universities is the DOI that we assign to each individual published text in cooperation with the University of Pardubice.

In this issue we have included a text by Takami Kuwayama, which is a contribution to historical anthropology from a non-Euro-American point of view. Takami Kuwayama is an emeritus professor at Hokkaido University and the author or co-author of six books, including *Native Anthropology*, which also falls within the area of interest to which the text published in this issue adheres. Professor Takami Kuwayama has worked at many Japanese, European and American universities and is in a position to compare differentiated approaches to native groups and reach conclusions that are worth studying.

The other two texts in the reviewed section are based on Czech field and are affiliated with Charles University. The first, authored by Varvara Borisova, focuses on Czech vintage stores and was classified by one of the reviewers as an excellent text feasible for comparative purposes. The second text is also based on carefully evaluated field data on the topic of mobilization of imagination in the context of Czech development engineering, as taught and practised in the broader engineering community centred around the International Centre for Development Projects of the Czech Technical University. Although it is published in Czech, we believe it is accessible to the global anthropological community thanks to widely available machine translation facilities.

The discussion paper, first in the non-reviewed section, by the world-renowned anthropologist Adam Kuper, who is known for his texts on the history of anthropology, which are highly appreciated as excellent teaching aids, as well as for his

excellent studies on the anthropology of museology and the anthropology of southern Africa, originated from a conversation with Petr Skalník. He expresses himself here primarily as a founding member of the European Association of Social Anthropologists and questions the future direction of the EASA.

The issue is complemented by two reviews, for which we thank Tobias Feltham and Petr Skalník.

While finishing this issue, we were caught up with the news of Thomas Hylland Eriksen's passing away. The world-famous professor at the University of Oslo was also a contributor to Cargo Journal, and, among many other awards, also the recipient of an honorary doctorate from Charles University in Prague. The energy he exuded despite his long illness must have fascinated everyone who met him. That is why we have included a memoir written by his collaborator on the "Overheating" project, Zdenka Sokolíčková, and we also dedicate this issue to him.

Zdeněk Uherek

<https://doi.org/10.46585/cargo.2024.2.140>

Untold Stories in the History of Anthropology: Japan, Colonialism, Anglophone Hegemony, and World Anthropologies¹

Takami Kuwayama

<https://doi.org/10.46585/cargo.2024.2.48>

Abstract: Because of the imbalance of power in the academic “world system,” the history of anthropology outside the central countries is rarely told. This article contributes to solving this problem by discussing the development of anthropology in Japan since the late nineteenth century and Japanese achievements in the emerging “world anthropologies” movement.

Keywords: history of anthropology; world system of anthropology; world anthropologies; colonialism; Ainu; Japan; East Asia Anthropology

Introduction

Japanese anthropology is one of the many anthropologies that exist in the world today. Its history is much longer than commonly believed, dating back to the late nineteenth century. With a membership of over 1,800 specialists, the Japanese

¹ This article is a substantially revised version of the lecture given online as the twelfth in the East Asian Anthropology Lecture Series at Shandong University, China, on November 23, 2023. I am grateful to Professor Okpyo Moon for her invitation. I am also grateful to Professor Petr Skalnik for his encouragement during the revision process, as well as to the anonymous reviewers for their useful comments and suggestions.

Society of Cultural Anthropology, founded in 1934, has become one of the largest national anthropological organizations. However, in the “world system” of the discipline, which is dominated by the United States, Great Britain, and, to a lesser extent, France, the achievements of Japanese anthropologists are not widely known outside of Japan. This article aims to fill this knowledge gap by first describing how anthropology developed in Japan as the only non-Western colonial power before World War II and later as a defeated nation (Part I)², and then situating contemporary Japanese anthropology within emerging “world anthropologies” (Part II).

Part I: A Brief History of Japanese Anthropology

Much has been said about the “colonial roots of anthropology” since the late 1970s, when Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (1978) was published. The central theme of this debate is, in the words of Michel Foucault, “power and knowledge.” More specifically, European and American anthropologists have asked how knowledge about non-Western culture was produced under the modern system of colonialism. What has been overlooked in this debate is the fact that Japan was also a colonial power before its defeat in World War II, and that the colonial roots in question deeply affected East Asia and its neighboring areas.

I-1 The beginning: S. Tsuboi and R. Torii

As the discipline of anthropology emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century, a central concern of Japanese intellectuals was the genealogy of the Japanese race and its relationship to the Ainu. In 1877, an American zoologist named Edward Morse (1838–1925) accidentally discovered a mound of shells on the outskirts of Tokyo. At the time of his discovery, Morse was on his way to the capital where he was to meet with Japanese scientists at the Imperial University of Tokyo. The Japanese government had hired him as a full professor at a high salary. Afterwards, Morse excavated the shell mound and found human bones, which he claimed to be a sign of cannibalism.

² There is no definitive account of the history of Japanese anthropology in its entirety. In writing Part I, I have drawn on the following works, among others: Kreiner (2012, 2013), Kuwayama (2008), Nakao (2016), Oka (1979), Sekimoto (1995), Terada (1981), Yamaji (2011), and Yamashita (in press). Other useful works are referenced in the text or footnotes where appropriate. Shimizu (1999), which is one of the few English-language works on the subject, is quite detailed and focuses on the colonial roots of Japanese anthropology. Shimizu and van Bremen (2003), also in English, is a collection of papers by an international team of anthropologists on wartime anthropology in Japan and its neighboring areas.

Morse's claim inspired Japanese intellectuals. Among them was Shōgorō Tsuboi (1863–1913), often called the “father of Japanese anthropology.” Even as a student, he had a rivalry with those foreign scholars who wrote about Japan independently of Japanese theories. Nevertheless, Tsuboi followed Morse's view, and since there was no reference to cannibalism in the scientific literature on the Ainu, he surmised that a dwarf people called *Korpokkur*, an ancient race in Ainu legends, were the ones who practiced cannibalism. Tsuboi later became involved in a heated controversy with a leading Japanese biologist, Yoshikiyo Koganei (1859–1944), who argued that the Japanese race was descended from none other than the Ainu. Unfortunately, Tsuboi's sudden death while traveling in Russia put an end to this controversy without reaching conclusions. To this day, there is no definitive theory of the genealogy between the two races.

The Tsuboi-Koganei controversy reveals a characteristic of Japanese scholarship in general: many Japanese theories about Japan have been presented as counterarguments to Western theories. Tsuboi's research is a typical example. Although he basically accepted Morse's view of Japan's Neolithic people, he did not like foreign scholars talking about Japan. So, in 1884 he founded a small anthropological society, the first of its kind in Japan, which can be interpreted as an attempt to bring the discourse on Japan back to the Japanese.³

The fact that Japanese anthropology began with the study of the Ainu, a subjugated indigenous people, demonstrates that colonialism, whether internal or external, was deeply rooted in the discipline. This is evident in the trajectory of Ryūzō Torii (1870–1953), who was Tsuboi's student. Like his mentor, Torii's research interests were broad, encompassing not only the social and cultural aspects of the peoples he studied, but also their biological makeup and archaeological remains.

Torii's field research was extensive in scope and duration. First, in 1895, the year the Sino-Japanese War ended in Japan's victory, he carried out the first fieldwork in the history of Japanese anthropology in the Liaodong Peninsula, where he discovered dolmens. Second, from 1896 to 1910, he visited Taiwan, which was ceded to Japan in 1895, a total of 5 times to study the people called “aborigines” at that time (Figure 1). He used cameras for the first time in Japanese anthropological research. His 1910 work (Torii 1976) contained as many as 132 photos of the Amis people. Third, after noticing similarities between the Taiwanese and the people of Southwest China, Torii visited mainland China and conducted

³ Another well-known example is the vast Japanese-language literature on Japanese culture, both critical and sympathetic, that emerged after the publication of Ruth Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* in 1946.



Figure 1. Ryūzō Torii writing fieldnotes as Taiwanese aborigines looked on in 1896.
Source: Promotive Association of Torii Ryuzo Archives, Kochi University of Technology.
<http://www.muse.or.jp/torii/>

fieldwork among the Miao, an ethnic minority group. His ethnographic report, published in 1907, attracted the attention of French scholars, which led him to begin writing in French. He later received a medal of distinction from the French Academy. Fourth, in 1899, he studied the Ainu living in the Kuril Islands. Fifth,

from 1910, when Japan colonized Korea, until 1932, Torii explored the country a total of nine times. During this period, he found the largest dolmen in East Asia in Unnyul County in present-day North Korea. Sixth, for a total of 40 years, from 1895 to 1935, he visited Northeast China and Inner Mongolia 14 times, frequently with his family. In his later years, his research in China focused on the analysis of royal tombs from the Liao dynasty (916–1125).⁴

A comparison with the Cambridge Torres Straits Expedition of 1898 is in order here. This expedition is often regarded as a turning point in the history of British anthropology, as collecting first-hand data in the field has since become the norm for producing ethnographies. The influence of Charles Seligman, who joined the expedition, on Bronislaw Malinowski is well known.⁵ It is worth remembering, however, that Torii's fieldwork was just as intensive as that of the members of the Cambridge expedition. In terms of frequency and duration, Torii far surpassed the British. Thus, in both Great Britain and Japan, modern anthropology based on what came to be known as "participant observation" began at about the same time, but only one side of the story has been told, to the neglect of the other.⁶

I-2 The interwar period: Japan's invasion of East Asia and its aftermath

Kyōsuke Kindaichi (1882–1971) was a pioneering anthropologist and folklorist who studied the Ainu (Figure 2). Chronologically, he appeared a few decades after Franz Boas (1858–1942), but he studied the indigenous people in a similar way: their research styles were both that of a repeat traveler, visiting the same place over a long period of time, but staying only briefly at each time – in contrast to Malinowski, who was known for his two-year fieldwork at virtually one time

⁴ These explanations are based on a video lecture entitled "Torii Ryūzō to Sono Jidai" (Ryūzō Torii and His Times) by Kazuya Ogura, chief curator at *Kenritsu Torii Ryūzō Kinen Hakubutsukan* (Prefectural Memorial Museum of Ryūzō Torii), Tokushima. Torii is seldom mentioned among Japanese anthropologists today, while his achievements are widely remembered among Taiwanese anthropologists (personal communication with Sanpei Wu, 2023).

⁵ Perhaps the Cambridge Torres Straits Expedition is remembered today more for the people involved than for its content. The team was organized by Alfred Haddon, who recruited W. H. R. Rivers and Charles Seligman. Rivers developed what came to be called the "genealogical method" of kinship analysis, and Seligman taught Bronislaw Malinowski and E. E. Evans-Prichard at the London School of Economics.

⁶ This is a typical example of the dominance of Anglophone communities as an aspect of the world system of anthropology. Together with France and Germany, they form the "core" of this system, as symbolized in the title of a University of Chicago Press book *One Discipline, Four Ways: British, German, French, and American Anthropology* (Barth, Gingrich, Parkin, Silverman 2005).



Figure 2. Kyōsuke Kindaichi (center) with Ainu narrator Matsu Kannari (right) and her sister Nami Chiri (left), mother of Yukie Chiri. The photo was taken at Kannari's home in 1960. Courtesy of the Morioka Memorial Museum of Great Predecessors

(1915 to 1918). Kindaichi repeatedly visited Hokkaido to study the Ainu language as a linguist and their customs as an ethnologist. His research on the Ainu epics called “Yukar” received wide attention in Japanese academic circles. In addition, like Boas, who worked with George Hunt of the Tlingit nation as a research partner rather than a native informant, Kindaichi not only encouraged a young Ainu woman, Yukie Chiri (1903-1922), to write about Ainu mythology (Chiri 1978), but also annotated a nine-volume collection of Ainu epics compiled by her aunt, Matsu Kannari (Kannari and Kindaichi 1964). Today, when indigenous people criticize anthropological research as one-sided because, in their view, anthropologists only do research and do not give back what they have received from the indigenous community, Kindaichi's and Boas' approach serves as a model⁷.

⁷ Kindaichi's relations with the Ainu were not without problems, however. For example, Yukie Chiri's younger brother, Mashiho Chiri (1909-1961), studied linguistics at the Imperial University of Tokyo under Kindaichi's tutelage. Chiri respected him as a scholar,

In Taiwan, which became a part of the Japanese Empire in 1895, Nenozō Utsushikawa (1884–1947), who had a Ph.D. in anthropology from Harvard University, founded the Institute of Ethnology at the then Imperial University of Taipei in 1928, the year the university opened. It was the seventh Imperial University of Japan and a predecessor of today's National University of Taiwan. The institute was small in both personnel and budget, with only one professor, one assistant, and a few students from Japan. From 1930 to 1932, they conducted fieldwork among the aborigines of Taiwan and published in Japanese *A Study of the Genealogy and Classification of Taiwanese Aborigines* (Taihoku Teikoku Daigaku Dozoku Jinshugaku Kenkyūshitsu 1935). This was considered a major achievement, but its influence was limited compared to the massive reports produced by the Japanese colonial government some 15 years earlier (Shimizu 1999: 133–136).

One legacy of the Institute of Ethnology in colonial Taiwan is that Tōichi Mabuchi (1909–1988), a major figure in postwar Japanese anthropology, was trained there as a student. During the war, his fieldwork was extended to Indonesia, and it was through this experience that he became familiar with Dutch structuralism and its approach to the study of Indonesian social structure⁸. From 1953, Mabuchi taught in the anthropology department at the Tokyo Metropolitan University, which is famous for its emphasis on fieldwork training.

As for Korea, the Institute of Religion and Sociology was established at the Imperial University of Keijō (pronounced KyongSong in Korean), now Seoul. Its leader was Takashi Akiba (1888–1954), who had studied anthropology with Malinowski in London and was strongly influenced by his functionalism. In 1934, Akiba wrote a paper in Japanese entitled “The Dual Organization of Rural Rituals,” in which he argued that Korean peasant society had a dual structure, Confucian and folk (Shimizu 1999: 137). This theory of duality is reminiscent of the conclusion drawn by Vincent Brandt, the American anthropologist who

but occasionally questioned his sincerity as a person (Minato 1982: 56–58). After World War II, Mashiho Chiri became the first Ainu to be appointed a full professor at Hokkaido University.

⁸ Dutch structuralism is a name given to the body of work on Indonesia before World War II, led by de Josselin de Jong, J. P. B. (1886–1964) at the University of Leiden. It became known by this name after the popularization of Claude Lévi-Strauss's structuralism in the 1950s and beyond. A major source of inspiration for the Dutch structuralists was the study of classification by Emile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss. Even before Lévi-Strauss, they investigated Indonesian social structure in terms of binaries such as wife giver/wife receiver, men's canal/women's canal, above/below, and so on (Miyazaki 1984). The focus of Mabuchi's research was on Taiwan and, in his later years, Okinawa, but he was instrumental in spreading structural analysis in postwar Japanese anthropology.



Figure 3. Tōichi Mabuchi with Taiwanese aboriginal children in 1929
Source: Photo Archive, Department of Anthropology, National University of Taiwan

wrote *A Korean Village: Between Farm and Sea* in 1971. Some Japanese anthropologists insist that it is unlikely that Brandt was unaware of Akiba's work, but this is a moot point.

Just as Mabuchi received his professional training in prewar Taiwan, Seiichi Izumi (1915–1970) did the same in Korea. After the war, Izumi got a teaching position in the new anthropology department at the University of Tokyo. He was to become the first director of the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka, which opened in 1977, but he died shortly before the opening. One of Izumi's most memorable words was about his fieldwork among the Sakhalin Ainu in the early 1950s. When he asked an old Ainu woman about her life, she shouted at him, "You don't know how hard our life is and how poor we are. Did you come all the way here to humiliate us? Or are you taking advantage of us to make money and get a doctorate?" This experience forced Izumi to reflect on the nature of anthropological research. He said, "People often call me an expert fieldworker. Certainly, my life has been a series of fieldwork since I was in my twenties. But do I really like fieldwork? Or am I well-suited for it? I don't know for sure. Such

self-reflection has been on my mind lately. I say this because fieldwork is always painful for me” (Izumi 1969: 4–5, translation mine).⁹ I think this is an honest confession from a truly experienced fieldworker.

According to Katsumi Nakao (2014), there is a significant difference between Taiwan and Korea both before and after the war. In Taiwan, Japanese anthropological research was conducted without being strongly influenced by the colonial policies of the Japanese government. Rather, its emphasis on the differences between Taiwan and Qing China, while emphasizing Taiwan’s distinctiveness, led to a situation in the 1990s and beyond in which Japanese research during the colonial period is highly valued by Taiwanese who assert their independence from the mainland. Japanese anthropological research in colonial Korea, on the other hand, was strongly influenced by the demands of the Japanese state and was also linked to Japan’s intention to invade China. For example, the study of Korean shamanism by Akiba and his associates was conducted in part to meet the need to maintain security by suppressing folk beliefs. In Nakao’s view, Korea was merely a research object for the Japanese anthropologists, and their attitudes differed greatly from those of their Korean counterparts, who were studying their own culture in search of their national identity. For this reason, contemporary Korean scholars are critical of Japanese research during the colonial period, regardless of its academic values.

China is said to be in a different situation. The research conducted by the teams of the South Manchuria Railway Company, known by its Japanese acronym “*Mantetsu*” (*tetsu* means “iron” used in the construction of railways) is undoubtedly the most detailed and comprehensive of all the research conducted by the Japanese in China before the war. Although the researchers were not professional ethnologists, they studied many aspects of village life in China, and the results were of great value not only for military purposes but also for scholarship. Until recently, however, the use of the *Mantetsu* materials was controversial in both China and Japan for the same reason as in Korea, but today their scholarly value is again being recognized. Indeed, some of them have been translated into Chinese and published in the 2010s (Grove 2020: 23).

I-3 Folklore studies as a twin discipline of anthropology

The sociocultural branch of Japanese anthropology, or ethnology as it was called before the war, developed in close connection with folklore studies. *Nihon Minzoku Gakkai* (Japanese Society of Ethnology) was founded in 1934, and its

⁹ The American historian Miriam Kingsberg Kadia’s recent work (Kadia 2020) focuses on the experiences of Izumi and his contemporaries during the First and Second World Wars.

folklore counterpart was established the following year.¹⁰ While anthropologists insisted that comparisons of Japan with other countries were essential, folklorists argued for the study of Japan itself. Despite these differences, there was a great deal of overlap between the two disciplines, both in terms of subject matter and personnel, because Japan modernized later than the major Western countries, and antiquated customs and practices, such as those studied by Western anthropologists in the premodern world, were often found in remote villages within Japan.¹¹

I-4 The post-W. W. II period: Japan as the defeated

After its defeat in World War II, Japan underwent dramatic changes, and anthropology was no exception. Before the end of the war, the term “*minzokugaku*” (ethnology) was used for the social and cultural branch of the discipline, but it was replaced by *bunka jinruigaku* (cultural anthropology). There were two major reasons for this name change. One is that ethnology had a tarnished image in postwar Japan because of its association with the military. The other was the introduction of the American type of anthropology, symbolized by the opening of the Cultural Anthropology Seminar at the University of Tokyo in 1954. Following these changes, the Japanese Society of Ethnology finally changed its name to the Japanese Society of Cultural Anthropology in 2004.

For about two decades after the war, it was difficult to conduct fieldwork overseas, so Japanese anthropologists were forced to do research in the Japanese countryside as an alternative. This was not without merit, however, as good ethnographies were produced about topics that had seldom been studied before, such as fox possession (Yoshida 1972). With the economic boom that began in the 1960s, Japanese anthropological research expanded globally in terms of countries studied, reaching almost every corner of the world. In the 1970s,

¹⁰ In 1935, *Minkan Denshō no Kai* (Popular Tradition Society) was founded on the initiative of Kunio Yanagita (1875–1962). The term “popular tradition” was a Japanese translation of the French “*traditions populaires*.” After World War II, it changed its name to *Nihon Minzoku Gakkai* (Folklore Society of Japan) in 1949, the only national organization of folklorists in Japan today. In Japanese, ethnology and folklore studies are both called “*minzokugaku*,” although the characters used are different.

¹¹ This is not to say that folklore studies in the West was a field completely independent of anthropology. In the United States, for example, Boas served three times as president of the American Folklore Society (AFS) in 1900, 1931, and 1934. Past presidents of the AFS include Alfred Kroeber (1906), Robert Lowie (1916–1917), Edward Sapir (1929–1930), A. Irvin Hallowsell (1940–1941), Melville Herskovits (1945), and Dell Hymes (1973–1974). As for British anthropology, Edward Tylor was deeply involved in the activities of the Folklore Society, founded in London in 1878. Between 1890 and 1892, he was one of the vice-presidents of the Folklore Society.

when “*kokusaika*” (internationalization) was the buzzword of the day, cultural anthropology became popular as the study of other people’s lifestyles. Today, when information about the rest of the world is readily available on the internet, cultural anthropology is not as popular as it once was, but it continues to attract the attention of people who are seriously interested in the Other.

At this point, questions may be raised about the relationship between anthropological practice and colonialism in postwar Japan without colonies. This is a difficult question on which opinions differ widely. What is certain, however, is that Japan’s defeat in the war clearly revealed the political side of anthropology, especially the politics of fieldwork conducted in its former colonies. In fact, due to the tarnished image of ethnology mentioned earlier, the term was rarely used for courses in the study of other cultures taught in postwar Japanese universities. The only notable exception was the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka, which opened in 1977 and has born its name ever since.

Among the major Western powers, it was not until the 1960s, when there was much rebellion against the political developments that were shaking the world, such as the Vietnam War and the emergence of counterculture, that they became fully aware of the connection between anthropology and politics. Two books were published in the early 1970s that symbolized this emerging awareness: *Reinventing Anthropology* (Hymes 1974) and *Anthropology & the Colonial Encounter* (Asad 1973). In this regard, Japanese anthropologists were ironically ahead of their American and European counterparts, although the term “colonial roots” was not used. However, the Japanese sense of victimization caused by the atomic bombings obscured the fact that Japan was the aggressor in Asia and the Pacific. As the generations get younger, this negative side of Japan’s duality as a perpetrator and a victim of the war seems to be lost on researchers.

I-5 Three major characteristics of Japanese anthropology

Before concluding this section, I would like to add three things to the preceding descriptions. First, as mentioned at the beginning on the origins of the Japanese people, Japanese anthropologists have had a deep interest in their own country. This contrasts with Euro-American anthropology, which focuses on the study of distant countries or ethnic groups with radically different traditions.¹²

Second, the various groups of people studied by Japanese anthropologists have tended to be historically and culturally close to them. This is exemplified by the

¹² It is well known that Chinese anthropologists, especially those on the mainland and in Hong Kong, tend to focus on the study of their own culture, but probably for different reasons.

Japanese interest in China and Korea. As a result, the deep divide between the “civilized” and the “uncivilized,” which characterized Western anthropology, has been ambiguous, although this is not to deny the Japanese arrogance in colonial times.¹³

And third, Japanese research on other cultures has reached almost all corners of the world, but Japan has been and continues to be a favorite subject of Western anthropologists. Two of the most famous examples are John Embree’s *Suye Mura: A Japanese Village* (1939) and Ruth Benedict’s *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture* (1946). *Suye Mura* was published in the same year as Hsiao-Tung Fei’s *Peasant Life in China*. Significantly, these books were prefaced by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Bronislaw Malinowski, respectively. Thus, we can say that 1939 marks the beginning of the functionalist study of East Asia by Western anthropologists. Since the late 1980s, however, their research orientation toward Japan has changed greatly, and many of them are studying popular culture such as *anime* (animations) and *manga* (comics).¹⁴

Regarding the relationship between Japanese anthropologists and the Ainu people, a very important event occurred during the preparation of this article. It will be mentioned in the concluding section.

Part II: Japan’s Place in the World System of Anthropology and Its Contributions to Emerging World Anthropologies

In this section, I will first discuss why Japanese anthropology has received little attention in the wider world in terms of what the late Swedish anthropologist Tomas Gerholm called the “world system of anthropology,” and then show how the growing awareness of Japan’s and other countries’ peripheral status in this system has led to the emergence of “world anthropologies.”

II-1 From native anthropology to world anthropologies

I will begin by describing my own research as I have been working on this topic since the late 1990s. My ideas were first presented in Japanese in the *Japanese Journal of Ethnology* (Kuwayama 1997) and later elaborated in *Native*

¹³ For example, the natives of the Pacific islands were called “*dojin*,” which literally means “earth people.” Similarly, the aborigines of Taiwan were called “*seiban*,” following the Chinese use of the term to refer to those indigenous people who had not yet been Sinicized and were therefore considered uncivilized.

¹⁴ For details, see Bestor and Bestor with Yamagata (2011), especially Part III “Cool Japan,” and Robertson (2005).

Anthropology: The Japanese Challenge to Western Academic Hegemony, published in English in 2004 (Kuwayama 2004a).¹⁵ The central question I posed in that book is why Japanese anthropologists' writings about their own culture are little appreciated overseas, especially in the Anglophone world, and why their writings about other cultures are equally underappreciated.

By "native anthropology," I mean the attempt by natives, especially those studied and described by Western scholars, to represent their own culture in their own language from their own point of view. Although the term "native" has often had pejorative connotations, in this context it refers, from the Latin word "*nativus*," to anyone who was born and raised in a particular place, whether "civilized" or "uncivilized." Native anthropology, sometimes referred to as "local," "indigenous," or "home"¹⁶, does not simply raise methodological questions, such as the merits and demerits of fieldwork conducted by native members of the community under study. Rather, it poses a fundamental challenge to the existing structure of anthropological knowledge, in which the stronger/seer/describer/knower determines the identity of the weaker/seen/described/known.

In formulating my ideas, I was initially inspired by Gerholm's 1995 work. He argued that there is a "world system" in anthropology in which only a few countries occupy the center, and their collective power has pushed other countries to the periphery. The power imbalance is such that the center teaches, while the periphery listens. Gerholm compared this relationship to that between the mainland and remote islands.

It seems that the map of the discipline shows a prosperous mainland of British, American and French anthropologies, and outside it an archipelago of large and small islands – some of them connected to the mainland by sturdy bridges or frequent ferry traffic, others rather isolated. On the mainland, people can

¹⁵ This book was later expanded and translated into Japanese (Kuwayama 2008). Still later, the Japanese version was translated into Chinese in 2019, and a Korean translation is in progress.

¹⁶ The distinction between "native" and "indigenous" is ambiguous and complex. Third World scholars generally prefer the latter because it is relatively free of the colonial implications of the former. "Local," on the other hand, is a neutral word that merely refers to a particular place, whether Western or non-Western, colonial or colonized. It therefore obscures the power differences that exist in the modern world system. "Home" is frequently used by Western scholars studying their own culture. Throughout my career, I have used "native" because it clearly shows that the subjects of the former colonial powers are beginning to "invade" the academic space previously closed to them. This invasion signals the radical change now taking place in the structure of anthropological knowledge. For details, see Kuwayama (2004a: 2–4).

go through their professional lives more or less unaware of what happens on the islands. The reverse seems not so often to be the case. If international anthropology to a great extent equals American + British + French anthropology, in other words, then these national anthropologies need hardly take external influences into account to more than a very limited degree (Gerholm 1995: 159–160).

Gerholm's words resonated with me because they corresponded to my experiences in the United States and back in Japan. Before entering graduate school at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) in 1982, I had little professional training in anthropology and knew very little about what Japanese anthropologists did. Moreover, during my 11 years as a graduate student and a junior professor in the world's most powerful country, I unwittingly absorbed the American bias against non-Western scholarship. Therefore, I was greatly surprised when I returned to Japan in 1993 to find that the level of scholarship among Japanese anthropologists was much higher than I had expected. In some areas they surpassed the Americans.

I wondered how this could have happened. I asked myself, "Why is Japanese anthropology so little known internationally, at least in the Anglophone world?" The flip side of that question was, "How can American anthropologists get by when many of them don't know or care what people in the rest of the world are doing?" As I pondered these questions, I happened to read Gerholm's article. The answer was obvious: in what he called the "world system of anthropology," or more broadly, the "world system of knowledge," there was, and still is, such a great imbalance of power between the center and the periphery that the United States, located at the center, dominates Japan, located at the periphery.¹⁷ I later found that I was not alone in feeling this way as more than a few anthropologists based in peripheral countries were eager to redress the power imbalance. Their collective efforts gave rise to what came to be called "world anthropologies."

II-2 A sketch of the path to world anthropologies

World anthropologies is a movement that respects the different kinds of knowledge produced by anthropologists around the world, and thus seeks to create an intellectual space in which scholars of all nationalities can engage in dialogue on an equal footing. At its heart is a growing awareness of the diversity

¹⁷ Due to space limitations, I refer interested readers to my previous work (Kuwayama 2003, 2004b, 2004c, 2012, 2015a, 2015b, 2017), which includes critical reviews of previous literature on native/indigenous anthropology.

of anthropological traditions, which has led to a desire to make anthropology a global discipline, rather than a monopoly of a few powerful countries.¹⁸

A most recent book on this subject is *Histories of Anthropology* (D'Agostino and Matera 2023), which covers 20 countries or regions in over 650 pages.¹⁹ The aim is succinctly expressed in the plural form of the word “histories.” In the introduction, D'Agostino and Matera trace the beginnings of world anthropologies to a conference held in the United States in the 1960s that explored the possibility of studying the history of anthropology as an independent field of inquiry. Parts of this initiative materialized in the early 1980s, according to the editors, in the book series by George Stocking entitled “History of Anthropology,” published by the University of Wisconsin Press. It ran to 12 volumes and was completed in 2010. The publisher claims that “this series covers the history and present practice of anthropological inquiry,” but in fact it mainly covers developments in the United States, Great Britain, France, and Germany. Germany was included because of its influence on founding figures such as Boas.

As D'Agostino and Matera pointed out, a critical step was taken in 1982 when two Swedish anthropologists, Gerholm and his colleague Ulf Hannerz, edited a special issue of *Ethnos* entitled “The Shaping of National Anthropologies” (Gerholm and Hannerz 1982). This was probably one of the first times the word “anthropologies” was used in the plural. In the same year, *Indigenous Anthropology in Non-Western Countries* (Fahim 1982) was published. This book was the result of an international symposium held in Austria in 1978 under the auspices of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.²⁰ It questioned the validity of Western theories in the context of non-Western developing countries, but the focus was more on methodology than on rethinking anthropology.

Two decades later, in 2003, an international conference was held in Italy to examine the state of anthropologies outside the North Atlantic region. One of its outcomes was the publication of a landmark book, *World Anthropologies*:

¹⁸ Even in the age of globalization, the nation or country continues to function as the unit of scholarship both academically (e.g., reading, writing, lecturing, fieldwork) and institutionally (e.g., educational system, allocation of funds). The fact that almost every anthropological association in the world bears the name of a particular country or region testifies to this point. There are, of course, internal differences within a nation, but many commonalities among its members emerge in international comparisons.

¹⁹ Because the editors are Italian based, the anthropologies represented in this volume are almost inevitably biased toward Europe and its former colonies. From Asia, China, India, and Viet Nam are represented, but not Japan.

²⁰ The same Foundation financially supported the international meeting held in Brazil in 2004, which led to the creation of the World Council of Anthropological Associations.

Disciplinary Transformations within Systems of Power (Ribeiro and Escobar 2006). Two years earlier, in 2004, one of the book's editors, Gustavo Ribeiro of Brazil, had played a leading role in founding the World Council of Anthropological Associations (WCAA). As stated in its constitution, the first of the primary objectives of this association is "to promote the discipline of anthropology in an international context." The unit of participation is the country or region, not the individual, and it is now represented by more than 55 national or regional anthropological associations around the world.²¹

All of this led to the launch in 2014 of a new section called "World Anthropology" in *American Anthropologist*, the flagship journal of the American Anthropological Association (AAA). This was a significant step in the realization of world anthropologies, as it was finally recognized by the largest and most influential anthropological society in the world, even though the section title should have been in the plural.²²

Similar developments have taken place outside of Europe and the Americas. In Southeast Asia, for example, anthropologists from across the region met at the National University of Singapore in 2014 to discuss the "making of Southeast Asian anthropologies." This gathering resulted in an edited volume, *Southeast Asian Anthropologies: National Traditions and Transnational Practices* (Thompson and Sinha 2019). They acknowledged their debt to earlier publications for inspiration, such as *The Making of Anthropology in East and Southeast Asia* (Yamashita, Bosco, and Eades 2004), which won the Choice Outstanding Book of the Year award in 2005, and *Asian Anthropology* (van Bremen, Ben-Ari, and Alatas 2005).²³

Just a few remarks about Francophone communities are in order here, since the so-called "West" is diverse and far from being unified. In 2015, Francine Saillant, one of the authors of the *Lausanne Manifesto: For a Non-Hegemonic Anthropology* (2011) wrote an article for the World Anthropology section of

²¹ The first chair of the WCAA was Ribeiro (2004-2005), followed by Junji Koizumi (2005-2008) from Japan. Subsequently, WCAA leaders were concerned about mission overlap with the existing International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES). The establishment of the World Anthropological Union (WAU) in 2016 was a solution to this concern. The first chapter of the WAU Constitution declares that it "incorporates" the two organizations, "each as a distinctly separate but constituent chamber in a federal structure."

²² In November 2023, the "Members' Programmatic, Advisory, and Advocacy Committee" was established within the AAA. This committee covers eight areas of engagement, one of which is "world anthropologies."

²³ An anonymous reviewer pointed out the importance of *The Lausanne Manifesto: For a Non-Hegemonic Anthropology* (2011) in the development of world anthropologies, but I was unable to obtain it.

American Anthropologist, in which she argued for the continued importance of Francophone anthropologists, especially those outside of France, in forming an independent intellectual community that examines a range of issues in a Francophone context. Her argument, however, is not that of an isolationist, but rather a stern response to Anglo-Saxon hegemony on the one hand and Franco-French hegemony on the other. To create a non-hegemonic anthropology, Saillant argued, we would need “a relational and dialogic anthropology” (Saillant 2015: 149), and for its realization “a heteroglossic and multisited universalism” (*ibid.* 150), by which she implied that a mere recognition of the diversity of national traditions around the world is not enough.

The question of how academic knowledge is produced and circulated is now a major concern in various fields, as evidenced by the publication of the *Routledge Handbook of Academic Knowledge Circulation* (Keim et al. 2023).

II-3 A Japanese anthropologist’s trajectory

Below I add some personal recollections to the chronology just outlined. First, in 1982, when the special issue of *Ethnos* on national anthropologies appeared, I entered UCLA as a graduate student. At that time, the hegemony of Anglophone anthropology was so firmly established that there was no such idea as world anthropologies. Even in Japanese studies, works written in Japanese were rarely referenced, and I was “penalized” for my extensive use of them when I submitted my work for review to a major American journal. Through this experience, I began to wonder if journal refereeing might become a barrier to diversifying the discipline of anthropology. Much later, Gordon Mathews took up this question in his 2010 article (Matthews 2010).

Second, in 1997, four years after my return to Japan, I wrote my first article on native anthropology, which I mentioned at the beginning. At that time, the Internet was beginning to be used worldwide, and the English abstract of my article was quickly circulated. I am indebted to the late Jan van Bremen, a Dutch anthropologist, for inviting me to contribute the abstract to the newsletter of the Japan Anthropology Workshop (JAWS), an international organization of anthropological specialists on Japan. Among those interested in the topic was Mathews, who has since played a major role in making East Asian anthropologies better known to the rest of the world. As of 2024, he is chair of the WCAA.

Third, in 2002, I attended a session on the internationalization of anthropology at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association. Among the speakers were such dignitaries as Stocking and Hannerz, but the large conference room was almost empty. I was genuinely surprised, but it was a sign of the indifference of most Americans at that time to anthropologies other than their

own. I was fortunate, however, to meet Ribeiro there for the first time. Our most recent face-to-face meeting was at the 2014 Congress of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES), held in Japan. A series of conferences were held there to review the progress of the WCAA in the 10 years since its founding.

Fourth, in 2008, international scholars based in East Asia, notably Shu-min Huang (Taiwan), Kwang-ok Kim (Korea), Gordon Mathews (Hong Kong), Ok-pyo Moon (Korea), Hirochika Nakamaki (Japan), and Mingming Wang (China), held the first meeting of the East Asian Anthropological Association (EAAA) in China. This association is similar in ideal to the WCAA but consists of individual members working in the region. The language of its meetings is English, which limits the participation of non-English speakers, but in Gerholm's words a "bridge" is being built between the "remote islands" of the world system.

Fifth, in 2014, a special committee was established within the Japanese Society of Cultural Anthropology (JASCA) to disseminate information about Japanese anthropology abroad. The Japanese government, concerned that Japanese research was little known in the rest of the world because of the language barrier, had announced the previous year that it would provide funding to academic societies willing to increase the proportion of English-language articles in their journals. While chairing the committee, I was also the editor-in-chief of the *Japanese Review of Cultural Anthropology* (JRCA), which has been publishing both review articles and original articles in English since 1998 (Kuwayama 2017). Its main purpose is to make the research of Japanese anthropologists accessible to non-Japanese readers.

Sixth, in 2015, I wrote an article for the World Anthropology section of *American Anthropologist* arguing for the contemporary relevance of "world folklore studies" as proposed by Japanese folklorist Kunio Yanagita (1875-1962) in 1934 (Kuwayama 2015a). Exactly 90 years ago today, Yanagita problematized the power imbalance between the West and the East, which he argued had prevented the creation of a global community of folklorists to share research findings in different parts of the world. He therefore proposed the creation of a national association in each country first, and then an international federation in which scholars from large and small countries could participate on an equal basis.²⁴ From this point of view, the WCAA is a realization of Yanagita's 1934 project in anthropology.

²⁴ In 1921, Yanagita was dispatched by the Japanese government to Geneva, where he served as a member of the League of Nations Mandate Committee. It is possible that his proposal for world folklore studies was inspired when he saw many countries, large and small, working together for a common goal. I am indebted to Takanori Shimamura for this observation.

Finally, in 2022, I participated as a speaker in an online meeting organized by the WCAA entitled “Hegemony in World Anthropologies.” The purpose was not to condemn the three central countries of the world system identified by Gerholm, but rather to spread awareness that there is still an inequality between the center and the periphery, and what actions should be taken to overcome the problem.

II-4 Practical suggestions for overcoming the barriers to world anthropologies

At present, world anthropologies is a work in progress and more of an ideal than a reality. It has many problems to overcome before it can be fully realized. In what follows, I will address some of the most serious ones and suggest practical solutions.

The greatest problem is the language barrier. This is especially serious for people outside the Indo-European language areas, since English has become the *de facto* “lingua franca” today. However, the situation is changing for the better as the quality of automatic translation is rapidly improving. DEEP L, of which there is a free version, is highly recommended: it works as both a translator and an editor. As in other fields, artificial intelligence (AI) is beginning to make possible what was unimaginable even a decade ago. Let us make the most of it.

Far more difficult than mastering the English language is knowing how to write in a way that appeals to an international audience. Under present circumstances, that audience is primarily Anglophone, or educated in, or under the influence of, the central countries of the world system. Given that approximately 70 percent of the anthropology journals listed in the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) are either American or British,²⁵ in order to have articles accepted by the world’s leading journals, we must write according to the “grammar” set by scholars from these countries. This grammar dictates the kinds of writing styles, topics, theories, and methods we should use. Citation practices are a part of it (Kuwayama 2004a: 9–10).

Again, the situation is changing rapidly. According to Junko Kitanaka, an internationally renowned Japanese medical anthropologist, book editors in the English-speaking world are beginning to be aware of the diversity of anthropological traditions and, above all, writing styles and are therefore seeking manuscripts

²⁵ In 2017, a total of 82 journals were listed in the SSCI under the category of anthropology. Of these, the United States accounted for 38 (46.3 percent) and the United Kingdom accounted for 21 (25.6 percent). Together, these two countries accounted for 72.0 percent of all journals listed in SSCI (Kuwayama 2017: 162–163). The situation has not changed much since then.

from different parts of the world. Although this applies mainly to book writing rather than journal publishing, it is consistent with my own experience: an editor from a major British publisher came to Japan around 2019 to encourage manuscript submissions. Although the language that authors must use is still English, this fact is surprising because Japan has long been outside the region from which authors are recruited. Non-English-speaking scholars in peripheral countries should make the most of this opportunity.

To change the current citation practices that favor Anglophone scholarship, I propose that we compile annotated bibliographies of the works that are considered foundational in each country, whether classical or contemporary, on a particular topic, and then translate them into the core language, which is English. Once this is done, it is relatively easy to translate into other languages. In the Internet age, such bibliographies can be quickly and inexpensively uploaded to the website in digital form, rather than on time-consuming and costly paper. My proposal follows the model of the WCAA online archive called “*déjà lu*,” where past articles representative of the member associations have been uploaded. However, there is one major difference: the bibliographies I propose will allow new entries to be made based on the existing ones, so that they will be constantly updated. Third party comments are also welcome, and the authors are expected to respond. Such an initial exchange of ideas will eventually help to create a dialogic space across national academic traditions.

Professors can do one more thing: include excellent works produced on the periphery on the list of required readings and to assign them in class. Unfortunately, today there is a pattern of neglect in which the writings of peripheral scholars are habitually sidelined, even when they are written in English and deserve serious attention. If this practice continues, the hegemony of Anglophone scholarship will be further reinforced. But if students are exposed to peripheral writings early on, they will learn to appreciate different kinds of theories, methods, and styles of argumentation, which will eventually lead to a more balanced view of the subject they are studying.

II-5 The future of world anthropologies and publishing situations

Whether or not world anthropologies will advance depends on many factors, but one thing we should consider is the publishing situation in each country. In Japan, for example, anthropologists can write in Japanese for both professional and lay readers. JASCA has its own journal called *Bunka Jinruigaku* (*Japanese Journal of Cultural Anthropology*), formerly *Minzokugaku Kenkyū* (*Japanese Journal of Ethnology*), which has been published quarterly since 1935. In addition, the general book market is large enough for anthropological writings to sell well.

Even doctoral dissertations can be turned into books after revision. Under these circumstances, most Japanese anthropologists do not feel the need to publish in English, which leads to indifference to situations in other parts of the world, hence the general lack of interest in world anthropologies.

Anthropologists in Hong Kong, on the other hand, are in the opposite situation, as they are practically forced to write in English and publish in internationally recognized journals in order to find their jobs or to be promoted to higher positions. In small European countries, especially those outside the Anglophone world, anthropology is such a small field that some of them have neither professional journals nor widely circulated journals for which they can write in their own languages. The demand for anthropological writing in the general book market is also small. Other countries in other regions face a similar situation, according to the recent AAA report “Comparing the Situations of Anthropologists around the World as to Publication and Evaluation Criteria” (Mathews et. al 2024).²⁶ Ironically, this fact has led to a heightened awareness of what is going on in the larger world, hence the general interest in world anthropologies.

There are, of course, other factors that influence the position of a country or region in relation to world anthropologies. The situations surrounding them are so different that the progress of world anthropologies depends on whether we have the will to listen to different voices from different parts of the world. It is the stories of the many “little traditions” in the periphery, including Japan, which have been overshadowed by those of the few “great traditions” in the center, that deserve special attention.

Concluding Remarks

Today, as the topics that anthropologists study have diversified, with a stream of new theories borrowed from other disciplines, not many anthropologists have the luxury of reflecting on where we have come from and what we have achieved or failed to achieve as a scholarly community. Yet to determine the direction of the present and the future, we must look to the past, for we are never free from it. Hence, the importance of studying the history of our discipline.

In the case of Japanese anthropology, the relationship with the Ainu people has always been a hidden point of contention or, as the Japanese say, a “small fish

²⁶ This report is based on the findings of the international task force organized by Gordon Mathews following the WCAA online conference “Hegemony in World Anthropologies” mentioned above. Members were recruited from China, Chile, Hong Kong, India, Japan, Nigeria, Norway, and South Africa. I represented Japan.

bone stuck in the throat.” As mentioned in Part I, Japanese anthropology has its origins in the study of the Ainu, but these people have been treated as living specimens, as evidenced by the examination of their physique and, occasionally, the collection of their ancestors’ bones through grave excavations, all in the name of science. Much of the anthropological research on the Ainu was a typical case of internal colonialism and exploitation.²⁷ It is not surprising, then, that they have regarded anthropologists as their “*teki*” or enemies. Even today, the Ainu’s resentment of anthropologists has not completely dissipated.²⁸

Given the growing importance of indigenous studies around the world, this is an unfortunate situation, to say the least. As a partial solution, JASCA issued a formal apology to the Ainu people in April 2024, self-critiquing the traditional priority given to research at the expense of the welfare of the people studied. The question remains, however, whether reconciliation is truly possible, and if so, whether the Japanese and the Ainu can engage in dialogue on an equal footing. To facilitate a fruitful dialogue, it would be beneficial for contemporary anthropologists to gain a deeper understanding of the history of their discipline, given the limited attention it has received in recent times.

The same is true of Japan’s relations with Korea and China. Since its defeat in World War II, Japan has forged strong ties with its former enemies, the United States and its European allies, based on a thorough self-criticism of its wartime conduct. Indeed, many postwar Japanese scholars were educated at leading American or European universities, where they learned the fruits of advanced research. Despite the power imbalance that I problematized in Part II, channels of communication, albeit mostly unidirectional, were opened at the professional level. However, the same cannot be said of Korea and China, with which Japan has yet to resolve outstanding issues both diplomatically and emotionally among the public. With the exception of regional specialists and those involved in pan-East Asian activities such as the EAAA, there is little information about the activities of anthropologists outside their own country. Again, a deeper, more

²⁷ Although much of this was done by physical anthropologists, this alone does not exonerate cultural anthropologists, as the two groups often worked together in the field. In the minds of many Ainu, at least, there is no distinction between physical and cultural anthropology.

²⁸ While teaching at Hokkaido University from 2003 to 2018, I met a young Ainu man who told me that anthropologists were the “*teki*” (enemy) of his people. And when I organized a JASCA symposium on the Ainu in 2010, an elderly Ainu man, a former elementary school principal, called the JASCA office in Tokyo to complain about the grave excavations. These reactions prove that for the Ainu, anthropologists are anthropologists, whether they are physical or cultural anthropologists.

comprehensive understanding of the past, both as researchers and as researched, is essential to improving the present situation.

As for world anthropologies, I will conclude with a gentle warning, especially to those who find themselves outside the center of the world system. As in everything else, parochial nationalism in scholarship is unproductive and self-defeating. The call for world anthropologies is in no way an attempt to replace one kind of hegemony with another. The current relationship between center and periphery is certainly unequal, with the former having overwhelming power over the latter. However, our goal should not be to overturn this relationship, i.e. to have the peripheral countries rise above the central ones, but to create a world in which both can share and examine research results as equal partners. Thus, it is not a question of reversing the hierarchy of actors within the current system of power, but rather of changing the system itself to create a space where all actors are equally respected. A “horizontal” as opposed to a “vertical” structure of the anthropological discipline is called for.

References

- Akiba, Takashi. 1934. Sonsai no Nijū Soshiki (The Dual Organization of Rural Rituals). *Chōsen Minzoku (Korean Folklore)* 2: 5–10.
- Asad, Talal (ed). 1973. *Anthropology & the Colonial Encounter*. London: Ithaca Press.
- Barth, Fredrik, Andre Gingrich, Robert Parkin, and Sydel Silverman. 2005. *One Discipline, Four Ways: British, German, French, and American Anthropology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Benedict, Ruth. 1946. *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Bestor, Victoria Lyon, Theodore C. Bestor, Akiko Yamagata (eds). 2011. *Routledge Handbook of Japanese Culture and Society*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Brandt, Vincent. 1971. *A Korean Village: Between Farm and Sea*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Chiri, Yukie. 1978. *Ainu Shinyōshū (A Collection of Ainu Myths)*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten (orig. 1923).
- D’Agostino, Gabriella, and Vincenzo Matera (eds). 2023. *Histories of Anthropology*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer.
- Embee, John. 1939. *Suye Mura: A Japanese Village*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Fahim, Hussein (ed). 1982. *Indigenous Anthropology in Non-Western Countries: Proceedings of a Burg Wartenstein Symposium*. Durham: Carolina Academic Press.
- Fei, Hsiao-Tung. 1939. *Peasant Life in China: A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley*. London: Routledge.

- Gerholm, Tomas. 1995. Sweden: Central Ethnology, Peripheral Anthropology. In *Fieldwork and Footnotes: Studies in the History of European Anthropology*, edited by Han F. Vermeulen and Arturo A. Roldán. London: Routledge: 159–170.
- Gerholm, Tomas, and Ulf Hannerz. 1982. Introduction: The Shaping of National Anthropologies. *Ethnos* 47(I–II): 5–35.
- Grove, Linda. 2020. A Brief History of Japanese Field Research on China. In *Fieldwork in Modern Chinese History: A Research Guide*, edited by Thomas David DuBois and Jan Kiely. London: Routledge: 22–34.
- Hymes, Dell (ed.). 1972. *Reinventing Anthropology*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Izumi, Seiichi. 1969. *Firudowāku no Kiroku: Bunka Jinruigaku no Jissen (Records of Fieldwork: Practicing Cultural Anthropology)*. Tokyo: Kōdansha.
- Kadia, Miriam Kingsberg. 2020. *Into the Field: Human Scientists of Transwar Japan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Kannari, Matsu, and Kyōsuke Kindaichi. 1964. *Ainu Jojōshi Yūkarashū (A Collection of Ainu Epics, Yukar)*. Tokyo: Sanseidō.
- Keim, Wiebke, Leandro Rodriguez Medina, Rigas Arvanitis, Natacha Bacolla, Chandni Basu, Stéphane Dufoix, Stefan Klein, Mauricio Nieto Olarte, Barbara Riedel, Clara Ruvituso, Gernot Saalman, Tobias Schlechtriemen, and Hebe Vessuri (eds). 2023. *Routledge Handbook of Knowledge Circulation*. London: Routledge.
- Kreiner, Josef (ed.). 2012. *Kindai Nihon Ishiki no Seiritsu: Minzokugaku-Minzokugaku no Kōken (The Birth of Japanese Consciousness in Modern Times: Folkloristic and Anthropological Contributions)*. Tokyo: Tokyodō Shuppan.
- Kreiner, Josef (ed.). 2013. *Nihon Minzokugaku no Senzen to Sengo: Oka Masao to Nihon Minzokugaku no Kusawake (Prewar and Postwar Ethnology in Japan: Masao Oka and Other Pioneers in Japanese Ethnology)*. Tokyo: Tokyodō Shuppan.
- Kuwayama, Takami. 1997. *Genchi no Jinruigakusha: Naigai no Nihon Kenkyū o Chūshin ni (Native Anthropologists: With Special Reference to Japanese Studies Inside and Outside Japan)*. *Minzokugaku Kenkyū (Japanese Journal of Ethnology)* 61(4): 517–542.
- Kuwayama, Takami. 2003. Natives as Dialogic Partners: Some Thoughts on Native Anthropology. *Anthropology Today* 19(1): 61–77.
- Kuwayama, Takami. 2004a. *Native Anthropology: The Japanese Challenge to Western Academic Hegemony*. Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press.
- Kuwayama, Takami. 2004b. The “World System” of Anthropology: Japan and Asia in the Global Community of Anthropologists. In *The Making of Anthropology in East and Southeast Asia*, edited by Shinji Yamashita, Joseph Bosco, and J. S. Eades. New York: Berghahn Books: 35–56.
- Kuwayama, Takami. 2004c. Native Discourse in the Academic World System: Kunio Yanagita’s Project of Global Folkloristics Reconsidered. In *Asian Anthropology*, edited by Jan van Bremen, Eyal Ben-Ari, and Syed Farid Alatas. London: Routledge: 97–116.
- Kuwayama, Takami. 2008. *Neitivu no Jinruigaku to Minzokugaku: Chi no Sekai Shisutemu to Nihon (Native Anthropology and Folklore Studies: Japan in the World System of Knowledge)*. Tokyo: Kōbundō.

- Kuwayama, Takami. 2012. The Ainu in the Ethnographic Triad: From the Describer to the Described. In *Anthropologists, Indigenous Scholars and the Research Endeavour: Seeking Bridges towards Mutual Respect*, edited by Joy Hendry and Laara Fitznor. London: Routledge: 44–54.
- Kuwayama, Takami. 2015a. On Kunio Yanagita's 1934 "World Folkloristics" Project. *American Anthropologist* 116(3): 658–662.
- Kuwayama, Takami. 2015b. Introduction: Bridging the Anthropology of Japan Inside and Outside Japan. *Japanese Review of Cultural Anthropology* 15: 75–79.
- Kuwayama, Takami. 2017. Japanese Anthropology, Neoliberal Knowledge Structuring, and the Rise of Audit Culture: Lessons from the Academic World System. *Asian Anthropology* 16(3): 159–171.
- Mathews, Gordon. 2010. On the Referee System as a Barrier to Global Anthropology. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 11(1): 52–63.
- Mathews, Gordon, Gonzalo Diaz Crovetto, Thomas Hylland Eriksen, P-J Ezeh, Shannon Morreira, Yasmeeen Arif, Chen Gang, and Takami Kuwayama. 2024. Comparing the Situations of Anthropologists around the World as to Publication and Evaluation Criteria. *American Anthropologist*: 126(3): 524–535. (<https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.13981>).
- Minato, Masao. 1982. *Ainu Minzokushi to Chiri Mashiho-san no Omoide (Ainu Ethnography and Recollections of Chiri Mashiho)*. Tokyo: Tsukiji Shokan.
- Miyazaki, Koji. 1984. *Oranda Kōzō Shugi* (Dutch Structuralism). In *Bunka Jinruigaku 15 no Riron (Fifteen Theories in Cultural Anthropology)*, edited by Tsuneo Ayabe, Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha: 79–94.
- Nakao, Katsumi. 2014. *Kindai Nihon no Jinruigakushi: Teikoku to Shokuminchi no Kioku (The History of Anthropology in Modern Japan: Memories of the Empire and the Colonies)*, abstract of the doctoral thesis submitted to Kyoto University.
- Oka, Masao. 1979. *Ijin Sono Ta: Nihon Minzoku-Bunka no Genryū to Nihon Kokka no Keisei (Strangers and Others: The Origins of Japanese Ethnic Culture and the Formation of Japanese State)*. Tokyo: Genshōsha.
- Ribeiro, Lins Gustavo, and Arturo Escobar (eds). 2006. *World Anthropologies: Disciplinary Transformations within Systems of Power*. Oxford: Berg.
- Robertson, Jeniffer (ed). 2005. *A Companion to the Anthropology of Japan*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Said, Edward W. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Saillant, Francine. 2015. World Anthropologies and Anthropology in the Francophone World: The Lausanne Manifesto and Related Initiatives. *American Anthropologist* 117(1): 146–150.
- Sekimoto, Teruo. 1995. *Nihon no Jinruigaku to Nihon Shigaku* (Japanese Anthropology and Historiography). In *Iwanami Kōza Nihon Tsūshi: Bekkan 1 Rekishi Ishiki no Genzai (Iwanami Lectures on Japanese General History: Annexed Volume 1 The Present State of Historical Consciousness)*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten: 123–147.
- Shimizu, Akitoshi. 1997. Colonialism and the Development of Modern Anthropology in Japan. In *Anthropology and Colonialism in Asia and Oceania*, edited by Jan van Bremen and Akitoshi Shimizu. London: Routledge: 115–171.

- Shimizu, Akitoshi, and Jan van Bremen (eds.). 2003. *Wartime Japanese Anthropology in Asia and the Pacific* (Senri Ethnological Studies 65). Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.
- Taihoku Teikoku Daigaku Dozoku Jinshugaku Kenkyūshitsu (Institute of Ethno-Racial Studies, Taipei Imperial University). 1935. *Taiwan Takasagozoku Keitō Shozoku no Kenkyū* (A Study of the Genealogy and Classification of Taiwanese Aborigines). Tokyo, Taipei: Tone Shoin,
- Terada, Kazuo. 1991. *Nihon no Jinruigaku* (Japanese Anthropology). Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten.
- Thompson, Eric C. and Vineeta Sinha (eds). 2019. *Southeast Asian Anthropologies: National Traditions and Transnational Practices*. Arts Link, Singapore: NUS Press.
- Torii, Ryūzō. 1976. *Jinruigaku Kenkyū, Taiwan no Genjūmin 1: Joron* (An Anthropological Study of Taiwanese Aborigines 1: Introduction” (orig. 1910). In *Torii Ryūzō Zenshū 5* (Collected Works of Ryūzō Torii 5). Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha: 3–74.
- Yamaji, Katsuhiko (ed.). 2011. *Nihon no Jinruigaku: Shokuminchi-shugi, Ibunka Kenkyū, Gakujutsu Chōsa no Rekishi* (Japanese Anthropology: The History of Colonialism, Study of Other Cultures, and Academic Fieldwork). Nishinomiya: Kwansai Gakuin University Press.
- Yamashita, Shinji. In press. *Nihon Jinruigaku no Ketsumyaku: Denshō no Genba to Ronri* (The Genealogy of Japanese Anthropology: The Field and Logic of Tradition). Tokyo: Fūkyōsha.
- Yamashita, Shinji, Joseph Bosco, and J. S. Eades (eds). 2004. *The Making of Anthropology in East and Southeast Asia*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Yoshida, Teigo. 1972. *Nihon no Tsukimono: Shakai Jinruigakuteki Kōsatsu* (Possession in Japan: A Social Anthropological Analysis). Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha.

Takami Kuwayama

tkuwayama.anth.ucla.89@gmail.com

Hokkaidō University

Vintage Hunters: Creating Vintage in The Czech Republic

Varvara Borisova

<https://doi.org/10.46585/cargo.2024.2.31>

Abstract: The paper examines the creation of value in Czech vintage stores, focusing on how sellers transform pre-owned garments into desirable vintage items. Based on twelve semi-structured interviews and observations at seller-organized events, I explore the strategies and practices sellers employ to produce and enhance the value of second-hand clothing. The research highlights that they draw on their expertise, knowledge, and skills to justify the value of garments and reintegrate them into the market exchange. The findings suggest that while sellers perceive value as intrinsic to the quality of the item, the process of “valuing” (Heuts & Mol, 2013) requires their active engagement. This paper aims to contribute to the growing scholarship on thrift and second-hand economies (Greeson, 2018; Brooks, 2019; Alexander & Sosna, 2022), highlighting the interplay between sustainability, nostalgia, and fashion.

Keywords: vintage fashion, material culture, anthropology of value, consumption, thrifting

Introduction

“Used clothes have this one great advantage, you know... these clothes have been around for a while, had some kind of a life, and you can see how the fabric changes as the clothes get old and live on,” – says Aneta as we sit in her vintage boutique in Prague. It is closed now because of the Covid-19 pandemic, and we are wearing masks – a reality that seems so unreal.

Fieldnotes, February 2021

When I started my research in 2020, it was already apparent that fieldwork (spending time in thrift stores and talking to customers and sellers) was impossible, and even setting up an interview proved challenging. That’s why I immediately agreed when Aneta offered to meet in person (while observing all safety measures). Eventually, safety restrictions were lifted, shops reopened, and my research had a happy ending – all the stores I have been in contact with made it through the pandemic. They proved to be resilient, just like the clothes sold there.

Social scientists were interested in second-hand clothing long before Vogue started publishing lists of the best thrift shops and vintage retailers. While many studies are dedicated to customer motivations and attitudes (see, e.g., Palmer, 2005; Lemire, 2005; Jenß, 2005; Cassidy & Bennett, 2012), the sellers’ perspectives and practices have received less attention. During his ethnographic research in the Community Thrift Store in San Francisco, Frederik Larsen (2018; 2023) examined how used things transform into commodities on their path from the donation box to the shelf. He identifies several valuation practices employed by the store workers “in order to allow [objects] re-enter the second-hand economies” (Larsen, 2018: 156). For instance, drawing inspiration from Mary Douglas, Larsen argues that the cultural value is attached to the objects through the process of categorization.

Along the same lines, Liroy Choufan and Nir Tila-Cohen (2023) in their study of The Realreal Online Marketplace investigate how the company develop strategies to “alter the narrative of cultural biography” (2023: 21). The marketplace which specializes on selling branded objects focuses customers’ attention on the originality of items while detaching them from previous owners. The authors conclude that The Realreal steps in as “self-appointed fashion police” (ibid.) and, as it is apparent from its name, is in charge of making sure that the goods are authentic.

The second-hand economy of used clothes, including the sellers’ practices of valuation, is thoroughly explored by Emma Greeson (2018) who conducted her

ethnographic fieldwork in the UK and Poland. Her research, guided by the questions “How is used clothes made valuable?” (2018: xiii), sheds light on the global supply chain of second-hand clothes and traces processes of value production. Greeson points out that Polish consumers seek for quality items and thus become “experts at recognizing clothes that they consider to be good quality” (2018: 210). She, however, argues that it would be misleading to explain such approach to the clothes-buying by the lower economic status of Poland compared to the Western societies.

Greeson refers to the paper by Smith, Kostelecký, and Jehlička that examines relationships between consumption, sustainability, and class formation (2015). Their study conducted in Poland and the Czech Republic concludes that as economic development and incomes rise, the consumption habits of the Polish and Czech middle classes do not evolve in the same way as they do in Western countries. The authors argue that “quiet sustainability” practices such as food self-provisioning remain popular not as survival strategies but to “nourish and represent their own identity” and maintain social relationships and networks (2015: 231). Authors call for further research focused on practices of quiet sustainability not in terms of environment-friendly behavior but rather experiences of solidarity, sharing, pleasure, and exuberance (*ibid.*).

The majority of studies focused on the consumption of used clothes have emerged, as Greeson (2018: 50) puts it, in the starting (the USA, the UK, Western Europe) and ending points (South Asia, Southeast Asia, Africa) of the supply chains, while “midpoint countries” like Poland and other countries of Central and Eastern Europe remain an underexamined region. This paper aims to contribute to filling this gap. I draw on twelve semi-structured interviews conducted with shop owners (nine interviews), experts working in fashion industry (two interviews), and an employee of a vintage boutique. Apart from the data generated through interviews, the paper is based on observations at events organized by the sellers such as a launch of new collection or a pop-up sale.

My goal was to study the creation of value in the context of Czech vintage stores, so the analysis was guided by the following questions: How do the sellers produce the value of pre-owned pieces? What practices and strategies do they employ and what knowledge and skills do they mobilize? How aspects like nostalgia or fashion uniqueness contribute to increasing the value of a garment? After briefly outlining main anthropological theories of value production, I introduce Aneta, one of the study participants – her story is the narrative backbone of the paper. I then present the findings which are organized into three sections: Creating Value, Finding Skvostalgia, and Telling Stories.

Anthropological Theories of Value: Review

The question of the origin and nature of the value is one of the fundamental areas of anthropological interest and first appeared in the works of the French sociologist Marcel Mauss, who put forward the idea that the value of an object depends on the context of exchange. Almost one hundred years after the publication of *The Gift* (1925), anthropologists are still studying how value is created and defined in different societies.

According to Karl Marx (1857), every commodity is characterized by two types of value: use value and exchange value. While use value, which is only performed in the process of consumption, expresses the usefulness of an object and its ability to satisfy needs, exchange value is rooted in the amount of social labor invested in its production. However, once a commodity is bought and sold on the market, the true source of its value is replaced by the idea that it is inherent to the object and arises from its qualities. This process of attributing various properties to objects and creating the capitalist illusion that their value derives from their very nature is what Marx calls “commodity fetishism” (Marx, 1985 [1857]).

An influential author within the theory of value is the American anthropologist David Graeber, whose book *Towards an Anthropological Theory of Value: The False Coin of Our Own Dreams* (2001) provides a comprehensive overview of all anthropological conceptions of value to date. Graeber argues that value can be conceptualized in three different ways: value in the sociological sense (the idea of what is ultimately good, proper, or desirable in human life), value in the economic sense (the degree to which objects are desired), and value in the linguistic sense, or “meaningful difference” (Graeber, 2001).

In his text, Graeber outlines how anthropological perceptions of economic value have developed over time. According to Georg Simmel, value is rooted in the exchange and is measured based on what a person is willing to give up to acquire an object – value thus is an effect of individual desire. Simmel’s definition is further developed by Arjun Appadurai when he writes about regimes of value being established by the elites in the competition to dominate and control exchange and consumption (Appadurai, 1986). In contrast, the American anthropologist Annette Weiner, the author of the concepts of alienable and inalienable property, considers the source of value a fear of losing a particular object (Weiner, 1992).

A unique approach to the origins and nature of value is proposed by British anthropologist Marilyn Strathern (see, e.g., Strathern, 1984; Strathern, 1988). Value, according to Strathern, is the meaning attributed by society to an object within a broader system in the Saussurean sense (Graeber, 2001: 39). She argues

that value, which is essentially a meaningful difference, originates by placing an object within some more extensive system of categories.

However, Graeber concludes that more than the theories described above is needed. The truth lies beyond the economizing notion of desirability and Strathern's semiotic paradigm: what unites both approaches is that they see value as static and stable. A compromise, the author believes, might be the work of the American anthropologist Nancy Munn, who argues that value emerges in action and arises from a social process in which the human action potential is "transformed into concrete, tangible forms" (Graeber, 2001: 45). In the book, Graeber offers his own conception of value, which, according to DuBois and Salas (2021), attempts to synthesize all the theories described above and sees value as meaning that is created in the process of action: "Rather than value is the process of public recognition itself, already suspended in social relations, it is the way people who could do almost anything (including, in the right circumstances, creating entirely new sorts of social relation) assess the importance of what they do, in fact, do, as they are doing it" (Graeber, 2001: 47).

Referring to the studies summarized in the Introduction (Greeson, 2018; Larsen, 2018; Larsen, 2023; Choufan & Tila-Cohen, 2023), the process of value creation in the context of used clothes involves certain actions, knowledge, and material transformations invested into reintegrating a garment back to the circulation. Although, as I outline in this paper, the sellers perceive the value of a vintage piece as inherent and tied to its intrinsic features, they develop strategies and engage in practices that actively construct the value (cf. Greeson, 2018). I argue that the sellers act as mediators who, by leveraging their skills and experience, assume the authority to decide what is valuable.

"I Love to Hunt"

Aneta is a woman in her early thirties with fifteen years of experience in the fashion industry. She is particularly passionate about vintage clothes because it runs in her family – her mother ran several second-hand stores in Prague in the 1990s. After the Velvet Revolution of 1989 and the fall of the communist regime, thrift shops were one of the few places where people could buy clothes from "the West." Their popularity and number grew rapidly; however, the importance of second-hand clothing began to decline gradually once clothing retailers like H&M, Zara, etc., appeared on the Czech market at the turn of the century. Due to the change in the consumerist practices of the Czech citizens, who turned their attention to first-hand shopping, a stigma started to build up around used pieces. In her paper dedicated to second-hand clothes in Hong Kong, Clark (2005) writes

that in the context of a growing economy, used garments are associated with poverty and non-conformity. In Czechia, some people still associate second-hand shopping with “impurity” and believe it can negatively impact the buyer’s social status (see, e.g., Han et al., 2017). However, in the past few years, this narrative began to change – now, thrifting in Czechia is widely perceived as an alternative to first-hand shopping.

For the last ten years, Aneta has worked as a visual merchandiser with a fast fashion brand. Fast fashion brands can quickly respond to changing trends and distribute new items rapidly while maintaining low prices (Hall, 2017). Such efficiency often comes at a cost to the environment and workers. Aneta left her job when she realized that fast fashion philosophy was at odds with her ethics and beliefs.

Aneta describes her fashion approach as slow fashion. Slow fashion builds on principles of environmental sustainability and fair trade, calls for slowing down the whirlwind of trends, and promotes conscious consumption. Fletcher & Grose describe slow fashion as “a blatant discontinuity with the practices of today’s sector; a break from the values and goals of fast (growth-based) fashion” (2012: 128). Shopping for vintage clothes can be perceived as a part of the slow fashion consumer strategy. Aneta says she is on a mission to popularize slow fashion as an alternative to fast fashion brands, prompting her to start this business with her mother. Now they co-run two vintage boutiques in Prague.

According to the study participants, the primary source of the used garments is countries of Western and Northern Europe. Some owners work directly with suppliers from abroad (mainly the UK), and the rest rely on Czech importers. Other sources of supply include local charity shops, flea markets, and junkshops. Many study participants told me they often travel to other cities and even countries looking for vintage treasures they can bring to their stores.

Every two or three weeks, Aneta and her mother go to a *hrabarna* (from the Czech word *hrabat se* – to rummage), a wholesale second-hand clothing store. They have everything they need in their blue IKEA bags: tape to mark minor imperfections, small lamps (because of the poor lighting in the store), and more IKEA bags for “the loot.” The clothes they like undergo multiple sortings, are tried on and carefully examined. Aneta also tries to learn the origin of each garment, searching for brand names on the Internet and looking through old collections:

“We take the piece and go through it, every single seam. We look at the buttons, the zipper to fasten, the size, if it’s not shrunken, the color, if it’s not frayed, just everything. So, it’s not just about “It’s nice, let’s take it,” but first, it’s nice, we like it – we put it to the side. We’ve got a big pile of clothes, and then we’re

doing a proper, thorough check – of woolen coats to see if it's been eaten by a moth somewhere or if there's a spot somewhere. Plus, the lights are awful in those sheds, so sometimes we bring a lamp to plug in.”

The goal is to discover a *poklad* (Czech for treasure) – an item with unique features that, for some reason, has been overlooked by others. Elizabeth Parsons (2007) describes this process as “finding objects” (Aneta uses the word *lovit* – to hunt). During the hunt, Aneta mobilizes her skills and expertise in order to detect a worthy piece:

“I absolutely love [hunting]; that's why I do it. I always get a terrible adrenaline rush from it, and everyone laughs at me about what an adrenaline rush it is to go to the wholesale, but what I love about it is that you go there and – what do you find now? And you rummage, and then you find this treasure, and that's what I enjoy so much about it. I think a person who doesn't like that can't do it because that's a lot of work.”

Aneta goes through the piles of clothes to discover garments that can be saved from the liminality of wholesale and returned to the world of what Thompson calls “transient and durable things” (Thompson, 2017). She has strict criteria: no fast fashion brands and only natural materials, but sometimes for the sake of thrift, she can bend the rules and purchase something that does not entirely match her vision. In this case, she says, it is all about “saving a garment” and “passing it on.” For Aneta, one of the thrift's main goals is to keep objects on the move. A vintage garment must live its social life and never stop circulating because, according to the sellers, this is its ideal biography (see, e.g., Appadurai, 1986; Kopytoff, 1986) – it must not end up undiscovered in a wholesale store.

“Sometimes the garment is so good but then I find out that it is not vintage. Just somebody managed to make a good piece of clothes [in the last years]. I am not against that. Sure, that's not quite vintage but is of good quality and unique, and it is second-hand. I just qualify it as a valuable thing that deserves to be brought back [to the market].”

Once the treasure is found, it travels from the chaos of the wholesale to the aestheticized space of the boutique. A garment is cleaned, steamed, repaired if needed, and photographed – Aneta publishes some of the most unique pieces on the boutique's official Instagram account to let the followers know about the new delivery. She sometimes publishes the photo alongside a certain fashion

inspiration – for example, Carrie Bradshaw’s outfits from the *Sex and the City* or Princess Diana’s paparazzi photos. This strategy can be perceived as what Greeson calls a “narrative individualization” (2018: 163) aimed at creating a background story of the garment.

Before putting a cleaned and steamed piece on display, Aneta must think through the price. She believes that it is fair and consistent that used clothes in her store sometimes cost the same as the new ones from the retail. According to her and other sellers, vintage garments of high quality are much more resilient, and thus more valuable than fast fashion goods that will soon look worn out. Aneta also believes that setting low prices for used clothes can trigger overconsumption such as when, for example, people buy cheap second-hand garments for themed parties or photoshoots – and then throw them away. She stands her ground when it comes to pricing and without hesitation argues with customers who question her prices. Aneta is convinced that people who have *knowledge* understand the mechanism behind the pricing of vintage garments and are eager to pay more for one piece from her store than for several items from a fast fashion chain.

“We had a beautiful woolen men’s hat in the window display, and an elderly couple came in to ask about it. And then the lady looked around and said, ‘Is it a second-hand?’ and I answered, ‘Yes, it is,’ and it was like I’d insulted them, like I’d said a something vulgar, so they left straight away. I thought it was really funny.”

Once Aneta sets the price, she finds a spot for the garment in the store. The store space, like the pieces sold here, is aesthetic but also functional.

Aneta opens the store, and we enter. The space looks more like a clothing atelier – naked mannequins with tailoring meters around their necks, fabrics, a steamer, Ikea bags full of clothes. She explains that now, during the lockdown, is the best time to prepare pieces for sale. Shelves and stands are placed along the walls, two armchairs and a coffee table are in the middle of the store – Aneta offers that we sit here during the interview. There is no cash register as such, but a payment terminal, a tablet, and a box for cash are hidden in a cabinet near the entrance. I especially like the colors – a combination of navy blue and oak brown, an “old money” palette. We sit down, and Aneta puts aside a glass vase with flowers, so we can see each other.

Aneta explains that she wants customers to feel comfortable. They can rest in big leather armchairs or have a glass of water. Fitting cabins have enough

space and good lightning. People working at the store are always here to help. Compared to the bustling atmosphere of Primark or Zara shops, where bright lights and energetic pop music are meant to motivate customers to sprint around the three stores, Aneta's boutique appears as an oasis of calmness in the world of ultra-fast fashion, with slow lounge music and fresh flowers on the coffee table.

Like many fashion brands, Aneta wants to build a name and, in addition to the visual aspect of marketing and advertising (logo, corporate font, professional photo, and video shoots), pays attention to elaborating the values and philosophy that her brand represents. She also tries to make her store look a little like a fashion house by preparing new collections. Unlike Dior or Gucci collections, created "from scratch" for the upcoming season and a fashion show, vintage collections have the nature of bricolage: a parallel can be drawn here with Lévi-Strauss's comparison of bricoleur and engineer (Lévi-Strauss, 1962). According to the French anthropologist, while an engineer chooses tools and materials based on the goals, a bricoleur operates with whatever she has at hand to create something entirely new; Aneta, like a bricoleur, uses pre-existing garments to create a "new" collection. I argue that the preparation and presentation of new collections serve a dual purpose: first, as with the tradition of fashion houses, a sense of luxury and exclusivity is evoked; second, belonging to a collection makes the garment more than a mere second-hand item; it is "elevated" as a part of a collection, which may increase its desirability.

Building a community around the store is also very important. Aneta admits that she is happy if customers tag the store on social media. Aneta sees "sharing and tagging" as a very effective, unobtrusive, and authentic form of promotion. For this reason, some stores often develop unique hashtags that customers can use on social media. Aneta believes it creates a sense of belonging, which can be described as "being in the club" (Duffy et al., 2012: 521).

So far, I have used the words "second-hand" and "vintage" somewhat interchangeably, in the manner of the study participants. But according to the standard definition used by professional vintage dealers, only a clothing item from a designer brand and older than at least 25 years can be considered vintage (Veenstra & Kuipers, 2013). Nevertheless, for Aneta and other sellers, the line between second-hand and vintage is not that strict but rather porous and blurry – they refer to their stores as vintage boutiques despite selling pre-owned contemporary garments along genuine vintage pieces.

According to Aneta, "vintage" can be used for clothes that is unique, lasting, of timeless design, and high-quality, and her definition does not exclude items from last year collections. In this context, vintage is not a chronological category but rather a set of certain features. Through hand-picking garments that meet

her definition of a vintage piece and creating a curated selection of pre-owned items, Aneta, like The Realreal, steps in between the wholesale and the customer as “vintage police.” Once a garment is in her store, it is not old and used – it is vintage. Aneta does not merely find vintage garments in a wholesale store – she engages in “doing vintage” (Duffy et al., 2012: 519) which requires learning and acquiring specific cultural capital and knowledge developed with time and experience. She *makes* them vintage.

Creating Value

As the overview section indicates, value in anthropology is not a given characteristic of an object but is derived from the social context. The study participants, however, perceive the value of vintage clothes ontologically: they believe that the value is the garment’s intrinsic feature that originates from its essence. When I asked Aneta what is so special about the vintage garments, she said, “quality.” But from the conversation, it becomes apparent that by “quality,” she means the material.

Aneta tells me about the woolen garments: “When you buy a woolen coat, it will last your whole life, and then you will pass it to your daughter. While wearing a polyester coat feels like wearing a plastic bottle.”

According to Aneta, the value of vintage garments is rooted in the material. Wool has value because it lasts longer and keeps you warm in winter. For Aneta, the material is the main reason for the item being re-commodified and sent back into circulation. In Stallybrass’s essay, the coat had many purposes and meanings for Marx: it protected him from the cold weather and made him look like a respectable citizen who might be allowed entry to the British Museum (Stallybrass, 1998: 184). But the coat as the exchange value, which constantly circulated between Marx’s wardrobe and the pawnshop, was stripped of its utility: “The physical properties of goods only come into consideration at all insofar as the utility of the goods depends on them, i.e., insofar as they make the goods use-values. On the other hand, the exchange ratio of individual commodities is characterized precisely by abstracting from their use-values” (Marx, 1985 [1857]: 31).

But Aneta insists that the exchange value of a wool coat depends on its use value; in other words, the value of a coat depends directly on its ability to keep the wearer warm and stay resistant to wrinkles – and according to what I have seen in Aneta’s store, aesthetics and style also play a huge role. During the interviews, I noticed that some sellers have relatively limited expertise in textiles and fabrics,

which usually forces them to rely on personal experience, sensory perceptions, and the information on the label.

Aneta teaches me how to distinguish wool from non-wool: “Weight says a lot. A real woolen sweater is heavy. You can always tell.” She also tells me how to recognize cashmere, cotton, and silk, but silk is problematic even for Aneta: “I am right in 90% of cases, but I am never sure with the silk. I am always like, is it or is it not? Sometimes I just write it on the price tag, that I am not sure.”

Based on this conversation, it can be said that the essence of the material is related to the sense perception it evokes in physical contact. We can even speak here of double wool – wool-as-material and wool-as-feeling. The wool-as-feeling is a communication between the seller and the customer. The seller is a translator between the garment and the customer, constructing the object’s value by attaching specific ontological properties. The seller also represents an elite group that controls the flow of things and produces regimes of value where a wool coat has more value than a polyester coat but always loses to a cashmere one (Appadurai, 1986).

The value of a wool coat also arises from the temporal aspect: the longer it lasts, the more valuable it is. This attitude implies two interpretations: on the one hand, the economizing individual seeks to minimize costs and maximize utility, but on the other hand, the interest in the estimated “life expectancy” of a coat is indicative of a change in consumer behavior towards more sustainable strategies (Vivienne Westwood’s famous “buy less, choose well, make it last” principle). There is a third explanation, which recurs in interviews: since these are second-hand items, the fact that they are in good condition after several decades is evidence of their quality.

Aneta shows me some garments at her store: “These things should be much more expensive because they are so high-quality. It lasts long. It is resilient. When I know that it has been worn for 20 years, I know it will serve me at least for the next ten years.”

For the sellers, the value depends on the garment’s ability to survive in the best possible condition. Aneta says that such a “test of time” indicates the presence of certain intrinsic qualities that guarantee the garment will last. By attributing different characteristics to an object, the sellers can return it to circulation and increase its value by changing the social context. As Parsons puts it, the sellers “are involved in creating new lives for objects, as they die in one context, they are revived in another, thus becoming re-enchanted” (2005: 89). Hence, the original

value, derived from the temporal aspect, can grow along the way from the wholesale to the store. In their study on tomatoes, Heuts and Mol (2013) use the word “valuing” instead of “valuation” to suggest the processual nature of value – value is performative and can be tinkered with. This approach implies that value is not the result of some immutable properties but is also shaped by individual practices that the study participants believe would benefit the value of a piece.

A crucial tinkering technique that can increase an object’s value is care. As if speaking of living beings, Aneta says that vintage garments deserve to be adequately cared for. Care is not only about washing and ironing but about providing the best possible care for the garment:

“We try to educate customers about care. We tell them about the material, why it is different, and how they should wash it, dry it, store it, and iron it. We have these pamphlets about cashmere, wool, merino wool, and silk, so customers do not need to look for information. They just get a pamphlet with a purchase.”

By caring for the pieces, Aneta also manifests her care for customers – she makes maintaining a good shape of a garment easier for them. Like leather armchairs and good lights in the fitting cabins, information pamphlets serve the purpose of making a customer feel welcomed and valued. Aneta does not want people to simply leave with new clothes. She wants their shopping to be an *experience*. Aneta believes that such approach is the reason why people come back and become regular customers.

Aesthetics also plays an important role in the value production. The store space decorated with flowers and tasteful pictures, steamed and scented garments meticulously organized on the shelves, branded paper bags, aesthetic Instagram account with fashion inspirations – paying attention to these details allows Aneta to distinguish her store from what she and other sellers call “a suburb consignment store.” Such positioning of being rather a quasi-fashion brand than a clothing retailer enable them to claim authority to decide what is vintage and how valuable it should be (Aspers, 2008).

Aneta uses her fashion knowledge to discover worthy garments; she invests in care and makes them look desirable. Simply put, Aneta changes how customers see an item (cf. Parsons, 2005) highlighting their “intrinsic value” which is based on their quality and resilience. Thanks to specific symbolic capital and knowledge, Aneta can justify the value of used clothes and explain why it is better to buy a pre-owned wool coat for three thousand Czech crowns instead of a new acrylic blend coat from a fast fashion brand for the same price. In Graeber’s (2001) sense, vintage value is an effect of the seller’s actions.

Finding Skvostalgia

Unlike used contemporary clothes that Aneta decides to save from the liminality of the wholesale and bring back to the market because of their good quality and unique style, *true* vintage garments are perceived as artifacts of the past, conveying the atmosphere and sometimes moral values of the time (see, e.g., Jenß, 2005) when items were not thrown away but mended and passed on. Perhaps surprisingly, moral values constitute another important aspect of the vintage value. Aneta looks sad when she speaks about “how things used to be done.” This nostalgic narrative is strongly connected to an image of a mother or grandmother: during communist Czechoslovakia, many women had to actively care for the family possessions, including clothes, due to the deficit of new goods in the context of the socialist economic system and widely used upcycling and recycling techniques. It is particularly fascinating to see resemblances in consumption practices of those who lived through times of austerity and those who now live in prosperity.

Vintage consumption thus can be analyzed in terms of moral economy commonly conceptualized as “economic activities carried out by people who have values and aspirations and who live and act in a meaningful world” (Carrier, 2017: 31). As mentioned in the beginning, Aneta considers herself being “on a mission” of popularizing second-hand shopping and advocating for reducing fast fashion consumption. For her and other study participants, selling and buying pre-owned pieces is not merely about economic benefits but also engaging in the process of exchange that reflects and reinforces their ethical commitments and shared values. It helps to maintain a sense of community and mutual responsibility, where transactions are not just financial, but are also imbued with social and moral significance. As Herzfeld (2004) points out, nostalgia and longing for past times can be rooted in the feeling of “a damaged reciprocity: the virtue that has allegedly decayed always entails some measure of mutuality, a mutuality that has been, perhaps irreversibly, ruptured by the self-interest of modern times” (2004: 111). Such framing echoes the argument of Smith et al. (2015) that participating in consumption practices characterized as “quiet sustainability” is about cultivating social cohesion and mutual support rather than financial surviving or sustainable behavior.

Many study participants also believe that clothing production of the past focused on quality, while today, it is pushed forward by the urge to create greater profits. Czech vintage sellers thus see garments from the last century as products of honest, conscientious work, a lost standard of tailoring that survives in the form of vintage gems that are artifacts of the fashion industry’s golden age and must be, as such, found and preserved:

“I think things used to be done better than now. Now the industry is expanding, exploiting people and resources. It’s an awful machine. And before it came, fashion was different, and I think it is a beautiful idea to bring it back.”

I decided to name this feeling of longing “skvostalgia” derived from the words *skvost* (Czech for gem or masterpiece) and nostalgia. Skvostalgia can be defined as a longing for 20th-century clothing and accessories (mainly of Czechoslovakian and European production) that the sellers perceive as more high-quality and ethically made. Skvostalgia often manifests as resistance to contemporary fast fashion and positions itself against modern tendencies in both fashion and society. Most of the study participants can be described as skvostalgic according to their preferences: they highly value locally made vintage garments, look for inspiration in old European movies and magazines, and speak fondly of their grandmothers’ fashion outfits.

Another important point related to accelerated production is that of uniqueness: “Vintage has now shifted from subculture to mass culture because of the disappointing fact that, regardless of price, fashion today is rarely exclusive” (Palmer, 2005: 197). Vintage enthusiasts achieve the original look by combining the “present” and the “past.” Customers use this creative approach to clothing as an instrument to create a unique style and new identities (DeLong et al., 2005). The social critique of the drabness of mass-produced clothing, which often appears in fashion blogs and magazines, creates the impression that, while today’s assortment of retail brands is more akin to a “uniform,” vintage and second-hand stores are a source of not only quality but also unique garments. Vintage pieces in the wardrobe thus can act as a “symbol of fashion independence” (Palmer & Clark, 2005). This gives rise to the paradoxical notion that second-hand clothing boutiques provide a more extensive and diverse selection than first-hand stores (Miller, 2005). The main argument the sellers give for buying second-hand pieces is the desire to acquire something “that no one else will have.”

Even though Aneta used to work in retail, she never buys fast fashion: “You go there, and there is this one t-shirt on twenty hangers, and more than five people are trying it on. And when you go to a vintage store, there are these one-of-a-kind garments, and nobody else will have it.”

Vintage pieces have their *hau* (Mauss, 1925), but unlike the Maori *hau*, the vintage *hau* does not threaten the owner but gives them a sense of individual “fashion” power. But people wearing vintage clothes are not just passive protectors of fashion exhibits. Instead, they actively re-think and change the garments and how they are worn.

Aneta shows me an oversized blue shirt that probably used to be someone's office attire: "You can wear it as a jacket with a dress or just tie it up. It looks cool."

The skvostalgic critique is also directed at the consumer and condemns an individual's irresponsible and sometimes contemptuous behavior towards clothing resulting from the endless supply of cheap, readily available goods. There is no doubt that reuse can, to some extent, replace the consumption of new garments, provide a space for a circular approach to fashion and represent more sustainable shopping. But on the other hand, it can contribute to responsabilization. Those who shop vintage stereotypically consider people who, for some reason, refuse to shop second-hand "lacking knowledge" and criticize them for choosing fast fashion. Some sellers tend to idealize the concept of the responsible consumer who calculates the environmental and global impacts of their shopping choices.

As Richard Wilk writes, such "green consumerism" represents only a tiny, "passive" part of the activities that can prevent, or at least slow down, climate catastrophe (Wilk, 2009). Daniel Miller (2008) supports the same view – in the article "*What's wrong with consumption*", he argues that this rise of "eco-chic" can create tensions in society: sophisticated green consumers label people whose lifestyle is not green enough as "less educated, vulgar, and wasteful" (Miller, 2008: 45).

Telling Stories

Aneta finds vintage clothes beautiful not only because of their quality or link to the past; she likes the idea that the story of a garment can continue in her wardrobe: "I always say that I wish these clothes could tell their stories! I sometimes notice that some garments are adjusted or repaired, and I start imagining – what happened? What did the person who wore that dress go through?" I start to think about it as I look around and see all these garments in Aneta's store. There is a story behind every one of them: "I think it is a positive value rather than a negative, the fact that somebody wore it before me. Because this thing survived, like this sweater, I can imagine somebody wearing it in America... it just seems so sentimental to me."

Swedish anthropologists Staffan Appelgren and Anna Bohlin build on the ideas of Igor Kopytoff (1986) and develop the concept of cultural biographies. In their study of second-hand stores in Sweden, they approach circulation as "growth": "Similar to that of an organism, this growth is continuous, irreversible and dependent on forces both internal and external to it" (Appelgren & Bohlin, 2015: 143).

According to the authors, second-hand goods are a hybrid category between the anthropological dualism of gift and commodity (cf. Parsons, 2005). Second-hand objects are embedded in a dense network of social relations and sold along with their sociality, often perceived as their own “unique story.”

But a biography is not always desirable. As the study by Choufan and Tila-Cohen (2023) mentioned in the beginning illustrated, in some cases, the previous life of a garment is downplayed. Through highlighting the item’s belonging to a famous brand, The Realreal Marketplace “off-set[s] the histories of the items that it picks along the way” (Choufan & Tila-Cohen, 2023: 18) to enhance its chance to be resold. Greeson (2018: 163), on the contrary, observed that situating a garment within a particular historical narrative is one of the main valuation practices in Polish vintage shops. Nevertheless, as she points out, these narratives are far from a precise outline of the item’s life trajectory but rather represent a general temporal framing like, for example, “dress from the 60s.”

The sellers in Czech vintage stores also admitted that it is almost impossible to know the story behind the garments since they are rarely purchased directly from their previous owners. Still, the study participants repeatedly referred to second-hand items as “clothes with stories.” I assume that such “story” does not at all mean a timeline or an actual biography of an object. Rather, it implies the idea of its past as an “empty frame” that sellers fill out using their imagination. These invented biographies are usually, like in Greeson’s study, general and formless since indicating that the item had “a life before” is enough to contribute to its value. The story does not need to be specific. Little hints – such as adjustments, name tags, or clothing labels – work as well.

Conclusion

When I was leaving Aneta’s store, she told me to stop by sometime when the store was open. I did so several times, but I never met Aneta again. When I was looking through the clothes on the hangers, I could imagine Aneta in a wholesale store with her IKEA bag, looking for a unique *skvost* to bring back into circulation.

In this paper, I have focused on how the sellers of used clothes create its value. It appears that before making garments valuable, they have to make them vintage. Their expertise allows them to assume the authority and power to determine what is considered vintage within their stores. Like Aneta, the sellers rely on their knowledge about fashion and fabrics to justify the value of used clothes and its reintegration into market exchange. Although the study participants perceive the item’s value ontologically, as an intrinsic feature rooted in its quality, I argue that apart from detecting a worthy piece, they engage in different practices such

as material care, anesthetization, and situation within a narrative aimed at its valuing (Heuts & Mol, 2013) and valorization.

Thrift has a contradictory nature: a virtue and a sin at the same time (Alexander & Sosna, 2022). It is good when we talk about climate change and ecological consumption, but as demand for used garments grows, the second-hand industry must keep pace: researchers and activists warn about the devastating impact of second-hand clothing imports on the Global South emphasizing that only a tiny percentage of the used clothes is passed on to a second owner (see, e. g., Hanses, 2000; Brooks, 2019). It is good when we talk about fashion independence and creativity, but celebrities wearing vintage outfits on the red carpet are criticized for hypocrisy. It is good when we talk about preserving memory and traditions, but too much nostalgia can cause people to lose hope for the future.

The sellers shared that behind their idea to open a vintage shop was an intention to rescue and keep in the move garments that still have the potential to live their social lives. For some of them, this purpose has mainly environmental undertones, for others, it is about selling quality clothes. For Aneta, running vintage stores is her way to stand up for slow and sustainable fashion and defy the fast fashion domination. Vintage garments represent an analytically provocative dimension beyond traditional categories of the gift and the commodity. This brief exploration of the Czech vintage stores shows that vintage value intertwines with questions of fashion and style, sustainability and care, the past and the future – a vintage garment is never just valuable.

References

- Alexander, Catherine, and Daniel Sosna. 2022. *Thrift and Its Paradoxes: From Domestic to Political Economy*. New York: Berghahn.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 1986. Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value. In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, edited by Arjun Appadurai. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Appelgren, Staffan, and Anna Bohlin. 2015. Growing in Motion: The Circulation of Used Things on Second-Hand Markets. *Culture Unbound* 7 (1): 143–68.
- Aspers, Patrik. 2008. Knowledge and Valuation in Markets. *Theory and Society* 38 (2): 111–31.
- Brooks, Andrew. 2019. *Clothing Poverty: The Hidden World of Fast Fashion and Second-Hand Clothes*. Zed Books.
- Carrier, James G. 2017. Moral Economy: What's in a Name. *Anthropological Theory* 18 (1): 18–35.
- Cassidy, Tracy Diane, and Hannah Rose Bennett. 2012. The Rise of Vintage Fashion and the Vintage Consumer. *Fashion Practice* 4 (2): 239–61.

- Choufan, Liroy, and Nir Tila-Cohen. 2023. From Secondhand to Invisible Hand: Methods of Manipulating Object Biographies on the Realreal Online Marketplace. *Fashion Theory*, February: 1–26.
- Clark, Hazel. 2005. Second Hand Fashion, Culture and Identity in Hong Kong. In *Old Clothes, New Looks: Second Hand Fashion*, edited by Alexandra Palmer and Hazel Clark, 155–73. New York: Berg.
- DeLong, Marilyn, Barbara Heinemann, and Kathryn Reiley. 2005. Hooked on Vintage! *Fashion Theory* 9 (1): 23–42.
- DuBois, Lindsay, and Daniel Salas. 2021. Value and Politics: Introduction to the Special Issue. *Dialectical Anthropology* 45 (1): 3–7.
- Duffy, Katherine, Paul Hewer, and Juliette Wilson. 2012. ‘Granny Would Be Proud’: On the Labours of Doing Vintage, Practices and Emergent Socialities. *Advances in Consumer Research* 40: 2012.
- Fletcher, Kate, and Lynda Grose. 2012. *Fashion & Sustainability: Design for Change*. London, England: Laurence King.
- Graeber, David. 2001. *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value: The False Coin of Our Own Dreams*. New York: Palgrave.
- Greeson, Emma. 2018. Objects of Exchange: Used Clothing as Commodity, Gift, and Waste in England and Poland. San Diego: University of California.
- Hall, Jenny. 2017. Digital Kimono: Fast Fashion, Slow Fashion? *Fashion Theory* 22 (3): 283–307.
- Han, Sara Li-Chou, Claudia E. Henninger, Phoebe Apeageyi, and David Tyler. 2017. Determining Effective Sustainable Fashion Communication Strategies. In *Sustainability in Fashion: A Cradle to Upcycle Approach*, edited by Claudia E. Henninger, Panayiota J. Alevizou, Helen Goworek, and Daniella Ryding, 127–51. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Herzfeld, Michael. 2004. *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation-State*. New York; London: Routledge.
- Heuts, Frank, and Annemarie Mol. 2013. What Is a Good Tomato? A Case of Valuing in Practice. *Valuation Studies* 1 (2): 125–46.
- Jenß, Heike. 2005. Sixties Dress Only! The Consumption of the Past in a Retro Scene. In *Old Clothes, New Looks: Second Hand Fashion*, edited by Alexandra Palmer and Hazel Clark, 177–97. New York: Berg.
- Kopytoff, Igor. 1986. The Cultural Biography of Things: Commodization as Process. In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, edited by Arjun Appadurai. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Larsen, Frederik. 2018. Valuation in Action: Ethnography of an American Thrift Store. *Business History* 61 (1): 155–71.
- Larsen, Frederik. 2023. Selling Thrift: Work Practices in an American Thrift Store. *Journal of Business Anthropology* 12 (1).
- Lemire, Beverly. 2005. Shifting Currency: The Culture and Economy of the Second Hand Trade in England, C. 1600–1850. In *Old Clothes, New Looks: Second Hand Fashion*, edited by Alexandra Palmer and Hazel Clark, 49–82. New York: Berg.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1962. *The Savage Mind*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Marx, Karl. (1857) 1985. *Capital*. London: Penguin Books.

- Mauss, Marcel. (1925) 2000. *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Miller, Daniel. 2005. Introduction. In *Clothing as Material Culture*, edited by Susanne Küchler and Daniel Miller, 1–19. Oxford: Berg.
- Miller, Daniel. 2008. What's Wrong with Consumption? *RSA Journal (Journal of the Royal Society for the Arts)*. <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/anthropology/people/academic-and-teaching-staff/daniel-miller/whats-wrong-consumption>
- Palmer, Alexandra. 2005. Vintage Whores and Vintage Virgins: Second Hand Fashion in the Twenty-First Century. In *Old Clothes, New Looks: Second Hand Fashion*, edited by Alexandra Palmer and Hazel Clark, 197–215. New York: Berg.
- Palmer, Alexandra, and Hazel Clark (eds). 2005. *Old Clothes, New Looks: Second Hand Fashion*. 1st ed. Oxford; New York: Berg.
- Parsons, Elizabeth. 2005. Dealing in Secondhand Goods: Creating Meaning and Value. *European Advances in Consumer Research* 7.
- Parsons, Elizabeth. 2007. Thompson's Rubbish Theory: Exploring the Practices of Value Creation. *European Advances in Consumer Research* 8.
- Smith, Joe, Tomáš Kostelecký, and Petr Jehlička. 2015. Quietly Does It: Questioning Assumptions about Class, Sustainability and Consumption. *Geoforum* 67 (December): 223–32.
- Stallybrass, Peter. 1998. Marx's Coat. In *Border Fetishisms: Material Objects in Unstable Spaces*, edited by Patricia Spyer, 183–207. New York: Routledge.
- Strathern, Marilyn. 1984. Subject or Object? Women and the Circulation of Valuables in High-Lands New Guinea. In *Women and Property, Women as Property*, edited by Renee Hirschon, 158–75. New York: St, Martin's Press.
- Strathern, Marilyn. 1988. *The Gender of the Gift*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Thompson, Michael. 2017. *Rubbish Theory*. London: Pluto Press.
- Veenstra, Aleit, and Giseline Kuipers. 2013. It Is Not Old-Fashioned, It Is Vintage, Vintage Fashion and the Complexities of 21st Century Consumption Practices. *Sociology Compass* 7 (5): 355–65.
- Weiner, Annette B. 1992. *Inalienable Possessions*. University of California Press.
- Wilk, Richard. 2009. Consuming Ourselves to Death. In *Anthropology and Climate Change: From Encounters to Actions*, edited by Susan A Crate and Mark Nuttall, 29–39. Durham: Duke University Press.

Varvara Borisova

varvara.borisova@fhs.cuni.cz

Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology
Faculty of Humanities
Charles University
Prague, Czech Republic

O imaginaci českých rozvojových inženýrů

Jan Werner

<https://doi.org/10.46585/cargo.2024.2.139>

Abstract: On the imagination of Czech development engineers. When it comes to designing buildings, the architects' or civil engineers' imagination plays an irreplaceable role. However, it remains a relatively unexplored topic in contemporary anthropology. In this study, I focus on the mobilization of imagination in the context of Czech development engineering, as taught and practised in the broader engineering community centred around the International Centre for Development Projects of the Czech Technical University. Here, imagination allows development civil engineers to replace elements to which they lack access while working on their designs (be it the development needs and characteristics of the target locality or its residents). At the same time, it allows them to test their solutions beforehand by means of thought experiments. Nevertheless, the broad use of imagination within the design process comes at a cost. While development constructions aspire to remain grounded in the local architectural tradition, the overuse of imagination might render such "tradition" a hollow concept. Replacing the local with the imaginary at the designing stage also leads to problems with the subsequent acceptance of the designs by the locals. However, most importantly, by reproducing and widening the divide between donors and recipients, an insufficiently critical deployment of imagination may undermine the main principles which underpin contemporary development engineering.

Keywords: STS, building design, imagination, imaginaries, architecture, civil engineering, development, development assistance

O imaginaci českých rozvojových inženýrů

Málokoho by napadlo zpochybňovat míru představivosti, již prokazují architekti, stavební inženýři či designéři, kdykoli navrhují novou budovu.¹ Navzdory tomu zůstává designéřská imaginace v literatuře oblastí spíše neprozkoumanou. Materiálně-sémiotické přístupy navazující na teorii sítí aktérů – o něž se opírá i tento text – se kupříkladu detailně zabývají tím, jakým způsobem jsou do návrhu vepisovány charakteristiky, představy užití či skripty fungování a jakým způsobem se realizují po uvedení dané budovy do provozu. V této souvislosti mj. pozorují řadu úvah, představ či námitek, které formulují nejenom sami autoři, ale také zadavatelé, nejrůznější stakeholderi či více-než-lidské prvky v místě plánované realizace. Pozornost však zpravidla směřuje k tomu, jak se fungování výsledných objektů odchyluje od původních autorských představ (srov. Akrich, 1992; Edensor, 2005; Gieryn, 2002; Beisel a Schneider, 2012; de Laet a Mol, 2000; Law, 1992 a 2002; Law a Callon, 1992).

Přímo problematice imaginace se věnují konkrétní studie z oblasti urbánní antropologie či antropologie místa a prostoru. Důraz je v nich ale kladen na představy osob, které se v daném prostoru pohybují, poznávají jej a vytváří si k němu specifické vztahy (srov. Whitaker, 2015; Mjaaland, 2017) – a nikoli na ty, které jeho podobu (spolu-)vytvořily. Až na výjimky (např. Murphy, 2005) tak zůstávají upozaděny otázky spojené s imaginací autorskou, na něž se zaměřuji v této studii. Jaké role tato imaginace architektů a inženýrů sehrává v samotném procesu navrhování konkrétních budov? Jakými způsoby je mobilizována a jaké má její využití dopady na výsledek?

Uvedené otázky by patrně bylo možné vztáhnout k jakékoli konstrukci. V této studii se specificky zaměřuji na stavby rozvojové, projektované v českém prostředí, a to ve volně vymezené komunitě rozvojových inženýrů, studentů a architektů spolupracujících či napojených na Centrum pro mezinárodní rozvojové projekty ČVUT v Praze. Rozvojové stavby z tohoto prostředí mají jistá specifika související právě s jejich původem. Jejich autoři zpravidla nemají přístup k místu budoucí realizace (často jej ani přesně neznají) a zřídka kdy spolupracují s konkrétním zadavatelem či budoucími uživateli stavby. V daleko větší míře než jiní designéři, kterým se již věnují antropologické studie, se tak musí spoléhat na (re-)konstrukci budoucího fungování staveb na základě nepřímých poznatků. Jak ukazují v této studii, jako klíčový nástroj jim v tomto směru slouží právě jejich vlastní imaginace. Její využívání přitom má pro výsledné designy efekty pozitivní i negativní.

¹ Za cenné připomínky k této studii bych rád poděkoval jejím anonymním recenzentům. Za zpětnou vazbu k vícero verzím textu pak Tereze Stöckelové. Jejich podněty mi významně pomohly při domyšlení a zpřesnění předložené argumentace.

Teoretická a metodologická východiska: od designu k imaginaci

Proces navrhování staveb lze v materiálně-sémiotické perspektivě vztáhnout k problematice nesamozřejmosti a vyjednávání konkrétních socio-materiálních uspořádání, kterým se v souvislosti s technologiemi (či přímo budovami) zabývalo vícero studií. I Latour ostatně pracuje právě s metaforou budovy jakožto výsledku souhry heterogenního (lidského, materiálního) působení, když ve studii *Promises of Constructivism* vysvětluje samotný pojem konstrukce (2003: 3). Konkrétněji se nesamozřejmosti a důsledkům socio-materiálního uspořádání věnují například Moser a Law (1998), když na příkladu ženy s postižením pozorují to, jakým způsobem je její handicap produkován vzájemným vztahem mezi jejími schopnostmi a uspořádáním světa – včetně jejího bytu – s nimiž v během každodenního života interaguje. Přímo architektuře se v podobném duchu věnuje Edensor (2005), který popisuje nesamozřejmost starých továrních budov, resp. jejich úpadek poté, co přestanou existovat sociální a materiální vazby, které je udržovaly v původně zamýšlené a vyjednané podobě.

Další autoři materiálně-sémiotické prostředky využívají přímo k analýze procesu vzniku designů a budov. Kurokawa, Schweber a Hughes (2016) zkoumají způsob, jímž v průběhu vypracování architektonického návrhu designéři interagují s klienty a dalšími stakeholdery. Ty přitom nevnímají jako uzavřenou skupinu osob, které přichází s konkrétním zadáním a po předání projekt vyhodnotí, nýbrž jako účastníky procesu navrhování. Klienti mezi sebou navzájem i s designéry v průběhu tvorby designu aktivně vyjednávají a mobilizují další aktéry (lidské i více-než-lidské) tak, aby do výsledného socio-materiálního uskupení – nové univerzitní budovy – co nejlépe vepsali vlastní zájmy. Gieryn (2002) se naopak na příkladu Cornell Biotechnology Center v Ithace zabývá otázkou, jaké hlavní zájmy byly do budovy vepisovány v průběhu její koncepce a jak se postavené budově daří původní záměry zadavatelů a autorů realizovat. Konkrétně zjišťuje, že se budově daří budovat synergie mezi konkrétními disciplínami a vylučovat jiné; a že naopak selhala v propojení akademického a aplikovaného výzkumu a oddělení výzkumu od výuky, která nadále probíhá v rámci práce v laboratořích.

Pro účely tohoto textu je zásadní, že se uvedené studie v zásadě shodují na chápání procesu designování budov coby komplexního vyjednávání jejich autorů (architektů/inženýrů/designérů) s klienty, uživateli či dalšími skupinami dotčených aktérů, lidských i jiných. V případě českého rozvojového inženýrství je situace odlišná. Jak bude vysvětleno níže, rozvojoví inženýři zpravidla nereagují na požadavky formulované komunitami příjemců či rozvojovými organizacemi, nýbrž se sami pokoušejí prostudovat konkrétní rozvojový problém a navrhnout pro něj vhodné řešení. Při vypracování návrhu se tedy designér namísto

projektování pro konkrétní lokalitu pokouší o rekonstrukci neznámého rozvojového prostoru, potřeb a řešení. Jako hlavní nástroj mu při tom slouží jeho vlastní představivost – imaginace, kterou využívá k porozumění a stabilizaci lokality a jejímu promítnutí do vlastního návrhu.

Analytická mobilizace pojmu imaginace představuje určitou výzvu – a to z minimálně tří důvodů. Předně v současné antropologii nejde o jednoznačně rozpracovaný pojem. Jak dokládají Rohrer a Thompson (2023) jednotliví autoři používají různé definice, imaginaci směšují s dalšími pojmy (např. fantazie) či pracují s nějakou její podmnožinou (imaginária), přičemž dosud neexistuje mnoho pokusů o teoretické sladění přístupů, tím méně pak o jejich sjednocení. Ještě znatelněji pak práci s imaginací komplikuje skutečnost, že samotný pojem může nebo nemusí označovat vícero aspektů imaginativní činnosti: samotnou schopnost si něco představovat, proces vytváření konkrétních představ i výsledky tohoto procesu. V neposlední řadě se pak jako problematické jeví to, že lze imaginaci obtížně pozorovat – přinejmenším s využitím standardních etnografických metod (viz též Salazar, 2020). Imaginace se odehrává v černé skřínce myslí jedné či více osob a značná část vstupů, proměnných i výstupů celého procesu zůstává mimo antropologovo zorné pole.

Pro potřeby této studie k imaginaci přistupuji podle definice Cangia a Zittoun jako „*stále proměnlivou, vtělenou a kreativní aktivitu, která je zároveň ukotvena a formuje okolní sociální a kulturní svět*“, jejímž smyslem může dle Ricoeurovy definice být: „(1) vyvolání nepřítomných, ale jinde existujících věcí; (2) vytvoření myšlenkových obrazů, které neexistují; (3) vytvoření reprezentací, které nahradí nepřítomné věci (např. obrazy či diagramy); (4) zobrazení věcí, které jsou nepřítomné či neexistují, ale u subjektu vytváří přesvědčení, že jsou empiricky pozorovatelné – doména iluzí“ (oboje citováno dle Salazar, 2020: 2). Zajímá mě přitom, proč a jak takto definovanou imaginaci rozvojoví inženýři mobilizují při navrhování konkrétních staveb, jaká je její role ve vzniku konkrétních designů, a jaká jsou úskalí tohoto přístupu v praxi.

Imaginaci chápu především jako nástroj v inženýrském repertoáru, který není ani nehmotnou esencí tvůrčího procesu, ani nestojí mimo exaktní a racionální designování. Imaginace je konkrétní postup, který je designérům k dispozici a který používají – individuálně i kolektivně – v kombinaci s dalšími postupy. Inspirací je pro mě v tomto směru studie Murphyho (2005) zaměřená na kolektivní imaginaci jakožto sociální aktivitu, při níž se skrze řeč, gesta, manipulaci s objekty či zhmotňování imaginace dostává mimo mozek původního nositele a může být předmětem konfrontace a vyjednávání s imaginacemi dalších osob. Tento fenomén konkrétně Murphy pozoruje na případu architektonického týmu v Kalifornii, který diskutuje rozpracovaný návrh budovy. Jeho členové imaginaci

přenáší do výkresů, ale následně doplňují o gesta rukou i celého těla, jakož i o verbální vysvětlivky. Výkresům tak dodávají dynamiku, 3D prostorovost i lidskou zkušenost, kterou si pro ně představili jednotliví členové týmu. Sdílením přitom dávají vzniknout imaginaci kolektivní.

Na uvedeném základě Murphy mj. ukazuje, že imaginace není lokalizovaná v mysli: při formulaci kolektivní představy je naopak de-lokalizována do návrhu a souvisejících hmotných i nehmotných prvků. Ty mohou být součástí jejího vyjádření, ale zároveň jí zpětně propůjčovat konkrétnější podobu: verbální popis, náskres či třeba gesto naznačující vjezd auta do budovy je vyjádřením představy jednoho architekta, ale také vstupním vjemem pro navazující, společné představy celého týmu. Delokalizace ve skupině vyniká, ale kolektivností podmíněna není: i samostatně pracující architekt využívá skici či počítačové programy, do nichž své původní představy převádí a následně jimi manipuluje jinými, často vizuálními či hmotnými nástroji, jež se samy stávají novými vjemy – vstupy pro jeho další imaginaci. Jak Murphy ukazuje, podstatou imaginace není poskytnutí prvního, abstraktního vstupu do jinak racionálního procesu architektonického navrhování, nýbrž opakované zpochybňování aspektů představy, k němuž dochází na základě kreativní aktivity.

Pro lepší uchopení ustálených, kolektivně tvořených představ používá Murphy i další autoři koncept imaginária. I v tomto případě se definic nabízí více, ale já se pro potřeby tohoto textu spokojím s jednoduchým označením imaginária za kolektivní, ustálenou imaginaci, kterou sdílí konkrétní skupina osob. V případě této kapitoly jde samozřejmě o rozvojové inženýry, za jejichž imaginárium pokládám konkrétní, vyjednané projekty. Imaginária mají oproti individuální imaginaci lépe sledovatelné trajektorie v čase a ze své podstaty vyžadují neustálý pohyb mezi myslí jednotlivců a nějakou formou sdílení. To mj. umožňuje lepší konfrontaci daného imaginária se skutečností, resp. se známými uspořádáními socio-materiálních vztahů.

Právě tím se zabývá například Freeman (2019), když zkoumá původ, povahu a dopady imaginárií o pěstování vetiverie na Haiti. Vetiverie je mimořádně cenou surovinou pro parfumářství – přesto jsou její pěstitelé na Haiti přesvědčeni, že ve skutečnosti umožňuje letadlům létat. Freeman sleduje původ tohoto fenoménu a zjišťuje, že uvedené imaginárium je odrazem socioekonomického modelu pěstování vetiverie. Pěstitelé mají přístup pouze ke zcela základním informacím ohledně dalšího zpracování rostliny. Vědí sice, že se dále zpracovává na olej, ale již neví, jaké má tento olej užití ani jak kvalitní je jejich vlastní produkce. Také mezi výkupčími a destilátory je vysoká konkurence a ani oni nemají dostatečné prostředky na důkladnou analýzu oleje: tu provádí až nadnárodní kosmetické společnosti. Celý systém je postaven hierarchicky. V každém kroku narůstá hodnota

komodity. V zájmu představitelů daného stupně přitom není těm níže postaveným vysvětlovat, co se s komoditou děje a o kolik ji sami zhodnotí. Především na nejnižších stupních proto historicky vzniklo a dodnes přetrvává imaginárium o tom, že olej z vetiverie je klíčový pro létání. Freeman konstatuje, že není jasné odkud toto přesvědčení pochází. Důležité je, že na něm existuje kolektivní shoda a že kompenzuje nedostatek skutečných informací ohledně skutečného využití komodity pro globální parfumářský trh.

Použití imaginace, či přímo komplexních, sdílených imaginárií pro nahrazení informací, které nejsou konkrétnímu okruhu osob k dispozici, je v textech o imaginaci častým motivem (srov. Freeman, 2019; Mjaaland, 2017). Jak se pokusím ukázat níže, nejinak je tomu v případě využívání imaginace v kontextu rozvojového inženýrství. Imaginace vyplňuje bílá místa při rekonstrukci lokality, místních i rozvojových potřeb, k nimž rozvojoví inženýři nemají přímý přístup. Zároveň je nástrojem opakovaného zpochybňování návrhu, jeho ustalování a přijetí ze strany širší odborné komunity. Výsledný design není ničím jiným než specifickou formou společného imaginária, kterému uvedený okruh odborníků věří a sdílí společnou představu o jeho vlastnostech a fungování.

Pro potřeby této studie čerpám především ze dvou zdrojů dat: zúčastněného pozorování v roce 2017 na volitelném magisterském kurzu „Rozvojové inženýrství“ na Fakultě stavební ČVUT, v němž se studenti učí a sami připravují návrh konkrétního rozvojového stavebního řešení a z vybraných přednášek z cyklu Rozvojových střed Centra pro mezinárodní rozvojové projekty ČVUT (ICWD) v letech 2019-2020, kde naopak etablovaní inženýři a rozvojoví pracovníci prezentují vlastní technologické – převážně stavební – projekty realizované pro rozvojové účely nebo v rozvojových zemích. V obou případech jsem se akcí účastnil jako posluchač. U semestrálního kurzu rozvojového inženýrství jsem se zúčastnil všech seminářů (a studentům se představil jako antropolog, který jejich kurz zkoumá) i občasných posezení vyučujícího se studenty v nedaleké kavárně Národní technické knihovny, která po kurzu následovala. V případě Rozvojových střed jsem se zúčastnil asi deseti seminářů zaměřených na rozvojové technologie, a to jako posluchač z řad veřejnosti (jíž je celý cyklus určen). Kromě terénních zápisů z přednášek vycházím také z informací o výsledných projektech, tak jak je v případě studentů sbírá a publikuje ICWD a v případě Rozvojových střed zprostředkovávají jejich autoři. Dále v textu využívám bližší poznatky o projektu vyučujícího uvedeného kurzu a ředitele ICWD (dále uváděn jako „vyučující“), jehož projektu jsem se blíže výzkumně věnoval a mám tedy možnost srovnat způsob, jak o konkrétních principech vyučuje a jak je sám aplikoval v praxi.

Pro potřeby tohoto textu používám prostou anonymizaci jednotlivých osob, které identifikují jejich vysokoškolskou roli (vyučující / týmy studentů) či

prostřednictvím vztahu ke konkrétnímu projektu (autoři / rozvojoví pracovníci). S ohledem na veřejnou známost některých projektů – kterou ostatně níže tematizuji – a transparentnost vysokoškolské výuky by nebyl problém řadu osob identifikovat. To nicméně odpovídá vysoce veřejné povaze nasbíraných dat. Zároveň jsem se rozhodl ani snáze rozpoznatelné osoby a projekty přímo nejmenovat: domnívám se, že by to text nepřiměřeně zatěžovalo a vedlo k nerovnováze hlasů označených a anonymních.

Jako určité omezení nasbíraných dat vnímám skutečnost, že nemám stavebně-inženýrské vzdělání, které by mi umožnilo projektům porozumět v širších souvislostech (co do alternativ, omezení, architektonických tradic apod.). To jsem se nicméně při sběru dat snažil kompenzovat zaměřením pozornosti na námítky a připomínky, které vznášeli další účastníci kurzu či přednášek, kteří takovými znalostmi disponují. Další dílčí omezení v případě dat z kurzu rozvojového inženýrství představuje to, že jsem si v průběhu terénního výzkumu nezajistil přístup k vnitřní spolupráci (alespoň) jedné ze studentských skupin a neměl tak možnost blíže sledovat postup práce studentů *mezi* jednotlivými semináři. V době zpracování této části terénního výzkumu jsem bohužel nedocenil význam této spolupráce a možný přínos jejího bližšího sledování.

Imaginární potřeby a logika design → umístění

Prvním krokem při navrhování budov je standardně snaha designérů o pochopení očekávání klientů či budoucích uživatelů (srov. Kurokawa, Schweber a Hughes, 2016), jimiž by v rozvojovém sektoru logicky měli být příjemci (ať rozvojové organizace, či cílové komunity). Čeští rozvojoví inženýři ale zpravidla k budoucím uživatelům budov přístup nemají: běžnou praxí v oblasti rozvojového inženýrství je, že designéři hledají potenciální partnery a lokality, kam projekt umístit, až poté, co jej zpracují. Celý proces tak začíná, aniž by designér vůbec věděl, kdo a jak bude nakonec stavby užívat. Nutno podotknout, že se ICWD ČVUT dlouhodobě pokouší tuto praxi narušit: rozvíjí dialog s českými neziskovými organizacemi ve snaze propagovat význam inovativního inženýrství v rozvoji a posiluje související networking i advokacii. Dosavadní praxe – tak jak je na ČVUT vyučována a jak ji z praxe popisují přednášející na Rozvojových středcích – je přesto jednoznačná: *nejdříve zpracování designu, poté místo pro jeho umístění* (dále zkracováno jako logika design → umístění).

Semestr dlouhý kurz rozvojového inženýrství na ČVUT začíná přidělením konkrétních zemí týmům studentů. Na nich je, aby přišli se sociálním problémem, který v místě mohou řešit skrze navržení vhodného projektu. V rámci ročníku, kterého jsem se měl možnost zúčastnit, byli studenti rozděleni do dvou týmů,

kteří se oba rozhodly pro navržení škol. V jiných případech ale studentské návrhy zahrnovaly střediska pro migranty, zařízení pro odvykací léčbu či komunitní centra. Ať už si týmy zvolí jakékoli cíle, jsou následně vedeny k tomu, aby o cílové zemi zjistily více informací: její klima, geografii, sociální problémy. Dále mají zvolit konkrétní místní komunitu (obec), odhadnout místní rozvojové potřeby a vytvořit návrh budovy, který na ně bude reagovat. Seminář následně probíhá diskusní formou podobnou té, kterou popisuje výše zmiňovaná studie týmu architektů od Murphyho (2005). Na každé hodině týmy prezentují posuny vlastního návrhu, jež diskutují jak mezi sebou, tak se spolužáky a vyučujícím, zkušeným rozvojovým inženýrem, který si při hodinách pomáhá zkušenostmi z navrhování vlastního projektu či z revizí projektů realizovaných dalšími autory. Debata je otevřená a dala by se charakterizovat jako kulatý stůl, kdy celá skupina sedí nad návrhem (zprvu půdorys, poté i výkresy, vizualizace či 3D model) a libovolně jej komentuje. Mezi lekcemi tým připomínky zapracovává, design dále rozvíjí a posouvá.

Ve mnou sledovaném semestru studentské týmy vycházely z předpokladu, že vzdělání je pro rozvoj klíčové a situaci v cílových lokalitách – obcích v Bhútánu a Kambodži (dále proto označovány jako bhútánský a kambodžský tým) – se pokusily zarámovat prostřednictvím základních politických a sociálních informací, statistik o počasí a demografii, geologických dat a místní topografie. V cílových obcích týmy vybraly (hypotetickou) parcelu a vymezily sérii parametrů, které mají budovy splňovat: pro kolik mají sloužit studentů, pro kolik učitelů, na jaké vzdělávání se zaměřovat. Již na druhém semináři týmy řešily konkrétní možnosti designu a další směřování a omezení pro zpracování návrhu.

Jak je z takového popisu zřejmé, už první krok navrhování – rekonstrukce cílové lokality a jejích potřeb – se významným způsobem opírá o hodnocení skrze imaginaci. Statistická data a obecné realie představují snadno dostupný překlad lokality do inženýrům srozumitelného jazyka. Jako každý překlad nicméně zvýrazňují některé konkrétní aspekty, zatímco jiné jsou ignorovány, ať už jde o důsledek (ne)dostupnosti konkrétních dat – čímž se do překladu propisují efekty působení různých lidských i více-než-lidských aktérů (databáze, softwarové nástroje apod.) – či o vědomá autorská rozhodnutí. To je ostatně i případ výše uvedeného předpokladu o nezbytnosti vzdělání, který vyučující glosuje slovy: „školství už stejně všude je, dá se ale zlepšovat. Eticky sporné by mohlo být ho přinášet ex novo, ale o tom už rozhodl kolonialismus“ (terénní deník, 2017). Tím je otázka na semináři uzavřena. Uvedený manévr přitom zůstává nereflektován: zdánlivě objektivní stanovisko je přesunuto před závorku a v rámci projektů není dále řešeno.

Neméně důležitou roli sehrává imaginace u aspektů, které naopak inženýři pokládají za důležité a staví do popředí svého zájmu. Právě skrze imaginaci totiž

váží jejich prioritu podle toho, jak si představují, že bude ten či onen aspekt významný pro danou stavbu. To bylo ostatně zjevné na další hodině kurzu, když se každá skupina – byť měly postupovat obdobně – prioritně soustředila na velmi odlišné aspekty stavby. A sice na ty, které daný tým vnímal jako hlavní problémy k vyřešení. Bhútánský tým diskutoval celkový tvar budovy, stavební materiály a způsob izolace; kambodžský tým naopak považoval za klíčové vodní hospodářství a zejména práci s dešťovou vodou v objektu. Takové priority by se mohly zdát jako vynucené objektivními okolnostmi (Bhútán je chladnější, v Kambodži více prší). To je ale v rozporu se skutečností, že když jiní studenti v jiných semestrech kurzu projektovali budovy pro tytéž země (či dokonce identické lokality), akcentovali odlišné prvky staveb a výsledné projekty se výrazně odlišovaly. Pracovali s odlišnými příklady dat a situaci na místě si představovali odlišně.

Nechci tvrdit, že by si této arbitrárnosti studenti nebyli vůbec vědomi. Když vlastní projekty prezentovali, běžně zmiňovali nutnost probrat konkrétní aspekty s místními nebo zdůrazňovali to, že je celý kurz jen jedno velké cvičení. Vlastní pozici však hlouběji nereflektovali a neuvědomovali si, nakolik jsou jejich předpoklady založeny na imaginaci lokální situace ani jak se jejich představy promítají do designu. Ve mnou sledovaném kurzu tak do designu oba týmy zahrnuly kuchyni a jídelnu. Kambodžská skupina počítala také s malou knihovnou a ošetrovnou, zatímco bhútánská skupina do školy umístila šatny. Podobné vybavení je standardní součástí vybavení škol v Česku, ale nemusí být standardem pro malé školy v rozvojových zemích. Do designů byly přesto zahrnuty bez diskuse či vysvětlení při jejich prezentaci: studenti si jednoduše představili, že budou nezbytné.

Obdobně, a ještě výrazněji, se imaginace vepsala do podoby dalšího z prvků kambodžského projektu – ubikací pro učitele, které byly navrženy jako dvoulůžkové pokoje se sdílenou umývárnou. Taková koncepce mě překvapila: vzhledem k tomu, že studenti nepracovali s omezeným rozpočtem či dalšími mantinely, očekával bych spíše jednolůžkové pokoje jakožto řešení, které by cizím dospělým (učitelům) poskytovalo soukromí. Zpětně si samozřejmě uvědomuji, že tato představa odrážela moji vlastní imaginaci fungování školy a potřeb učitelů založenou na předpokladu, že je pro ně třeba zajistit důstojné a plnohodnotné ubytování (jaké bych akceptoval já sám). Tým ovšem pracoval s jinou představou, kterou také nijak blíže nepopsal a neodůvodnil. Design považoval za opodstatněný na základě vlastní představy přiměřené životní úrovně učitelů.

Na tomto místě musím přiznat, že jsem si v průběhu kurzu sám neuvědomil význam toho, jakým způsobem je vůbec zadání semestrálního projektu formulováno. Co by ostatně mohlo být v univerzitním kontextu logičtější než zadání hypotetického cvičení, které studenti v průběhu semestru řeší? Až dodatečně mohu konstatovat, že takový přístup zřetelně kontrastuje se standardním

stavebním postupem, jehož ústředním prvkem jsou požadavky a očekávání klientů. Ty by v případě studentského cvičení mohly být simulovány, pokud by studenti dostali přesnější zadání založené na skutečných projektech realizovaných v minulosti. Namísto toho je v samotné struktuře kurzu obsažena logika *design* → *umístění*, což samo o sobě naznačuje, že se mezi českými rozvojovými inženýry jedná o běžný přístup.

Jedním z důvodů, proč by tomu tak mohlo být, jsou osobní zkušenosti stávající generace českých rozvojových inženýrů. Například sám vyučující vlastní projekt původně koncipoval jako diplomovou práci. Až poté, co design dokončil, začal hledat vesnici v dané oblasti, do níž by jej mohl umístit. Tento proces sám rámuje jako hledání komunity, která by projekt nejen byla svolná přijmout, ale aktivně by o budovu usilovala včetně ochoty k přímé účasti na realizaci. Původní návrh sice byl určen pro širší region indického Ladaku a dodatečně přizpůsoben některým místním parametrům – jako byly počet dětí či topografie konkrétní parcely. Specificky pro dané místo však vytvářen nebyl. Místo analýzy a řešení místních rozvojových potřeb tak vyučující z pozice designéra postupoval právě výše popsaným způsobem: nejdříve si potřeby představil, až poté hledal komunitu, která by se do této představy zapadala.

Tentýž efekt vzniká v situaci, kdy jsou designéři nuceni ke změně zamýšlené lokace po dokončení designu. K tomu může dojít kupříkladu po neúspěchu v architektonické soutěži, jako se stalo jednomu z nezávislých studií, které svůj projekt prezentovalo v rámci Rozvojových střed. Studio se zúčastnilo mezinárodní architektonické soutěže, jejíž vítěz měl postavit školu v konkrétní nepálské vesnici, ale neuspělo. Vzhledem k tomu, že již zpracovalo celý návrh, rozhodlo se jej následně realizovat samostatně s podporou jiných donorů. Designéři to nepovažovali za problém ani výzvu. Přestože byl design zamýšlen pro konkrétní místo, nezdráhali se jej přemístit a zaměnit potřeby původně předpokládaných příjemců za potřeby komunity jiné.

Jak konečně dokládá další projekt prezentovaný v rámci Rozvojových střed, designéři se k vlastní imaginaci uchylují také v případech, kdy jsou s potřebami příjemců detailněji obeznámeni. I tehdy vyplňují bílá místa a imaginací – v souladu s antropologickou literaturou – nahrazují prvky, které jsou pro ně fyzicky nedostupné. V daném případě nebyl design zamýšlen pro rozvojový projekt, nýbrž pro diplomatickou misi ČR v zemi třetího světa. Jeho obecné parametry (jako počet pokojů či bezpečnostní parametry) proto byly vymezeny v zadávací dokumentaci zpracované Ministerstvem zahraničních věcí. Podobně jako v případě rozvojových projektů ovšem autoři neměli přístup k budoucím uživatelům či lokalitě. Design proto byl i v tomto případě založen na jejich vlastním průzkumu lokální kultury, architektury, sociální struktury, klimatu a topografie, pro který

designéři využili de facto tytéž zdroje jako studentské týmy výše. Přestože tedy autoři navrhovali pro konkrétní lokalitu a užití, praktická omezení je donutila opřít se o vlastní imaginaci k propojení dostupných informací a rekonstrukci cílové lokality.

Imaginární místní: příjemci a spolupracovníci

Druhou klíčovou součástí imaginace českých rozvojových inženýrů představují místní. Ať už příjemci designu, či místní spolupracovníci, kteří se mají podílet na jeho realizaci. Přímý kontakt s konkrétními jednotlivci je v obou případech omezený. Designéři se na konkrétní osoby či komunity až na výjimky nespolehají. Vzhledem k rozšířenosti logiky *návrh* → *umístění* by ostatně takový přístup nebyl vhodný: přizpůsobovat projekt konkrétním uživatelům, pokud může dojít k umístění jinde, či spoléhat na konkrétní spolupracovníky, kteří následně nemusí být k dispozici, by zjevně postrádalo smysl. Opět proto dochází k zapojení imaginace, která nahrazuje místní osoby či skupiny osob zjednodušenou představou o tom, jak se do projektu zapojí a co z něho budou mít.

Příjemci jsou v intencích logiky *návrh* → *umístění* vymezováni jako nositelé domnělé rozvojové potřeby: designéři řešení připravují na základě obecné představy a následně hledají komunitu, v níž by je mohli realizovat. Příjemcům mohou řešení dále uzpůsobit, v praxi však častěji vyhledávají takovou komunitu, která co nejpřesněji odpovídá jejich původní představě. Jak uvádí vyučující v souvislosti s vlastním projektem školní budovy, on sám volil vhodnou obec podle rozvojové potřeby, zájmu o projekt a ochoty se na něm podílet. Hledal tedy obec, která dosud neměla vlastní školu, ale žily v ní děti, kde bylo vhodné místo, kam školu umístit, a jejíž obyvatelé by byli ochotni se na stavbě a následném provozu školy podílet. Konkrétně požadavek na zapojení místních do stavby školy přitom nevycházel z nedostatku pracovních sil, nýbrž právě z dříve formulované představy o vhodných příjemcích – takových, kteří budou ochotni do projektu sami něco vložit.

Podobné uvažování mají i další designéři: ať už se projevuje ve formě stížností na nevhodné chování místních, které museli korigovat, či naopak spokojenosti nad nalezením takových příjemců, kteří na navrhovaný projekt přistoupili. Přednášející z Rozvojových střed, která realizovala školu v Nepálu, si stěžovala na neschopnost místních pracovat s bambusem a jejich rezistenci vůči přijetí navrhovaného řešení. Přednášející se zkušenostmi z Haiti popisovali obtížné hledání místních, kteří by neočekávali nepodmíněnou finanční podporu (v rámci projektu je proto přednášející chtěl „učit pracovat“; terénní deník, 2019). Další přednášející byl naopak rád, že pro vlastní řešení – inovativní technologie pro

čerpání vody – našel zájemce na celém světě. I on při navrhování pracoval s představou konkrétního okruhu příjemců, pro které by technologie měla být vhodná a jež následně nalezl.

Kromě role příjemců mohou místní při formulování návrhu přijmout též roli expertů, kteří budou části projektu realizovat. I v tomto směru dochází k vymezení jejich způsobu zapojení do projektu předem a následně jsou vyhledáváni takoví spolupracovníci, kteří autorské představě co nejlépe odpovídají. Je-li u příjemců předmětem imaginace konkrétní rozvojová potřeba, u expertů je jím jejich odbornost v konkrétní činnosti, kterou sami designéři a rozvojáři realizující projekt nemohou či nechtějí přímo zajistit. Jako místní experty si téměř vždy představují řemeslníky či mistry znalé místních materiálů a technologií, kteří nebudou zasahovat do rozvojovým designérem vytyčeného plánu a postupů, ale naopak mu zpřístupní vlastní znalosti k možné revizi a reinterpretaci. Rozvojáři realizující projekt na Haiti si najali místní zedníky a převzali od nich způsob míchání a práce s betonem. Jejich postupy následně upravili – navýšili množství používaného betonu, jež podřídili evropským standardům – a tuto úpravu glosovali jako vítanou příležitost místní naučit něco nového.

Má-li být odbornost místních přímou součástí realizace stavby, představuje samozřejmě její prvotní substituce imaginací značné riziko. Pokud se představa odchýlí od situace na místě, je to pro realizaci významná překážka. Vstupem pro imaginaci zapojení místních odborníků se proto stávají na místě existující materiální výtvoř, které fungují jako test kvalit místních řemeslníků: skrze výtvoř – zpravidla zprostředkované fotografiemi či publikacemi o daném místě – si čeští inženýři vytváří konkrétní představu o úrovni a způsobu práce jednotlivých profesí. Vyučující se například na základě místních výtvořů rozhodl, že pro vlastní projekt využije místní řezbáře, kteří pro budovu vyrobili tradiční zdobný vstupní portál. Expertízu ladackých kameníků naopak při zpracování návrhu vyhodnotil jako nedostatečnou a rozhodl se pro přizvání pracovní čtyry z Nepálu (kde jsou používány podobné postupy, ale úroveň řemeslníků zhodnotil jako vyšší). Obdobné hodnocení místních expertů jako dostatečné či nedostatečně zdatných se objevuje v popisu většiny již realizovaných projektů diskutovaných v rámci Rozvojových střed. Dobrých kvalit mají dle jednotlivých přednášek dosahovat třeba haitští truhláři a kováři či nepálští stavitelé z bambusu. Na tentýž způsob uvažování přistupují i studenti v kurzu rozvojového inženýrství: kambodžský tým volí bambus mimo jiné proto, že vyhodnotil, že s ním místní umí pracovat.

Jak ale dokládají příspěvky na Rozvojových středách, uvedené použití imaginace je i tak v praxi nespolehlivé a autoři často naráží na nesoulad vlastních představ založených na odpozorovaných výtvořech a expertízou konkrétních spolupracovníků na místě. To je samozřejmě způsobeno mj. tím, že oproti imaginaci

rozvojových potřeb a příjemců, která je určující pro rozhodnutí o realizaci a umístění projektu, vychází rozdíl mezi imaginací a dostupností řemeslné expertízy najevo až po zahájení projektu. Rozpor proto nelze tak snadno zahladit a autoři jsou nuceni jej reflektovat. Inženýři z projektu na Haiti zmiňovaném v tomto příspěvku tak přímo tematizovali ztrátu expertízy v podobě opuštění tradičního před-koloniálního i koloniálního stavitelství (které lze pozorovat, ale již ne mobilizovat na úrovni místních expertů) ve prospěch toho současného, založeného na betonu. Designéři působící v Nepálu naopak až na místě – dokonce v průběhu stavebních prací – zjistili, že místní neumí pracovat s bambusem tak, jak si to v průběhu designování představili.

Imaginární technologie a myšlenkové experimenty

Dosud nastíněná využití imaginace v rozvojovém inženýrství lze vztáhnout k jednomu z tradičních motivů popsaných v literatuře: představ jako náhrady věci (rozvojové potřeby, parametry lokality, možnosti a schopnosti místních), které patrně existují, ale inženýr k nim nemá přímý přístup. V dalších krocích ovšem imaginace sehrává ještě jinou roli. Při detailnějším zpracování návrhu se stává nástrojem konstrukce něčeho, co dosud neexistuje, a jeho podrobování – taktéž imaginárním, předpokládaným – interakcím s přírodními i sociálními vztahy v dané lokalitě.

Jedním ze základních principů českého rozvojového inženýrství – přinejmenším jak je praktikováno a propagováno v okruhu soustředěném kolem ČVUT – je využívání pro cílovou lokalitu tradičních technologií. Či přesněji kombinování tradiční architektury se současnými postupy. Designéři proto zpočátku hledají místní inspirace v oblasti architektury, technologií a materiálů, z nichž si vybírají takové, které jim připadají jako nejpříhodnější pro jejich projekt z hlediska nákladů, časové efektivnosti a technologických vlastností. Takto strukturovaný proces se opět významně opírá o imaginaci designérů. Místo aby si jednoduše představili vhodný design, spočívá vybírání technologií v sérii myšlenkových experimentů, během nichž jsou různá řešení konfrontována se všemi výzvami, které si designéři v průběhu jejich realizace či fungování umí představit.

Proces designování prostřednictvím imaginace všeho, co by mohlo selhat, je explicitován v průběhu kurzu rozvojového inženýrství. Poté, co si pro svůj projekt vybraly vhodný cíl, musí týmy studentů předložit prvotní záměr zamýšlené budovy (či budov), který je obratem podroben dotazům a kritice vyučujícího i ostatních studentů. Vymodelovali autoři správně terén? Jak se vypořádají se sezónními dešti? Odpovídají celkovému designu vlastnosti zamýšlených materiálů? Tyto úvahy nemají pevnou strukturu. Jak jsem nastiňoval výše, semináře

působí spíše jako brainstormingové porady, při nichž jsou námítky nejen přípustné, ale i žádoucí a hodné vypořádání. Vyučující v diskusi funguje jako nejzkušenější hlas, poskytuje praktické postřehy z praxe a naznačuje, s čím by se týmy měly napříště vypořádat. Nevystupuje ovšem z pozice autority ani neprosazuje jediný, silný názor. Proces se opírá o diskusi představ a pochybností ze strany designérů a reakcí ostatních zúčastněných, kteří sdílejí své pochybnosti či konkrétní doporučení. Poslední slovo přitom zůstává každému z týmů, který připomínky zapracuje, zohlední či ignoruje.

Diskuse o zvoleném řešení pokračují po dobu celého kurzu. V průběhu semestru se návrhy stávají čím dál konkretizovanějšími a stáčí se od obecných problémů (materiály, rozložení a proporce budov) k úžejí vymezeným aspektům – zvukové a tepelné izolaci, efektivnímu designu interiérů, vnitřnímu dělení místností. Design se postupně vepisuje do výkresů a modelů, které se samy stávají plnohodnotnými účastníky debaty. Tím, co více či méně ukazují, diskusi stáčí konkrétními směry (ve smyslu kladení námitek – srov. Latour, 2002) a design pozvolna stabilizují. Tento proces připomíná ten nastíněný v textech Kurokawy, Schweber a Hughese (srov. 2016) či Murphyho (2005), ovšem s jedním zásadním rozdílem. Změny a úpravy nevycházejí z interakcí s dalšími stranami – ať už místními či profesionály, kteří by řešili dílčí technologické otázky. Nejde ani o diskuse nad projektem vycházející z již proběhnuvší domluvy se zadavatelem. Studenti využívají imaginaci – vlastní i kolegů – aby zvážili různé technické scénáře a námítky, s nimiž se následně v konečném návrhu – kolektivně akceptovaném imagináriu – vypořádají. Taková imaginace se od té používané při imaginární rekonstrukci lokality liší v jednom zásadním aspektu: zatímco imaginace lokality předpokládá možnost tak činit bez přesné znalosti místních podmínek, imaginace technologií je založená na opačném předpokladu. A sice, že technologie mají specifické, exaktní limity, které musí být vzaty v potaz a v žádném případě je nelze překročit.

Z tohoto titulu například vyučující koriguje kambodžský tým při volbě materiálu pro střechu jejich budov, kdy *„kombinace přírodních a umělých materiálů na střeše je problém: přírodní potřebují vyšší sklon střechy a jsou vhodné například u místností, v nichž se vaří. Vaření zaručí impregnaci kouřem proti škůdcům, a naopak zde přírodní materiály nelze kombinovat s plasty, to by přírodní materiál nemohl dýchat“* (terénní deník, 2017). Když studenti na další hodině předkládají upravený návrh, upozorňuje je, že s ohledem na novou výšku střechy *„je nezbytné vyztužit prvky a chránit střechu proti větru... sniž v Kambodži není“* (tamtéž). K ještě významnějšímu usměrnění projektu kambodžské skupiny dochází při debatě o velikosti tříd. Vyučující tým upozorňuje, že pro jím zvolené překlady z bambusu neexistují konstrukční normy a přesné materiálové výpočty, neboť

se vlastnosti bambusu liší podle lokality a druhu. Tím mimoděk upozorňuje na to, že materiály a jiné více-než-lidské prvky nejsou jen pasivním objektem imaginace, nýbrž se na ní přímo podílí přinejmenším tím, že se jí poddávají ochotně, s námitkami či vůbec. V případě bambusu se naštěstí ukazuje, že normy a výpočty existují pro dřevo – přičemž maximální délka překladu pro danou technologii a typ budovy činí 6 metrů. Vyučující tak může jako bezpečný limit pro bambus navrhnout 5 metrů, a z imaginaci odolávajícího materiálu tím učinit materiál snáze představitelný.

Designéři přímo nereflektují, že práce s imaginárními námitkami představuje další riziko. Aby ale překonali nesoulad mezi nedokonalostí imaginace a požadavkem na spolehlivý výsledek, opírají se při práci o dvě zásadní zásady: jednoduchost a odolnost. Co se jednoduchostí týká, jak uvádí vyučující při jedné z přednášek, příliš komplikovaný projekt znamená riziko nesouladu mezi návrhem a výslednou budovou. To je podle jeho názoru nežádoucí a je potřeba se tomu vyhnout. Jak se ukazuje v průběhu kurzu, designéři chápou jednoduchost především jako volbu materiálů, které se ochotněji podřizují jejich představám. Tedy takových, které lze spolehlivě přetvořit na stavební komponenty a v ruce pracovníků mohou být využity v intencích projektu. Během jednoho semináře se kupříkladu diskuse zaměřuje na výhody bambusu oproti dřevu: jmenovitě na to, že bambus musí být pouze pokácen a vysušen, zatímco u dřeva musí následovat expertní zpracování na požadované díly.

Podobným způsobem se designéři zabývají potenciálními slabými místy navrhovaného řešení, resp. jeho odolností. Tu odvozují především z kompatibility mezi použitými materiály a přírodními silami působícími v dané lokalitě. Kambodžský tým například řešil problém přívalových dešťů, které jsou v zemi běžné. V průběhu jednoho ze seminářů účastníci diskutovali o možných řešeních: odvedení vody od budov do odtokových kanálů či zvednutí přízemí budov nad úroveň okolního terénu. Zatímco se druhá varianta zprvu zdála jako zajímavější, při širším brainstormingu došla skupina k tomu, že pro ni neexistuje vhodné materiálové řešení: beton byl vyloučen jako příliš drahý a obecně nevhodný pro účely rozvojového inženýrství; dusaná hlína a štěrk by dlouho neodolaly tekoucí vodě a erozí by vznikly kanálky; bambus by při dlouhodobém vystavení vlhkosti začal hnit. Poté co byl design podroben uvedeným myšlenkovým experimentům, tým se na základě kritéria odolnosti rozhodl pro druhé řešení: místo snahy o vyhnutí se působení vody ji sbírat a řídit její tok v objektu.

V některých případech může kritérium odolnosti nabývat ještě dalšího významu: při popisu svého vlastního projektu zmiňuje vyučující rozhodnutí použít cihly (nepálené, vyráběné přímo na stavbě) v atypické velikosti tak, aby byly chráněny před krádeží či využitím na jiných stavbách. A to jak v průběhu

stavby, tak později – pokud by například budova začala chátrat. Jinak řečeno, přestože by cihly standardní velikosti mohly posloužit stejnému účelu a zároveň by je bylo snazší v případně potřeby zajistit z místních zdrojů (při stavbě i následných opravách), ze strany designéra byly chápány jako potenciálně méně odolné. Když jsem se s ním o tomto rozhodnutí bavil, popsal ho jako čistě preventivní bez konkrétního podezření, že by skutečně hrozily krádeže jakéhokoli stavebního materiálu. Jeho rozhodnutí vzniklo v důsledku imaginace jinak nepotvrzeného rizika a designové odpovědi na něj.

Jednoduchost a odolnost samozřejmě nejsou jedinými zásadami, které designéři využívají. Přestože se během mého pozorování v rozvojovém kontextu ukázaly jako ty nejvíce používané, designéři – ať už studenti v průběhu kurzu rozvojového inženýrství, či zkušenější inženýři na Rozvojových středách – rovněž odkazovali na další obecné principy architektury a stavitelství. Zaznamenal jsem především důraz na praktičnost (rozhodnutí, zda využít energeticky výhodnější tvar kruhu/koule či z hlediska vybavení výhodnější pravé úhly), náročnost údržby, hygienu a bezpečnost, vzhled a uživatelský komfort (pohyb osob v budově, otevírání dveří a umístění nábytku, efektivnost vytápění, vlhkost). V tomto směru musím zdůraznit, že uvedený výčet sice přímo vychází z mých pozorování, nepokládám jej však za taxativní. To je z velké části dáno tím, že sami designéři nepostupují systematicky a spíše se odvolávají na zásady, které v dané situaci považují za důležité. To ostatně odpovídá i mému obecnému argumentu: nereflektovanému zakotvení celého procesu v imaginaci a ad hoc myšlenkových experimentech.

Neplánované dopady imaginace

Jak jsem se pokusil ukázat v předchozích odstavcích, využití imaginace – ať pro nahrazení nedostupného či pro vytvoření a otestování designu – je pro rozvojové inženýry nezastupitelným pracovním nástrojem. Její mobilizace vede k vytvoření návrhu, který je postupně sdílen, diskutován a konfrontován s názory širšího okruhu odborníků, který může zahrnovat vyučující, spolužáky, architektonický tým i širší veřejnost. Postupně se návrh, včetně implicitních či explicitních imaginárních prvků, stává kolektivně akceptovanou a do značné míry materializovanou představou, imagináriem. Jako takový slouží pro fundraising či komunikaci s příjemci a plánovanými uživateli, a záhy i pro případnou transformaci do podoby budovy. Už to samo o sobě představuje designérský úspěch, který by bez imaginace v mnoha případech nemusel být možný.

Jak ovšem dokládá Freeman (2019) ve studii zaměřené na pěstování vetiverie, imaginária mohou být funkční a dlouhodobě stabilní i v situacích, kdy existující socio-materiální vztahy rekonstruují chybně. Ani imaginace rozvojových

inženýrů v tomto směru není dokonalá. Tím nechci říct, že si nedokonalosti a mezery v projektech neuvědomují a nesnaží se alespoň některé sami mírnit. To ale nestačí. Jak doložím v následujících odstavcích, nereflektované využití imaginace a její vepisování do výsledných návrhů s sebou přináší i méně zjevné, ale o to významnější dopady imaginace na fungování výsledných designů, jichž si sami designéři vědomi nejsou a které mohou v konečných důsledcích oslabovat některé z ústředních zásad rozvojového inženýrství.

Volba vhodné „tradice“

První takový moment se skrývá v samotném zárodku projektu, když designér volí vhodnou inspiraci v místní architektuře a technologiích. Jak jsem popisoval, české rozvojové inženýrství deklaruje snahu navazovat na lokální, resp. tradiční architekturu a inspirovat se v ní. V průběhu kurzu vyučující pro toto úsilí uvádí dva hlavní důvody: v prvé řadě upřímný obdiv rozvojových inženýrů ke kvalitám tradičního stavitelství a docenění výhod a designových kvalit tradičních staveb (často i s blíže nekonkretizovanou úctou k místní kultuře). Na druhém místě to, že se takový postup jeví jako praktický: ať už díky dostupnosti, udržitelnosti a nižší ceně lokálních materiálů, tak znalosti příslušných technik ze strany místních řemeslníků a časem prověřené zkušenosti vepsané do tradičních staveb. Inspirace tradiční architekturou má proto ambici být skutečně všestranná: od dispozic, přes materiály a jejich zpracování, po celkový vzhled budovy.

Jako zrádný se ale v takovém přístupu jeví samotný koncept „místního“ či „tradičního“. Ten ani v rámci kurzu rozvojového inženýrství vyučující jasně nedefinuje a studenti k souvisejícím rešeršům přistupují ryze pragmaticky: na internetu a v odborných publikacích hledají na místě přítomnou architekturu. Takový přístup opomíjí skutečnost, že ve většině lokalit koexistuje několik různých, více či méně odlišných architektonických stylů vázaných na různá historická období a etnicitu či ekonomické postavení jejich uživatelů, kteří se navíc mohou k místům i budovám vztahovat různými (a značně komplexními) způsoby. Vyučující sice studenty nabádá ke kulturní citlivosti, např. ve smyslu zjištění a dodržení konkrétních náboženských norem při projektování pro komunitu konkrétní náboženské příslušnosti; detailnější diskusi o tom, jak vymezit onu rozvojovými inženýry vyzdvihovanou „tradici“ jsem nicméně nezaznamenal. Na hlubší, kritickou reflexi – např. ve formě nesouhlasného vymezení se nebo alternativního přístupu ze strany některého ze studentů či přednášejících a posluchačů Rozvojových střed – jsem v průběhu svého výzkumu také nenarazil.

Nechci prvoplánově zpochybňovat to, že k rešerši místní architektury a snaze o porozumění místním řada rozvojových inženýrů přistupuje důsledně. Bez jednoznačně přiznané definice ovšem koncept tradičního neposkytuje jasné

vodítko, nýbrž odkazuje na širokou množinu minulých i současných slohů a stylů, z nichž si každý designér může vybírat. Opřením se o takto vyprázdněný pojem si rozvojoví designéři v projektech nevědomky vytváří velmi silnou pozici, z níž mohou na straně jedné (třeba vůči donorům) zdůrazňovat, nakolik navržená řešení vychází z místních tradic, a zároveň si stále moci vybrat právě takové inspirace, které vyhovují jejich designovým preferencím. Rozvojoví inženýři si faktickou volnost volby libovolné architektonické „tradice“ v dané oblasti uvědomují a v praxi plně využívají. Vyučující pro potřeby svého projektu v Ladaku vypracoval rešerši místní architektury a pro design jako inspiraci použil mj. architekturu klášterní. Ta je sice v údolí rozšířena, ale v cílové obci původně přítomna nebyla. Podobný postup – i když povrchnější – aplikují také studentské týmy v rámci kurzu rozvojového inženýrství, když při prvotní rešerši zjišťují informace o místním stavitelství. Současné stavitelství bez dalšího zavrhuje a inspiraci volí mezi staršími styly či konkrétními budovami: kambodžská skupina si například zpočátku volí „domy na kuřích nohou“.

Výběr konkrétního zdroje inspirace ovšem není jediný způsob, jímž designéři mohou s „tradicí“ pro vlastní potřeby manipulovat. V mnoha případech pracují s její následnou úpravou do podoby, která lépe odpovídá procesu navrhování a realizace, na který jsou zvyklí z Česka. Třeba proto aby dosahovala příznivého poměru cena/kvalita. Vyučující několikrát zmiňuje to, že je nutné zohledňovat výrazně nižší cenu práce na místě a vhodná jsou tedy i pracná řešení, která šetří materiál a zároveň napomáhají většímu zapojení místních pracovníků a tradičních řemesel („obnovení znalostí“). Rozvojáři také často disponují vyšším rozpočtem než místní a mohou investovat do materiálů i technologicky dokonalejších řešení. Vyučující takto v případě svého projektu trval na vysoké kvalitě kamenných nosných zdí, kvůli čemuž nasmlouval pracovní četu z Nepálu, a střešních krovů, pro něž zase nechal dovézt kvalitní dřevo, které v místě realizace neroste. Organizace, která na Rozvojových středách prezentovala svůj projekt na Haiti, v rozporu s expertízou místních odborníků trvala na použití většího, v Evropě standardního množství betonu do základů. U projektu školy v Nepálu zase rozvojoví inženýři nahradili tradiční vysychání bambusu jeho chemickým ošetřením.

Klíčové je, že žádnou z uvedených změn nepovažovali rozvojoví inženýři za rozchod s „tradicí“. Za takto volným vymezením – až vyprázdněním – konceptu přitom nestojí nic jiného než v tomto textu diskutované užívání imaginace. Právě její rozsáhlá mobilizace v procesu navrhování, v němž nahrazuje přímé vyjednávání a konfrontaci s místními stakeholdery (srov. Kurokawa, Schweber a Hughes, 2016), designéry zbavuje řady mantinelů – a to mj. právě ve vztahu k tradici. Tu mohou flexibilně vymezit, upravit a doplňovat, přičemž v celém procesu de facto nevzniká prostor pro související námitky a designéři výsledek

nadále považují a prezentují jako tradiční (vůči donorům, odborné, rozvojové i širší veřejnosti). Způsob nakládání s lokalitou fakticky postrádá pravidla, což v důsledku zpochybňuje jednu ze základních zásad, jimiž se mají sami designéři ambici řídit.

Nejasné vlastnictví designu a jeho implikace

Další neplánované dopady imaginace souvisí s vlastnictvím designu. Jedním z obecných specifíků současné architektury je významné a dlouhodobé svázání autora s designem a s výslednou budovou. Daleko více než v jiných činnostech (a podobně jako u umění) je v architektuře a stavitelství výsledný výtvar prezentován primárně jako zhmotnění idejí autora. Jako takový je také posuzován, hodnocen ze strany odborníků a kritiků a obecně po celou dobu své existence spojován s designérem (srov. Fallan, 2008). Tato logika platí i pro rozvojové stavitelství. Vyučující i mnozí autoři, kteří přednášeli na Rozvojových středách, se svými projekty vystupují v médiích i odborných kruzích. Jak dokládá samotná dlouholetá existence Rozvojových střed, o svých stavbách a projektech hovoří ochotně a rádi, přičemž je zpravidla člení do uceleného portfolia. Při prezentacích pak v první osobě vypráví o tom, co a jak udělali, zažili a vytvořili.

Domnívám se, že i v tomto ohledu sehrává klíčovou roli imaginace. Právě ona u rozvojových designů činí osobní vklad autorů ještě významnějším. Zatímco u konvenčních staveb se celého procesu významně účastní i další aktéři – zadavatelé, plátcí a majitelé, kteří do designování vstupují a proces i jeho výsledek si doslova přivlastňují – u nezávislého rozvojového inženýrství jejich roli v mnoha směrech nahrazuje představivost autorů. Ať už proto, že další stakeholderi nejsou v této fázi projektu známi, nebo proto, že se jejich zapojení sami autoři vyhnou. Postavení českých rozvojových inženýrů se proto blíží spíše architektonickým superhvězdám, tzv. „starchitects“, které svým jménem zaštiťují (a skrývají) práci desítek dalších spolupracovníků (srov. Fallan, 2008).

Významnou součástí rozvojového inženýrství je prezentování (a reprezentování) projektu, při němž se designér snaží svoji představu sdílet s širším publikem, ať již se jedná o donory nebo o odbornou i širší veřejnost. V rámci kurzu rozvojového inženýrství jsem zaznamenal velký důraz nejen na dosažení výsledků, ale také na jejich prezentaci. Ve druhé polovině semestru studentské týmy s rostoucí intenzitou řeší, jak vhodně zpracovat vizuály (3D model) výsledné stavby, v jakém programu či programech a pomocí kterých funkcí. Velká pozornost je kladena na aspekty relevantní spíše pro samotnou prezentaci než stavbu: vzhled modelu (např. textury povrchů), pohyb kamery, nasvícení, přidání vhodných doplňků (postavy, předměty). Jak vyučující několikrát zdůrazňuje, návrh je třeba „prodat“. To je ostatně zřejmé i z výstupů celého kurzu, které tvoří nejen výkresy,

ale i ucelené soubory graficky propracovaných, vysoce reprezentativních materiálů včetně shrnujícího plakátu.

Podobně si na prezentaci vlastní práce zakládají také skutečně vzniknuvší rozvojové projekty. Inženýři na Rozvojových středách bez výjimky disponují graficky propracovanými nákresey staveb, jejich profesionálními fotkami, 3D vizualizacemi, technologickými schémata či kresbami. Někteří nutnost kvalitní reprezentace svého projektu sami tematizují. Například autorky budovy českého zastupitelského úřadu hovoří o vynucené změně vizuálu pouze z důvodu, že byl ten, který původně zpracovaly, hodnocen jako příliš umělecký a nesrozumitelný pro širší veřejnost. Důsledná práce s vizuály i v případech, kdy nejsou bezprostředně nezbytné (např. u donory již přijatých, dokončených projektů), dle mého názoru dokládá její význam pro samotné autory. Rozvojovým inženýrům zkrátka záleží na tom, aby byl projekt i oni jako jeho autoři kladně přijati.

To má ale i svoji stinnou stránku. Obecným cílem rozvojové spolupráce je směřování k úplnému předání projektu místním, resp. úplnému odchodu rozvojářů a začlenění výstupů projektu do místní komunity. To však může být u staveb majících silného externího autora obtížné: místní mohou mít problémy s pokládáním stavby za vlastní, s jejím plným využíváním, upravováním a převzetím zodpovědnosti. Autoři naopak mohou mít problém zcela přijmout jejich kontrolu, pokud se stavbou mají být i nadále spojováni. Popsaný model tvorby a autorství rovněž omezuje možnost inspirace ze strany místních. V situaci, kdy se designový proces opírá spíše o imaginaci autora než o zapojení místních – kteří do projektu vstupují až při stavbě či později – je omezena jejich možnost hlouběji vhlédnout do často inovativních principů a způsobů užití technologií v rámci návrhu. Oboje dobře ilustruje příklad projektu vyučujícího, který ani po 15 letech od realizace nebyli místní schopni ani ochotni zcela převzít. A přestože stavba měla ambici stát se pro místní vzorem, navzdory funkčnosti a vynikajícím technologickým vlastnostem řešení k tomu nikdy nedošlo.

Ještě závažnější než obtížné předání projektu, je ale to, o čem úzké sepětí budov s jejich autory v rozvojovém prostředí nepřímo vypovídá. Leitmotivem navrhování staveb – tak jak jsem jej zaznamenal a popisuji v této studii – je využívání imaginace k nahrazování místního a místních, čehož je ztotožnění designu s autorem částečným důsledkem a završením. Jak je ale v mnoha momentech procesu patrné, hranice mezi případy, kdy imaginace aproximuje bezprostředně nedostupné vstupy pro ohraničené inženýrské úvahy, a situacemi, kdy je využívána volněji, aby se proces designování nemusel vyrovnávat s těžko uchopitelnými či nepříjemnými otázkami, je přinejmenším velmi nejistá a často překračovaná. Ať jde o vytknutí hlubších rozvojově-politických úvah před závorku, zjednodušující představy o místních a budoucím fungování budovy, nebo například preferování

z hlediska imaginace poddajnějších materiálů. Tyto a podobné kroky inženýrům umožňují udržovat představu modernistického, racionálního inženýrství (v duchu zachování latourovské moderní ústavy – srov. Latour 1993), jehož nekonzistentnosti si sice mnohdy sami všimají, ale oprostít se od ní nedokážou.

Mobilizace autorské imaginace popsaný proces podmiňuje a podepírá. Zároveň ovšem značně posiluje postavení rozvojových inženýrů a reprodukuje a prohlubuje jasný předěl mezi nimi a místními. Inženýři jsou totiž vybaveni nejen technickou expertízou, důvěrou donorů, kapitálem či novými materiály, ale také imaginací jakožto univerzálním nástrojem pro nahrazení nespolupracujících součástí projektu. Příjemci naopak zůstávají definováni jako více či méně domnělí nositelé rozvojové potřeby a jasně ohraničeného penza tradičních znalostí. Na základě svého výzkumu zde nemohu a nechci tvrdit, že současná podoba českého rozvojového inženýrství inherentně prosazuje hierarchizované vztahování se k cílovým zemím a příjemcům, tak jak jej předpokládají post-koloniální či post-rozvojové přístupy (srov. Mbembe, 2001; Escobar, 1995). Tím spíše, že se tomu současní rozvojoví inženýři při realizaci projektů autenticky snaží bránit. Konkrétní vzorce redistribuce moci ostatně vznikají až při realizaci projektů, kdy mají místní, samotné stavby i použité technologie širší spektrum možností, jak silnému postavení expertů odporovat (srov. Crewe a Harrison, 1998; Mosse, 2005). Chybějící reflexe a lpění na řadě zásad modernistické inženýrské doktríny přesto v českém rozvojovém inženýrství vytvářejí přinejmenším riziko prohlubování nerovného postavení dárců a příjemců. V konečných důsledcích tak autorská imaginace může podemílat upřímně deklarované ambice samotných rozvojových inženýrů.

Závěr

V této studii jsem se zaměřil na různé role, které v českém rozvojovém inženýrství sehrává imaginace. Na rozdíl od standardního stavitelství zpravidla rozvojoví designéři neznají a nemají přístup k lokalitě, v níž má být jejich design umístěn. Inženýrská imaginace se vyvíjí od individuální představy ke sdílenému imagináriu a pro proces navrhování představuje nezastupitelný nástroj. Jen díky ní mohou rozvojoví inženýři rekonstruovat informace o jinak nedostupné lokalitě, jejich přírodních podmínkách, kultuře, rozvojových potřebách i příslušnicích místní komunity jakožto budoucích příjemcích a partnerech. Při volbě vhodných technologií pak imaginace umožňuje mobilizovat i řešení, které dosud neexistuje, a podrobit jej vhodným myšlenkovým experimentům.

Přestože jsou si rozvojoví inženýři vědomi dílčích nedokonalostí procesu navrhování i vlastních designů, význam vlastní představivosti a míru, v níž se do návrhu propisuje, hlouběji nereflektují. Rozsáhlé spoléhání se na imaginaci

jako pracovní nástroj se přitom v různých ohledech stává také slabinou rozvojového inženýrství. Výše jsem její některá úskalí nastínil. Přestože mají autoři z mnoha důvodů zájem navazovat na místní stavitelství, imaginace vede k faktickému vyprázdnění pojmu tradice. Stejně tak vede přílišné spoléhání na imaginaci k posílení role autora v projektu, což může v praxi nejen výrazně zkomplikovat přijetí realizované stavby za vlastní ze strany místních, ale především reprodukovat a prohlubovat předěl mezi původci (tj. autory, experty, dárci) a příjemci rozvojové pomoci. Nekritické spoléhání se na imaginaci tak paradoxně může přímo podryvat některé ze zásad, které rozvojoví inženýři autenticky deklarují a v rámci vlastních projektů mají ambici prosazovat.

Literatura

- Akrich, Madeleine. 1992. The De-scription of Technical Objects. In Wiebe Bijker, John Law (eds.), *Shaping Technology Building Society: Studies in Sociotechnical Change*. Cambridge: MIT Press: 205–224.
- Beisel, Uli a Tillmann Schneider. 2012. Provincialising Waste: The Transformation of Ambulance Car 7/83-2 To Tro-tro Dr. JESUS. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 30: 639–654.
- Crewe, Emma a Elizabeth Harrison. 1998. *Whose Development? An Ethnography of Aid*. Londýn a New York: Zed Books.
- de Laet, Marianne a Annamarie Mol. 2000. The Zimbabwe Bush Pump: Mechanics of a Fluid Technology. *Social Studies of Science* 30 (2): 226–263.
- Edensor, Tim. 2005. Waste Matter – The Debris of Industrial Ruins and the Disorder-ing of the Material World. *Journal of Material Culture* 10: 311–332.
- Escobar, Arturo. 1995. *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Fallan, Kjetil. 2008. Architecture in Action: Traveling with Actor-Network Theory in the Land of Architectural Research. *Architectural Theory Review* 13 (1): 80–96.
- Freeman, Scott. 2019. Perfume and Planes: Ignorance and Imagination in Haiti's Vet-iver Oil Industry. *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 24: 110–126.
- Gieryn, Thomas F. 2002. What buildings do. *Theory and Society* 31: 35–75.
- Kurokawa, Megumi, Libby Schweber a Will Hughes. 2016. Client Engagement and Building Design: The View from Actor-Network Theory. *Building Research & Information* 45 (8): 910–925.
- Latour, Bruno. 2003. The Promises of Constructivism. In Don Ihde (ed.), *Chasing Tech-noscience: Matrix of Materiality*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press: 27–46.
- Latour, Bruno. 2002. Když věci vracejí úder: Co mohou sociálním vědám přinést „vědní studia“. *Biograf* 29.

- Latour, Bruno. 1993. *We Have Never Been Modern*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.
- Law, John. 2002. *Aircraft Stories: Decentering the Object in Technoscience*. Durham a Londýn: Duke University Press.
- Law, John. 1992. The Olympus 320 Engine: A Case Study in Design, Development, and Organizational Control. *Technology and Culture* 33 (3): 409–440.
- Law, John a Michel Callon. 1992. The Life and Death of an Aircraft: A Network Analysis of Technical Change. In W. Bijker & J. Law (eds.) *Shaping Technology Building Society: Studies in Sociotechnical Change*. Cambridge: MIT Press: 21–52.
- Mbembe, Achille. 2001. *On the Postcolony*. Berkeley, Los Angeles a London: University of California Press.
- Mjaaland, Thera. 2017. Imagining the Real: The Photographic Image and Imagination in Knowledge Production. *Visual Anthropology* 30 (1): 1–21.
- Moser, Ingunn a John Law. 1998. Přechody snadné, přechody nesnadné aneb o heterogenní ekonomii subjektivitu. *Biograf* 15–16: 5–28.
- Mosse, David. 2005. *Cultivating Development: An Ethnography of Aid Policy and Practice*. London a Ann Arbor: Pluto Press.
- Murphy, Keith M. 2005. Collaborative Imagining: The Interactive Use of Gestures, Talk, and Graphic Representation in Architectural Practice. *Semiotica* 156: 113–145.
- Rohrer, Ingo a Michelle Thompson. 2023. Imagination Theory: Anthropological Perspectives. *Anthropological Theory* 23 (2): 186–208.
- Salazar, Noel B. 2020. On Imagination and Imaginaries, Mobility and Immobility: Seeing the Forest for the Trees. *Culture & Psychology* 26 (4): 768–777.
- Whitaker, James Andrew. 2015. The Landscape Imagination: Intersecting Historical Ecology and Amerindian Perspectivism. *Contigent Horizons: The York University Student Journal of Anthropology* 2 (1): 115–129.

Jan Werner

jawn@seznam.cz

Fakulta humanitních studií
Univerzita Karlova

Has the EASA Lost its Way?

Adam Kuper

<https://doi.org/10.46585/cargo.2024.2.141>

On 14 January 1989, twenty-two mid-career anthropologists from twelve Western European countries assembled in Castel Gandolfo, outside Rome. We were there to consider the establishment of a European Association of Social Anthropologists. We were an ad hoc, informal network. And yet it was immediately apparent that we all recognised a need for closer co-operation in teaching and research, and for a professional body to represent social anthropologists in Europe. We were also reacting against the ultra-relativist “post-modernist” turn in American anthropology.

Within two days the preliminary decisions had been taken. A European Association of Social Anthropologists was established. It would hold conferences, organize postgraduate courses, set up a register of anthropologists, publish a newsletter and operate as a professional association. The first conference was scheduled to take place in Coimbra in the summer of 1990.

And then, in November 1989, the Berlin Wall fell. Sydel Silverman, president of the Wenner-Gren Foundation, immediately offered to subsidise attendance at the Coimbra meetings by anthropologists from the former Eastern Bloc countries. That first conference was a thrilling occasion. Over a thousand western social anthropologists were joined for the first time by young colleagues from beyond the Berlin Wall. We engaged in large and resonant debates about theory – about structuralism, and sociobiology, and postmodernism; about gender and identity; about multi-culturalism; and about post-colonial and post-socialist societies. Four books were published, drawing on plenary conference panels.

The current situation of the EASA is strikingly different. Today there are few large theoretical issues that engage a large swathe of social anthropologists. I don't think that many of us spend much time reading the latest papers published in the *American Anthropologist*, the *American Ethnologist* or the *JRAI*. How often

do anthropologists talk about ideas when they get together? And what ideas do they have in common?

If we don't argue much about ideas, unfortunately, we do argue a lot about politics, and in particular about global events. Like the leadership of the AAA, the executive of the EASA has become embroiled in the thickets of identity politics. The President pronounces on human rights and international crises. When Putin invaded Ukraine, the President announced her support for Russia on our website. (This was swiftly qualified after an outcry from the members.) Now there is a campaign to exclude any Israeli members from our meetings. Plenary meetings at recent conferences are more like political rallies than a forum for professional debate. Topics for sessions and round tables are often selected by political criteria. But this is whistling in the wind. Nobody outside a divided membership plays the slightest attention to the views of the EASA executive on world events.

The executive proposes to set up an EASA committee on human rights. The idea seems to be to police research and discipline members. There is a debate to be had about the very notion of universal human rights and its relationship to cultural diversity. This is a question on which anthropologists might well have something useful, or at least interesting to say. I would welcome a serious discussion. However, I am dismayed by the assumption that an unelected committee, none of whose members has published a substantive discussion of these matters, can sit in judgment.

Activist campaigns led by the executive are divisive. They leave many members dispirited, alienated from the association. Resources, time and energy that should be devoted to the development of European social anthropology are wasted. We used to organise summer schools for graduate students. Our conferences produced internationally influential publications. Members of the executive were leaders in the field. No longer. The EASA executive now operates – or pretends to – as a pressure group.

Candidates for recent executive elections present themselves on a platform of combating precarious employment for anthropologists. This faction has dominated the executive for the past six years. What effect have they had on securing the employment of anthropologists in European universities? Obviously, no effect at all.

And yet it is true that anthropology, like the humanities and social sciences in general, is in a precarious position in European universities. What can be done? We must foster professional debate, make our conferences vibrant centres for intellectual exchange, promote our publications, cooperate across national boundaries to raise grants for research, inspire our graduate students. Perhaps above all, we must recognise that the future of the EASA and of European anthropology

depends very largely on our contribution to interdisciplinary developments in the human sciences.

We should not allow ourselves to be divided by shouting matches about international events. Members should never be dragooned into declaring adherence to any ideological dogma. I hope that the new EASA executive will bring our members together, and that the 2026 conference in Poznan renews the mission launched by that first EASA conference, in Coimbra.

Adam Kuper

adam.kuper@gmail.com

The London School of Economics and Political Science

London

UK

Den umistelige: Remembering Thomas Hylland Eriksen

Zdenka Sokolíčková

<https://doi.org/10.46585/cargo.2024.2.142>

“One of the more positive sides of being in the hospital long term is the experience of time that slows down, which enables you to think through the long and the short time each of us has at our disposal. In such a situation, you don’t feel the need to ask yourself what is at stake in life; it is fully obvious.”

(Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Syv meninger med livet* [Seven meanings of life], Kagge Forlag, 2022, p. 161, translation of ZS)

On the Wednesday evening of 27 November 2024, I was reading Kirsten Hastrup’s text about anthropology on the edge. I was supposed to give a lecture based on it the day after, in a course in environmental anthropology I teach at the University of Hradec Králové. A message on my phone sent by a colleague from Svalbard caught my attention: “Hi Zdenka, I have just read ‘your’ Thomas died today. The Norwegian media are full of the news. I am sorry.” Kari Spjeldnæs, the wife of Thomas whom I met during my fieldwork in Longyearbyen where she accompanied her husband, published on her Facebook profile the following words: “Our Thomas, my beloved husband and the kind father of our children, passed away tonight, peacefully and forever.” During the few weeks that passed since Thomas’s death, I have been in touch with several international colleagues from the anthropological community. All of us experience the loss, significant for the discipline of social anthropology, as personal. All of us have used his textbooks, read his articles, and become inspired by his lectures. Not only Thomas’s closest ones, but a whole crowd of people he collaborated with during his extraordinarily

fruitful career and whom he taught considered Thomas “theirs” because he played a significant role in their lives.

I was brave enough to send an email in 2015 to which I did not even seriously expect to get an answer. But the answer came the day after, together with an invitation letter thanks to which (and thanks to Norway Funds) I could leave for two weeks to work-shadow the leading European anthropologist at the Department of Social Anthropology in Oslo. Thomas took me with him to a conference in Tromsø in Northern Norway. While sitting at the airport, I asked him what it felt like to be an anthropological legend. “You know what, I am just an ordinary guy.”

This ordinary guy supported me again one year later, at that time already with the severe diagnosis of pancreas cancer, which was, however, possible to operate on, and Thomas was not giving in. First, I tried to raise funds for the idea of a long-term ethnographic study in Longyearbyen at the Czech Science Foundation, but received an unforgiving review including the following words: “According to unofficial information, Professor Eriksen is seriously ill and despite his gesture of good will unlikely to be able to partake in the project in any substantial manner.” Many times during the years to come, I remembered the anonymous reviewer with great satisfaction when reading Thomas’s replies to my queries during conducting and analysing the data from my fieldwork (which was in the end supported by the MSCA-IF CZ grant scheme). Thomas used to write me back from Mauritius, from Cape Town and other places he visited for work during the eight years he lived with pancreas cancer. During that time, he delivered an incredible amount of work, out of which mentoring my project was just an insignificant part. It is hard to express the gratitude I feel when I look back at every well-formulated and always friendly email I got from him, every warm and enriching conversation in Ljubljana, Prague, Vienna, or Oslo where our paths happily crossed while attending anthropological events. I would never stand where I do now without Thomas. The most precious thing about Thomas was not his anthropological expertise, his all-encompassing knowledge, his ability to speak about complex issues in simple words, or his engagement in the public debate. His caring and trusting personality, his life wisdom gained (perhaps not only) thanks to the prematurely received news about his deathly illness turned him into a human being who was keen on helping others grow.

His last book published in the summer of 2024 is called *Det umistelige*, freely translated as *What we ought not lose*. The importance of mutual entanglement of biological and cultural diversity was his last research interest, after decades of contributing to the topics of identity, ethnicity, nationalism, extractivism, globalisation, and climate change. He wrote over 60 books, hundreds of articles, his



The author of the text consults with T. H. Eriksen

Photo Vojtěch Vančura

texts were translated into 30 languages. And still he preferred to listen to others than to himself.

Once I ended my email, in which I reacted to him informing me about his yet again deteriorated health, with a phrase “Take care.” Thomas wrote back in an instant: “People keep telling me to look after myself. Well, that is not the problem. If I’m getting chemo on these days, it is not something I choose ‘in order to feel better’, it is an order from medics who are trying their best to keep me alive for a while. So it is not a choice, and it’s not about looking after myself, it is far more imperative than that. There are certain things, even in a neoliberal world, which are not subject to individual choice — and to many, this comes as a surprise. So that is why I get mails which say, clearly with the best intentions, ‘sorry that you are not feeling well’. My feelings have nothing to do with this particular situation. I have placed my destiny in the hands of people whom I trust.” The way in which Thomas handled his illness is inspiring for me just as much as the way he did anthropology, how he popularised it and how he cared about people he worked with. Am I idealising him? Whatever. I need role models in my life.

We met in person for the last time in November 2023 when we presented together my book *The Paradox of Svalbard* in the Literature House in Oslo. In July 2024 we had a lively email exchange and Thomas, despite recovering from a car accident (!) and weakened by the illness, was immersed in working on the English

translation of *Det Umistelige*. I sent him the last email on 10 October, sharing my impressions from Judith Bovensiepen's lecture about fossil fuel extraction in Timor-Leste. The extraction is enthusiastically supported by the key figures of former local resistance against Indonesian occupation, and becomes thus part of their fight for independence and freedom to choose their own future. I was looking forward to his brilliant analysis and examples he would use to show me similarities with other cases but also to point out the differences. I received an automatic reply: "Dear correspondent, I am currently in hospital. I will get back to you when I recover. Yours, Thomas Hylland Eriksen."

The experience of time that slows down turned into the experience of death. It was not unexpected but it still hurts. I am, however, happy for everything I and all the others got, for all the texts we can return to, and for all my memories of the legend we shouldn't have lost that early. *Den umistelige*.

Zdenka Sokolíčková

zdenka.sokolickova@uhk.cz

University of Hradec Králové / University of Groningen

Rethinking Margins in the Anthropocene

Tobias Herman Hendrik Feltham

<https://doi.org/10.46585/cargo.2024.2.143>

Thorsteinsson, Björn, Katrín Anna Lund, Gunnar Thór Jóhannesson, and Guðbjörg R. Jóhannesdóttir, eds. 2024. *Mobilities on the margins: creative processes of place-making. of Arctic Encounters*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, ISBN 978-3-031-41343-8, ISBN 978-3-031-41344-5 (eBook), 280pp.

The book *Mobilities on the Margins* is a work which emerges out of the intersection of various global crises to call on social scientists to rethink the philosophies underpinning their work during the pressing moments we face today. For the authors, the broad and accelerating trends of anthropogenic environmental change intersect with acute crises like the COVID-19 pandemic, demanding that social scientists consider again the theoretical, practical and ethical aspects of their field. These crises, unfolding along the axes of integration and mobility characteristic of globalization, have contracted and reconfigured the margins of our lifeworlds and broader societies. In the vein of the tradition in anthropology of studying borders and boundaries, this volume directly engages with margins and the concept of marginality in both the spatial sense, and the sense of those places that exist on the imagined Nature/Culture threshold. It puts forward analyses on the material realities, the networks of agency, and the imaginaries which produce marginality, and questions how these come about in moments of global, anthropogenic crisis.

In this book, the arctic margin – those corners of Iceland, Greenland and Finland (with also a section concerning Scotland during the COVID-19 pandemic) which border on the uninhabitable, and therefore typically imagined as distant and desolate – becomes the stage for research and theory into the ways in which such places are experienced, produced, conceptualized and performed as marginal. This arctic research and theory is brought into the context of global

crises, using a normative framework drawn especially from Joanna Zylińska's *Minimal Ethics for the Anthropocene* (2014). Under Zylińska's guidance, the authors call on social scientists to bring their work into the changing ethical and material realities of the 'Anthropocene'.

This book is a volume of twelve collected essays, research reports, meditations and reflections from various authors, grounded in ethnographic and qualitative fieldwork. The diverse contributions engage with notions, experiences and performances of place and margin, and so sit at a productive intersection of cultural geography, anthropology and economic development. The authors are mostly scholars in Tourism Studies, but their work is certainly of interest to any social scientist considering margins, cultural geography, mobility, cultural ecology, etc. in their own work. Through poetic reflexivity, historic narratives of the landscape and personal memory, various embodied and (auto-) ethnographic methods inspired by the approach of Michael Jackson's *Excursions* (2007), the authors tie together the relational-processual philosophies of space developed by the likes of Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* (1991), and Massey's *For Space* (2005), with a phenomenology drawn from the writings of Merleau-Ponty. The sub-arctic landscapes, as well as the experiences and meanings they are imbued with, thereby unfold for the authors, showing how threads of agency, sense, memory and meaning weave together to produce the arctic margin and its marginality as social phenomena. It is not only the work of humans the authors in the volume consider, but, drawing on the likes of Tim Ingold (2000) and a largely post-Actor-Network-Theory framework, the interacting agencies of people, non-humans and the landscape itself, their histories, memories, aspirations, flows and designs.

Ultimately, this is not a theoretical oeuvre, but it draws on and develops theory. It is not purely an account of fieldwork, but it uses these as powerful illustrations of the writers' intentions. The collective ambition of the various authors through this work is rather, firstly, to study how the marginality of places is constructed, and the role of mobility, subjectivity and material culture in this process. Secondly it is to study how mobility and creativity can reduce the marginality of places in economic and regional development. But a third intention is also to bring the theorization and study of places into the normative framework of the 'Anthropocene' discourse. Working under Zylińska's ethical framework, the authors bring their various methods, analyses, reflections and meditations to bear on the questions of geographic and imaginary marginality as this phenomenon emerges out of anthropogenic crises. As such, the book is a discursive development on the normative guides, the innovative paths in methods and inquiry we as social scientists ought to follow. It offers a broad collection of methods and perspectives to provoke

innovative, speculative and associative approaches to analysis and to reconsider the ethics of social science research in our day and age.

While it can be difficult to review collected volumes, this book is the result of the closely-coordinated work of a well-integrated team of researchers focusing on similar sites and theoretical frameworks. Through the voices of its various authors, the volume moves between reflections with quite different character and content, ranging from the role of social theory and engaged research in the Anthropocene, to reflexivity and ruminations of personal experiences and encounters, to discussions reaching across various theoretical discourses to re-imagine marginality at a philosophical level.

The volume begins with two theory-oriented chapters, discussing the role of sense (in the whole associational constellation of this term, inclusive of sensation, meaning-making, common wisdom, and directionality) in the production of space, and unpacking the concept of nothingness, which is taken as a definitive aspect of marginality. These flow into two essays which are more focused on speculation and innovation in research methods. The first of these discusses narratives as an analytical tool, especially those narratives of non-human agents involved in the production of a place. Non-human narratives become a tool for developing both multispecies analyses, but also for developing the reflexivity of the analyst. The next work traces the material-cultural histories of an unexpected monument in the subarctic landscape. A steel-hulled fishing boat, grounded dramatically and unexpectedly on an Icelandic beach, becomes the locus of encounters and historical processes, which transform the boat from a curious, but bounded, object into a material-cultural, mobile *thing* with real agency in producing space and place. Through *things* – a philosophical category elaborated upon in the chapter – like this boat, the mobilities of people and *things* intersect and interact, to produce sensibilities, imaginaries, and experiences of marginal place. The fifth article is an ethnographic case study of a far-north community in Greenland, and the various projects stakeholders there undertook to draw people, resources, and attention in order to reinvigorate this marginal place. It discusses the ‘dressing’ of places, the role of presences and absences (especially of humans) in place-making processes, and the production of ‘marginal imaginaries’, which is to say the positioning of peripheral areas and inhabitants in the imaginaries of their relative cores. The sixth essay theorizes the centrality of movement, in the senses both of mobility and emotional experience, to the multi-species processes which produce landscapes. It focuses especially on phenomenology and aesthetic experiences to develop theories of spatial production. In this chapter, aesthetics or meaningful sensation is the bridge between social-mental space and physical space. The aesthetic dimension of place, which collapses subject and physical space, highlights

how subjects participate in the production of space, and how spaces shape subjects even when their interactions are fleeting. The seventh essay presents a research report on multispecies networks and mobilities in producing the affect of place, particularly when it comes to tourism development in Iceland's arctic margin. It focuses heavily on reflexivity, on personal memory and experience in the place, and how these shape both the affective aspect of a place and its imaginary, as well as the analysis of the researcher. The eighth essay discusses paths on the Earth and lines on maps, as ways to study embodied and practiced knowledge of places through tools of wayfinding and mobility. The author traces lines by walking and by consulting maps to study the changing histories of mobility in a marginal corner of Iceland. They discuss various tools for wayfinding and assisting mobility, such as cairn-monuments in the landscape, place names, and maps, and they discuss how these tools encode knowledge, valuations, meanings and histories associated with the places they constellate together. The ninth essay develops this by focusing on two key pieces of road infrastructure in Iceland, and the experience of driving there. Roads are shown as complex material culture, which pave the way (literally) for further transformations and integrations of marginal land, and for new relations, encounters and experiences to emerge. The tenth essay is another extreme-northerly case study, this time of Qaanaaq, Greenland. It focuses on infrastructures such as a hotel, a satellite ground station, and the imaginary of territory further south as having more developed infrastructure. In this chapter it is everyday encounters with these infrastructural systems which produce an imaginary of marginality through a sense of absence. The eleventh essay looks at how mobility practices (and those associated, such as skiing, fishing, foraging, etc.) shape a particular Finnish national park, and how these are negotiated with ownership claims to land in the context of the customary, Finnish legal rights of access and travel. They show that as mobility practices in spaces change, conflicts and tensions can occur between different stakeholders, practices, imaginaries, and interests in spaces. The final, twelfth essay focuses on mobility practices as enabled by laws and access rights in Scotland, and how these transformed during the COVID-19 response in the country. It discusses how changing rules can lead to perceived and enacted changes in borders or margins in daily experience—in this case contracting inwards towards domestic spheres.

This overview highlights the breadth of perspectives on and approaches to studying the production of marginal space this volume offers, which coalesce around the aspects of mobility, movement, experience, and the agency of non-human participants. As can be imagined, this approach has its strengths and its weaknesses. The wide scope of the contributions, the different points of emphasis and underlying philosophical angles which are brought adjacent to one another,

offers many insights which any social scientist conducting research with a significant component of space and site (especially with an eye to borders, boundaries, margins, etc.) ought to take into consideration. The various perspectives brought together here make this book inspiring from both a methodological point of view as well as theoretical. It demonstrates innovative, reflexive tools for social scientists to understand their sites as dynamic processes involving various actors and meanings, and for accessing and interpreting the meanings and experiences which position a place as marginal in the social imaginary. It highlights the interacting roles of landscape and subject in embodying and producing social and more-than-human relations. The strong normative aspect to these writings also propels the volume and the discourse it contributes to into an 'Anthropocene' ethics, an increasingly inescapable context for contemporary social research.

However, the tourism perspective is at times overbearing, and must occasionally be bracketed to generalize the findings presented in the book. This touristic slant to the volume makes it lean towards an implicit, philosophical individualism, which means too little analysis is spared for critically-considering the position of marginal places (borderlands, wastelands, etc.) in social formations, in relations of power or production, etc. While making reference to authors like Lefebvre and Massey, the phenomenological bias leads many of the authors to not fully engage with key aspects of their theories, especially regarding the position of space and place in societies. The reliance on reflexive methods and autoethnographic approaches, while useful for elaborating narratives, memories and other phenomenological aspects pertaining to landscape and the perception of space, is limiting with respect to the sociological concern of the book to deal with the construction of marginality itself in its broader, social context. And the calls to softly discipline frontiers to integrate them into the capitalist space, into the relations of the tourism economy, using an ethos which listens to the voices of animals, plants and childhood memories, recalls the protagonist of *Venus in Furs* idolizing the non-modern goddess in his dreamy encounter. Did this avatar of Venus herself, Sacher-Masoch's manifestation of a non-modern cosmos in its vivacity, beauty and bare cruelty, not warn us of the risks of worshiping her while remaining rooted in modernist worldview?

All-in-all, the volume offers many intriguing jumping-off points for the analysis of marginal places and the imaginary of marginality in the normative and pressing context of the 'Anthropocene'. While limited by its breadth to go into real depth into the social theory of marginal place, and limited by its philosophical individualism to sharpen its critical angle, it offers a compelling call-to-action for social scientists to innovate in their methods, and to focus again on the role of place, margins, imaginaries and non-humans in the processes they study.

References

- Ingold, Tim. 2000. *The Perception of the Environment: Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. London: Routledge.
- Jackson, Michael D. 2007. *Excursions*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Massey, Doreen B. 2005. *For Space*. London: Sage Publications.
- Zylinska, Joanna. 2014. *Minimal Ethics for the Anthropocene. Critical Climate Change*. Ann Arbor: Open Humanities Press.

Tobias Herman Hendrik Feltham

48158417@fsv.cuni.cz

Institute of Sociological Studies
Faculty of Social Sciences
Charles University
Praha

On Pre-Malinowski Fieldworkers

Petr Skalník

<https://doi.org/10.46585/cargo.2024.2.144>

***Ethnographers before Malinowski. Pioneers of Anthropological Fieldwork, 1870–1922.* Edited by Frederico Delgado Rosa and Han F. Vermeulen. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2022. xviii+522 pp. ISBN 978-1-80073-531-6 hardback**

The volume under review is a significant result of the work of the History of Anthropology Network, initiated in 2016 by Andrés Barrera-González, Aleksandar Bošković, David Shankland and Han F. Vermeulen within the European Association of Social Anthropologists. It is the result of “over three years of dedicated efforts by the editors, one Portuguese and the other Dutch, and a team of twelve scholars from ten countries in four continents to explore largely neglected aspects of the ethnographic archive and contribute to the history and theory of anthropology” (p. xii). It contains twelve research chapters, introduced and closed by texts by the editors. Thomas Hylland Eriksen (1962-2024) wrote a foreword. The book is closed by a “selected bibliography of ethnographic accounts, 1870–1922” and an index. The favourite ethnographers are presented factually and in style. In each chapter, the author displays erudition and long-term interest in the subject.

Eriksen’s Foreword is remarkable because of the succinct wording typical of its writer. I especially liked this paragraph: “What, then, is left of the so-called Malinowskian revolution? For one thing, Malinowski was a far better writer than his predecessors. (In this respect, his immodest comparison with Conrad has some merit.) His field methodology was also clearly formulated, systematically and succinctly laid out. His emphasis on participant observation also departed from Westermarck and Rivers, although it remains an open question to what extent later ethnographers participated in everyday life. Doing so may be more

complicated than it sounds. I have cut some sugar cane on steaming afternoons and gone fishing at five in the morning during fieldwork, but not regularly, and always as an inept and clumsy guest.” (pp. xvi-xvii). And somewhat sceptically, Eriksen adds, “Just as it would be futile to ask about the whereabouts of the first human being, searching for the first proper ethnographer can at best produce partial, tentative, and misleading answers” (p. xvii).

The editors, in their Introduction entitled “Other Argonauts”, argue that there was intensive fieldwork before Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, not only by Haddon, Seligman, and Rivers but also by Boas, Westermarck and some other practically unknown authors like Eldon Best, who worked in New Zealand. Authorities such as George Stocking, Regna Darnell, and Rosemary Lévy Zumwalt are referred to. The chapter demonstrates that at least the last fifty years before Malinowski were full of ethnographers who worked intensively in the field. Also, the revered theory classics such as Morgan and Tylor were fertile fieldworkers. In effect, the writers of the introduction argue that evolution rather than revolution took place in anthropology after 1870. I would accept that with the colonial expansion, more ethnography was needed, but it took some time before genuinely intensive fieldwork evolved. In that sense, Malinowski remains the un-slain king of anthropology. Some regrettable misprints: “monographies” should be mono-graphs (p. 2), “neagligeable” negligible (p. 9) and “Ernst” should read as Ernest (Gellner) on p. 37.

Part I of the book, entitled “In Search of the Native’s Point of View,” contains three chapters. The first chapter was written by a seasoned specialist in the history of anthropology (and before that, a splendid fieldworker in Ethiopia, Israel, and the U.S.!), Herbert Lewis. He chose to show that Franz Boas, early in his career, in 1883, embarked on an ostensibly geographical expedition, which turned into a year of intensive anthropological fieldwork among the Inuit/Eskimo of the Baffin Island. Boas, accompanied by his gardener Wilhelm Weike, arrived with considerable delay at Kekerten Island off the shore of Baffin Island at the end of August 1883. Although Boas and his companion had to stay in the whaling station over the winter, they almost immediately ventured to the local and further located Inuit/Eskimos. Lewis stresses that “Franz Boas was a participant observer in the fullest sense, completely dependent on his Inuit companions (p. 55). He wrote to his fiancée, “I live with them, hunt with them, and count myself among the men of Anarnitung. Moreover, I scarcely eat any European foodstuffs any longer but am living entirely on seal meat and coffee” (p. 56). The monograph *The Central Eskimo* was published in 1888 as a part of a report of the Bureau of Ethnology in Washington. Boas accounted for every Inuit group on Baffin Island. His further

famous research on the Northwest Coast was never based on so much fieldwork as the year with the Inuit/Eskimo.

The second chapter by the historian Barbara Chambers Dawson is devoted to the Australian ethnographic study by Katie Langloh Parker of the “The Euahlayi Tribe.” Her book *The Euahlayi Tribe: A Study of Aboriginal Life in Australia* (1905) is a testimony by a childless woman “in a male-dominated and isolated environment” who “turned to the Noongahburrah to compensate for loneliness, and for companionship” (p. 86). Parker followed her cattle farmer husband into Bangate, a station 530 km north of Sydney, inhabited by the Noongahburrah. Malinowski read and widely referred to her ethnography while writing his armchair monograph, *The Family among the Australian Aborigines* (1913), but considered it an amateur product. “Over the many years that she lived alongside the Noongahburrah, she writes that she gained their trust, learned their language and associated dialects, and established close relationships” (p. 87). Her account is invaluable because Parker experienced the everyday life of Aboriginal women. Parker’s data are reliable, but her scholarly reputation was still less than she deserved. The author of the chapter concludes by stressing Parker’s “respect for the Euahlayi, at a time when the majority of European Australians disregarded Aboriginal people or viewed them with derision” ... Parker “has left a legacy that restores to Indigenous Australians their rightful strength and humanity. Her vital contributions to anthropological knowledge should place her in the annals of a discipline to which she deservedly belongs”... “Parker brought detailed observations and perceptive understandings to scientific ethnology. Her long-term access to her cultural experts surpassed some of her male contemporaries” (pp. 109-110).

The next chapter in Part I is David Shankland’s presentation about Edvard/Edward Westermarck (1862–1939). This great scholar whose homosexual orientation prompted him to a painstaking lifetime search resulting in *The History of Human Marriage* (1891) and two volumes of *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (1906–1908) as well as three other books published in the 1930s, was besides being philosopher and sociologist also an anthropologist. Westermarck taught Malinowski at the London School of Economics, and for decades, he intermittently worked in the Moroccan field, mainly with the same field assistant. After exposing Westermarck’s lifepath (his country of birth is erroneously given as Sweden, and his workplace Åbo - in Finnish known as Turku - is placed in “the north of Sweden” instead of west of Finland, pp. 122-123), Shankland delves into the two volumes of his central ethnography, namely *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (1926). Technically, the year of publication transcends the 1970–1922 time limits of the volume under review. Nevertheless, the major chunk of Westermarck’s fieldwork precedes 1922. Malinowski wrote a favourable review of the work, and

so did other reviewers. Shankland stresses that Westermarck's "aim is to outline the way individuals in Morocco operate within a culture in which belief has a predominant role in guiding not just their relationship with God but also that with their fellow human beings" (p. 127). Westermarck should be read along with major writers such as Bourdieu, Geertz, and Gellner. Shankland concludes that Westermarck was "an innovative, prolific, careful, and meticulous scholar and ethnographer, whose work is as relevant and stimulating today as it was when he wrote it a century ago" (p. 144). Unfortunately, there are mistakes in the text such as "personnel" should be personal, Radcliffe-Brown's year of death "1951" should be 1955, "Morroco" should be Morocco.

Part II of the volume under review brings in indigenous ethnographers. In Chapter Four, David Chidester, a foremost specialist in African religion during the colonial era, disentangles the efforts of the missionary Henry Callaway to understand the religion of the Zulu. His *The Religious System of the Amazulu I* (1868–1870) was an ethnographic document used by several classical theorists such as Tylor, Lubbock, Spencer, or Frazer. In a way, the book was regarded as an example of the study of primitive religion. Calaway "was one of the most important and frequently cited sources for data in the emergence of anthropology from the 1870s into the 1920s" (p. 154). Chidester asserts that the book was not authored by Callaway but by his Zulu informant, the convert Mpengula Mbande [Umpengula Mbanda]. "Mbande's ambivalent personal position [of a recent convert] defined the dominant perspective on Zulu religion" (p. 156). The rest of the chapter discusses the meanings of Unkulunkulu in the indigenous theology of the Zulu. Chidester displays matchless erudition in religious studies of the Africans; his monographs include *Savage Systems: Colonialism and Comparative Religion in Southern Africa* (1996) and *Wild Religion: Tracking the Sacred in South Africa* (2012).

Chapter 5 was written by Jeffrey Paparoa Holman, a specialist in early ethnography of New Zealand and the author of *Best of Both Worlds: The Story of Elsdon Best and Tutakangahau* (2010). The chapter makes the relationship between the amateur researcher Elsdon Best and his primary Maori informant, Tutakangahau, accessible. Best's major monograph is *Tuhoe—Children of the Mist* (1897), but he also authored other books on Māori society and culture. Remarkable was that the chief Tutakangahau and other informants were "willing participants in their ethnographic creations" (p. 186). The point is that Tutakangahau became a modernizer after realizing that the Māori could not defeat Pakeha (Europeans) militarily but only by the power of law. When he met Best in 1895, he was willing to participate in the colonial society. "Alongside Best, he would become the coauthor of a new literature of the Māori world" (p. 190). Tutakangahau was not

a traditionalist but “a man of his time, bilingual, bicultural, literate in his native tongue” (p. 209).

Chapter 6, the last in this section of the volume, is by Joanna Scherer, who introduces *The Omaha Tribe* (1911) by Alice C. Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, a 640-page long monograph resulting from Fletcher’s decades-long collaboration with the La Flesche family of Omaha Indians. The book describes pre-reservation culture in the first half of the 19th century. However, some critical reviews in America, Mauss, Durkheim, and Haddon in Europe had expressed praise. Scherer describes the rivalry between Fletcher and La Flesche with Rev. J.O. Dorsey, author of *Omaha Sociology* (1884). It appears that the input of the indigenous La Flesche was decisive for the credibility of *The Omaha Tribe*. “By viewing Omaha culture through the language and lens of the people themselves, Fletcher and La Flesche emphasized what was important to Omaha and showed how Omaha’s worldview was very different from the worldview of Western cultures” (p. 238). The partnership of Fletcher and La Flesche is exemplary and was ahead of the time. Today, the pattern pioneered by them is a norm.

Part III is called “Colonial Ethnography from Invasion to Empathy” and contains three chapters. Chapter 7 deals with the book *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (1884) by John Gregory Bourke. The chapter was written by a Canadian religious studies scholar, Ronald L. Grimes. Bourke was a retired cavalry officer who became a military ethnologist while participating in fighting Lakota and Apache Indians of New Mexico in the United States. During his long-term scouting research, he visited 22 villages of other Indian groups, including the Hopi or Moquis of Arizona. The book combines a travelogue, a description of the snake dance ritual and theory, and speculations. Bourke also kept a candid diary that revealed his methods, theories, and assumptions. He was forceful in gaining access to the rituals that would be unacceptable by today’s standards. At Walpi, he invaded the underground ceremonial space and stayed there for four hours. His detailed description of the Hopi snake dance has made it a tourist attraction and the most photographed ethnographic event. The author of the book became popular. Grimes found that “Whereas Bourke’s seeing the rituals as drama or as art may have been constructive, his sensory response to snakes eventuates in their becoming symbols of evil. So his theory is a judgmental...” (p. 259). Bourke’s book is “neither a fully developed ethnography nor a fullblown theory” (p. 263). One of the Hopi writers today considers Bourke’s research ‘intellectual genocide’.

The next chapter, the eighth, is written by André Mary, emeritus director of research at CNRS and author, among others, of *Les Anthropologues et la Religion* (2010). It deals with Henri Trilles’s books *Chez les Fang* and *Le Totémisme chez les*

Fân (both 1912), which resulted from 15 years of stay in Gabon by this Catholic priest. However, in 1910, the book *Religion des primitifs* by his superior, bishop Le Roy, was published. Le Roy and Fr. Wilhelm Schmidt were Trilles's mentors and supporters. And two years later, the same year as Trilles's book, Durkheim published *Les Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*. Trilles's concept of totemism consists in that "faith in the power of the thing stems from the spirit of the sacrificial covenant" (p. 286) and in that he differs from Le Roy. Mary concludes that "Chez les Fang may be a strange ethnography for twenty-first-century readers, but it is also a good illustration of the multiple layers in a single book within a pre-Malinowskian frame" (p. 300). The first name of Trilles is misspelled as Henry on p. 299.

Chapter 9 is devoted to the great colonial student of the Ashanti and other ethnic groups of the Gold Coast (now Ghana), Captain Robert S. Rattray (1881–1938). It was authored by Montgomery McFate, author of *Military Anthropology* (2018). Rattray was first a volunteer in the Anglo-Boer War, served in Nyasaland (now Malawi) and was appointed colonial officer on the Gold Coast in 1907. He spent the next 23 years there, learned the language of the Ashanti and, in 1921, became Government Anthropologist. His monograph *Ashanti* (1923) is the result of long-term participant observation. It is a treasure of data on this matrilineal society and its Queen Mothers, who were, in fact, female chiefs. He played an essential role in advising the colonial rulers against mishandling the supreme symbol of the Ashanti, the Golden Stool. He implemented the Indirect Rule as a mitigating form of colonialism. Towards the latter part of his stay on the Gold Coast, he studied Northern Territories and published two volumes of *The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland* (1932). McFate concludes that "his Ashanti monograph illuminates many current issues of interest to the discipline, including the early use of participant observation, complex relations between anthropologists and governments, the use of cultural knowledge in a conflict environment, and feminist approaches to power" (p. 327). There are misprints such as "Iatamul" that should spell Iatmul (p. 309) and perhaps "Osai" as Osei or "Yaunde" that should be Yaounde.

Part IV of the volume is entitled "Expeditionary Ethnography as Intensive Fieldwork." It contains three chapters again, two of them on authors who published in languages other than English.

Chapter 10 is written by one of the editors, Frederico Delgado Rosa, who teaches at Nova University, Lisbon, Portugal. It is a very detailed chapter describing and interpreting the work of Henrique de Carvalho *Etnografia e História Tradicional dos Povos da Lunda* (1890). In the same year, 1890, he published four

volumes of *Descrição da Viagem à Mussumba do Muatiãnvua*. De Carvalho was a seasoned colonial officer who arrived in Angola after working in almost all Portuguese overseas possessions. He also left several handwritten volumes of a journal. Delgado Rosa explains: “colossal dimensions of Carvalho’s work, its denseness, and the fact that he wrote in Portuguese are against him” (p. 336). The “Portuguese Expedition to the Mwant Yaav” (1884–88) combined colonial expansion into the Lunda country with detailed research on indigenous polity, especially its religious beliefs. Delgado Rosa remarks that “the monograph may be read as a critique of colonial violence” (p. 339). Carvalho insisted on learning the language of the people under study “to speak and understand their language or dialect, to live the life of that people” (p. 342). He describes the Lunda “empire”, which consisted of a hierarchy of ‘potentates’ (power holders). Mwant Yaav was the highest among them. His mother, Ruwej, was also very important as she was a caretaker of the ruler and his children and the objects of the sacred kingship.

Chapter 11 is about the Siberian explorations by Maria Czaplicka. It was written by Grażyna Kubica of Jagiellonian University of Cracow, Poland. Czaplicka (1884–1921) originated from Warsaw, then under Russian rule. She was Malinowski’s Polish contemporary who befriended him during their studies in England. As a kind of preparatory study, she published an armchair book, *Aboriginal Siberia: A Study in Social Anthropology*, in 1914. The same year, she joined forces with an American anthropologist, Henry Hall, and two British women researchers. Upon the outbreak of the Great War, the ladies returned to Europe. Hall and Czaplicka continued in their Yenisei Expedition. Czaplicka published her ethnographic travelogue *My Siberian Year* in 1916 but did not manage to produce a monograph to be called “The Natives of the Yenisei” due to premature death by suicide in 1921. Nevertheless, according to Kubica, Czaplicka left a host of data about various aspects of Siberian shamanism, race, and gender. The expedition left a rich photographic and material collection. Her method was writing a ‘thick description’. Only in 1999 were *The Collected Works of M. A. Czaplicka* published in four volumes under the editorship of David Norman Collins.

The final, 12th chapter gives a reader an insight into the Amazonian Indians’ life as seen by a German expedition led by Karl von den Steinen (1855–1929), author of *Durch Central-Brasilien: Expedition zur Erforschung des Schingú im Jahre 1884*. The chapter writer is Michael Kraus, curator of the museum in Göttingen, Germany. He characterizes the fieldwork methods of several prominent German ethnologists who travelled and stayed in South America around the turn of the twentieth century and the first decade after the end of the Great War. These were, besides von den Steinen, Konrad Theodor Preuss (1869–1938), Theodor Koch-Grünberg (1872–1924), Max Schmidt (1874–1950), and Fritz Krause (1881–1963).

The ethnographers were under the influence of Adolf Bastian, one of the founders of German ethnology, who stipulated the ways of collecting items for German museums. Other than collecting material culture and art, these German researchers concentrated on Indian languages and their classification. That led to the study of mythology, religious philosophy, and psychology. A section of the chapter compares German fieldworkers with Malinowski and finds that much had been discovered before Malinowski. The German ethnographers “shared in everyday life in the villages they visited and recognized their inhabitants as fellow human beings” (p. 436).

The editors of the volume under review close with a Conclusion in which they criticized the “academic haughtiness” of Malinowski, Firth, and other modern social anthropologists towards the writings of “amateurs” and point out that often ethnographers before Malinowski spent more time in the field than the trained anthropologists. “Beyond the paradigmatic or simplified contrast between “functionalist” and “amateur” accounts is a richer history of anthropology and ethnography to be told” (p. 453). Vermeulen and Delgado Rosa assert that Radcliffe-Brown’s Andaman monograph “resulted from a peculiar, not particularly “Malinowskian” ethnographic experience” and confront him with the work of Horace Man’s book *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands* (1932). The Conclusion writers might have profited from consulting Isak Niehaus’s monograph on *Radcliffe-Brown* (2025), which shows a more credible picture of that seminal work. But their edited volume preceded by three years Niehaus’s monograph. Vermeulen and Delgado Rosa persuade their readers that the pre-Malinowski ethnographers were “excluded ancestors, absent from disciplinary memory” (p. 464). Young’s biography of Malinowski is referred to on p. 461 but is missing from the bibliography.

If I were to evaluate the volume, I would agree that it fills a gap created somewhat intentionally by professional ethnographers. But it only shakes the thrones of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown but does not dethrone them. The publisher was not very attentive to spelling and, unfortunately, also facts (see the chapter on Westermarck).

Petr Skalník

skalnik.petr@gmail.com

Independent Researcher